

Turning back time

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by  
**Charles Felix Ruellan**  
(1876 –1955)

# Flight of a Suspect

Or

The Misadventures of the  
Jolly de Pontcadeuc family



Armoiries des JOLLY de PONTCADEUC :

Presented by Nicole and Louis Lesbaupin  
Cartography: Élodie Letard

Archives J.-H de la Blanchardière

Translated from French to English by Gena R. Chattin  
Special thanks to Eva Zaghdoun for translation assistance.

Final editor: Llewellyn M. Toulmin, Ph.D., F.R.S.A., F.R.G.S.

For my american cousin  
Lew Toulmin  
le 22 novembre 2007  
from Hugues de Boiry  
the French cousin



Above note is from Hugues de Boiry of Vanves, France, and is inscribed in the original manuscript.

Note: Items in brackets are inserted by the translator, or by the final editor, Llewellyn M. Toulmin, unless the brackets clearly indicate omissions and gaps in the original papers.

There are two types of footnotes: those with Arabic numbers at the bottom of each page are from the original text. Those with Roman numerals at the end of the manuscript are notes inserted by the translator. Some of these latter notes, and other insertions in brackets, are marked as editorial insertions; these refer to my notes.

Llewellyn M. Toulmin  
Silver Spring, Maryland, USA  
An American descendant of Jean Baptiste Florian Jolly de Pontcadeuc and  
Marguerite Marie le Det de Segray

## FOREWORD

*Flight of a suspect or the misadventures of the Jolly de Pontcadeuc family* recounts the story of that family from its origin to the point at which the name is lost in female lineage.

The original draft of this document is a collage of typed, glued-on, and crossed-out sections of text covered in written annotations, which make it difficult to read. Regarding the rest, which was well-written, researched, and which confirmed those facts that could be verified by other sources, it would have been a shame to leave it in that state and not to allow descendants of the family to benefit from it.

That is why we took up the task of recopying it with a clear, spaced out layout and respecting the author's wishes by omitting crossed out parts and adding the written notes. We contented ourselves with clarifying certain points, be it in notes or by adding documents and subheadings to make the reading easier.

Given by Louise Ruellan to Jean Hervé de la Blanchardière<sup>1</sup>, the original draft bears no mention of the author. In any case, the first chapter titled "Our family papers" allows us to identify him. We read there, "A little while before the war of 1914, Madame de la Blanchardière, born Lesbaupin, passed on to my brother Auguste and myself a letter [...] Our brother Stanislas, who was then living in the United States [...] Before the last war, I attempted steps toward the United States, but the war [1939-1945] interrupted my efforts [...]."

Regarding the 12 Ruellan boys, two died at an early age, six were "Morts pour la France" (died in battle for France), and four survived as late as the Great War: Charles Félix (1876-1955); Auguste (1877-1938); Xavier (1881-1931); and Stanislas (1883-1972). Considering the preceding, it couldn't be either Auguste or Stanislas. That leaves Xavier who died in 1931, before the last war of 1939-1945, and Charles Félix, the eldest of the survivors and heir of the family papers, who died in 1955 and who fits the temporal identification criteria. He is thus very likely the author of this document, with the help of his sister Louise.

Let us hope that this long work of deciphering, of recopying, and of research will not have been in vain. We hope that all will find the contents as interesting as those who preceded them.

Nicole and Louis LESBAUPIN

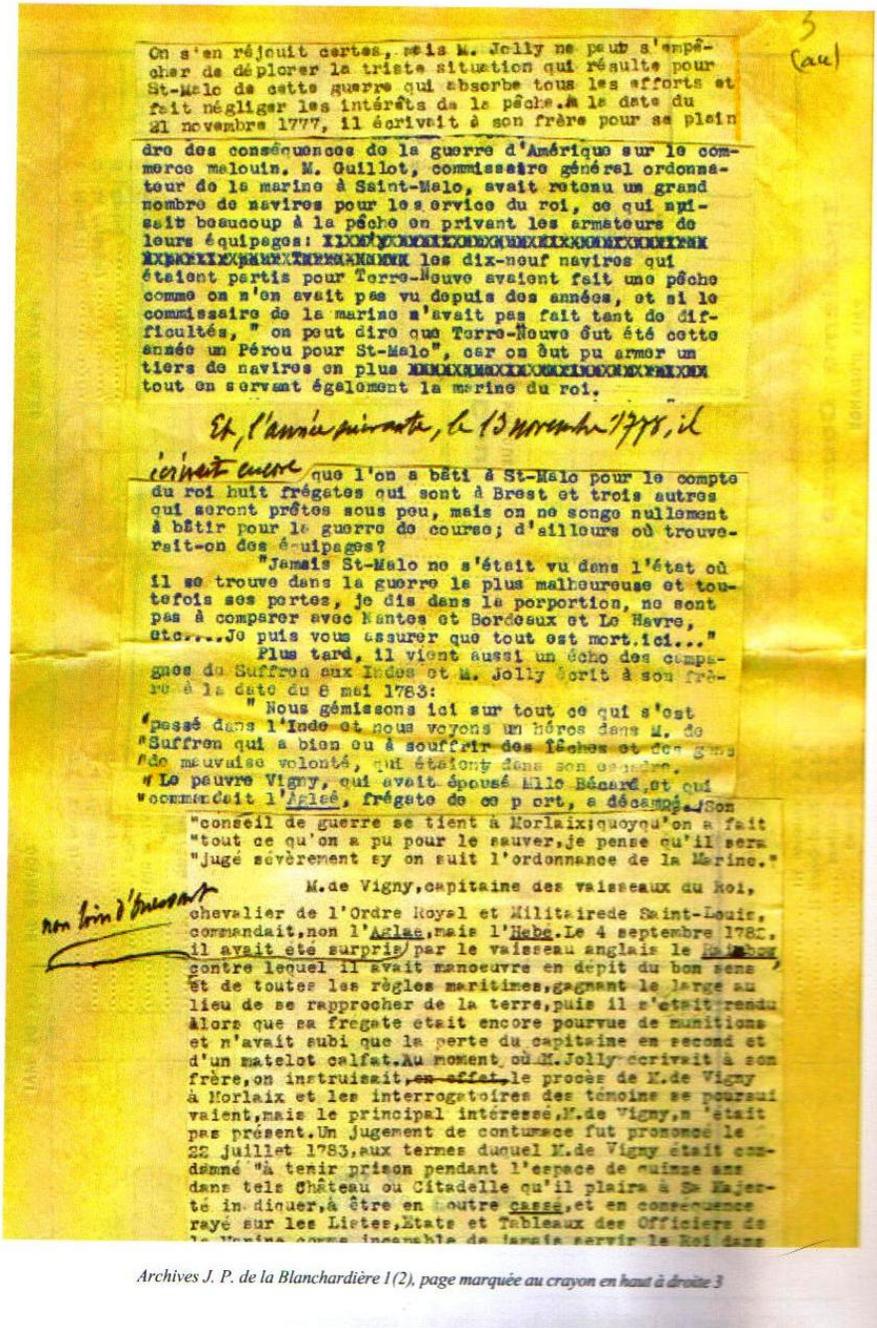
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<sup>1</sup> To whom we owe our deepest gratitude for his generosity in trusting us with his family archives.

NOTICE ON THE JOLLY de PONTCADUEC FAMILY  
Sample page from the original notes and manuscript

Notice sur la famille Jolly de Pontcadeuc

Page exemple de la minute



Archives J. P. de la Blanchardière 1(2), page marquée au crayon en haut à droite 3

Archives J. P. de la Blanchardière 1(2), page marked in pencil at the top right 3.

## OUR FAMILY PAPERS

Our family papers consist of all those that existed at Paramé, in the boxes, cartons, and bundles inherited from my grandmother, Madame Auguste Ruellan (maiden name Dupuy-Fromy), whose mother was born Jolly de Pontcadeuc. There were therein many very interesting documents, among others the correspondence of Joseph Marie Jolly de Pontcadeuc (my great-grandmother's father) and his brother Jean Florian, Saint-Malo deputy to the *Bureau du Commerce* in Paris from 1768 to 1787, who died childless. There were also letters from Jean-Baptiste Florian Jolly de Pontcadeuc, my great-grandmother's brother, who emigrated in 1793.

Most of the papers concerning the family during the Revolution and before come to us from the United States of America, and their story follows.

### Emigration to New Orleans

Our great-grand-uncle, Jean-Baptiste Florian, who, having emigrated to England in 1793, went in 1809 to settle with his family in New Orleans, where he died in 1811. His wife died toward 1817 or 1818, leaving four daughters of whom three married, but descendants remain today from only one of them. The correspondence of the emigrant's four daughters continued for a certain time, then dropped off little by little. We knew from my father that our grandmother had exchanged several letters with her American cousins and that she had sent them money, which explains the fact that his parents' financial situation was quite precarious.

### Distant lines reunited

We had been out of contact with that branch of our family for quite some time when, shortly after World War I, our cousin, Madame André de la Blanchardière, (maiden name Lesbaupin, great-granddaughter of one of the emigrant's sisters (Madame Florent Thierry), who lived at La Barre in Paramé, the property where Jean-Baptiste Florian Jolly de Pontcadeuc lived during the Revolution and from whence he emigrated when he was to be arrested) received a letter addressed to the proprietor of the chateau of La Barre, Paramé. It came from Mrs. Sims, resident of Mobile, great-granddaughter of the emigrant. Madame de la Blanchardière passed this letter written in English on to us, my brother Auguste and myself, and asked us to respond to it. That's how a correspondence began that the war was unable to stop.

Our brother Stanislas, who then lived in the United States in Washington State, was much too far away to imagine visiting our cousins in Mobile, Alabama, near New Orleans. But he came to France, called by the war, and in 1917, he was designated part of the French Mission to the American Army and sent as an instructor to the Charlotte camp in North Carolina. Since he wasn't too far from Alabama, he went there while on leave and introduced himself to our American relations.

## **Meeting with the American cousins, Monsieur and Mrs. Sims**

Mr. and Mrs. Sims received Stanislas warmly. They had no children and lived very modestly, though their situation was still quite precarious. The husband, already quite old, had a small job with an electric company in Mobile whose director was one of his friends. Their rundown house, built on the prettiest street in town, stood out in stark contrast next to the beautiful mansions around it, but it was the house built in 1832 by one of their grand-aunts, Madame Russell, daughter of the emigrant. Mrs. Sims held onto it all the more because insufficient resources made it impossible for her to build another house.

Mrs. Sims was the granddaughter of Laure Jolly de Pontcadeuc, eldest daughter of Jean-Baptiste Florian, the emigrant, later Madame Geo Bowors, and there were at least 50 of her descendants in Mobile and in the United States of whom several bore the first name Florian in memory of their French ancestor.

Not only did the Sims know from whom they descended – something rather rare in this new country – but their great-grandfather was a noble French emigrant, granted the title of count, and that established a sort of nobility for them that earned them high regards and first class social standing in that small town. Also, when my brother arrived at the home of our relations the Sims, all the local notables were waiting there along with numerous cousins.

In the story that Stanislas told me about his reception in Mobile, I noted that Mr. Sims had shown him numerous letters from France, several of which dated before the Revolution. Stanislas found some amongst them that were signed by our grandmother. Although Mr. Sims didn't understand a word of French, he got the idea to translate all the letters into English, and judging them by certain imaginings that I could observe, Mr. Sims's translation amply justified the Italian maxim "Traduttore, traditore" ("Translator, traitor").

When we restarted our correspondence with Mr. Sims after the war [1914-1918], I asked him to be sure to send me several of these letters so I could learn their contents, copy them, and return them afterward. He did so several times. The letters were very interesting, and they taught me many things that I didn't know or didn't know well about the emigrants and about our family.

## **Visit to La Barre in Paramé by the friends of Mr. Sims, Mr. and Mrs. Wilson**

Some time after the death of his wife in 1926, Mr. Sims wrote us that he intended to travel to Europe and pay us a visit. We naturally responded how happy we would be to receive him, but in his following letters, our dear relation let us know that his state of health – and possibly also that of his finances – kept him from undertaking his voyage. At least we would see his friends, Mr. Wilson, director of the electric company where he had a modest job, and Mrs. Wilson, who were going to leave shortly for Europe.

In August 1926, in fact, I received Mr. and Mrs. Wilson at Paramé. They were extremely likeable people, and distinguished as well, but unfortunately they didn't speak a word of French. I had to call upon my knowledge of English, which was very limited. Nevertheless, I didn't have to inconvenience myself for very long because their visit was

short. They were most interested in learning more about La Barre, the emigrant's house, and I took them there immediately. Our cousin Mme de la Blanchardière was at High Mass, but Andrée Thomé de Charaix received us and did the honors for our visitors. The house's exterior had changed a little since the Revolution. Most notably, someone had added enormous chimneys that overwhelm the roof, but the interior underwent very little modification and the woodwork was essentially what it was during the emigrant's time. I showed Mr. and Mrs. Wilson the famous second-floor window by which Jean-Baptiste Florian de Pontcadeuc escaped with the help of his young brother-in-law and the tenant farmer while the Revolutionary soldiers were waiting for him on the first floor or in front of the house. Mr. and Mrs. Wilson declared themselves enchanted and, after having expressed their satisfaction numerous times with "Very interesting!" they got back in their car and took the road to Cherbourg where they had to embark the next morning for America.

### **Death of Mr. Sims**

The following Christmas, I received good wishes from Mrs. Wilson in a letter written in French. She excused herself for not knowing our language better and, if she hadn't dared to use it during her visit to Paramé, it was because of her poor accent. A French friend had reviewed her letter, which was quite correct. The following year she wrote me again to wish me well and to let me know that Mr. Sims was very sick. I responded, thanking her for taking such good care of their neighbor, and I asked her to keep us up to date on the state of Mr. Sims's health. In February or March of 1928, a new letter from Mrs. Wilson informed us of Mr. Sims's death. I thanked her immediately for her consideration and expressed my desire to receive the papers our relation left behind in the event that they didn't interest his heirs. Several weeks later, I received a voluminous package containing the greater part of the letters in Mr. Sims's possession. Mrs. Wilson had only given to one of our cousins some letters that I returned to Mr. Sims after having copied them. Thus I have the greater part of the originals and copies of the other letters.

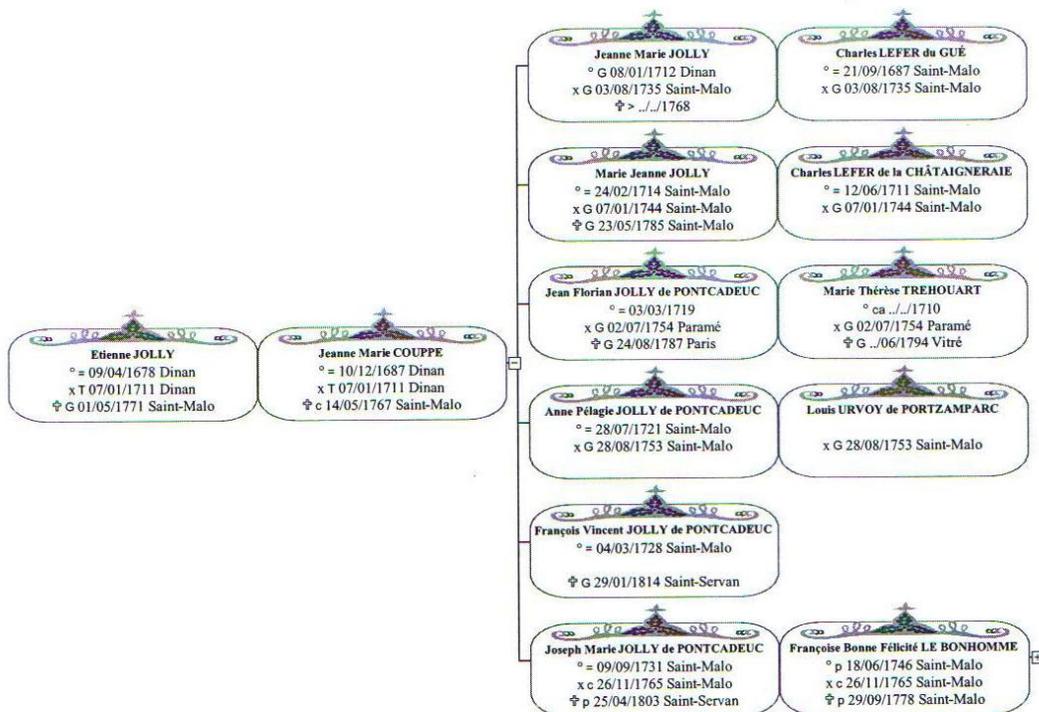
### **Items of note regarding the correspondence held by Mr. Sims**

Nearly all the letters come from the emigrant's sisters, who wrote ceaselessly to Jean-Baptiste Florian or to his wife and, later, to their daughters. Other letters are from the emigrant, from his wife, and from their daughters. Yet others come from before the Revolution and are from Mme. Ledet de Segray, mother of Mme. Jean-Baptiste Florian. They hold no interest except for the family and don't offer much information. There are rarely allusions to contemporary events, probably because the senders were afraid of compromising themselves or their correspondents. All are of a sentimental nature or concern business matters. They teach us many things about emigrants and their family left behind in France.

Those that are definitely the most interesting are the letters that Florian wrote to his wife and his daughters during his voyage from England to America between 1808 and 1809. They give numerous details on life in the United States at that time and contain information not unimportance to the economic and social history of the country. Also, it

is no surprise that the archivist at the Library of Congress in Washington, having heard talk of these letters, worked to get them into the archives. Mr. and Mrs. Sims, probably flattered by the propositions made to them on this subject and possibly also tempted by the relatively large sum that they must have been offered because they found themselves in a difficult situation, agreed to hand them over. The good Mr. Sims had previously taken the care to translate them into English, but his translation, often deplorable, hardly has the value of the original. Florian wrote, in effect, with much elegance and ease, and it's unfortunate that we don't have the text itself of these letters. Before the last war (1939-1945), I approached the United States about getting copies of all the letters entered in the archives. They responded by sending me photographed reproductions, but the war interrupted these efforts. I think I can begin again as soon as I get the necessary resources to pay the fees for these photos, which must be rather high.

**Généalogie de Etienne JOLLY**  
Premier de ce prénom et sa descendance



[Translation of the figure above]

**Genealogy of Etienne Jolly<sup>1</sup>**  
**First of this first name and his descendants**

Etienne Jolly

◦ = [born] April 9, 1678, Dinan  
x T [married] January 7, 1711, Dinan  
† G [died] May 1, 1771, Saint-Malo

Jeanne Marie Couppe [wife of Etienne Jolly above]

◦ = December 10, 1687, Dinan  
x T January 7, 1711, Dinan  
† c May 14, 1767, Saint-Malo

Jeanne Marie Jolly [daughter of Etienne and Jeanne above]

◦ G January 8, 1712, Dinan  
x G August 3, 1735, Saint-Malo  
† > 1768

Charles Lefer du Gué [husband of Jeanne immediately above]

◦ = September 21, 1687, Saint-Malo  
x G August 3, 1735 Saint-Malo

Marie Jeanne Jolly [daughter of Etienne (1678-1711) and Jeanne above]

◦ = February 24, 1714, Saint-Malo  
x G January 7, 1744, Saint-Malo  
† G May 23, 1785, Saint-Malo

Charles Lefer de la Châtaigneraie [husband of Marie immediately above]

◦ = June 12, 1711, Saint-Malo  
x G January 7, 1744, Saint-Malo

Jean Florian Jolly de Pontcadeuc [son of Etienne (1678-1711) and Jeanne above]

◦ = March 3, 1719  
x G July 2, 1754, Paramé  
† G August 24, 1787, Paris

Marie Thérèse Trehouart [wife of Jean Florian immediately above]

◦ = ca. 1710  
x G July 2, 1754, Paramé  
† G June 1794, Vitré

Anne Pélagie Jolly de Pontcadeuc [daughter of Etienne (1678-1711) and Jeanne above]

◦ = July 28, 1721, Saint-Malo  
x G August 28, 1753

Louis Urvoy de Portzamparc [husband of Anne immediately above]

x G August 28, 1753, Saint-Malo

François Vincent Jolly de Pontcadeuc [son of Etienne (1678-1711) and Jeanne above]

◦ = March 4, 1728, Saint-Malo

[unmarried]

† G January 29, 1814, Saint-Servan

Joseph Marie Jolly de Pontcadeuc [son of Etienne (1678-1711) and Jeanne above; his line is the main one described in this manuscript]

◦ = September 9, 1731, Saint-Malo

x c November 26, 1765, Saint-Malo

† p April 25, 1803, Saint-Servan

François Bonne Félicité Le Bonhomme [wife of Joseph immediately above]

◦ p June 18, 1746, Saint-Malo

x c November 26, 1765, Saint-Malo

† p September 29, 1778, Saint-Malo

## THE JOLLY DE PONTCADEUCS

Our good cousin Mr. Sims, from whom we received the family papers that came from America, was very interested in the origins of the Pontcadeuc family and asked us in his letters for precise and detailed information on the Pontcadeuc land, on the feudal chateau, etc. Our American cousins had woven a sort of legend around the Pontcadeuc ancestor as a hero of the Crusades, defending a ruined bridge (“un pont cadeuc”) from the infidels to allow the Christian army to pass and to escape the Turks, from whence came the name Pontcadeuc, which was given to him to commemorate this brilliant feat of arms.

### Family Origins

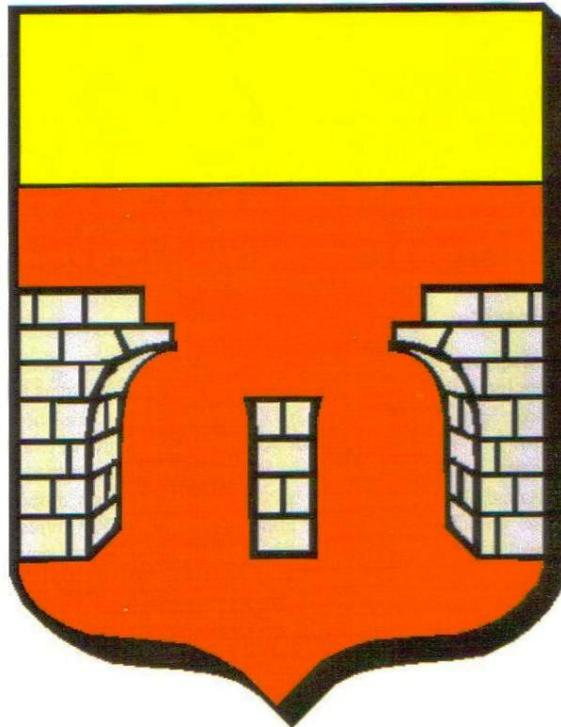
The reality, however honorable, is much less glorious and offers nothing heroic. The first Jolly on whom we have precise details is Etienne Jolly, son of the honorable Jean Jolly, lord of the Dauphinais, and of Christine Raoul. He was born April 9, 1678, and died April 3, 1771. He was a doctor of medicine and held the title Physician of the States of Brittany, which must not have required much work of him since the states only met every two years, and each of these meetings barely lasted a few weeks. The States of 1730 fixed his salary at 1,200 livres per year on the condition that amongst the assembly, he wouldn't take more than 10 livres per day from State members who wanted to make use of his services. The States paid him this stipend from 1762 to 1763.

In 1711 he married Jeanne Marie Couppé, who died May 14, 1768, at 80 years of age (which put her birth at around 1688). She was the daughter of Jean Couppé, lord of Croix and a cloth and silk merchant at Dinan, and of Marie Chapelain, his second wife. She brought a dowry including the land of l'Epine-Morel, also called de Pontcadeuc. The feudal chateau, which haunted the dreams of our American cousins, was, in fact, nothing more than a small farm of some importance, situated in the community of Evran and with vassals who paid homage and rent.

The Couppés belonged to a Dinan family that gave birth to numerous branches: the Couppés, lords of Parc; the Couppés, lords of Domaines; the Couppés, lords of Fougerais; the Couppés, lords of Portblanc, the Couppés, lords of Kerval; the Couppés, lords of Keroual; the Couppés, lords of Rest; the Couppés, lords of Kervennou; the Couppés, lords of Croix, etc. Several amongst them established themselves at Guadeloupe and still live with the Couppés, lords of Lahongrais. (See *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs et Curieux*, March 15 – May 30, 1935).

By the royal letters dated November 20, 1747, Etienne Jolly was charged with the role of secretary advisor of the Roy Maison et Couronne de France<sup>II</sup> in the chancellery near the Cour des Aides<sup>III</sup> of Clermont-Ferrand, a position that he bought for the sum of 55,000 livres and which conferred hereditary nobility, even if the role was transferred. (People called such conferred roles “*savonnette à vilain*” (villain soap) because these offices made a villain (in other words, a commoner) into a noble.) As a result, Nobleman Etienne Jolly became high and mighty Lord Squire Etienne Jolly, lord of Pontcadeuc and of the Dauphinais. (To pay part of the cost of that office, Etienne Jolly and his wife borrowed from M. and Mme. Du Gué Le Fer, their son-in-law and their daughter, a sum of 12,000 livres, “à titre du constitution à raison of the last twenty, making by each in the sum of 600 livres that we promise to pay from year to year as they will fall due until

perfect reimbursement on the general mortgage of all our present and future goods.” In other words, they would borrow at a rate of five percent. Etienne Jolly resold that office February 4, 1768, to Pierre Alexis Olivier Samson for the sum of 60,800 livres.



Armoiries des JOLLY de PONTCADÉUC :

*de gueules au pont caduc d'argent maçonné de sable au chef d'or*

Dessin d'Alain LESAGE

#### Jolly de Pontcadeuc Coat of Arms

##### DESCRIPTION:

On a red ground, a broken bridge made of stone outlined in black, below a bar of gold  
Drawing by Alain Lesage

#### **A large family**

Etienne Jolly de Pontcadeuc and Jeanne Marie Couppé des Croix had 16 children, nine of whom died at an early age. (At that time, like in the centuries before, there was a considerable infant mortality rate due to the lack of hygiene) :

- 1.) Jeanne Marie, died July 13, 1794, married on August 3, 1735 to Charles Le Fer, lord of Gué, born September 21, 1687, son of Bertrand Macé Le Fer, lord of La Lande, and of Anne Servane Le Breton (marriage contract July 30, 1735). They had four children, of which a daughter, Emilie Marie (born September 14, 1742, died October 29, 1774) married on February 28, 1764 to

Nicolas Guillaume Bossinot, Captain of the French India Company, born February 20, 1719. As for the Le Fer side, the descendance must have died out rather quickly. A son of Nicolas Guillaume Bossinot married Mlle. Théodore Guillemaut-Despéchers, and one of their daughters, Emilie Bossinot, married Louis Benjamin Coquebert de Neuville in 1824, whose granddaughter Hélène married Alain Le Clerc de La Herverie in 1901.

- 2.) Etienne Hyacinthe, February 20, 1713, died young, before 1724.
- 3.) Marie, born February 24, 1714, deceased May 23, 1785, who on January 7, 1744, married Charles Le Fer, lord of La Châtaigneraye, lieutenant of the French India Company, the son of Bertrand Le Fer, lord of La Motte, and of Jeanne Besnard (cousin of the preceding). They had a daughter, Jeanne Marie, born November 3, 1745, of whom we know nothing.
- 4.) Louise Anne, August 2, 1715, died young, before 1727.
- 5.) Antoine Etienne, November 8, 1717, died young.
- 6.) Jean Florian Jolly, squire, lord of Pontcadeuc, born at Saint-Malo on March 3, 1719, died in Paris, August 24, 1787, Saint-Malo deputy to the Bureau du Commerce from 1768 to his death. In June 1754, he married Marie-Thérèse Tréhouart (nine years his elder), daughter of Bernard Tréhouart de Beaulieu and of Jacqueline Coeuru, widow of Bertrand Surcouf de Boisgris (great-uncle of the corsair), born in 1710, died at 84 years of age on Prairial 14 Year II (June 2, 1794) at Saint-Nicolas de Vitré hospital. They had no descendants.
- 7.) Françoise Angélique, March 28, 1720, died young, before 1727.
- 8.) Anne Pélagie Jolly de Pontcadeuc, born July 28, 1721, at Saint-Malo, deceased at Lesneven in September, 1809, married on August 28, 1753, (contract the 20<sup>th</sup>) at Saint-Malo to Louis Alexandre Urvoy, chevalier, count of Portzamparc, born December 4, 1728, deceased February 4, 1787, lieutenant in the regiment of Berry-Infanterie from 1747 to 1751, member of the order of the Nobility of the States of Brittany from 1758 on. Their eldest son, Louis Hippolyte Urvoy, chevalier, count of Portzamparc, born June 18, 1754, lieutenant of the King's navy, chevalier of Saint-Louis, left the service in December 1791, emigrated in January 1792, took part in the Princes' campaign, tested at Aix-la-Chapelle July 12, 1794, took part in the invasion of Quiberon as a lieutenant in Hector's regiment, severely wounded during the attack of Fort Penthièvre, taken prisoner, shot August 3, 1795, in the court of the convent of Cordelières d'Auray, his wounds having kept him from following his companions in arms to the field of Martyrs. Married September 25, 1782, (marriage contract the 20<sup>th</sup>) to Julie Louise Le Carlier d'Herlye, born August 14, 1764, and deceased May 30 1821. He left at least two sons from whom descendants still exist.
- 9.) Geneviève Étienne, September 24, 1723.
- 10.) Etienne Louis, October 14, 1724, died before 1726.
- 11.) Etienne Malo, January 23, 1726.
- 12.) Françoise, January 25, 1727. (twin)
- 13.) Louise, January 25, 1727, died after 1798. (twin)
- 14.) François Vincent Jolly, priest, canon of the Cathedral of Saint-Malo, chaplain of the hospital at Rosais, born at Saint-Malo on March 4, 1728, died

at Saint-Servan in his residence at the cemetery on January 29, 1814. In 1767, he considered leaving for Guinea as an apostolic missionary, but he had to give up the project, as we see from 1775 onward, to occupy himself with the education of his nephew Jean Baptiste Florian. In 1787 and 1788, he took a pilgrimage to Rome, and several years later, he once again took up the way of the foreigner, but that was to exile himself. Having refused to be sworn into the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the canon Jolly obtained from the municipality of Paramé in January 1793 a passport to “transport himself” in accordance with the law of August 26, 1792, as an unsworn priest, and he embarked for Jersey. Having been unduly included on the list of emigrants, on Pluviôse 9 Year 5 (January 28, 1797), his inheritors obtained provisional withdrawal of goods belonging to his inheritance, open at the time of his departure. On Messidor 20 of the same year (July 8, 1797), his name was marked off the list of emigrants. At that time, the canon Jolly found himself in Portugal, in the convent of Espinhairo, near Evora. He returned to France at the start of 1802 and settled first with his brother Joseph Marie (father of the emigrant) at the home of the Baré citizens in lower Roulais, number 131, in Saint-Servan. After his brother’s death, he became chaplain at the hospital of Rosais and settled in at the cemetery, where he died January 29, 1814.

- 15.) Joseph Marie Jolly, lord of Pontcadeuc, who follows.
- 16.) Paul Étienne, January 29, 1736, died young.

## JOSEPH MARIE JOLLY de PONTCADUEC

Born September 9, 1731, [15<sup>th</sup> child in birth order], died at Saint-Servan on Floréal 5 Year 11 (April 25, 1803).

Squire Joseph Marie Jolly, lord of Pontcadeuc, officer of the French India Company, wounded in the February 2, 1759, siege of Madras (certificate of the wound's origin dated "Pondichéry" March 5, 1759), named second ensign in the Company's navy (maintenance license dated August 1, 1759), Special Tax Collector of the head-tax on nobles, of those on the country parishes, of the twentieths, and of other duties collected in the diocese of Saint-Malo. He bought this office from the heirs of Nobleman Jean François Julien de Gennes, lord of La Chancelière, by act on September 3, 1764, for the sum of 94,100 livres. His father-in-law, Jean-Baptiste Le Bonhomme de la Fontaine, put up bond for his son-in-law on January 26, 1767. M. de Pontcadeuc made known his intentions to transfer the tax office from Dinan, where it was located, to Saint-Malo. Immediately several collectors protested because of the distance to Saint-Malo, which was at the far end of the diocese, and also "seeing that what costs 10 or 12 sols at Dinan costs 50 sols at Saint-Malo"<sup>IV</sup> (October 1766). In those days, the diocese of Saint-Malo counted 171 towns, parishes and settlements. Six parishes in the district of Dol were in the diocese of Saint-Malo: Combourg, Dingé, Lanrigan, Lormais, Québriac, and Saint-Léger. The population of the diocese at that time was 236,500 inhabitants. It comprised six men's abbeys, two women's abbeys, 38 priories, 161 parishes, 24 branch offices, 20 men's communities, 27 girls' communities, and two seminaries. The wages, fees, and privileges attributed to the tax collector rose to the total sum of 6,394 livres, 6 sols, and 5 deniers.

On November 26, 1765, Joseph Marie Jolly de Pontcadeuc married Françoise Bonne Félicité Le Bonhomme, born June 18, 1746, deceased September 29, 1778, and daughter of Jean-Baptiste Hippolyte Le Bonhomme, lord of La Fontaine, and of Magdeleine Le Gentil de la Rivière. They had six children, of whom one child was born in 1773 and died a month after its birth. The five others were:

- 1.) Jean-Baptiste Florian Jolly de Pontcadeuc, born at Saint-Malo on May 15, 1767, deceased in New Orleans in 1811, and married on June 28, 1790, at Paramé to Marguerite-Marie Ledet de Segray, born at Saint-Malo on April 2, 1769, and deceased in New Orleans in 1817 or 1818. She was the daughter of Squire Isaïe Louis Ledet de Segray, originally from Paris, a merchant at Saint-Malo, and of Jeanne Mélanie Beaugeard. They emigrated in 1793, went to England, then arrived in the United States and settled in New Orleans with their four daughters. Three of the daughters married but only one had numerous descendants and a line that still exists in the United States, which we will discuss elsewhere.
- 2.) Eugénie Marie Jolly de Pontcadeuc, born at Saint-Malo on July 11, 1768, date of death unknown (after 1843). Her first marriage was on January 19, 1787, to Jean Sébire, lord of Châtelier, born at sea at the 36<sup>th</sup> degree latitude North on August 9, 1761, and died October 27, 1787. He was the son of Jean-François Sébire, lord of Châtelier, and of Anne Renée Catherine Barrault. Her second marriage was in 1798 to François Marie Guillaume Dualt, born at Saint-Malo on November 27, 1757, and died in Paris December 31, 1833. He was the son of François Dualt of

- Hénon, near Montcontour, and of Marie Eon, of Saint-Malo. They had three children: Mme de Zeltner; Inès, unmarried; and Armand, who was consul of France, married, and who had four children. One of Armand's daughters married M. Guyomar de Bréaudet and left descendants.
- 3.) Magdeline Jolly de Pontcadeuc, born at Saint-Malo on March 14, 1771, died at Paramé on April 25, 1858, and married March 2, 1797, (Ventose 12 Year 6), to Honoré Cyprien Boulan, who probably came from Saint-Malo with an artillery regiment as a noncommissioned officer. He was a merchant at Beaumont-le-Roger (Eure department), and he died September 1810, leaving two children: a son, Édouard, who had descendants, and a daughter, Mme. Morel.
  - 4.) Françoise (called Fanchette) Jolly de Pontcadeuc, born May 8, 1775, died November 19, 1832, and married in June 1801 to Florent Theirry, naval officer, with whom she had three children: a) Florent Thierry, who added to his name that of Dufougeray (because of his adoption by M. Garnier du Fougeray, parliamentary administrator of the Chambre<sup>V</sup> during the Restoration and ambassador to Constantinople, where he died in 1842), born in 1802, and died in 1887. Florent was the father of Mmes. Jourdier and Lesbaupin. b) Mme [Bernard] Du Haut-Cilly. c) Hippolyte Thierry, naval officer, was the father of Mmes. Lorans and Denis.
  - 5.) Félicité Louise Jolly de Pontcadeuc, born at Saint-Malo on December 20, 1777, died at Saint-Malo on May 2, 1842, and married on Thermidor 11 Year 13 (July 30, 1805) to Pierre Dupuy-Fromy, born January 17, 1769, died July 24, 1856, son of Joseph Dupuy-Fromy and Suzanne Meslé de Grandclos. They had three children: a) Elizabeth, born May 11, 1806, died at Paramé November 5, 1881; b) Eugénie Rose Joséphine, born at Saint-Malo on October 2, 1808, died at Saint-Malo April 23, 1885, and married April 11, 1835, to Auguste Jacques Marie Ruellan, born at Étables on May 6, 1805, died at Saint-Malo November 16, 1847, had eight children; c) Jules Albert Marie, born March 16, 1811, died unmarried on January 5, 1844.

### **François Marie Guillaume Duault**

In 1798, Eugénie de Pontcadeuc, widowed for ten years, remarried to M. Duault, who was an old friend of the family and whom she had known for a long time. François Marie Guillaume Duault, born at Saint-Malo November 27, 1757, was the son of François Duault, treasurer of the Navy, and of Marie Eon. Student at the Collège des arts at Caen, he was barely 18 years old when he sent a poem to the *Almanach des Muses*, to which must have been an assiduous contributor, and which, according to Rivarol, owed him its existence. All his life, he courted the Muse and left several small collections of poetry, none of which will lead him to immortality. One of his works, which was published in Paris in 1803, contained *Athenaïde ou les Amours*, the *Saisons*, which exhibits the precious and sentimental style of the era and rather tedious development....

In Book II of *Athenaïde* we find the statutes of La Société "La Pomone," instituted at Paramé on July 15, 1797 and of which M. Duault was the driving force and the chief commissioner of celebrations. That "select society" met to dance, to play

innocent games such as blind man's bluff or *la main chaude*, and to take part in light meals consisting primarily of fruits and dairy. After the time of the Terror when everyone feared for his life and grieved the loss of numerous relations and friends, people felt the need to relax and to escape into distractions that were sometimes childish. People were keen at poetry and each competed to see who could make the most gallant verse. Parties were organized in honor of Bacchus, and the ringleader, Duault, sang:

In our parties, in our banquets,  
We quaff the juice of the vine,  
And the best spirit to put in our couplets,  
Is the one that comes to us from Rheims in a bottle.

La Société "La Pomone" did nothing more than resuscitate the poetry and pastoral societies that existed before the Revolution and brought together the aristocratic and bourgeois society in lively gatherings at Paramé and in the environs of Saint-Malo. We sometimes see the echoes of these gatherings in the correspondence between the emigrant's sisters, their brother, and their sister-in-law.

Entered into naval administration, M. Duault found himself at Saint-Malo during the Revolution. Arrested probably for his lukewarm attitude toward the regime of terror that the Convention brought to bear on France, Duault wasn't affected at first, and his muse accompanying him to prison, he rided several gallant verses addressing an Emma of whom the thought inspires *Le Songe du Prisonnier* (Dream of the Prisoner). However, all such roads led to Paris where the guillotine awaited its victims, and Duault worried to the point that he attempted suicide to escape the executioners. He failed, but he lost an eye. He carried out that act of desperation on Thermidor 9 Year 2, the same day as Robespierre's fall. He was soon free, and those who were spared from the guillotine returned, among them M. de Pontcadeuc, Duault's future father-in-law.

(The year that followed the liberation of Revolutionary prisoners, Duault wrote a "Handbook on the despotism exercised by Le Carpentier in the community of Port Malo," where he illustrated the tyranny of the savage proconsul and his methods of terror and extortion toward the citizens. Duault must have rejoiced later in the return of the Bourbons and proved a faithful proponent and servant of the Restoration.)

To improve his household's situation, Duault went to Paris in the hopes of finding more lucrative employment. In fact, he took a post with the Ministry of the Navy, then in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was decorated with the Légion d'Honneur on December 14, 1826, and he died December 31, 1833.

He was a likeable man, full of energy and spirit, who wrote charming letters that were as abundant as his verses but more pleasant to read. Full of affection for his emigrant brother-in-law and sister-in-law, he strove to help them, distraught that his meager resources kept him from doing more for them. From the moment Florian made known a claim regarding the share of his mother's inheritance, Duault was the first to recognize the claim's legitimacy and see that justice prevailed, although he was hardly wealthy.

He had three children:

- I. Eugénie, who was thought to be beautiful and who became Mme. De Zeltner. M. de Zeltner was of Swiss origin, and his father had served in the Swiss

regiments who were massacred on August 10. He himself took a post in the consular corps and represented France at Varsovie where he was welcomed with much favor and named honorary colonel of a Polish lancer regiment. That distinction was due to the generous hospitality that the Polish hero Kosciusko had found with the Zeltner family at Soleure in Switzerland. Thus the Polish wanted to recognize the hosts of their national heroes with the honorary title. The Zeltners had a son, who was also a consul and who died while still the young consul general of France at Berne. He had married at Caracas (Venezuela) to a Creole woman of English origin, Anita Sanderson, whom I knew well and who was charming. His three sons, Thadée (in memory of Kosciusko), Frantz, and Pierre died without descendants<sup>4</sup>.

- II. Armand Duault was consul in his turn and at Ancône when France had to intervene in Italian affairs. He had children who didn't have any descendants.
- III. His sister Inès Duault didn't marry. That branch is thus completely ended.

### JEAN FLORIAN JOLLY de PONTCADÉUC

The elder brother of Joseph Marie Jolly, Jean Florian [sixth child in birth order] was born at Saint-Malo on March 3, 1719, and died at Paris (Rue Poissonnière, beyond the boulevard) on August 24, 1787. After having attempted some unsuccessful business dealings (among other losses he sustained, one of his ships La Jeune Emilie perished in the river at Nantes), he had to seek the post of Saint-Malo deputy to the Bureau du Commerce in Paris. He was named to the post in 1768 and henceforth had to live regularly in Paris.

He married on June 22, 1754, (at 39 years of age) to Marie-Thérèse Tréhouart, born around 1710, daughter of Bernard Tréhouart de Beaulieu and of Jacqueline Coeuru, widow of Bertrand Surcouf de Boisgris, who died at the Saint-Nicolas de Vitré hospice on Prairial 14 Year 2 (June 2, 1794).

When Jean Florian de Pontcadeuc left his hotel on the Rue d'Orléans at Saint-Malo to settle in Paris, where he was called for his duties as deputy to the Bureau du Commerce; he received very courteous letters from the Duke of Praslin, minister secretary of state to the Navy; from M. Trudaine de Montigny, Council of State and Intendant of Finances (as had been his father); from M. Daguesseau, also Council of State and President of the Bureau du Commerce; from the Duke of Duras, governor of Brittany; from M. d'Agayt and others who congratulated the new deputy on the fortunate choice made by the King in naming M. Jolly to the Bureau du Commerce.

The two brothers, Jean Florian, who lived in Paris a large part of the year, and Joseph Marie, who stayed at Saint-Malo, established a very affectionate correspondence with each other, which mixed together financial business, current accounts, family news, and demonstrations of close friendship. The younger brother is of an easy and accommodating nature while, at the same time, he displays very Christian sentiments. On

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<sup>4</sup> This ending "without descendants" contradicts what the author indicated higher in the text where he wrote that Armand, who was consul of France, married and had four children, of whom a daughter married M. Guyomar de Bréaudet and left descendants.

September 7, 1771, he wrote just after a short illness, “I truly sense, my dear brother, the signs of the most tender amity in the last letter you sent me. My health, though far deteriorated, begins to improve. The bile, which had passed into the blood, has returned to its ordinary path. The nerves that it affected are becoming more supple and cause less irritation, and the pain in my right side that was so severe seems to disappear when I ride horseback. I can say that for eight days I’ve been feeling much better. I have nothing to which I can attribute it, dear brother, except that benevolent Providence that makes us depend on the sting to make us remember what we are and to remind us of our duties as Christians. Let us profit from it while we can still praise and glorify the Lord. Fortune favors me. My ambition lessens with age. I am tenderly loved by a father-in-law and mother-in-law, dear to my dearer half, and happy in my children. I have nothing but grace to pay the Almighty for the good deeds he provides for me....” As he was at ease, he asked his brother in that same letter to buy him a watch because he lost his when horseback riding.

At that time, from Easter to Christmas, M. Jolly lived in the Marais at the home of his in-laws, M. and Mme. Le Bonhomme de la Fontaine, but during the winter of 1774, he moved into his own home. The children were a bit noisy for their grandparents and the air of the Marais didn’t seem very healthy. In the spring of 1772, Mme. Jolly de Pontcadeuc and her two oldest children, Jean-Baptiste and Eugénie, had contracted smallpox. On June 2, the father announced to his brother that the three were out of danger, and he praised the Almighty.

In 1773, a little girl was born to them, the fourth child who died a month after her birth. The father, resigned, wrote to his brother, “In this world one needs crosses to merit Heaven.” It was this sickness and this death that led M. Jolly to leave the house where he lived in the Marais and move to another, also in the Marais but on the Petites-Grèves, behind the spot on which today stands the church of Rocabey. The house was then called La Maison à la Croix (the House at the Cross) because of the large iron cross serving as a frame for the chimney that faced toward Saint-Malo. It must later have been called Tourville, from the name of the Maison-Rouge (Red House).

We see that, at certain times, Joseph-Marie Jolly took the name “de Brice,” which was a mill on the lands of Pontcadeuc, but ordinarily he signed simply Jolly and, for him, his eldest brother was M. de Pontcadeuc.



In the correspondence between the two brothers, there is mention of events in America that were beginning to stir up interest in France. Since 1775, the English colonies had been revolting against the mainland, and, after alternating successes and setbacks, they had proclaimed their independence on July 4, 1776. Of all the French, perhaps those in Saint-Malo were the most ardent well-wishers for the victory of the “insurgents.” When they had fallen at Long Island and the English took control of New York, M. Jolly wrote to his brother in August 1776 that he really hoped “the insurgents would have a little revenge.” He didn’t believe that France was involved in the war, because there was no money and the king had just made a payment of nearly two million

on taxes, but he indicated that they were working toward eventually putting warships in working order, as much at Brest as at Toulon and Rochefort. People were certainly happy about this, but M. Jolly couldn't keep himself from dreading the sad situation that resulted for Saint-Malo because of that war that occupied everyone's efforts and left fishing interests neglected. On November 21, 1777, he wrote to his brother to complain about the consequences of the war in America on trade in Saint-Malo. M. Guillot, commissaire général ordonnateur de la marine<sup>VI</sup> at Saint-Malo, had retained a large number of ships in the King's service, which greatly damaged the fishing industry by depriving shipowners of their crew. The 19 ships that left for Terre-Neuve had fished like no one had seen in years, and if the Commissioner of the Navy hadn't made so much trouble, "One could say that Terre-Neuve was a Peru for Saint-Malo that year," because a third of the vessels could be armed in addition to serving the King's navy.

The following year on November 13, 1778, he wrote again that eight frigates now at Brest were built for the King at Saint-Malo, and that three others would shortly be ready, but no one remotely thought to build for privateering. Besides, where would one find a crew? "Never has Saint-Malo been seen in the state it's in now during this saddest of wars. Even though its losses don't compare in proportion to those at Nantes, Bordeaux, Le Havre, etc. I can assure you that all is dead here..."

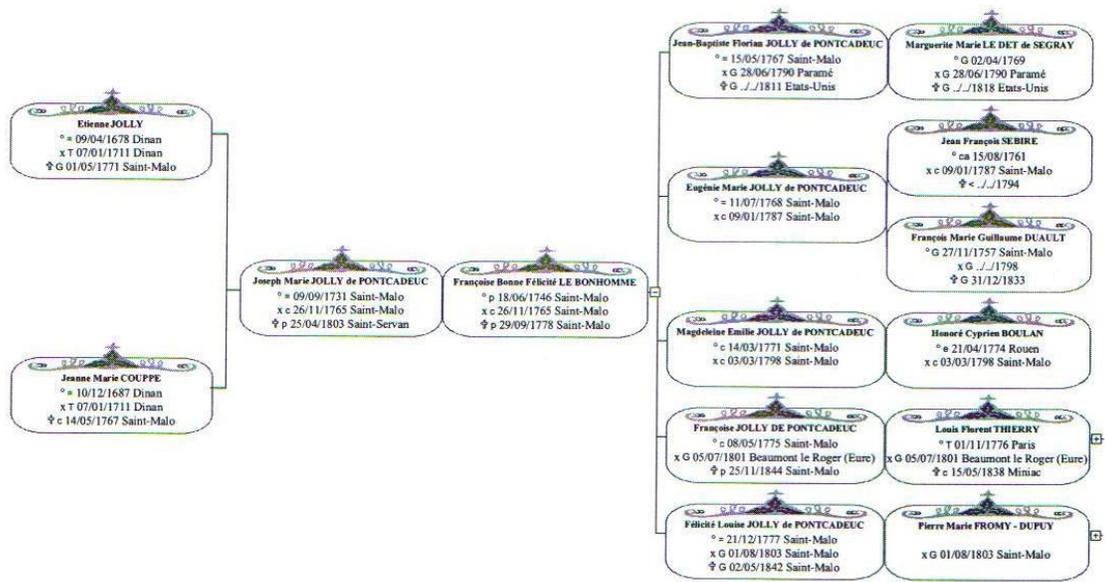
Later, there came word of Suffren's campaigns in the East Indies, and on May 8, 1783, M. Jolly wrote to his brother: "We're wailing here over all that's happening in India, and we see a hero in M. de Suffren who has truly had to suffer cowards and men of ill will in his squadron.

"The poor Vigny, who had married Mlle. Bécard and who commanded l'Aglaé, frigate of this port, set off. His court-martial is being held at Morlaix. Although all was done that could be done to save him, I think that he will be judged severely if naval orders are followed."

M. de Vigny, captain of the King's vessels, knight of the L'Ordre Royale et Militaire de Saint-Louis, commanded not l'Aglaé but l'Hébé. On September 4, 1782, he was surprised not far from Ouessant by the English vessel The Rainbow, against which he maneuvered despite common sense and all maritime laws, heading out to the high seas instead of coming in to land. Then he returned while his frigate was still supplied with munitions and only sustained the loss of the chief mate and a maintenance sailor. When M. Jolly wrote to his brother, preparations were being made for M. de Vigny's trial at Morlaix, and witness interrogations followed, but the principle person interested, M. de Vigny, wasn't present. A judgment in absence was pronounced July 22, 1783, on the terms of which M. de Vigny was condemned "to prison for 15 years in whatever chateau or citadel that it pleases his Majesty to choose, to be likewise cut off, and, as a consequence, struck from Lists, States, and Tables of Naval Officers as incapable of ever serving the King in the corps, and stripped of all honors and prerogatives attributed to him." Naturally M. de Vigny was charged with the fees of the trial. On August 13, M. de Vigny asked to purge this judgment in absence and be judged contradictorily. On October 6, 1783, the war council confirmed the first judgment and on the same terms.

At Saint-Malo, people were interested in M. de Vigny, who had married in 1775 to Mlle. Jeanne-Françoise Bécard, daughter of a Saint-Malo shipowner. He was the uncle of he who immortalized the name, Alfred de Vigny.

# Généalogie de Joseph Marie JOLLY de PONTCADÉUC



[Translation of figure above]

**Genealogy of Joseph Marie Jolly de Pontcadeuc**

Etienne JOLLY

◦ = April 9, 1678, Dinan

x T January 7, 1711, Dinan

† G May 1, 1771, Saint-Malo

Jeanne Marie Couppe

◦ = December 10, 1687, Dinan

x T January 7, 1711, Dinan

† c May 14, 1767, Saint-Malo

Joseph Marie Jolly de Pontcadeuc

◦ = September 9, 1731, Saint-Malo

x c November 26, 1765, Saint-Malo

† p April 25, 1803, Saint-Servan

François Bonne Félicité Le Bonhomme

◦ p June 18, 1746, Saint-Malo

x c November 26, 1765, Saint-Malo

† p September 29, 1778, Saint-Malo

Jean-Baptiste Florian Jolly de Pontcadeuc

◦ = May 15, 1767, Saint-Malo

x G June 28, 1790, Paramé

† G 1811, United States

Marguerite Marie Le Det de Segray

◦ G April 2, 1769

x G June 28, 1790, Paramé

† G 1818, United States

Eugénie Marie Jolly de Pontcadeuc

◦ = July 11, 1768, Saint-Malo

x c January 9, 1787, Saint-Malo

Jean François Sebire

◦ ca August 15, 1761

x c January 9, 1787, Saint-Malo

† < 1794

François Marie Guillaume Duault

◦ G November 27, 1757, Saint-Malo

x G 1798

† G December 31, 1833

Magdeline Emilie Jolly de Pontcadeuc

◦ c March 14, 1771, Saint-Malo

x c March 3, 1798, Saint-Malo

Honoré Cyprien Boulan

◦ e April 21, 1774, Rouen

x c March 3, 1798, Saint-Malo

Françoise Jolly de Pontcadeuc

◦ c May 8, 1775, Saint-Malo

x G July 5, 1801, Beaumont le Roger (Eure)

† p November 25, 1844, Saint-Malo

Louis Florent Thierry

◦ T November 1, 1776, Paris

x G July 5, 1801, Beaumont le Roger (Eure)

† c May 15, 1838, Miniac

Félicité Louise Jolly de Pontcadeuc

◦ = December 21, 1777, Saint-Malo

x G August 1, 1803, Saint-Malo

† G May 2, 1842, Saint-Malo

Pierre Marie Fromy-Dupuy

X G August 1, 1803, Saint-Malo

## THE EMIGRANT, JEAN-BAPTISTE FLORIAN

What interests us the most is the important role in this correspondence of Jean-Baptiste Florian, the future emigrant. He is the godson of his uncle, who gave him all his attention because he had no children. When he was eight years old, he was already a character that people began to notice. His uncle, the abbey François Vincent Jolly, priest, canon of Saint-Malo in 1776 (born March 4, 1728, died at Saint-Servan on January 29, 1814, in his domicile at the cemetery, chaplain of the Rosais hospital at Saint-Servan), sometimes occupied himself as the patron of his godson's progress, and he made much of young Florian. The father could only agree with the complements from his uncle the abbey, and he wrote at Paris on June 8, 1775, "My brother the abbey, who cares deeply for my son and who is so kind to him, has portrayed your godson Jean-Baptiste to you in attractive colors. The child has truly repaid his uncle and responded to his attentions by devoting himself to his education. The abbey's method is following your advice, with many translations and some source documents, which is also in accord with the disciple's taste. He understands the second part of the Old Testament. His translations come from Cicéron. For religion, my brother is reasonable on this point. I would only find that he doesn't demand enough of the child's mind, which needs nothing but to be cultivated. This dear abbey took your method as written and intends to follow it carefully. He begs you as much as I do to send good, decent books on to us for his student. We aren't satisfied with our French and Latin dictionaries, which lack many words. These are the same ones we used as students. If you know of any better, I would be grateful if you let me have them, and I would thank you for it."

On October 21, 1776, after having ordered from his brother "six pairs of silk stockings in flesh color, gray, and other colors, having whites and blacks, those which are necessary," M. Jolly added, "Also, don't forget, dear brother, we beg you, my brother the abbey and myself, translations and source documents appropriate for a fourth-year student in good Latin and in elegant, refined French for your nephew Jean-Baptiste."

The godfather, so flattered to find himself heard by his two brothers, didn't hold back his advice. He wrote to Jean-Baptiste's father and to his uncle the abbey in order to advise them as his brothers' wished. The uncle wanted the child entrusted to a teacher, and the father searched the countryside to find one, but he wrote in vain to Vannes and Saint-Brieuc.

The Saint-Malo ship owners didn't hesitate to add administrative functions to the business dealings that had just significantly raised their revenues. That was how M. de la Fontaine Le Bonhomme came to hope for the position of Postmaster-General at Saint-Malo of which the current holder, M. de Cerdon, was very sick. M. de la Fontaine Le Bonhomme posed his candidature, and M. de Pontcadeuc, brother of his son-in-law, put him in high consideration for the position. M. de Pontcadeuc responded on February 16, 1778. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of the same month, he had been to see a person he knew who was closely associated with M. Necker, then Director General of Finances, and he had insisted on M. de la Fontaine Le Bonhomme's merits and skill and on the specific motives that interested M. de Pontcadeuc himself in the matter's success. "See here," he wrote to his brother, "the response: Rest assured that I will speak of it warmly with M. Necker, and that in the event he is able to grant that post, considering that it's not significant, I hope to obtain it through his friendship with me. I must warn you, though, that those surrounding

the Queen and M. the Count of Artois are on the lookout for all vacant posts, and the two powers that they influence don't want anyone to dispense of any post without alerting them beforehand. I spent the rest of the visit imploring him to act with zeal and make the post seem insignificant to their favorites. When we've seen M. Necker, which should be early this week, I've been promised a response...."

But M. de Cerdon wasn't as sick as was believed. M. de la Fontaine Le Bonhomme had to fall back on another post and, in 1782, he was war treasurer. His grandson Jean-Baptiste Florian de Pontcadeuc was to be treasurer of Invalides de la Marine<sup>VII</sup>.

In one of his letters, M. de la Fontaine Le Bonhomme speaks of his brother-in-law, M. de Grandclos Meslé and the "great liaisons that his business's reach gives to him." He also speaks of M. the abbey of Grandclos Meslé, his brother, who "is immensely graced with much spirit, has a compassionate heart, and is never more grateful than when he is able to serve." The abbey of Grandclos Meslé, Jacques Julien, born October 31, 1730, was theological canon and archdeacon of Saint-Malo.

Jean-Baptiste's father often complained about his health and about that of his wife and children: There are fevers, rheumatisms... Maybe the work done in the swamp of Saint-Malo to dry out the terrains at Rocabey had infested the atmosphere with noxious vapors. On September 29, 1778, Mme. Jolly de Pontcadeuc, born Le Bonhomme de la Fontaine, died at the age of 32. It was a considerable loss for her husband and for all her relations. She left behind children who were still very young. The oldest, Jean-Baptiste, was a little more than 11 years old, and the last child, Félicité (who would become Mme. Dupuy-Fromy), was less than a year old. M. de Pontcadeuc, deputy for the Bureau du Commerce, wrote the following very moving letter to M. de la Fontaine:

*Paris, October 12, 1778*

*Monsieur,*

*I've still not recuperated from the blow that, by taking a cherished only daughter from you and Madame de la Fontaine, took from me a sister-in-law to whom I was tenderly attached. The sadness I feel makes me understand a father's pain and all that a mother must suffer. Monsieur, I can only add my tears to yours and to the tears of a brother who feels the whole of his loss. What good is youth and good health when, at the age of 32 and in such perfect health, we see her time on earth end? If anything can console us, it's the way in which she finished it. What courage in her sacrifice, what resignation, what faith! To soothe our affliction, let us take up the sentiments that occupied her during her final moments and leave the bitterness of our regrets at the foot of the cross.*

*I end, Monsieur, in asking you that Madame de la Fontaine treat my brother with the tenderness that you had for this dear child. That's the dearest solace that you can bring to his pain, and it will for me be a new witness of your friendship.*

*With all best wishes for your life, Monsieur, I have the honor to be your very humble and obedient servant,*

*DE PONTCADÉUC*

On October 19, 1781, Mme. de la Fontaine Le Bonhomme died of a “putrid and bilious fever.”

Responding doubtlessly to a question posed by his brother, M. Jolly wrote on November 3, 1781, “My son will be 15 years old on May 15.” Jean-Baptiste was born, in fact, on May 15, 1767. Before he was even 15, his father and his grandfather, M. de la Fontaine Le Bonhomme, planned for his future. On March 30, 1782, M. Jolly wrote to his brother, “I’ve just had a chat with Monsieur de la Fontaine regarding Baptiste, and after a bit of thought on both our parts, we came to the conclusion that trade would best suit this dear child. We also hope to make the acquaintance of M. the chevalier Harrington, brother-in-law to M. de Grandclos. The reason for this, between you and me, is that this man only has a daughter, is rich, understands outer appearances as no one else can, and is a likeable man in every way. M. de la Fontaine, along with my son, would make the acquaintance from the inside. The child already has the disposition for that part, but we need help. Peace will not hesitate, and I think that a year will suffice for this affair. If we can gain several connections at Paris through you, we will be in shape to establish a good house. Your reflections on this.”

The intentions of Jean-Baptiste’s father were to send his son to study commerce in Paris in some great house. He returned to that idea the following year, and on October 11, 1783, he wrote to his brother, “Wouldn’t there be some means, my dear brother, to place my son at Paris in some place and by your friends and acquaintances to find him a place? You know how much we are attached to you, he and I. Grant us your friendship.”

On January 3, 1784, the young man enters on scene and himself gives his uncle a sample – which probably wasn’t the first – of his writing and his style. The writing is lovely for a boy not yet 17 years of age: fine, upright, and well-applied. As for the style, it is definitely of its time:

*My dear uncle,*

*Not only do I wish you happiness today, but in all the moments of my life, my wishes for you are as far-reaching as your desires. Yet the renewal of the year particularly offers me the occasion to present these wishes to you as truly and as sincerely as the tender and respectful attachment that nature and recognition have inspired in me for you. I wait impatiently the happy moment when I will be able to repeat to you in a lively voice what my quill can only express imperfectly. I hope that your good will for me hastens the arrival. It would be truly wonderful for me to work under your watch. Aided by advice such as yours, I couldn’t help but succeed. Awaiting these greatly desired moments, I beg you to believe that no one has stronger sentiments for you than those which follow,*

*My dear uncle,  
Your very humble and very obedient servant and nephew,  
JOLLY DE PONTCADÉUC*

In 1786, M. Jolly changed his opinion. Toward the end of the year, he wrote to his brother to announce the marriage of his daughter Eugénie, age 19, to M. Sébire du Châtelier – Châtelier Sébire, as was said at the time – age 26 and rather handsome. M.

Jolly added, “He (Sébire du Châtelier) had a brother who died at sea. Seeing himself alone, he left navigation. We are going to associate Baptiste with him. Finally, we think we can’t do better than to put them both in trade. My father-in-law and Dessaudrais (Sébire’s uncle) will help them and will drive them to do their best. I truly hope that you approve of my plans.”

The marriage of Eugénie Jolly de Pontcadeuc and Jean Sébire, lord of Châtelier, took place January 19, 1787. Unfortunately, the young groom was taken from them by illness the following October 27 after nine months of marriage. His widow remarried in 1798 to François Marie Guillaume Duault.

It was in August of the same year, 1787, that Jean Florian de Pontcadeuc died at Paris. He was 68 years old. His godson could no longer count on him to help him make his way in life, and his father resolved to send him to read law at Rennes.

The town was then the scene of fierce unrest due to the struggle between the Parliament of Brittany and the royal power. Students involved themselves in the unrest, and Florian having, as his wife later wrote, expressed his way of thinking, probably in favor of Parliament, compromised himself in such a manner that he had to leave for England in order to avoid sanctions. Was this before the session of the States of Brittany, which began at the end of December 1788, or, rather, was it sometime during 1789? We don’t have a precise date on this issue, but we know that Florian spent several months in England at that time. He went to Romsey in the Hampshire, not far from Southampton, to the home of Pastor Williams, and he learned English there without suspecting how or when his knowledge of that language would be of such use to him. The manor of Waltham Abbey stood not far from Romsey at Broadlands. It was inhabited by the Palmerston family with whom Florian acquainted himself. He who would become the famous Lord Palmerston wasn’t more than 4 or 5 years old. Florian lived at Romsey until 1790, and a little after his return to France, he married she whom he had loved for so long, Marguerite Ledet de Segray.



## **JEAN FLORIAN de PONTCADÉUC’S INHERITANCE**

Jean Florian Jolly de Pontcadeuc, Saint-Malo deputy to the Bureau Royal du Commerce in Paris, left a widow, born Tréhouart de Beaulieu.

Mme. de Pontcadeuc, wife of the Saint-Malo deputy to the Bureau du Commerce at Paris, was born toward 1710. She was roughly nine years older than her husband. Marie Thérèse Tréhouart de Beaulieu had married her first husband Bertrand Surcouf de Boisgris. She remarried on June 22, 1754, to Jean Florian de Pontcadeuc, then a ship owner and trader at Saint-Malo.

She was a big spender and seemed to have no notion of money’s worth. Before her second marriage, she had accumulated debts, and she continued to do so after she became Mme. de Pontcadeuc. Quite often her husband had to pay debts well overdue. As for Jean Florian, he experienced immense difficulties in his work and had to abandon

armament and trade to accept the post of Saint-Malo deputy to the Bureau du Commerce at Paris, which he occupied from 1768 until his death in 1787. As his financial state didn't allow him to bring much of his household to Paris or, thus, keep his wife from opportunities to spend money and accumulate debts, M. de Pontcadeuc placed her in pension with nurse nuns at Vitré, where she lived until her death in 1794.

We have none of the letters that the two spouses exchanged during their 20 years (1767 to 1787), probably because M. de Pontcadeuc, like his wife, had to burn the letters he received after he responded to them. At least we have several letters from her to her brother-in-law Joseph Jolly, who, in spite of her asking him to do so, did not destroy her letters. That correspondence is imprinted with the deepest tenderness toward her brother-in-law. She considered him as her best friend and the only one in whom she could trust.

At the death of Jean Florian de Pontcadeuc, his widow first gave power of attorney to her brother-in-law to accept or refuse the inheritance and to represent her in all operations. Then, very quickly, she renounced the inheritance of her husband in favor of her brother-in-law, he who committed to provide her with 600 livres, paid in one payment<sup>5</sup>, and to provide her with an annual pension of 1,200 livres, which at that time was sufficient to live honorably, even more so in a community of nuns.

Mme. de Pontcadeuc had some Tréhouart nephews who were upset worked fiercely toward getting all or part of the inheritance for themselves, but she refused to even listen to their propositions, which were however more advantageous than those of M. Jolly. During the seven years that she survived her husband, she wouldn't change her mind. Also, the Tréhouarts had no basis for their claim on their aunt's inheritance at the time of her death in June 1794. They accused M. Jolly of having pressured his sister-in-law and having used disloyal means to obtain the waiver in his favor. They brought up their aunt's advanced age and were heard to say that her brother-in-law had easily taken advantage of her because of her weakness of mind, but during the 27 years that she spent in the community, as the nuns at Vitré attested, Mme. de Pontcadeuc had benefited from excellent health except that her vision was slightly weak. This did not, however, hinder her ability to read, to write, and to manage her affairs. According to the nuns, she was a delight to those who visited the community, thinking of everything with spirit, correctness, and charm, and having kept her faculties about her until her death. She didn't have much family in the town of Vitré. However, she was on very good terms with Mme. de Traissan (Le Gonidec), whom she went to see at the gates of the town of La Baratière or on a property that the lady owned six leagues from there and where Mme. de Pontcadeuc spent several days.

M. Jolly de Pontcadeuc's legitimate right to the inheritance of his brother posed no problem, and a first judgment must have satisfied him, but then was discovered a letter in the correspondence between the brother-in-law and the sister-in-law on which M. de Pontcadeuc had written in longhand, and without seeking to disguise his writing the words, "Come here." The Tréhouarts wailed, cried foul, and demanded justice. They gave bribes to the judges, whereas M. de Pontcadeuc, who was rather spendthrift, avoided giving anything. The affair was brought before the civil court of Ille-et-Vilaine which, on Fructidor 14 (August 31, 1791), adopted all the Tréhouarts' arguments, refused M. de Pontcadeuc's claims on his brother's inheritance, and gave everything to the Tréhouarts, against all justice.<sup>VIII</sup> Terrorized by the menaces of being charged before the courts as a

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<sup>5</sup> The author wrote, "paid one time."

fraud, the unfortunate Pontcadeuc must have given in to all his adversaries' demands. To avoid the imprisonment with which he was threatened, he abandoned not only all the inheritance, which was his by right, but he also had to pay a large sum of money. At his friends' insistence, he appealed the judgment and consulted three lawyers from Toulouse: Masters Domert, Corail the younger, and Flotte, who believed that the appeal was legitimate and that success was certain. Their judgment would prove very severe for the court at Ille-et-Vilaine, which had demonstrated an appalling partiality. But at that time, justice was no longer of value in France, and M. de Pontcadeuc stayed stripped of everything he had. He lost the land of Pontcadeuc, the house in town, and a sum of 50,000 francs that he had to pay. He wasn't alone in this case because he had four fellow inheritors: his brother, the canon Jolly; his sisters, Mme. Urvoy de Portzamparc, Mlle. Louise Jolly, and the children of his sister Mme. Dugué Le Fer for a fifth.

He was rather indiscriminate in business matters, and his daughters themselves must have suffered because of his lack of income. Mme Duault, who was a naturally charitable woman, couldn't help judging him severely. In a letter dated January 13, 1800, she wrote to her brother, "He is a character that I won't talk about because I would have too much to tell you. He has never merited our attachment and now even less than ever. Besides, he is well and seems disposed to enrage us for a long time."

And, on August 20, 1801, she wrote again to her brother, "My husband told me he spoke to you at length when he had the chance about our father and of his response to me. It's always the same rhapsodies he uses to uplift us and ruin us, because to tell the truth, his behavior with my sisters is undignified. To calm his conscience, he gave them his silverware and his furniture along with those from the Marais [the family chateau] which he claimed to be his, and he showed us a ticket. As we said, he took out all the best after that and gave the rest to them."

It's probably the unfortunate trial, with all its consequences, which kept Florian from returning to France where he would have found nothing left of his heritage, comprised of the land of which he bore the name. Moreover, his father was discredited in public opinion, and that was enough for Florian to decide to stay in England, waiting for that deplorable affair to be silenced.

The emigrant would have been able to count on the inheritance of M. Beugeard, his wife's grandfather. He had to resign his post as treasurer of the States of Brittany when the States were eliminated, but he could hope that the liquidation of that very important position would yield roughly two or three million livres. But, in 1790, M. Beugeard suffered a serious setback in health and mind. Seals were affixed on his offices at Paris and on his correspondence. His son hid, hoping to come to the royal family's aid (and, in fact, on January 21, 1793, he attempted with several royalists to wrest Louis XVI from the Revolutionary justice). M. Ledet de Segray had emigrated to the United States, and his close relations who stayed behind were unable to successfully defend his interests in the trial as M. Beugeard would have done himself if he had the benefits of full health and reason. His interdiction was pronounced by the Présidial<sup>IX</sup> of Rennes and by letters patent of June 22, 1790, which intervened on the Assemblée Constituante's<sup>X</sup> decree on the 12<sup>th</sup> of the same month, the Lord Louis Guyard, M. Beugeard's treasurer, was responsible for the duties of Treasurer of the States of Brittany and to render an account of these duties in his place and station. The state, supporting final balancing not only in the M. Beugeard's finances but also of all the

previous finances in 1720 [sic] concluded in these terms : “The Republic owes to the Beugeard inheritance the sum of 2,592,350 livres, 18 deniers.” But all was so poorly managed and maybe with such dishonesty that the liquidation was reduced by a significant deficit, in place of the assets which were taken out of M. Guyard’s accounts. All of M. Beugeard’s goods were sequestered and the family was shamefully despoiled. They had to appeal the decision, but there was no one serious and honest enough to take up the interests of Beugeard’s heirs. The former Treasurer of the States of Brittany died in 1792 at the home of his son-in-law Le Provost de la Voltais at the chateau of La Voltais in Monteneuf (Morbihan).

### **The Ledet de Segray Family**

On June 28, 1790, Jean-Baptiste Florian Jolly de Pontcadeuc married Marguerite-Marie Ledet de Segray in the church of Paramé. The groom was 23 and the bride 21. They had known each other since their early childhood, and their union was planned for a long time. Marguerite Ledet de Segray was very pretty and much sought-after for her charms and for her fortune, which must have been rather reputable.

M. Ledet de Segray – Squire Isaïe Louis, born toward 1738 – was originally from Paris and the son of Isaïe René and Magdeleine Elisabeth Mazois. He was a ship owner and a merchant at Saint-Malo and had married on March 3, 1767 to Jeanne Marie Mélanie Beugeard, whose father Pierre Marin Beugeard, a rich ship owner at Saint-Malo, was elected treasurer of the States of Brittany in 1776 and ennobled the following year according to the request of the States at the same time that he was made a knight of Saint-Michel.

M. and Mme. Ledet de Segray had eight children:

- 1.) Jeanne Louise who was of precarious health and died at 14 years of age in 1782;
- 2.) Marguerite Marie, born in 1769, who became Mme. Jolly de Pontcadeuc;
- 3.) Mélanie Nicole, born in 1770, and who must have died young;
- 4.) Isaïe Jean, born in 1772, who must have also have died young;
- 5.) Pierre René, born in 1775, to whom we will return later;
- 6.) Joseph Marie, born in 1777, to whom we will also return;
- 7.) Marc Antoine, born in 1778, who must have died young because he is not mentioned in the letters of his brothers and sisters;
- 8.) Emmanuel, born in 1781, who we will meet in the course of this story.

Mme. de Segray passionately loved her husband and her children. When M. de Segray left Saint-Malo for his business dealings, which sometimes called him away to Lorient or Paris, she wrote letters full of tenderness to him and kept him up to date on their children’s actions. Grandfather Beugeard quite spoiled his granddaughters, who he truly adored, and let pass no occasion to bring them joy. The mother herself admired her daughters who made her proud.

On October 29, 1774, she wrote to her husband, then at Lorient, "...Your children<sup>6</sup> from Jeannette to the very, very little one are amazing. Your three daughters were yesterday at the theater. I couldn't refuse my father when he asked for the honor. He is as proud as you of his granddaughters. They must have made the actresses jealous, because the audience ignored them and watched your three Graces. Truly, they much resembled them, as beautiful as they were."

Mme. Ledet de Segray probably painted, because she made allusion to it in the same letter and spoke of Mlle. Bécard, who was very pretty and had a certain talent as a painter. That young lady Bécard (who later became the wife of M. de Vigny, officer of the King's ships, uncle of the poet) lived at Lorient. Mme. Ledet de Segray didn't harbor delusions of her own talent, but she invited M. Antus, probably a known artist, to come to Saint-Malo so she could show him her chef d'oeuvre, which was none other than her daughter Marguerite – the future Mme. Jolly de Pontcadeuc – "which," she wrote, "the greatest masters would make with honor." As one can easily see, the mother was proud of her children.

She also went to Paris from time to time, to the home of her father, who business for the States often called to the capital, where he lived for part of the year. It cost her much to leave her husband, and, in an undated letter that must have been from 1779, she wrote to him, "What it costs me, my dear friend, to see myself so far from Saint-Malo! My father is the only person in the world who could cause me to make so grand a sacrifice. I don't seem to take joy in the beauties that surround me except to please him, while my heart secretly moans ceaselessly over your absence. The reasons that we must be so far apart are all that console me. I often say to myself, "I haven't left the one I love. He was forced to be away, and I took advantage of the moment to come to see my father. Ah! I haven't outraged nature, and I've torn nothing from love in following filial friendship." Oh, how we find so much of the sentimental phraseology of the time, inspired by Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse* and other novels that then caused such a furor!

The little girls had accompanied their mother to Paris and took their part in the pleasures of the big city. The charming trio couldn't pass unperceived and the mother overheard everywhere the flattering murmur that arose in her wake: "... Your daughters don't ever go out that I don't hear how pretty they are. The other day at Vaux-Hall, it was repeated 100 times" (February 26, 1779). "... Your daughters have been to see the Champs Elysées. Yesterday we went to see the small apartments at the Palais Bourbon. I've not seen anything more delicious, and, after that, there's nothing to see. My little ones cried out in surprise several times. They're no longer so indifferent. They don't hold back their cries of surprise, least of all on the walks, where they have all the air of provincials. People notice them and admire them, and I don't take a step without hearing murmuring around us that flatters my vanity. God forbid that it leaves them with prejudiced impressions!" (February 26, 1779). "Your daughters send their kisses. They went the other day to see *Les Trois Fermiers*. Jeannette was so touched that she cried out loud. The people in the box beside ours complemented me on having such sensitive children and asked the usher for their names" (March 10, 1779). What a charming genre painting and how it so well represents its time!

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<sup>6</sup> (Regarding the French expression "Tes garsailles" in the text) This is a Saint-Malo expression meaning children (author's clarification).

## La Barre in Paramé

Side facing the park

Here is where the members of the Watch Committee of Port-Malo came on October 11, 1793, to arrest Jean-Baptiste Florian Jolly de Pontcadeuc. It was 7 a.m.!

La Barre en Paramé  
Façade sur le parc

*C'est ici que se présentent les membres du Comité de surveillance de Port-Malo venus arrêter, le 11 octobre 1793, Jean Baptiste Florian Jolly de Pontcadeuc. Il est 7 heures du matin !*



Photographies et précisions sur La Barre d'Hugues de Boiry, que je remercie vivement pour son appui toujours efficace.  
Sur la libération de Saint-Malo et la bataille dans Paramé : AUBRY Paul, Docteur, *La Ruée sur Saint-Malo*,  
Imprimerie Les Nouvelles, 1947, pp. 146-147.

Photography [above] and details of La Barre by Hugues de Boiry, whom I thank very much for his always useful assistance. Re the liberation of Saint-Malo and the battle in Paramé, see: Doctor Paul Aubry, *La Ruée sur Saint-Malo*, Imprimerie Les Nouvelles, 1947, pp. 146-147.

## La Barre in Paramé Side facing the courtyard

La Barre en Paramé  
Façade sur la cour

*C'est peut-être par la fenêtre du premier étage que l'on aperçoit au fond, à côté du conduit de cheminée, que Jean Baptiste Florian s'évade ce même matin du 11 octobre 1793 pendant que les sbires font le pied de grue du côté parc !*



*Sur les quatre fenêtres du premier étage existantes au temps de Jean Baptiste Florian de Pontcadeuc, il n'en reste que deux, les autres ayant été aveuglées lors de la construction des ailes.*

It is possibly by the window on the second floor, visible at the bottom beside the chimney, that Jean Baptiste Florian escaped the same morning of October 11, 1793, while henchmen waited on the side facing the park!

Of the four windows on the second floor that existed at the time of Jean Baptiste Florian de Pontcadeuc, only two are left. The others were covered during construction of the wings.



In addition, notice the impact of shell bursts or bullets at the top of the chimney that remind us of the combat for Saint-Malo's liberation in August 1944. Americans entered La Barre the afternoon of Wednesday, August 9, but the Germans still occupied the interior of the triangle formed by the Avenue de la Borderie, the route from Rochebonne to Saint-Ideuc, and the route from Saint-Ideuc to the town of Paramé.

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No one kept the miniature portraits that Mme. de Segray had made of her children for their grandfather at the rate of 12 louis<sup>XI</sup> for each three, but the family still has a portrait of Marguerite-Marie de Segray before her marriage to Jean-Baptiste Florian. She is represented in the fashion of a small marquise of the time, with a rather high coiffure, seated at a harpsichord. Beside her, one of her brothers plays the flute while disguised as a mime. The painting is charming, and the young lady seems, in fact, extremely pretty. The score of a song quite in fashion at that time lies open on the harpsichord: *Où peut-on être mieux qu'au sein de sa famille* (Where is one better off than at the heart of one's family)?

This graceful painting inspired a bitter sadness in those who knew that that charming girl had to emigrate at the age of 24 and died in exile in the United States without having ever seen her family or her homeland again.

### **Installation of the young household at La Barre**

The young household settled at La Barre in Paramé. That property, which belonged to the Ledet de Segray family, comprised a rather large house and a park of four or five hectares planted with numerous, beautiful trees, plus a farm – the small holding of La Petite Barre – of which the buildings were close to the home.

Jean-Baptiste Florian handled trade and ship navigation, probably with his father-in-law, and he had bought a position as treasurer of the Invalides de la Marine, which must have yielded a notable return<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> This post riled up the envious. It was in grand part the cause of Jean-Baptiste Florian's arrest. His father wrote on September 26, 1800, to the Prefect of Ille et Vilaine, "He had a post that they wanted to take from him. They treated him like a federalist [...]" The archives conserved confirmed this idea. Three candidates presented themselves as potential successors from September 27, 1793 onward, a date well before the attempted arrest of October 11, 1793!

Their daughter Laure Eugénie Florian was born to them on May 15, 1791. Her godmother was Mme. Sébire du Châtelier. On June 24, 1793, a second daughter was born at La Barre: Virginie Joséphine Florian.

### **From suspect to fugitive**

Following the Parisian insurrection, which had replaced the Gironde's domination with that of the Montagne and the Jacobins on May 31, 1793, the departments, and especially those in the West, took up the Girondins' cause. At Rennes, administrators decreed the formation of a Republican Battalion of Ille-et-Villaine, destined to march against the Convention. The federalist movement must have had many of followers at Saint-Malo, because on August 26, the people's representative ordained the disarmament and arrest of numerous Saint-Malo citizens judged suspect. Jean-Baptiste Florian was one, but his personal business and probably also his political activity obliged him to make numerous voyages, and they had to await his return before seizing him. He had just returned from Le Havre and had arrived at La Barre when, on Vendémiaire 20 Year II (October 11, 1793), the citizens Teulon, Laveau the elder, and Thomas, members of the surveillance committee, arrived there, armed with an arrest warrant. The citizen Jolly the younger was suspected to have been, under the disguise of a business trip, in contact with the federalist leaders who were supporting reactionary hotbeds in Normandy, especially at Caen.

Florian's first move was to put up absolutely no resistance, and he declared himself ready to accompany the Nation's representatives. Of what could one reproach him? He had always regularly paid his taxes and adhered to them more or less voluntarily. He belonged to the national guard and had also paid the cost of a horse and a complete outfit himself. He asked only the permission, which was granted to him, to gather some clothing and indispensable items and to pay his goodbyes to his wife and children. Mme. de Pontcadeuc had gone to bed or at least stretched across her bed. She was nursing a little girl – Virginie – born the preceding June 24. Much less reassured than her husband, she advised him to flee in order to escape certain death. Florian surrendered quickly to his wife's suggestions. By a window on the second floor facing the courtyard of the farm adjoining the home, he signaled his farmer or a laborer who worked there. Someone brought him a ladder, which turned out to be too short. However Florian, helped by one of his young brothers-in-law, succeeded in climbing down and making it to the countryside and then to the coast, which was very close. English dinghies lurked offshore from Rothéneuf and Guimorais from time to time. People would flash them conventional signals, and they would approach by night to take on board the emigrants who wanted to escape to the Anglo-Norman islands, but not without some difficulty thanks to the surveillance of the police naval guard.

While citizen Jolly the younger was fleeing, the surveillance committee members grew impatient and called for their prisoner. Mme. de Pontcadeuc told them her husband had been called outside but that he would surely surrender to the district as soon as he returned. Those at the home tried their best to ply the committee members with wine – and with better – but the representatives and soldiers were furious to have been duped. They set about ransacking the house from top to bottom, going so far as to stab Mme. de Pontcadeuc's bed with their bayonets in case her husband was hidden inside. After a

formal search, the commissioners and their escort took the road back to Saint-Malo, where they likely received a less-than flattering welcome.

They had promised to come back, but at their next visit, they found the house empty and contented themselves to condemn the building. Mme. de Pontcadeuc, in fact, had escaped to the house at Frotu at the other end of the parish of Paramé where her aunt Mme. Dugué Le Fer lived. One family tradition holds that Mme. de Pontcadeuc, disguised as country folk and riding a donkey that also carried her little girls hidden away in two baskets, moved toward Frotu one dark night, taking good care to avoid hamlets and following dirt roads with little traffic. An elderly asthmatic and catarrhal domestic whose pockets were filled with lozenges to keep him from coughing led her mount. They stopped at every noise, barely daring to breathe, and they finally arrived without incident at the home of Mme. Dugué Le Fer. Mme. de Pontcadeuc quickly informed them that her husband was able to make it to Guernesey, and she joined him there shortly thereafter.

Florian's sisters, having learned where the emigrants were taking refuge, hoped to get linens and clothing to them. Madeline went to La Barre and didn't hesitate to break the seals placed there by the Nation. While she was busy making bundles to throw through the window to the farmers, she heard the noise of a troupe on the march. From the third floor where she was, she could see the soldiers climbing the slope leading to Saint-Ideuc and passing by La Barre. Thinking herself lost, because it would mean nothing more or less for her than capital punishment, Madeline knelt down by the window and began saying her act of contrition. But, her prayer finished, she was completely surprised not to hear any more noise from the route. The republican soldiers had turned left and headed toward the dwelling place that was and is still called La Boulmais. As one might expect, Madeline abandoned her bundles and fled in all haste, still trembling from the danger that she had just experienced.



### **Arrest of Florian's father and his four sisters**

On Pluviôse 9 Year II (January 28, 1794), M. de Pontcadeuc, who lived on his property at Marais, was arrested with his four daughters, and his goods were condemned, in accordance with the law of Frimaire 17 Year II (December 6, 1793), which ordained that goods belonging to the fathers and mothers of emigrants be sequestered. Several weeks before, the all-too-famous Le Carpentier began his reign of terror on Saint-Malo where he arrived as Proconsul on Frimaire 25 Year II (December 14, 1793). He showed his revolutionary zeal by numerous executions and particularly by sending cartload after cartload full of the accused to Paris where the guillotine awaited.

There was no hurry to put together the file on the accused since it was only Floréal 17 (May 6, 1794) that the Port-Malo's surveillance committee furnished the information on Joseph Jolly Pontcadeuc<sup>XII</sup>, arrested because of his son's emigration and charged with being unpatriotic. He was portrayed as having a solid character and not having taken part in the Revolution, but his relations and acquaintances were with the rich, the nobility, and fanatics. His case was probably judged severe enough to justify his

transfer to Paris, to the Prison of Luxembourg, while his daughters stayed at the prison in Saint-Malo. A short time after, Thermidor 9 Year II (July 27, 1794)<sup>XIII</sup> saved him from the guillotine, but he stayed a while longer in prison. His friends at Saint-Malo worked to get him out by gathering all the honest facts in his defense: an attestation from Charles Surcouf the elder, tax collector of the community of Port-Malo, certifying that the citizen Joseph Marie Jolly had paid his property taxes for himself and for his children for the years 1791, 1792, and 1793; from his veterans' company captain, attesting that the citizen Jolly had made and paid for his service "as long as he had made his home within our walls"; declaration of the mayor and the municipal officers of the town of Paramé, affirming that Pontcadeuc the younger was a resident of the town at the time of his absence and emigration and was at that time separated from the domicile of his father, which relieved the father of responsibility in his son's departure; and two claims, one signed with seven names, the other with 17 names, those being inhabitants of the section of the Marais, district and municipality of Port-Malo, certifying that the citizen Joseph Jolly "farmer" always conducted himself as a good citizen, was an upstanding man of irreproachable conduct, that he managed without interruption the oversight of his agricultural work, that the co-proprietors of Marais specially charged him with oversight of dykes and carrying out the daily tasks necessary to hold back the encroachment of the sea, that in this role his presence is especially useful, and that one could truly say that the work suffers in his absence. Those who signed the claim added that no one could accuse Jolly the elder of participating in his son's emigration, since his son was married, kept a home apart from that of his father, and that his son didn't flee until the moment they came to arrest him.

Finally on Brumaire 14 Year III (November 4, 1794), the doors of the Prison of Luxembourg opened and M. de Pontcadeuc immediately informed his friend, M. Dupuis, of it with this note:

*Brumaire 14 Year III of the Republic one and indivisible, Paris*

*My dear Dupuis, I have just been set free, and I obtained the freedom of my four daughters, which I am now rushing to the mail. You must address the national agent to get them out, the Representatives told me, and they can't refuse to lift the seals for us in sight of present events. If it were otherwise, we could write to the committee of public salvation, but the Representatives told me that they can't refuse our request.*

*Affectionately.*

*J O L L Y*

*I must hurry to get this in the mail.*

Once out of the Prison of Luxembourg, M. de Pontcadeuc found lodging with the citizen Dudouet, home of the Widow Chandor, Rue Neuve Guillemain, No. 423, near Sulpice.

When that letter arrived at Saint-Malo, the emigrant's sisters, freed on August 19, had already left the prison to retire at their cousin Dugué Le Fer's home at Frotu. Their aunt died the preceding July.

The seals were lifted without difficulty at the home of Mme. Sébire du Châtelier, but the citizen Bourdet, one of the administrators specially charged to handle emigrants, without refusing the Jolly family entry to their father's house, declared that he would himself make a detailed inventory beforehand of the home's contents. The Pontcadeuc ladies wouldn't accept these conditions and preferred to wait for their father's return.

He didn't waste time returning to Saint-Malo, but he couldn't immediately take back possession of his goods. The sequestration prevented the removing or breaking of the seals, notably on the cabinet that contained the means of subsistence for Jolly and his daughters because it held his daughters' goods, the two youngest of whom were yet minors.

On Frimaire 26 Year III (December 16, 1794), several days after returning to Saint-Malo, M. de Pontcadeuc wrote a letter to the citizens' administration of the district of Port-Malo, in which he explained his situation and requested simple removal of the seals and sequestrations placed on his goods and effects. It hadn't been within his power to prevent his son's escape.

Upon his return from Paris, M. de Pontcadeuc had to request asylum with his oldest daughter, Mme. Sébire du Châtelier. He stayed there an entire year and, in recognition of her hospitality, he gave her from his furniture: "a pendulum clock, two candlestick posts, a faience pump with its basin, eight straw-bottomed chairs, a square table, a rotisserie, a hand shovel, fireplace tongs with a pair of andirons, and a mirror with its marble table." The total value was estimated at 247 livres. That was probably far too little to recompense "the good care" lavished upon him by his daughter during an illness and for a year of her care. The fellow was naturally rather stingy, but he was prevented from giving anything more than the furniture since the Nation maintained the sequestration of his goods. Besides, he also spent generously regarding his other daughters. Shortly after having returned to Saint-Malo, on Frimaire 28 Year III (December 18, 1794), he had given to:

- Madeline "a cupboard with two sections, an old village bed with white cotton curtains, four chairs with cushions and old Indian backs, a small trumeau, [a mirror] twenty tablecloths and six dozen napkins, two copper clamp arms, a small piece of tapestry, and a small table with its green carpet, and a small counter, the total value estimated at 106 livres."
- Françoise "a crimson damask bed with gray cotton curtains, four old crimson velour chairs, a screen, twenty tablecloths, six dozen napkins, and a small square mirror, the total value also estimated at 106 livres."
- Félicité "a crimson damask bed with gray cotton curtains, a small piece of tapestry, a night table, a cupboard in bad condition, a wheelchair, twenty tablecloths, and six dozen napkins, the total value estimated at 106 livres."

That represented the linens well, but that wasn't all that M. de Pontcadeuc possessed, because at about the same time, in order to pay his taxes and to survive, he had to sell 40 tablecloths and 15 dozen "misused" napkins (half used up). Before his arrest

and before he distributed out his goods, M. de Pontcadeuc possessed 100 tablecloths and 33 dozen napkins.

On Messidor 17 Year III (July 5, 1795), M. de Pontcadeuc addressed a petition to the Port-Malo district administrators in which he explained that “Jean-Baptiste Florian Jolly, his son, having been since May 31, 1793, the butt of the persecutions of tyranny, having been disarmed and prosecuted to be incarcerated in accordance with an arrest warrant because he had openly declared himself in opposition to the system of oppression that others were trying to establish, was obliged to leave the Republic in order to shelter himself from the tribulations exercised toward many of his fellow citizens; that the law of last Prairial 22 (June 10, 1794), is applicable to him; that he must then enjoy the advantages that it accords; and asked that he could be marked off the list of emigrants, allowed to reenter his homeland, and reunited with his goods.”

Although the Convention had maintained all the laws against emigrants, the laws were applied less harshly, and there seemed to be a distinction between those who emigrated of their own will and those who had to flee to save their heads. Jean-Baptiste Florian was one of the latter. In his petition, his father was able to say of his son’s activities, “He was a member of the central Committee established because of the events of May 31 and June 1-2 to correspond with the Committee of Caen on the operations of the departmental force destined to aid the national Convention, which caused him to be considered and pursued as a federalist.”

## Places in Jean-Baptiste Florian's life in Great Britain

Lieux de vie de Jean-Baptiste Florian  
en Grande-Bretagne



## AUGUST 1808 – Depart for Louisiana

Jean-Baptiste Florian was in England for nearly 14 years, where he led a rather precarious life.<sup>XIV</sup> He was 41 years old, his children began to grow, and the question of their future was more and more pressing. Florian also let himself be tempted by offers from his brothers-in-law, Joseph and Emmanuel Ledet de Segray, to join them in Louisiana where they had settled and where they seemed rather successful in their dealings.

Joseph Ledet had arrived in England on his own boat. His voyage had been fruitful, and he had hope of making even more profitable trips in the future. Florian thought that his moment to go to New Orleans had come, and there was no time to waste. He was hesitant to leave with all his family, because there wasn't a boat destined for New Orleans, and he thought it better to wait to make the voyage on Joseph's boat, which would be more pleasant and less expensive. It seemed best to him to leave beforehand and prepare his family's settlement while his daughters finished their education. If events turned favorably, and if he found an occasion to return to France, Mme. Florian would leave with her daughters, and Florian himself would go to join them after having found fortune in New Orleans. Jean-Baptiste Florian was always optimistic and believed gladly in the swift realization of his dreams. If events didn't facilitate a return to France, Mme. Florian would leave in a year for Louisiana, where she would find a comfortable home ready to receive her and her children.

Another very pressing reason pushing him to leave hastily was the Calonne affair of which he speaks in his letters to his wife and on which it is very difficult to know with any certitude the truth. On August 4, 1808, he wrote on this subject, "I have never for an instant had the Calonne funds in my hands, but I lent my name to make it seem as though I had so that his father's creditors couldn't reclaim them from V. Corson & Co., and by that, I got myself into it according to the law, though not according to justice, but justice and the law are two very different things."

We know that Calonne, the former minister of Louis XVI, died in 1802, shortly after his return to France, leaving only debts as an inheritance, although during his emigration he gained a very rich marriage, but he squandered that fortune. His son must have had trouble with his father's creditors, and Florian, in an attempt to come to his aid, took in his own name several of Calonne's securities to prevent them from falling into the inheritance's liquidation and from being reclaimed by the creditors. Calonne seemed to want to abuse the situation by reclaiming the reimbursement of these sums from Florian. That is, at least, what one can conclude from Florian's explanations to his wife. To avoid possible trials and certain suffering, Florian had left London with his two youngest daughters, Elisa and Azélie, and had gone to Ryde, on the Isle of Wight. That was the best way to escape the creditors. He had left his wife behind to explain and discuss with those charged with handling the affair. He had complete confidence in her intelligence and skill.

Firmly decided to take advantage of the next occasion that presented itself to go to New Orleans and to put the ocean between himself and his persecutors, he instructed his wife on what to do after his depart. They must have considered selling the boarding school that they had created, but Mme. Florian had to stay there in her role as teacher for the salary paid to her and to her daughters, who also helped her teach. They still had the

assistance that the British government gave to emigrants and the income that they earned from their music and drawing lessons. The schoolhouse must have been sold to Mme. Clauson, because we see that Florian changed the address after having sent his letters to Assembly House. The address then became “Mrs. Clauson’s Seminary.”

Soon after he sent his two youngest daughters back to London and settled at Exeter, from which he continued to advise his wife on the Calonne affair as much as on living as economically as possible. He was in a hurry to leave and endeavored to console his wife. “Count,” he wrote to her from Exeter on September 6, “count each day that passes as a day less to be so far apart from one another and a day closer to our reunion.”

For her part, Mme. Florian wrote her husband to reassure him about the situation created by the Calonne affair: There was no need to worry. No one knew about his departure, and she herself would strive to keep it hidden as long as possible. Her brother Joseph came to see her rather often, and he let her know of Pierre’s arrival. That news, she wrote, had revived her a little, but “It was an ineffective cure, because my heart is heavier than ever. I really feel that I will never find a cure for my ills anywhere but on the banks of the Mississippi.”

The same day, Friday, September 9, Florian wrote from Falmouth that he expected to leave on Sunday the 11<sup>th</sup>. All was ready. He had chosen his bed on board and bought all he needed to make blankets and sheets. He found the country frightening and Cornwall seemed to him 100 times worse than Lower Brittany. His thoughts turned back to the Calonne affair. His wife must have affirmed that he had never had possession or control of Calonne’s money. If Calonne had the indecency to want to take advantage of what Florian had signed to keep himself from difficulty, then Florian would simply be forced to abandon all his possessions, and he would never return a sou to Calonne. That’s what his wife must have told Calonne. He had so little of Calonne’s money at his disposition that he had had to borrow from Villegille and Corson, and during their bankruptcy, he had sold his house and his furniture to pay them 450 livres. He had nothing left, neither for his wife nor for his children. As a result, his wife was reduced to the role of schoolmistress where she had once been the director.

On Saturday, September 10, he announced his departure for the following morning but without certainty, because the wind was still northwest. On Sunday the 11<sup>th</sup>, he wrote again that his departure was imminent, but, in fact, he must not have left until Tuesday the 13<sup>th</sup> at two in the afternoon. Despite affirmations by the Captain and the other passengers that the crossing was beautiful, Florian must have suffered seasickness, which provoked jokes as his expense, and he still didn’t dare reveal more than half his apprehensions.

His fellow travelers consisted of seven or eight passengers, who were all very nice. Florian passed for a native of Louisiana because all his travel companions were born in England, and most of them were good federalists and enemies of the French. The food was good, and life on board was as comfortable as possible.

At Terre-Neuve, where they arrived on the sixteenth day of their voyage, they were able to take on board fifteen cod in a half-hour, and the fishing boats procured halibut for them, which they really enjoyed during the end of their crossing. He gave a recipe for an excellent dish that the American seamen called “chowder”: In an iron pot, put slices of salted porc browned beforehand; onions; diced, fresh cod; a little water; and

a pint of Porto wine. It's cooked in 20 minutes or a half-hour of boiling gently. Add salt, pepper, and a flourish of aromatic plants.

They arrived at Halifax on Tuesday, October 4, after a crossing that took three weeks. At first sight, the coast seemed rather unpleasant to him, but the town was passable and a pretty sight with its churches and ramparts. Two days later, Florian went into the surrounding countryside with one of his travel companions. It was truly ugly and offered nothing but cheerless vegetation. They didn't even find a sparrow and came back from their hunt empty-handed. However, they ate delicious partridge and excellent wild duck during their stay at Halifax, but they saw Indians with animal skin hats and long hair hanging down to their shoulders, and Florian didn't find them handsome gentlemen.

Departing from Halifax on October 7, Florian arrived at New York on May 14, but he waited until the 25<sup>th</sup> to write to his wife. Upon his arrival, he had felt a deep disappointment. When he departed from England, he took with him a letter from his brother-in-law Joseph for a Mr. Cherriot, who was to have put at his disposition the money he had recovered from Joseph's insurance agents. However, not only did Mr. Cherriot not have any money belonging to Joseph Ledet, but Joseph still owed 4 or 5,000 piastres. A feeling of bitter failure menaced Florian, and his optimism began to crumble. Since he only had 80 piastres left, he obtained (and not easily) 60 piastres from M. Cherriot to help him finish his voyage to New Orleans. (Joseph, it would seem, had done very poor business, since such was the result of four or five years' work.)

He asked himself how he would live there and what would be Emmanuel's means and intentions. He was told that a slave plantation brought in annual revenue of 1/4 or even 1/3 of its purchase price, if one knew how to buy them. The house could be paid off in five years, and, at the end of that period, earn a revenue of five or six thousand piastres. Still, he would have to have the means to buy it, and Emmanuel would confirm the purchase. He had to wait until he saw him to know what he could expect from him. He felt cruelly obliged to warn his wife that he could be of no help to her, and he asked himself if it would be possible for him to realize his project in New Orleans and his reunion there with his family. The boat he requested from Joseph to bring Mme. Florian to New Orleans was old and rotten, and one didn't dare hazard a crossing with it.

However, a small ray of light came to clear the shadows. Florian had made the acquaintance of a M. Carau, who had come from New Orleans and who was returning there. Emmanuel Ledet had tasked him to construct a landing craft at Pittsburgh for navigation on the Red River. Florian must have left for Pittsburgh with M. Carau to await construction of the vessel on which they would reach New Orleans together. During the two months he waited there, Florian familiarized himself with the country's business. As M. Carau didn't speak a word of English, Florian served as his interpreter. The letter ended with the glow of hope and encouragement.

On October 30, Florian wrote to Laure from Philadelphia to give her news of his trip. He had left New York on the 28<sup>th</sup> and crossed the harbor during rather bad weather. Leaving the boat, the voyager took a Berline carriage, closed only thanks to a waxed cloth curtain, with roof and door in front where everyone squeezed in, servants along with masters. Even if the state of New Jersey is harsh as a culture, it is scattered with beautiful little towns, like Princeton and Trenton, where the voyagers would pass vessels taking to the river that ran alongside the route. Philadelphia was a very beautiful city, well built with an air of opulence. In Florian's opinion, New York was nothing but a city

of shopkeepers when compared to Philadelphia. The city possessed a better and larger society than New York, though the population count was roughly equal. The houses were all equipped with lightning rods, which seemed to indicate frequent storms, but it had a most pleasant climate, even in that advancing season. Food was abundant and excellent, and Florian had had the surprise to eat delicious buckwheat pancakes there, which would enchant his wife.

On the first of November, the voyagers left Philadelphia at five in the morning and arrived at Lancaster at four in the afternoon after a 62-mile journey and a two-hour stop for lunch. The country seemed well cultivated and the farms had a good appearance. As for Lancaster, it was a beautiful town of 8,000 inhabitants, nearly all merchants and many of German origin. The shop signage and posters were all in German and English, and the epitaphs in the cemeteries were frequently in German. Numerous pharmacies and gunsmith shops led one to believe that the people passed their time destroying or healing each other. There were good inns, where the amenities were decent and not very costly. For a half-piastre (2 shillings 3 pennies), one could have an excellent meal with wine. The people were sober and consumed little wine and spirits. Society threw numerous balls during the winter. At Lancaster, they made very good ordinary cloth, and they constructed a fine cloth factory with textile mills for linen, hemp, wool, and cotton. They also made hats, glass, and firearms, and there were foundries of all sorts of iron, which was extracted from the neighboring mountains and of a quality comparable to that in Sweden.

Florian gave information on the industry that makes his letters a precious contribution to the study of United States history at the start of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He spoke mostly of cotton and wool factories, and also of local manufacturing not yet replaced by factories full of machines.

From Lancaster, their route continued by Chambersburg and crossed the Alleghenies on terrible roads. Vegetation became more rare, but the view was more picturesque. The mountains were covered with beautiful trees of all species, and, despite the season, the weather was admirably pleasant.

After having passed Sunday, November 6 at Somerset Town, the voyagers crossed the Laurel Hills, flowered with rhododendrons, azaleas, and wild rose bushes, but the route was scattered with crevices. At their stopping points, the meals were excellent with buckwheat pancakes and butter at very moderate prices. From New York to Pittsburgh, the voyage had cost 52 piastres counting the three days spent at Philadelphia. The arrival at Pittsburgh took place on Friday, November 11. That town was admirably situated at the confluence of two rivers navigable with the Ohio. All around, there were numerous mines for coal and iron, and Florian saw Pittsburgh had soon become the Birmingham of the United States. The cotton fabric factories made a textile industry center out of this country. Such abundance prevailed there that life was a very good deal.

A dozen partridges could be bought for a shilling, turkeys that would have cost 15 and 16 livres went for a quarter of a gourd, and all the rest was in proportion. Some Swiss were established at Pittsburgh, and there they made a wine comparable to that in France. Commerce by the Mississippi was very lucrative. People who came down the Mississippi with 2 or 3 piastres five years ago now had homes valued at 50 to 60,000 piastres. People started by buying land at the rate of two piastres per acre, payable in the long-term. Then with six, eight, or ten Negroes, of whom half were men and the rest were women and

children, at the average price of 400 piastres, they cleared the land and built cabins, but they had to buy everything they would need the first year. The first harvest brought in 300 piastres per Negro, and, except for the third year, they made an annual profit of one third of the capital invested. If they spent more money or used more credit, they could buy a plantation for 20 to 30,000 piastres at long-term, put 10 or 12 Negroes there, and be in a position to reimburse the capital in five or six years. Florian already saw himself, with the financial help of his brothers-in-law, at the head of an operation in full prosperity.

But M. Carau (or Caron) didn't come as he had promised. Florian tired of waiting for him after 15 days at Pittsburgh and made up his mind to leave on November 22 on a large flat boat with a family of 20 people spread across two boats, of which one was full of merchandise. The two boats were attached and traveled at 3 to 4 miles per hour by following the current. Passing by Wheeling and then Marietta, the boats stopped from time to time to stock up at farms on the banks of the river. Fifteen chickens cost a piastre and a half, and a 100-livre deer was two piastres, but the vegetables were more expensive in proportion, and butter was rare and cost 18 cents per pound.

On Blennerhasset Island, the voyagers found a very rich Irishman<sup>XV</sup> who had settled there with his wife and children. He seemed rather educated and was an amateur musician and artist but was spoiled by romantic ideas. Hence the reason that the children were raised in the manner of Jean-Jacques<sup>XVI</sup>, but after what they saw in the eldest, that method was suspect and did not produce excellent results. Farther along, they made the acquaintance of a Dutch family from whom they bought delicious milk.

On the way to Gallipolis<sup>XVII</sup>, they saw nothing but the ruins of a French settlement that had moved to Illinois. At the confluence of the Scioto and the Ohio rivers, the voyagers enjoyed for the first time a magnificent sight: Instead of being embanked, the river widened and allowed them to view of a series of wooded hills that stretched out one after another. But soon the spectacle of nature in the nude became less cheerful, even though the weather was gentle as though it were spring. More vegetation, so to speak: another tree, another green leaf.

On November 30, the boats passed Cincinnati, a city of about five hundred houses, a bank, and many factories. Then came the mouth of the Miami River<sup>XVIII</sup> and the inlet of Big Bone Lick, where there are many bones, teeth, and tusks of "mammoths." In his *Voyages en Amérique*<sup>XIX</sup>, Chateaubriand speaks of this Lic des grands os<sup>XX</sup>, but it really seems as though he only describes it based on what he's heard said about it.

On December 1, they arrived at Port Williams at the mouth of the Kentucky River and then Louisville, on the rapids of the Ohio. It was the first third of the voyage: 700 miles from Pittsburgh, 1,400 miles until New Orleans.

Florian gives some detail on his onboard lodgings to help his wife and his daughters on their own voyage. He spread a good bearskin, which he bought for two piastres at Pittsburgh, on a mattress made of supple and thick cloth, and a buffalo skin made by the Indians and soft as deerskin served as a blanket. It cost him six piastres. He had chocolate morning and evening, and he advised his wife to buy a good supply of it. One could have it without milk, which couldn't be done with tea or coffee. One must also rely on dried apples to be eaten with meat and with all sorts of dishes. At the end of the letter, he advises to acquire a keelboat at Brownsville rather than at Pittsburgh, with

merchandise destined for Natchez, and cotton bales at Natchez, which would serve as freight and pay the trip's expenses.

After having passed the rapids of the Ohio, they waited two days at Louisville, where they took a load of cloth and rope. At Louisville there were several factories producing cloth and cotton in bales.

Certain letters from Florian must be missing, because it is unlikely that the voyager would let a month pass without writing. After the letter written from Louisville on December 4, the following letter is dated January 4 from Natchez and is addressed to M. Cherriot, the merchant from New York. Florian gave him many details concerning the trip on the Ohio. He advised to buy a flat boat at the rate of \$1.60 per foot and sized 13 feet wide by 40 feet long and to good care that it be very watertight. At the fore, they would put the rowers' lodging and the kitchen. He also advised to buy a double set of oars, of cables, a roll of rope, with a small boat of 15 or 20 feet and an Indian canoe, axes for cutting wood, planks for repairs, saws, nails, hammers, scissors, and oakum; and to stock up on salted meats and biscuits for the crew, which was composed of four or five men. One would also give him whisky, sugar, and coffee. For the passengers, he advised to stock up on fresh meat, fowls, etc., and said that a Negro woman would be necessary to do the cooking. He advised to load the boat with all sorts of iron products, tools, chains, instruments, shoes for Negroes, white sails made locally, whisky and cider in barrels, and Porter [Porto ?]<sup>XXI</sup> [dark ale similar to Guinness] in bottles, all merchandise which would sell at Natchez or in New Orleans with a profit between 50 and 75%. On the Ohio, where the trip lasted 15-20 days, there were plenty of farms which where they could find eggs, milk, and vegetables, but on the Mississippi, there weren't the same resources because there weren't many dwellings, but they could catch pigeons and ducks.

First and foremost, Florian gives his impressions of his travels. The trip on the Mississippi was much less interesting than that on the Ohio, and the spectacle was monotone and boring. The river offered no resemblance to the image painted of it by "our friend Chateaubriand." Instead of mountains and prairies, it was an uninterrupted continuation of low ground covered in woods, cut only by sandy shores... And immediately he gives details on farming.

At 600 miles below the mouth of the Ohio began the cotton plantations, which were the principal wealth of the country, and Florian gives details on that branch of activity.

The land sold for between two and more than ten dollars per acre, and Negroes sold at about 500 dollars per head. A good Negro could cultivate more than ten acres of cotton, but he could only harvest two or three acres, and it was necessary to add three or four women or children who, after the harvest, carried the cotton into the granary. An acre of land produced 1,200 to 1,600 pounds of raw cotton, which, after removing the seeds, represented 300 to 400 pounds of pressed cotton. With 12 to 15 Negroes and Negro women, a settler could cultivate 50 acres of land and sell annually 20 bales at a price of 20 to 22 cents per pound, earning revenue of 4,000 dollars for a capital sum of 8,000. Clothing for the Negroes cost about ten dollars each per year, and they paid for their meals by their work. The profits were enormous, but given the market oversupply, they had to wait for the cotton to lower quite a bit. One could then fall back on sugar, which gave 20% more per acre than cotton. And Florian points out the canton of Atacapa, at five days from New Orleans, as being the cleanest part of the colonies and says that the

French would have advantage to settle there because the population there was almost entirely French. Coffee would not succeed close to the sea, but oranges grew and prospered at 50 or 60 feet above the bayous.

To his great astonishment, our voyager found snow and cold as he hadn't encountered for a long time, but his health didn't suffer from it. In a letter dated the same day, January 4, 1809, he gave another unknown correspondent the same details as he gave to M. Cherriot.

Finally, on January 23, he was able to announce his happy arrival at New Orleans to his wife. He had found Emmanuel, who gave him the warmest welcome. He already envisioned going to Natchitoches, where Emmanuel had a business, to replace a manager there who had become unbearable to all. Florian most detested that life as an accountant, as a shopkeeper, and as a merchant. He preferred to go with two or three Negroes in the woods of Bayou Sara to clear several acres of land, but he didn't have the choice and had to submit to his brother-in-law's ideas, who had no taste for the craft of farming.

For his wife and his daughters, Florian spoke of a schoolhouse, especially of music and singing lessons, and he recommended that they improve their skills and bring many pieces of music. He also gave them an address in London where they could find secondhand music. He begged his wife and daughters to have confidence in themselves and he assured them a beautiful future, significant income, and the advantage of entering into a very pleasant society. He had attended several balls there without meeting many pretty women except for two or three. The mother of Mlle. Ravencamp lived on Bayou Sara, and Florian regretted not stopping there when he left Natchez.

The young men weren't handsome either, nor were the men of the surrounding area, nor were the foreigners. As for the town of New Orleans, Florian found it rather pleasant, well constructed and with beautiful houses, but the land was low and flat, without beauty. In a postscript to his letter, he informed his wife that he would no longer call her "Gogo," because he had discovered that, in this land it was a name for imbeciles of slow intelligence (He had really come far to make that observation).

The following letter from Florian was dated March 30, 1809, from Montesano, a Spanish holding located a league above Baton Rouge and 40 leagues from New Orleans in an enchanting and healthy spot. Florian had had the chance there to meet Mr. Herries, brother of the colonel of the Westminster horse-volunteers<sup>XXII</sup>, previously a banker in France and married to a French woman of great intelligence. M. Herries had obtained from M. de Grandpré (French in origin, but governor of Baton Rouge for Spain) the authorization to construct a town and, amongst the projects that he dreamed of carrying out, he was more particularly interested in the creation of a school and a schoolhouse for young girls. These two establishments were also the hobby of M. de Grandpré. By a coincidence that shows how small the world is, M. Herries had read Florian's *Analytical course of studies* in London and much admired it. He was happy to meet the author and promised to put all to work to help him create a schoolhouse, offering him the land necessary for lodgings and assuring him that he would have more students than he would like. For his brothers-in-law, M. Herries spoke to Florian about creating a Brasserie of which success was assured. Florian strongly recommended that his wife bring seeds of every sort, musical instruments, pianos, and harps that she could sell at high prices.

All omens looked good, and all that was left for Mme. Florian to do was to join her husband along with her daughters and her two brothers.

Florian also received letters from his wife, who rejoiced to learn that her husband had reached the end of his travels. She had only one desire: to join her husband, and she was so firmly decided to leave that even if Florian had written her not to come, she would have disobeyed without hesitation. She spoke of her daughters: Laure was in a family, at the home of a lady D., where she lost all the talents that her parents had worked so hard to give her. Elisa – whom she called “our little jewel” – was in Wales, at the home of Lady Kensington, who treated her very well. To make up for lost time, Mme. Florian put Laure through all possible lessons, especially singing, and she flattered herself to think that her daughters would not have equals. Virginie had just improved after a brief illness, and Azélie was still giddy and witty, as per usual... Pierre had left for “the beautiful country” – France – with the hope of a beautiful affair that would give work to Joseph, he who had suffered nothing but setbacks since Florian’s departure, but he still stayed devoted to his sister and his nieces, whom he considered as his wife and his four children. After having left Mrs. Clauson and having spent time at the home of Mme. de Villiers, the family lodged at Dorset Street, Portman Square, where she was alone and more comfortable. While at the home of Mme. de Villiers, there was no way to take lessons. Music tired their hostess.

And there was news of Miss Ravencamp and of Mlle. de Couessin. They awaited Mlle. de Couessin's brother, who had seen Florian and who could give plenty of details, which Mme. Florian awaited impatiently. Knowing that Emmanuel suffered from rheumatism, she gave a remedy and a salve that Florian found effective.

Laure had composed a piece of music that was in its second edition because it had had such success amongst their friends. As for the lessons, they were few, and Mme. Florian had only earned 16 guineas since her husband’s departure. Azélie added a word to her mother’s letter to express the impatience with which her sisters awaited the moment when they could join their father. They had passed Easter day with their mother, which fell on April 2, Mme. Florian’s birthday.

Finally Mme. Florian and her daughters left Great Britain at the start of September 1809, and arrived in New Orleans on Sunday, November 4, but Florian was then at Natchitoches, where his brother-in-law Emmanuel had proposed that he take control of a commercial establishment. While waiting, they were welcomed by Emmanuel, in whose home they were staying. Mme. Florian announced her arrival to her husband, and his daughters added their pleas to their mother’s for their father to hasten his return, and all were terribly impatient to kiss him. They had arrived with many very pretty instruments.

Jean-Baptiste Florian died<sup>8</sup> in the year 1811.



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<sup>8</sup>. According to the last pieces of information gathered, Jean-Baptiste Florian died of Yellow Fever at Pass Christian, a small locality 50 miles northeast of New Orleans (e-mail from H. de Boiry dated March 28, 2006, 9:28 p.m. – it would seem a family historian doesn’t keep regular hours!). [Ed. Note: this information was discovered by me, Lew Toulmin, in a brief Louisiana newspaper obituary of the time, and passed to cousin de Boiry in France, who gave it to the writers of this manuscript, who wrote it in French, and which I have now had translated in the US!]

## Jean Baptiste Florian JOLLY de PONTCADEUC

[Marguerite Marie Ledet de Segray recounts the life of her husband]

Shortly after Florian's death on November 23, 1811, Mme. Jolly de Pontcadeuc received a letter which asked her details of his life, his career, and his misfortunes, in the name of a society of which her husband took part in order to remind its members the memory of a "dignified brother and friend," who had only been too short a time one of their number. It was regarding the Loge des Chevaliers du Temple de la Nouvelle-Orléans<sup>XXIII</sup>, with which Florian was affiliated from his arrival in Louisiana, doubtlessly at the instigation of his brother-in-law Ledet de Segray, who must have been a part of it.

Mme. Jolly de Pontcadeuc had to overcome her pain in order to recount the principal lines of existence of the man she had lost so recently. We possess one of the rough drafts of her response to the Lodge's representative, M. Desessarts. Here it is with several indications of the deletions and modifications made to this first draft:

*Monsieur,*

*I can be nothing but deeply flattered by the regrets that witness the respectable society to which he for whom I cry so justly had the honor to belong; and even though the sad situation in which I find myself destroys my faculties, leaves me barely even the mistress of myself, it seems to me that the pain overwhelming me will find some solace in rendering justice to his virtues and in making them known, but Sir, the more strongly I feel, the less I will be capable of fulfilling the task you ask of me. However, I am going to try since you desire it no matter what my heart suffers from it, in attempting to recount from my memory the most remarkable facts of the life of the friend that I only just had the misfortune to lose.*

*Born at Saint-Malo, eldest son of M. Jolly, lord of the land of Pontcadeuc, and a Breton gentleman, he received the best education and finished very early the necessary studies to enter into the intelligentsia to which he had at first been destined, but showing from that point superior talents, his father and especially his very respectable grandfather, M. La Fontaine Le Bonhomme, wanted him to push him toward a diplomatic career, and, to that effect, he read law at Rennes. I believe he had not yet finished his studies when the Revolution came to shatter his hopes, and, after the last resistance of the States of our province where he showed his way of thinking, he was obliged to go to England from which he only returned to tie the knots projected from our childhood. Our town was then rather calm, we enjoyed peace for some time in our household, whatever the disorder that surrounded us in every direction. Finally the anarchy reached its peak and all the Nobles were banished. Not wanting to hide the attachment he carried to his legitimate sovereigns and to his duties, he was denounced, prosecuted, and arrested in his own home. Without the heroic courage of one of my brothers who saved him from the hands of Robespierre's men, he would have doubtlessly been guillotined. He fled to England, where I soon afterward had the fortune to join him. In 1795, he was again exposed to new dangers during the unfortunate to*

*Quiberon expedition, where he served as a commissioner of war in the Army under the orders of M. le Comte d'Artois. He distinguished himself in all manners, especially in the services that his place put him position to render even to his ill-fated companions. At the storming of Fort Penthièvre and at the evacuation that followed, he again owed his salvation to a miracle. Wanting to save a wounded young relative, Urvoy de Portzamparc, and conferred to his care, he passed so much time looking for hospitals that he ran the greatest risks of losing his life.*

*Relegated for several months to the small island of Houat<sup>XXIV</sup> with those who had escaped from the Army, they found themselves reduced, especially in the first moments, to all the horrors of need. He soon learned to reestablish order and did so much by his activity and his impartiality that no one lacked what he needed. His care spread particularly to the wounded. He even gave them the clothes he was wearing and learned to do without for a very long time. Pardon me, sir, to present such miniscule details, but they show so well the generosity of his character that I couldn't omit them. Believe, however, that I have never learned these facts from my husband himself. He was as modest as he was generous.*

*Returned to England, after having lost his crew and his belongings, and above all hoping to see peace reestablished and to return to his homeland, he decided without hesitation to use his talents to procure an exit for his family. During 14 years that he devoted to the education of youth, his daughters' well being was his goal. Denying himself every luxury, he spared nothing that could contribute to nurturing their talents and making them what he desired them to be. He conducted himself with patience at every test. In his moments of leisure, if he had any, he wrote. As he did it with truly surprising ease in English as well as in his own language, he would have published much if his excess modesty hadn't so often held him back. The type of literature to which he nearly confined himself, though his intelligence was universal, was history and mathematics, having no other intention for his writing than to ease the work of his children and of other schoolchildren.*

*If nature had lavished him with all of its most precious possessions, fortune had not been so kind. Too honest a man to judge others poorly, he was always the victim of having too much confidence in false friends who knew how to take advantage of him, but as he had never taken on a commitment that he could not fulfill, he consoled himself easily regarding his losses, and his natural gaiety wasn't troubled by it. It wasn't until Louisiana, sir, that he found himself truly unhappy. I can't paint for you his despair in seeing himself reduced to breaking promises. He couldn't forgive himself, either, for having involved maybe too lightly the fruits of his children's hard and diligent work. I even saw him call the yellow fever to his aid in his moments of anguish in order to escape from his pain. I can only attribute his premature end to the chagrin and to the unpleasantness that he felt. At least if they weren't the immediate cause, it followed them. Alas! If his mind had been at rest, the fever might not have made such rapid progress. His*

*last moments were, however, calm. He knew his state and had the courage to hide it from his children for fear of worrying them. They were alone with him. Excuse me if I stop.*

*There is still my family to tell you about. My father, M. Ledet de Segray, found refuge in 1792 at New York, where he died, missed by all those who had the fortune to know him. My grandfather, M. Beugeard, treasurer of the States of Brittany, was as well known in France for his immense fortune as his greatness of being. His son, the brother of my mother, was secretary of the Queen's command. On August 10, he had the fortune to devote himself to the service of Their Majesties, and he still lives, retired in Brittany.*

*It matters very little to me, sir, to have lost my hopes, the station and the fortune that I could expect in France. I regretted the exile, it is true, since it distanced me from my parents. Born under the same roof, raised with him to whom my exit was linked by the sweetest cords, I could be happy everywhere with him. The emptiness that his death has left me can compare to nothing that I could have imagined up to this moment. You know this only too well because I have just written it. I wouldn't have the strength to begin again nor the courage to reread it. Excuse, then, a woman too unfortunate. Use as you see fit what I've shared with you. I trust your talents to do justice to his virtues as much as your discretion, and I beseech you to show my letter to no one.*

*As tender and indulgent a spouse as he was a good father, good brother, and good friend, his conduct was never questioned, owing to his children, desiring to ease his pain [sic].*

Evidently Mme. de Pontcadeuc didn't want to give M. Desessarts this shapeless draft filled with deletions. She made another copy of her letter, which stayed in the United States, and M. Sims translated it much later into English. One notices in the later copy light modifications to the text above and some rather important additions. M. Sims' translation is bad. He didn't know a word of French and didn't understand the meaning of certain phrases. For instance, Mme. de Pontcadeuc wrote that her husband had "fait son droit" (read law) at Rennes. M. Sims does give that translation but asks himself if the sentence couldn't be otherwise translated: "and by that effect he was the right hand of the Queen..." After having said that his natural gaiety wasn't troubled by the monetary losses he had suffered, Mme. de Pontcadeuc said that her husband "Enjoyed more than any other father the love and the talents of his children, and of the society of several close friends, particularly attached to my brothers who came from time to time to share our mediocrity, he was happy. It was only in Louisiana..."

Speaking of her family, Mme. de Pontcadeuc adds to her second draft the following details: "My grandfather, M. Beugeard, treasurer of the States of Brittany, was also a victim of fanaticism. He was as well known in France for his immense fortune as he was for the use he made of it, and you can judge him by the name they gave him at Saint-Malo: 'Son of God, Father of the poor.' His son, the brother of my mother, was secretary of the Queen's Command. On August 10, <sup>XXV</sup>. he had the honor to save the

King's life and took a knife wound in his arm that was destined for the King. He continued, as long as they lived, to serve them as much as it was within his power to do so. Since their tragic end, he has withdrawn to Brittany. I can possibly tell you that all my relations were aware of your secrets.”<sup>XXVI</sup>

The rest of the letter underwent only insignificant changes in comparison to the first draft. But we notice that Mme. de Pontcadeuc didn't send it until December 22, 1811, while the Lodge president's request was dated November 23, and in a post-script, he announced that the funeral prayer of M. de Pontcadeuc would be pronounced on December 15. The ceremony must have been pushed back later, but to a date that we don't know.

Mme. de Pontcadeuc asked for someone to resend her the letter that she had written regarding her husband. M. Desessarts delivered it to her April 8, 1812, and wrote to her to thank her and to tell her how much he had been happy to be able to use the information and how much he regretted having to part with the manuscript. He ended by offering Mme. de Pontcadeuc his services as those of a neighbor and a man devoted by nature to the education of youth, particularly in foreign languages.

The letter in which Mme. de Pontcadeuc recounts the principal facts of her husband's life teaches us several interesting details. M. de Pontcadeuc's family had hoped for him to enter a career as an intellectual, but it is never mentioned at all in the correspondence between M. de Pontcadeuc, father of Florian, and his brother, the deputy to the Bureau de Commerce, and yet the two brothers speak often of young Florian, in whom his uncle is very much interested. As we have seen elsewhere, while Florian wasn't yet 15 years old, his father destined him for commerce and he asked his brother if there might be an important house of commerce in Paris through which Florian could initiate himself into business. However, this project was never fulfilled. At the end of 1786, while Florian was 19 years old, his father and his grandfather M. de La Fontaine Le Bonhomme thought that he could go into partnership with his future brother-in-law Sebire du Châtelier, but Châtelier died the same year of his marriage, in October 1787, and the project of his father and grandfather was again derailed. Were they at this moment dreaming of making him an engineer or a diplomat? Possibly. Mme. de Pontcadeuc says that her husband read law at Rennes. It's very likely, but Florian must not have finished his studies until the end of 1787, and he was at Rennes at the end of 1788 during the session of the last States of Brittany, which began in December and continued during the first weeks of 1789. Chateaubriand, in his *Memoires d'Outre-Tombe*, left us the tale of bloody scenes which occurred at this States session, and that's the tale of a witness. The youth of Rennes, which included students who had as their leader the future general Moreau, protested violently against the nobility in favor of the Third Estate, and the unrest overtook nearly all the province.

Mme de Pontcadeuc said that her husband showed his way of thinking and was obliged to go to England. Quite certainly the young student, who had embraced new ideas, came off as a little combative thanks to his ardor. Also, his family judged it more prudent to make him disappear for at least a short time. One can hardly doubt Florian's way of thinking. Was he already a Mason? He was probably initiated at that time, but we will see that he still proved to be a rather moderate Revolutionary and that he stayed loyal to monarchic principles.

Our American cousins conserved the tradition for us according to which Florian was sent to Romsey, in Hampshire, to the home of Pastor Williams, who received a certain number of students. There he made the acquaintance of the Palmerston family, who lived on the property of Waltham Abbey at Broadlands, not far from Romsey. The young exile learned English there without suspecting, possibly, to what point the knowledge of that language would be useful to him so short a time afterward. Florian stayed several months only in England and then married at Paramé on June 28, 1790.

Certainly we can't question Florian's sentiments regarding the King and the royal family, but it truly seems that he didn't entirely scorn the Revolution at the start. His father-in-law had emigrated early, from 1792 onward, and had gotten to the United States, but Florian stayed in France. He belonged to the fourth company of the Port-Malo national guard, where he served punctually. He had also bought a horse that he cared for at his own expense, because he also served in the company of the cavalry of Port-Malo. But when the Paris Commune claimed to exercise its bloody dictatorship on the Convention from May 31 to June 2, 1793, he was part of the Central Committee established by the sections to watch over the security of citizens and to correspond with the Committee of Caen on the departmental force operations destined to aid the National Convention. He was then considered a federalist, meaning a dangerous reactionary, and the Revolutionary Committee established at Port-Malo, which was also an emanation of the famous Committee of Public Salvation which operated in Paris, ordered his arrest on September 20, 1793. He was often called away for his business and maybe also by the needs of the cause that he defended. He had gone to Le Havre on business, and it was upon his return to Paramé that the members of the Surveillance Committee of Port-Malo came to his home at La Barre to carry out the arrest warrant served against him. At the time when Florian emigrated, a shipment of sugar disembarked for him at Lorient, and the Nation confiscated it as the goods of an emigrant.



## American Itinerary Of Jean-Baptiste Florian

[MAP IN ORIGINAL – PAGE 48]

[Ed. Note: this map in the original is omitted since it has a number of inaccuracies. The correct itinerary, as clearly stated in the letters, is: arrival on a sailing vessel at Halifax, boat to New York, by land to Philadelphia and on to Pittsburgh, thence by double barge down the Ohio and Mississippi to Louisiana.]

## LETTERS FROM AMERICA

Most of the letters coming from America<sup>9</sup> came from the emigrant's sisters, who wrote ceaselessly to Jean-Baptiste Florian or to his wife. They hold no information of interest except to the family and don't offer much detail. There are rarely allusions to contemporary events, doubtlessly because they were afraid to compromise themselves or their correspondents. These letters are purely of a sentimental nature or deal with business matters. Florian's sisters begged him to return to France, especially at the moment when it was easy for emigrants to return home. They looked for a way to create a situation for him in France, because he had to live and earn a living for his little family. As Florian and his wife found themselves in an English boarding house for a certain time, and since they were accustomed to this type of life (and as Florian had also taken such a liking to it that he published a text on the instruction of children), they suggested creating a house of education, possibly in Paris or possibly in the region of Saint-Malo, but his sisters didn't hide the difficulty of such an enterprise. There were so many other schools like this that already had their clientele and reputation.... Moreover, he had to find a rather large house, a garden, pay the fees, have teachers, etc.

As for business, Florian's fertile imagination often inspired him to projects that, unfortunately, couldn't all be realized. With his brother-in-law, Pierre Ledet de Segray, he envisioned operations for which he hoped brilliant success and that would permit him to move nearer to his family, maybe even to return definitively to France, but these were among the projects that, like so many others, must never have been fulfilled.

On October 22, 1801, Florian wrote to his father, "In the situation where I find myself, I unfortunately wouldn't know how to imagine travel for enjoyment alone. While it was the greatest imaginable happiness for me to embrace you, I am forced to await a moment when I will be able to give my voyage at the same time some useful goal."

He took advantage of the occasion to give news of his little family. "Your four granddaughters are so pretty, and each one prettier than the next. Laure is the least of the four, but one couldn't have a better heart and a happier disposition. She already knows music as well and is stronger on the piano than her mother was when she left Saint-Malo; French, geography, grammar, history, and needlework, she has succeeded nicely at all subjects... Adieu, my dear and beloved papa. I flatter myself to think that I will not have to write many letters to you henceforth and that I will soon have the great pleasure to tell you myself how much I love you tenderly."

Less than four months afterward, on February 17, 1802, Florian wrote again to his father. He had just received a letter from his uncle the abbey announcing his happy return to France after an exile of more than nine years. "What can't I be, knowing I have you both and will enjoy the pleasure of kissing each of you? After a separation this long, how sweet it will be to see you again! Those in Paris tell me my disbarment will soon be expedited, or I will at least have a passport. I will take advantage of it immediately to go to France, and if I can, I will go first to Saint-Malo by way of Jersey..."

Florian had thus taken steps toward his return to France, although he never came back despite the desire he expressed to his father that we can consider as sincere. Why

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<sup>9</sup> In fact, this concerns the letters kept by Mr. and Mrs. Sims that they had been so kind as to send to Charles Ruellan so that he could learn from them and make copies.

didn't Jean-Baptiste Florian return to his homeland? Nothing in his correspondence allows us to give the true reason why he stayed in England despite the ease of returning to France offered to him, and we are reduced to simple conjectures. The question of money doubtlessly played a certain role. Florian found himself entirely stripped of all he possessed, but that was the fate of most emigrants, and besides, he could hope to return in possession of a part of his goods under a milder regime. Maybe one of the motives that kept him from seeing his country again was the unhappy trial endured by his father, which reduced him to a very diminished financial situation and at the same time discredited him in public opinion.

The trial<sup>10</sup> to which he alluded in his correspondence was rather well outlined by M. Duault in his letter from July 16-22, 1801. M. de Pontcadeuc had inherited from his sister-in-law, born Marie-Thérèse Tréhouart, widow of his brother the deputy to the Bureau de Commerce, deceased in 1794 at Vitré, where she lived for 27 years, at the Hospital Saint-Nicolas. She had left her fortune to her brother-in-law, M. Joseph Jolly de Pontcadeuc, and the will was incontestable, but the Tréhouart heirs maintained that the inheritor had used seduction vis-à-vis his sister-in-law, which was rather difficult to prove. Certainly M. de Pontcadeuc had made frequent visits to Vitré, but he claimed that his sister-in-law had called him there. The judges felt that the will showed nothing that would nullify it, and it was recognized perfectly valid. The affair was going to conclude to M. de Pontcadeuc's advantage when, wanting too much to vindicate himself, he produced letters coming from his sister-in-law inviting him to see her at Vitré. But the Tréhouart lawyer, having examined these letters, discovered two words in them that went against the unfortunate heir. In one of these letters attributed to Mme. de Pontcadeuc, one could read, "Come here" in the same handwriting style as M. de Pontcadeuc, who didn't even take the care to disguise his writing.

The Tréhouart lawyer immediately cried foul, exaggerating the affair, and, while M. de Pontcadeuc had been recognized his sister-in-law's heir, the will showing nothing that would nullify it, he was still imprisoned under charges of fraud. The accusation was benign at its roots, despite appearances, because it only pertained to a private correspondence and not a public act. However, M. de Pontcadeuc was so intimidated that, to avoid the worst – neither prison nor labor camps were spoken of – the gentleman had to give in to all the charges imposed upon him. It cost him the land of Pontcadeuc, the town house, and a sum of 50,000 francs that he had to pay. The tribunal, taking into consideration his already advanced age – he was 67 years old – acquitted him, but the Tréhouart heirs took possession of the inheritance. Those two written words cost dearly, but the father Jolly was considered rather stingy and not very delicate in the ways he extricated himself from the affair. His son-in-law Duault, in his letter to Florian detailing the story of the will, wrote by way of conclusion, "His fraudulent writing didn't surprise me in those days. I had deciphered his soul through his mystical expressions. And then I saw in his Memoirs or, if you will, in his accounts, more than one "Come here." Pardon me, my friend, if I speak to you thus of ..... But, as his son-in-law, I have some right to these honors, and besides, it is good for you to have a clear impression of him."

The trial of Tréhouart-Pontcadeuc dated from 1797, since Maurice de La Noüe spoke of it in a letter from October 16 of that year.

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<sup>10</sup> This trial was already described by the author in the chapter "Jean Florian de Pontcadeuc's Inheritance" – see above . This new description provides some new details, so we have decided to leave it as it is.

Could this unhappy affair have helped keep Florian from returning to France? It could have, but we don't know enough about it to affirm this.



On August 2, 1801, Fanchette announced to her brother her marriage with M. Florent Thierry, naval officer. "He isn't wealthier than my brothers-in-law, but he is young, and he can advance himself and his status," wrote Fanchette. That letter, dated August 2, 1801, was sent to England by Lord Murray, brother-in-law of Prince Ernest [more exactly, maybe, the Prince Augustus Frederick, son of King George III of England, born in 1773, died in 1843, and who married at 20 years of age to Lady Auguste Murray whom he divorced in 1801 to remarry thirty years later to Lady Cécile Gorc, duchess of Inverness] whose boat had just run aground on the rocks of Saint-Malo. The Englishman found much help and sympathy from the residents of Saint-Malo, especially from M. Thierry, and, to show his recognition, he quite happily did several favors, one of which was carrying the letter addressed to Florian.

On August 20, 1801, Mme. Duault wrote her brother that Mme. de Pontcadeuc's definitive disbaring had been obtained, but Florian's turn had not yet come.

Mme. Duault was at Paris, where she had joined her husband, then employed in Foreign Affairs, but she wasn't pleased with her lifestyle there. She saw no one and went out very rarely because she had bad feet and no way to pay for a hackney carriage. She would have much preferred her husband to have found an occupation at Saint-Malo, "in a town where we have friends. A thousand comforts are lacking in a land where you interest no one and where all is as expensive as gold. Here I can't allow myself any enjoyment whatsoever..."

The emigrant's sisters tried to ease his potential return to France. They multiplied their efforts, notably regarding M. de Grandclos, hoping that this relation would prove benevolent toward Florian, who had previously done business with him. However, they could hope for no help from him because M. de Grandclos proved as difficult as M. de Pontcadeuc, and he also used dishonest means. He was not too shy to reimburse 13,000 livres with depreciated assignats<sup>XXVII</sup> that the emigrant's sisters could barely exchange for a louis<sup>XXVIII</sup>.

The emigrant could have counted on the inheritance of M. Beugeard, his wife's grandfather. He had to resign his post as Treasurer of the States of Brittany when the States were dissolved. However, while that post was very important and represented a considerable sum, the Nation viewed that inheritance as that of a debtor, and by this right had seized all of M. Beugeard's goods, sold them, and added the profit to the Nation's finances. It was necessary to prove by liquidation in the form of M. Beugeard's account that he wasn't a debtor to the Nation and that the expropriation and sale of his goods had been done illegally, but the family was probably poorly advised, and absolutely nothing useful came of it in due course. It does seem, however, that the heirs were able to request and obtain an important sum, because the request resulted in certain accounts and papers of which the Treasurer of the States of Brittany was creditor vis-à-vis the State totaling more than two million livres. M. Duault handled that affair and associated himself with

M. Le Douarin, Mme. de Pontcadeuc's uncle. M. Le Douarin made a rather bad impression... Absolutely nothing came of it.



More than two years after Florian's and his family's departure, his sisters still did not know exactly where he was and received absolutely no news. On March 13, 1796, Angélique de la Villebrune wrote to Félicité de Pontcadeuc, her friend:

"I've received news of my poor parents. They are well. I wrote to them. Xavier is still with them. We still worry about him. His calmness scares us as much as we know not to doubt that he has made several efforts, but he was still detained by an unfortunate pain in the leg. We really fear that he's broken it. You can imagine the grief this causes us... Could I without indiscretion, my dear Félicie, ask you if you have news from Florian and his little family? I dare ask you because I know you know the interest that I take in everything about you. I didn't dare do it before now because I was afraid to come off as prying. Pardon me a suspicion so insulting to our friendship."

Félicité had to ask her friend Angélique de la Villebrune for information about Florian, hoping that her brother Xavier and her emigrant parents would have sent her news of Florian. But on April 10, 1796, Angélique de la Villebrune wrote, "I wish I could tell you something regarding Florian, but I can't. If, by chance, I find someone certain to head your way, I would give him a little note that would tell you where he's living now and the place where he was. All that I can tell you is that he, along with Xavier, took on a very difficult task, and they both returned happily from it."

The "rather difficult task" referred to by Mlle. de la Villebrune must have been the Quiberon expedition, which took place in July 1795, and in which Florian and Xavier de la Villebrune took part.

After having spent some time at Guernsey, the emigrants reached England and settled at Romsey where Florian had previously spent several years. That's where their third daughter, Elisa, was born in 1795. They stayed two years in the Romsey area, at least Mme. Florian and her children, because at that time Florian took part in the unfortunate Quiberon expedition with his friend La Villebrune and his first cousin Portzamparc. As Florian had never worked with arms, he served as commissioner of wars, meaning an office worker, and he did his best. While not taking part in military operations, he disembarked on French territory, and having learned that his cousin Portzamparc had been wounded and taken prisoner, he searched for him everywhere at the risk of being taken by the enemy himself. He had to abandon the search and embarked again with the disaster's survivors, who found a refuge on the Isle of Houat. There they experienced the worst misery, lacking any supplies, clothing, cloth, and shoes. To make matters worse, an epidemic broke out that took a quarter of the island's inhabitants and nearly an eighth of those who were saved from the expedition. Florian did all he could to ease the suffering of his compatriots. He gave not only what he had extra but also his necessities so much so that he returned to England having lost everything.

Florian and his wife went next to Bath where they spent two years. In 1797, a fourth daughter was born to them, Azélie. They had found compatriots in England,

friends and family, notably M. de la Bourdonnaye of Liré, former counselor to the Parliament of Brittany, who had married a Meslé de Grandclos, first cousin of M. de Pontcadeuc, Florian's father, and Guillaume François de la Noüe-Bogar, lieutenant of French marshals, husband also of a Meslé de Grandclos, sister of Mme. de la Bourdonnaye.

On July 28, 1797, M. de la Bourdonnaye wrote to Florian that he was then at Bath, No. 2 Burlington Place. The former counselor to the Parliament of Brittany got for Florian the aid for emigrants dispensed by the British government at the rate of 7 livres 7 shillings per month plus 5 livres 5 shillings for little Azélie's nurse.

Maurice de la Noüe, son of M. and Mme. de la Noüe, had been able to go to Saint-Malo where he had seen the emigrant's sisters. He returned to England with a thousand affectionate memories and a commission consisting of a valuable bundle of lace. However, as they were close to the shores of England and the customs ship was out and about, Maurice de la Noüe feared to compromise the boat's captain and other passengers by transporting prohibited merchandise, and he threw the lace to the sea. But, as fate would have it, the customs boat didn't even visit Maurice de la Noüe's ship. He apologized for this in a letter dated October 16, 1797, while giving news of the Pontcadeuc ladies and of their father, who had just lost a trial against the Tréhouarts of Beaulieu, which we discuss elsewhere. These ladies, he wrote, lived at Le Marais during the summer and in town during the winter, and he added, "M. Duault goes there often." He probably realized M. Duault's diligence toward Mme. du Châtelier, who was a charming, 30 year-old widow who would soon – several months later – surrender to the pleas of her suitor.



As he had to earn a living, Florian and his wife decided to take advantage of their knowledge, and they taught in a school. He taught lessons in French and mathematics while she taught music and singing. Florian was so fond of his new work that he wrote a text on children's education titled *An Analytical Course of Studies*<sup>XXIX</sup>. A letter from one of Mme. Florian's friends, Mme. Rawlins, who lived in the Indies where she had received news of the emigrants, permits us to gather some details on their life in London or, rather, at Laytonstone in the environs of London. It's there that the Florian couple began to teach in a village school.

They had finally been able to get news to their family at Saint-Malo and began a correspondence that would, except during some more critical periods, continue for years. They thus learned of Madeline's marriage to M. Boulan and the remarriage of Eugénie and M. Duault. Already people were talking about people being marked off the list of emigrants, and Florian's sisters hoped to see him return to his homeland. They wished that he could earn a living, by teaching, for example. Eugénie, Mme. Duault, who was the most consistent correspondent of her brother and her sister-in-law, would suggest all the solutions which came to mind: a food business, a property to exploit, or a boarding house to open at St-Malo, in the suburbs, or even in Paris or its environs. They couldn't, however, count on their family, beginning with the elder M. Jolly de Pontcadeuc, who

had been ruined by an unfortunate trial, nor on the Meslé de Grandclos family, even though they were rich enough. M. Meslé had reimbursed in assignats<sup>xxx</sup> a sum of 13,000 francs that he had owed for a long time, and he had profited from the depreciation of the paper so that the Pontcadeuc ladies barely retained a louis from the transaction. Certain people knew how to find a glimmer of happiness in those sad times.



M. Duault had left Saint-Malo to look for fortune in Paris, and he quickly found a job with Foreign Affairs at 3,000 francs per year, which permitted him to bring his wife and daughter. They were far from swimming in abundance, but the emigrants were even worse off. The Beugeard inheritance was swallowed up in a lamentable liquidation, the pensions of the former clergy were no longer worth anything, and all collapsed.

In September 1800, Mme. Boulan gave the following news: her husband had sustained some losses, but he continued to conduct business. Instead of manufacturing, he contented himself to buy cotton and stained basins that he whitened and resold at a profit of 10 francs each. It was a minor advantage, but at least they weren't ruined. She had her little Edouard, who gave her all satisfaction. She also hoped to see her brother return soon with his family.

In June 1801, Fanchette married Florent Thierry, a ship's ensign who had only his pay of 1,800 francs per year, but who seemed to be a young man with a future. The marriage took place at Beaumont-le-Roger at the Boulan home. Later, Thierry had to leave the navy and bought a property that he made the most of but not without some difficulty.

In each letter, the family in France begged to see the emigrants return and suggested several ways they could earn a living. In July 1801, M. Duault thought of a shoe factory that would supply the army, but that required considerable funds. Then he told the story in detail of the unfortunate trial that had taken from the elder M. Jolly all his fortune and that of his children.



On Thermidor 19 Year IX (August 7, 1801), Mme. de Pontcadeuc was removed from the list of emigrants, and a letter from M. de Brécey, mayor of St-Malo, let her know. However, she must not have been able to take advantage of it. In a letter, Mme. Duault begged her sister-in-law to return immediately.

The rare letters that we possess from the emigrant are those that he wrote to his father in 1801, and in which he seems to announce his imminent return to France. At the start of 1802, he received from his uncle the canon Jolly a letter that announced his return to France coming from Portugal where he had passed a part of his exile. Florian wrote immediately to his father, repeating his hope to soon do the same. He gave news of his

daughters, his father's granddaughters, who were beginning to grow and to show signs of talent.

Pierre de Segray, brother of Mme. Florian, returned to France and began a series of commercial experiments that must have scarcely succeeded. One day it was shoes. Another it was papers and cartons or garden seeds. This brave young man didn't lack imagination. As for Florian, he gave free rein to his own and passed from one project to another without being able to realize them. At the same time they cured the meat, he sent Duault a comedy that his brother-in-law read with interest. In exchange, M. Duault sent him *Angélique et Jeanneton*, which he hoped Florian would like. This must have been a comedy or a novel. In that letter dated May 9, 1802, Mme. Duault spoke of another literary novelty: "We are currently tackling *Génie du Christianisme*<sup>XXXI</sup>, work of the former knight of Chateaubriant<sup>XXXII</sup>. There are five volumes that lack common sense. Besides, you must see in the English newspapers what people say about it. They surely treat these matters along with politics..." Florian didn't share his sister's opinion on *Génie du Christianisme*, which she certainly hadn't read, but she doubtlessly remembered the scandal caused by *L'Essai sur les Révolutions*<sup>XXXIII</sup>.

Certain emigrants came and went, and they gave news of Florian and his family. This made the sisters ardently wish to know their charming nieces about whom people told them so much.

On April 25, 1803, Florent Thierry wrote a note to Florian to inform him of the death of M. Jolly, deceased at Saint-Servan the same day. [Ed. Note: this may be 1802, not 1803.] It was an occasion for them to hope for the emigrant's return to reclaim what his father left to him, however minimal it was. But after the ephemeral peace at Amiens, war began anew between France and England, making relations more difficult, not to mention the emigrants' return.

It was shortly after his father's death that Florian asked his brothers-in-law to reconsider Mme. de Pontcadeuc's inheritance, which had been shared in accordance with the new laws enacted at the moment when that inheritance was released as opposed to Breton customs. That affair is treated in detail elsewhere.

Then, from 1803 onward, there was a long silence, and the correspondence ceased during these years. A letter dated March 4, 1809, from Mme. Duault begins with, "Finally after five years of waiting for letters from our best friends, we receive from them two boxes at the same time and two letters for me from my tender and always very dear Gogo....."

And still it was only occasionally that letters could arrive because regular mail no longer existed. As for Florian's sisters, they wrote, and the letters didn't arrive at their address. Those who carried letters from Florian and his wife gave the sisters painful details on the emigrants' situation and Mme. Florian's brothers, who had suffered misfortune.

Florian repeated to his brothers-in-law the complaint he had registered regarding the inheritance of his mother, and that must have been the object of numerous letters.

Mme. Duault, the family's regular correspondent, gave details of changes arisen in the preceding five years: Félicité had married M. Dupuy-Fromy and had two daughters. Fanchette had four children. Mme. Duault herself had three. As for poor Boulan, he was very sick, and people were very worried for his life.

A glimmer of happiness had come to compensate for all the sadness the sisters felt over Florian's and his family's situation. It was the arrival in France of Pierre Ledet de Segray – Peter, as he was called – who came from England and was able to give fresh news of his nieces to the good aunt Duault, who found the news particularly interesting. It was in regards to Florian's departure for New Orleans, where he was going to join his brothers-in-law Joseph and Emmanuel.

Pierre had paid a short visit to his family and had gone to Brittany, to Lemo, to the Le Douarin home, and to La Voltais, at the home of another of Mme. Florian's aunts. During his travels, he dispersed news of the emigrants to their family.

The news was welcomed with sadness because their situation had hardly improved, and Florian had faced much difficulty, but now that he was at New Orleans, he could, with the help of his brothers-in-law, more easily get out of trouble, especially if his family came to join him. His sisters bitterly hated to see him travel farther and farther from France and felt they had lost all hope of ever seeing him again.

Finally Florian's family was reunited at New Orleans and began to make a life there. Thanks to the help given to them by the local people, Mme. Florian raised a school at the gates of town and it seemed they would prosper. From London, where he had returned, Pierre Ledet de Segray sent pianos to his sister and promised her one or several harps with music. He still had plans in motion and was building castles in the sky.

It took a long time for letters to come from or to get to New Orleans. However, some news did get through. Mme. Duault announced the sad end of M. Boulan, who died at Bagnères after a long illness, leaving his wife and his two children in a difficult situation as he was just at the point of making an honest fortune.

At New Orleans, Florian seemed full of hope and optimism. He saw himself about to make his fortune and made it known to his brother-in-law Duault. Duault advised him not to boast too much in front of his other brothers-in-law who would take advantage of it as an excuse not to repay their debts. This excluded Duault himself, who had from the start paid what he believed he owed, and Mme. Boulan, who was waiting for her affairs to run more smoothly. The others, Thierry and Dupuy-Fromy, complained and resisted paying what they had received on top of Mme. de Pontcadeuc's inheritance.....

The new inhabitants of New Orleans had yet to dread the frequent floods on the banks of the Mississippi, but they had all the sugar they wanted, and their French family, having been deprived of sugar for years because of blockades, envied them for having it.

From London, where he now was, Pierre Ledet de Segray wrote often to his sister and sent gifts to his nieces. His business seemed prosperous and he complained of the silence of New Orleans's new inhabitants...



There is a gap in the correspondence between the Americans and the family in France. It was not until after a rather long time that news of Florian's death reached France, on which we possess absolutely no detail. This sad event had to take place toward the end of the year 1811, and it's at the end of 1813 that Mme. Duault learns of it. "In the midst of that public joy over the reestablishment of our Kings," she wrote on May 20,

1814, “over the return of so many families who are finally coming back to their homeland, I feel a frightful emptiness to think that my brother could have returned and that that hope is destroyed forever. If I could at least hope to see you again!...”

Among those who returned to France under peace were Peter [Pierre Ledet de Segray], who began again to see the Duaults, the uncle Beaugeard, and the old friend Drouin, who the emigrants had so often seen in London. He was going to take back up his service in the house of the Prince of Condé, the same as Beaugeard to the Duchess of Angoulême, but there were deaths in the family. The aunt Louise Jolly died and also the uncle who was an abbey and still more relations. And, lo, the old friend Drouin also died, barely after having returned to Condé.

Grand events took place of which we see no echoes in the correspondence, because, at that time, we lack letters, and the ones we have don't start again until May 1815. Then Napoleon, having returned to France, found himself struggling against Europe in its entirety, which again invaded France. “...We find ourselves,” wrote Mme. Duault on May 25, 1815, “at war with all Europe, which arises with formidable strength, and ours being divided even in the interior by different parties that can bring civil war. We walk on a volcano that only the arm of Providence can choke out. At the moment I am writing this, they are working to fortify Paris, and they are forcing a number of men to leave and join the army to augment its size. Since this morning, nearly all the carriages are occupied in transporting them. My street is always full of them. People are talking a lot about the troubles in our Brittany, but they don't go as far as our town. People there are, for the moment, rather calm...” (We are not unsurprised to note that General Gallieni, in mobilizing the Parisian taxis, did nothing but imitate what was done a hundred years before, several weeks away from Waterloo.)

Peter's situation improved to the point that he could throw two or three balls during the winter of 1814-1815, to which Mme. Duault took her daughter Eugénie, then 16 years of age. After the Hundred Days and Napoleon's defeat, the Kings again returned to France, but the interior situation was still rather seriously compromised by the struggles of different parties. Pierre Ledet de Segray wrote in August 1815, “I am not at all opposed to the idea of establishing myself definitively in America. I really like the United States, and if this continues, France will no longer be inhabitable. It is flooded by armies, supposed friends, who pillage mercilessly, and it is torn asunder by the most violent parties. For the past three or four months I've lived quite far from it, myself being among the moderates, but both sides have lost reason and treat those who don't fervently declare their support almost as enemies. Also, there is no more society, almost no more friendship. There is nothing but hate and vengeance...” He later returned to his project to leave France, and he dissuaded his sister from returning, as she had had the idea to do so. “It would require volumes,” he wrote sometime during 1815, “to tell you all that we have experienced here. Hours of happiness have shined brilliantly, it is true, but that was a vain promise from happier times. All foretells the most terrible tempest. It is frightening that the enormous dangers we have experienced are nothing but the prelude of greater unhappiness. By all accounts, France has been dead for ten years. I'm seriously considering leaving....”

Mme Florian felt her country's suffering and was disgusted with New Orleans, but her brother advised her not to leave prematurely, he himself having known highs and lows. After having led a slightly sumptuous life, having given receptions attended by the

Duke of Wellington and all considered in Paris to be distinguished foreigners, he had undergone enormous losses and found himself obliged to lead a simpler life. He still lived in a hotel – the Hotel Santo, Rue Le Pelletier, No. 2. That's what Mme. Florian received in a letter from M. Mazois, her Breton uncle<sup>xxxiv</sup> with whom she had gotten in touch.

M. Mazois lived in Bordeaux, where he did very modest business, having lost his fortune due to his brother's unfortunate speculation at San Domingo. He lived with two charming nieces but without dowry. He was aware of his niece's situation due to a letter he had received from her and also via relations living in the United States. He believed to know that the famous Peter had only very modest resources and spent his free time in the antechambers of ministers attempting to obtain a position in the Colonies. What he wrote to his sister regarding his reception was, maybe, a bit of a bluff... In his letter M. Mazois spoke of his son, who had made a name for himself in the history of the arts. Architect, student of Percier, he is the author of a remarkable text on the ruins of Pompei that he couldn't finish, having died still young at 43 years of age. He was also responsible for the restoration of all the French properties in Rome: the palace of the embassy, the Villa Médicis, and the church Saint-Louis of the French.

News came from Calcutta of Peter, who lived there as a nabob and became proprietor of a ship of 1,000 barrels and maybe other important buildings. He saw a Captain Bailay who came from New Orleans where he had met the Mademoiselles de Pontcadeuc. He seemed to get through the affair and envisioned a bright future.

In France, Mme. Duault was visited by a Lady Herries who arrived from New Orleans, where she often visited Mme. Florian and her daughters over the course of a long period of time. This was the first person who could give news direct from the emigrants to their family since their arrival in Louisiana. Laure married M. Bowers and was mother of a little girl. Elisa had become Mme. Talcott.

In February 1817, Mme. Thierry wrote to her sister-in-law that she was hoping to send her son, then 14 years old, to New Orleans on a boat which was leaving Saint-Malo for that destination. Her husband, however, thought the child was still a little young and that he might not meet his family in New Orleans since they had still received no response to the last letters sent from France, but she didn't abandon her project and hoped it would someday come to fruition. Maybe one of Mme. Florian's sons-in-law would be called to Europe on business and could thus reconnect relations between the two branches of the family. Captain Michel, who left Saint-Malo carrying letters for Mme. Florian would also bring to her fresh news of the family in France.

In April 1817, Mme. Duault complained that she hadn't received responses to the letters she addressed to her sister-in-law. She had received news from Peter who had arrived in Calcutta after an excellent and brief crossing. She gave news of family and friends. Saint-Malo once again became as bright as before, and Fanchette Thierry had attended a supper at the home of the banker Amstonck where the women were covered in flowers and jewelry, but Mme. Duault wrote, "We barely saw anyone we knew." Cousin Grandclos was at his château in Villers, but very sick.

From Jamaica, Joseph Ledet de Segray wrote on May 20, 1817 to his sister to complain that he had not received news of the family. He worked in maritime transport and hoped that business would soon pick up and permit him to earn large profits. He took advantage of an occasion to write his sister and nieces, and the letter's carrier asked their advice in selling a harp that had been confided to him.

Alas! Sad news reached France in summer 1818: the death of Mme. Florian [Marguerite Marie Le Det de Segrais, wife of Jean Baptiste Florian Jolly de Pontcadeuc], who was taken from the affection of her daughters. Her sisters-in-law took shared the chagrin of their nieces, because they tenderly loved Mme. Florian, and her misfortunes made her dearer to them. Mme. Dupuy-Fromy and Mme. Thierry wrote to their nieces to express their sympathy and to assure them that they would find with their French aunts a very affectionate welcome if they didn't want to stay in the United States.

In December 1818, Eugénie Duault wrote to her cousin Virginie and told her about the life she was leading in detail, about her studies, among others the subject of English which she was being taught by her aunt Duault, sister of her father, and also music and singing. She asked her cousin to write as detailed a letter in return so she might learn what type of life she was leading over there. To that letter was joined another letter from Mme. Duault to her niece Elisa (Mme. Talcott) telling her that she was excited for Elisa's future maternity. She spoke of uncle Peter, who complained that he had not received news of his sister and his nieces. He didn't know about Mme. Florian's death, but he would learn all too soon. As for Joseph, it seemed he had the intention to marry.

Elisa gave birth to a little girl instead of the boy she had hoped for. Mme. Duault complemented her a little belatedly on the baby in August 1819, because the birth took place at the start of the year, but one always waited for a sure occasion to send letters, the post being too slow and too irregular. Peter still wrote, and his letters, which were happier than those he wrote to his nieces, arrived regularly in France. His business wasn't going as well as he wished, but there was still plenty of hope. He had sent the daughter of a governor of Calcutta's nephew to France with her negress. She arrived after a rather eventful voyage but without money so that there was no way to pay for her board, and the Duaults were charged with caring for her. It was Eugénie who served as a mother to the young Indian. Mme. Duault gave news of the family: Ernestine Boulan was going to marry a M. Morel. As for her brother Edouard, he came often to Paris, called on business, which allowed him to see the Duaults. Mme. Dupuy-Fromy had had a tough pregnancy from which she was recovering. Then she spoke of Mme. Herriès, who returned from New Orleans, bringing with her an assortment of fashions because she wanted to start a business.

In January 1821, Joseph Ledet de Segray, who had gone three years without having heard from his nieces, finally learned of Virginie's marriage, she who had become Mme. Russell, and he rejoiced. He was all the more happy to hear news from his nieces when he learned that New Orleans was the site of huge fires, floods, and epidemics of every sort, but he didn't speak of the marriage, about which aunt Duault didn't hide her satisfaction in her letter dated July 28, 1821, to her niece Elisa. Apparently he was able to withstand life's vicissitudes alone, and had such difficulties that perhaps he was better off single. Such was the case with Joseph.

Peter, also, was struggling with difficulties. His over-confidence made him associate with people who didn't merit it and who duped him. He had enormous debts and couldn't get out from under them. Mr. Nolte, who could directly give news of the American cousins, brought the letter to which Mme. Duault responded.

In summer 1822, Virginie (Mme. Russell) and her sister Azélie left for New York. Laure [Laura Eugénie Florian, later Bowers, (1791-1857)], who stayed behind in New Orleans, wrote them a letter where we see several assessments of American women.

Laure found that northern women were less refined than women in the South, that they spoke much and said nothing, and that the most important thing for them was to be fashionable. Further, she says that egotism was shared amongst Americans. In New Orleans, there were always fevers and epidemics.

At the end of 1822, Mme. Duault wrote that she had learned the sad news of Peter's death and of Joseph's sad state of affairs.

During the year 1823, the correspondence treated the reimbursement of 6,600 francs loaned by Florian to his cousin Le Gentil in 1792. We learn by these letters that the American nieces' situation was not very bright and that only Mme. Russell had made an advantageous marriage. Children came, and the situation had not improved.

The correspondence began to flag, to the point that, on September 1, 1826, Mme. Duault complained that her nieces didn't know about her daughter Eugénie's marriage. She had married M. de Zeltner, of Swiss origins, on July 7, 1825. She must have given birth to a son named Arthur in 1827. Joseph Ledet de Segray died at San Domingo, and Emmanuel was in Martinique from whence his friends begged him to come settle in France.

The American nieces sent their portraits that someone had framed and that the Duaults kept with interest. We don't know what became of them or the numerous letters from New Orleans or from England.



1897

(N° 614.)

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# DECRETS

DE LA

## CONVENTION NATIONALE ;

Des 20 & 25 Mars 1793, l'an deuxième de la République Française,

*Relatifs aux Émigrés.*

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1<sup>o</sup> Défenses à tous Dépositaires de payer aucunes sommes de deniers, sur des jugemens rendus par défaut contre des absens ou Émigrés.

2<sup>o</sup> Interprétation de l'article premier de la loi du 9 octobre 1792 contre les Émigrés pris les armes à la main.

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Du 20 Mars 1793.

1<sup>o</sup> Défenses à tous Dépositaires de payer aucunes sommes de deniers, sur des jugemens rendus par défaut contre des absens ou Émigrés.

**L**A Convention Nationale, décrète ce qui suit :

Il est défendu à tous dépositaires de payer aucunes sommes de deniers, sur des jugemens rendus par défaut contre

Première page de deux décrets « relatifs aux émigrés » illustrant les moyens coercitifs utilisés à leur endroit.

Archive privée

[IMAGE OF DOCUMENT ABOVE IS TRANSLATED BELOW]<sup>XXXV</sup>

1897<sup>XXXVI</sup>

(No. 614.)

DECREES  
of the  
National Convention;

From March 20 & 25 [or 23]<sup>XXXVII</sup>, 1793, the second year of the French Republic,

Concerning Emigrants.

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1. Forbidden to all trustees to pay any monetary sum whatsoever, on the judgments rendered by default against absentees or emigrants.
2. Interpretation of the first article of the law of October 9 against emigrants taken armed.

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From March 20, 1793,

1. Forbidden to all trustees to pay any sum whatsoever, on the judgments rendered by default against absentees or emigrants.

The National Convention decrees the following:

It is forbidden to all trustees to pay any sum whatsoever, on the judgments rendered by default against<sup>XXXVIII</sup>

[First page of two decrees “*concerning emigrants*” illustrating the coercive means used toward them]

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Private archive.

## Appendix

- Marriage act of Jean Baptiste Florian Jolly de Pontcadeuc and Marguerite Marie Ledet de Segray, at Paramé, on June 28, 1790
  - Other items about the Jolly de Pontcadeuc family
- Medical student at Montpellier at the start of the 18<sup>th</sup> century
  - Charles Félix Ruellan and his siblings



Supplementary elements composed by Louis LESBAUPIN

Extract from the Registry of Births and Marriages of the parish of Parame, district of St. Malo, Department of Isle and Villaine, for the year 1790.<sup>1</sup> Page 9 of the Registry states:

This Monday, 28<sup>th</sup> of June, 1790, I the undersigned, Rector of Parame, have administered the nuptial benediction to the high and powerful lord Sir Jean Baptiste Florian Jolly de Pontcadeuc, son of Joseph Marie de Pontcadeuc and of the late Lady Francoise Felicite le Bonhomme de la Fontaine, natives of and living in the town of St. Malo, on one side, and Demoiselle Marguerite Marie Le Det de Segray, daughter of Louis Le Det de Segray and of the late Lady Jeanne Melanie Beaugeard, natives of and living in the town of St. Malo, and of this parish; in consequence the Banns were published for the first and last time without opposition at our parish. Mass ... and of that of St. Malo, as it has been certified to us by Mr. \_\_\_\_\_. The parties, having received a dispensation of two Banns of St. Malo under the date of the twenty third day of June 1790, signed Rozi, Vicar General; this ceremony conducted in the presence of Mr. Joseph Jolly de Pontcadeuc, of Monsieur de Segrais, of Mr. de la Voltais, of Messers Pierre Rene, Joseph Marie, Marc Antoine and Emmanuel de Segray, brothers of the bride. All have signed.

Signed in the Registry:

Marguerite Marie le Det de Segray; Jean Baptiste Florian Jolly de Pontcadeuc; J.L. le Det de Segray; J. M. Jolly de Pontcadeuc; Jolly de Chattellier-Beaugeard; Magdelaine Jolly de Pontcadeuc; Pierre le Det de Segray; the Provost de la Vottais; Joseph Marie le Det de Segray; Marc de Segray; Emmanuel de Segray; and George the Rector.

\* \* \*

[Editor's note: a document in the Florian/Toulmin family files adds the following information:

The above extract certified to be a true copy of the Register by us the Mayor of the Corporation of Parame.

In the Mayor's Office, the 12<sup>th</sup> of June, 1834.

For the Mayor,  
Deputized  
Seveaux

Read by us, the President of the Civil Tribunal, in session at St. Malo to the legalizing of the signature of "Seveaux."

St. Malo, 13<sup>th</sup> of June, 1834  
Thierry]

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<sup>1</sup> Extract copied by Charles Felix or Louise Ruellan.

PERMISSION OF ABSENCE



IN THE NAME OF THE REPUBLIC  
("Unity of the Republic" in center of seal above)

[Handwritten number at top left, difficult to read, ends in "27"]

The Second-in-Command of Navy Records Office, charged with the detail of Port-Malo's Armaments.

Permits M. Jean Michel Assaray<sup>XXXIX</sup> of Paramé

leave of fifteen days  
counting from this date, to go to [illegible<sup>XL</sup>] Lorient [illegible<sup>XLl</sup>]  
with orders to return to this port, when the aforementioned time has expired, under  
penalty of punishment conforming to the Laws.

At Port-Malo, the 15<sup>th</sup> of Thermidor of the first year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

Seen by the principal commissioner ---- Duault

[Handwriting here difficult to read, possibly a second signature.]

Document from the revolutionary period as an example of which the menacing tone puts into perspective the motto "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!"

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Municipal archives of Saint-Malo LL 112, document stored between fiches 157 and 158.

[Editorial note: this document does not appear to relate to the Florian family, except for the signature of the Principal Commissioner, Duault, which was one of the related family names.]

## Other elements on the JOLLY de PONTCADEUC family

### History:

The Jolly family originated in Burgandy. **Pontcadeuc** is a land or property, in the past a dependant of the parish of Évran, which today is part of the community Les Champs Géraux<sup>12</sup> in Côtes d'Armor. It was given by Jeanne Marie **Couppé** (born December 10, 1687, Dinan - deceased May 14, 1767, Saint-Malo).

Cadeuc was derived from the old Breton “cat” which signified combat, the nickname of a combatant, a warrior<sup>13</sup>. Pontcadeuc would then mean “fortified bridge” unless, more prosaically, this is not a bridge in ruins. If one believes the Jolly family crest to mean: “On a red ground, a broken bridge made of stone outlined in black, below a bar of gold” then *caduc* means “nearly fallen, menacing ruin”!

The [Pontcadeuc] property belonged in the 17<sup>th</sup> century to M. Simon Gautier, jurisdiction officer, then it passed to Jeanne Chapellain, then to Jeanne Marie Couppé des Croix. The last of these, daughter of a third marriage of Nobleman Jean, lord of Les Croix, with Marie Chapellain, was named at her baptism by Jeanne Chapellain, young lady of Pontcadeuc<sup>14</sup>. One can then suppose this was a gift from the godmother to her goddaughter.

At the time of the death of Etienne Jolly, lord of the Dauphinois, the *partage noble*<sup>XLII</sup> gave Pontcadeuc as was the custom to the eldest son Jean Florian (born March 3, 1719, Saint-Malo - deceased August 24, 1787, Paris), who in 1754 married Marie-Thérèse Tréhouart, widow of the Surcouf<sup>XLIII</sup> of Boisgris. The two spouses made an equal and mutual contribution. Jean Florian died first without children. The Jolly family concluded an arrangement with the widow and retrieved Jean Florian's inheritance. At the death of Marie-Thérèse Tréhouart, her nephews contested this, and thus came a trial. Finally, on April 5, 1798, a deal between the parties was struck, according to which Pontcadeuc was abandoned to the Tréhouarts, among other things. The domain then consisted of two small land holdings, the large and the small Pontcadeuc, and the water mill of Brice. The whole was estimated at 49,800 francs. That's how the land left the heritage of the Jolly family<sup>15</sup>.

Since that time, the former manor of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was replaced in 1806 by a farmhouse, keeping in line with a closed, rectangular courtyard, which was without cover

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<sup>12</sup> Created by the Law of April 6, 1934, at the expense of Evran (Côtes d'Armor). The place called Pontcadeuc is located at 2 km west of the market town center and 4.5 km to North/Northwest of Evran.

<sup>13</sup> MORLET, Marie-Thérèse, *Dictionnaire Etymologique des noms de famille*, Perrin, 1991, section Cadec.

<sup>14</sup> PARIS-JALLOBERT, *opus cite* (work cited), Didan, section Couppé, Chapelain, Gautier, Rolland.

<sup>15</sup> Printed “Extrait des Registres du Département d'Ille et Vilaine, séance du 2 frimaire an VII” (Extract of the Registers of the Department of Ille et Vilaine, session of Frimaire 2, Year 7 (November 23, 1799)), Rennes, at the home of the citizen J-Félicité Vatar – municipal archives Saint-Malo, LL 128, document no. 55

and accessible via a double gate to carriages and pedestrians. Near the structure was a pigeon coop laid out in a square.

### Coat of Arms:

Pierre Jolly, merchant at Dinan, probably of the same branch as that at the origin of the Pontcadeucs, wears a crest of: *An azure blue shield with a golden sun*<sup>16</sup>, which isn't very modest! The Jolly de Pontcadeuc family bore family crests that referred to their land: *On a red ground, a broken bridge made of stone outlined in black, below a bar of gold.*

Alternates displayed:

- *An azure blue shield with three wild lilies of the garden, 2 & 1, Breton Armorial by Guy LE BORGNE 1667;*
- *An azure blue shield with a silver wild lily; a bar of gold, charged with a cross pattée<sup>XLIV</sup> of sand; with the motto "Magnus amoris amor";*
- *An azure blue shield with a golden cock accompanied by eight grainy wild lily flowers of gold and arranged in a neat line*<sup>17</sup>;

Their comparison shows several common points and permits us to deduce a probable common source. The azure blue shield appears four times out of five; the use of *gold* and *bar* two times out of five, and the reminder of this metal in *the golden sun, the golden cock; the wild lily*" in three shields out of five.

### Limits of the lineage<sup>18</sup>:

The lineage doesn't go back further than Jean Jolly, lord of the Dauphinois, baptized at Dinan on May 2, 1604, son of Nobleman Pierre and of Jeanne Bezart.



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<sup>16</sup> D'HOZIER Ch., *Armorial Général de France, Bretagne*, (General Armorial of France, Brittany), November 1696 edition, tome II, p. 268, section Jolly, No. 154.

<sup>17</sup> Jolly Jacques, lord of the Houssaye, procurer of the Présidial de Rennes – D'HOZIER Ch., *Armorial Général de France, Bretagne*, November 1696 edition, tome II, p. 63, section Jolly, No. 344.

<sup>18</sup> URVOY de PORTZAMPARC Louis (viscount), *Généalogie et Parenté Urvoy*, home of the author, Lyon, 1998, section Jolly, pp. 413-419.

## Medical student at Montpellier at the start of the 18<sup>th</sup> century

Etienne JOLLY, left in 1698 for Montpellier,  
to study medicine.  
Description of medical studies at that time.

Etienne Jolly, baptized at Dinan, Saint-Malo parish, on April 9, 1678, son of Jean-Baptiste and Christine Raoul, probably<sup>19</sup> registered in 1698 at the Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier<sup>20</sup> (Montpellier Medical School). He was then 20 years old.

Founded in 1220, it is the oldest medical university in France. Topics of study included: anatomy, botany, chemistry, surgery, and other ancient subjects. At that time, the Arab authors were already abandoned. Hippocrates aside (who would be studied until 1771), the Greek authors were only taught episodically. Experimentation and discovery were the most important references<sup>21</sup>.

Courses took place at Collège Royal from 6:00 a.m.! Latin was the official language and stayed so until the start of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The students distributed themselves around the professorial Chair. Each course lasted about an hour. It included the reading of texts followed by explanations by the professor and was supported by practical examples. The audience showed its satisfaction by its silence, its boredom by noise. "As soon as there are enough of them, the students begin to make noise with their hands and feet, and if the professor turns a deaf ear toward it, they make such a racket that it's impossible for him to continue," recounts Félix Platter<sup>22</sup>, a student during the years 1552-1557. There is no reason why the ambiance would have been different in Étienne Jolly's time. Remember that the wages of teachers are only paid to them in the presence of several students who confirm that the Master has conducted his courses well, that he has well-fulfilled his contract, has done his *job*!

The work is intense. There is the study of recommended works, taxonomy of their contents, development of a herbarium, and copying pharmaceutical formulas: ointments, carminatives, decoctions, etc. The student prepares himself regularly for discussion in Latin, thesis and antithesis, in private or in public. In the evening, he pursues his education alone, by candlelight, in his attic. Excluding the comfort brought by the fairy electricity, has this changed?

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<sup>19</sup> Absence of registers from 1695 to 1707.

<sup>20</sup> Research conducted at the Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier by M. Jean-Henry MARCH, 34970 Lattes, March 1, 2001, without whom nothing would have been possible. Please accept the expression of my most sincere gratitude.

<sup>21</sup> Without contrary precision, this note rests essentially on two works : BONNET Hubert, *La Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier*, Sauramps medical, Montpellier, 1992; DULIEU Louis, *La Médecine à Montpellier*, t. III, L'époque classique, 2<sup>nd</sup> part, Les Presses Universelles. These authors must pardon me for having borrowed so much from them! Thus the whole part referring to examinations and ceremonies is a quasi reprise in-extensio of Hubert Bonnet, pages 74-77. Equal gratitude goes to my cousin Odile Furious for having placed at my disposition the aforementioned work by Hubert Bonnet.

<sup>22</sup> LE ROY LADURIE Emmanuel, *Le siècle des Platter 1499-1628*, (The century of the Platters 1499-1628), Fayard, 1995, 2 volumes.

Vacation time was abundant: 15 days at Christmas and at Easter and nearly four months during the summer from the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist, June 24, to the day of Saint Luc, October 18. To these came to be added Sundays, Wednesday the day of Hippocrates<sup>XLV</sup>, and diverse religious holidays.

### Two cycles of study

The first study cycle (3 years) ended with the baccalauréat, which consisted of two exams. One took place behind closed doors for fear that the public performance of the student would “turn out a regrettable demonstration of incapacity, to his shame and to the dishonor of the School.” The second took place in public and corresponded to the inaugural thesis. The exam took place over four hours (8-12 hours), in the Salle des Actes du Collège (Room of Acts of the College). The candidate presented the subject and responded afterward to questions from the jury. If he passed these exams, the title of “bachelier” was bestowed upon him.

At the end of the second cycle, which was much shorter, the degree was conferred, giving him the right to practice medicine. Between 16 and 18 examinations were necessary to achieve this. Among other responsibilities, the candidate had to teach courses to young students. This was the *probatoire* (preliminary) period consisting of the exam *per intentionem*<sup>XLVI</sup>, which consisted of four theses or subjects to be treated in two days, each subject being given the evening before; and *the rigorous points*, the most difficult exam. During three hours (from 9 to 12 hours) the future graduate “points,” “stings” (meaning chooses a question on Hippocrates’s aphorisms and “l’Ars Parva” by Galien). He was then questioned by each member of the jury on all aspects of medicine and, at the very end, supported two thesis subjects. Finally came the *triduanes*, or three-day exam, which consisted of a series of six theses spread out across a period of three days at the rate of two hours per day. Etienne Jolly received his diploma on September 26, 1701. The doctorate not depending on new exams, it was received the following November 21.

Investiture ceremonies made the student’s success official. The new bachelier was dressed by the parish officer in the red robe, worn in the Rabelais style. The diploma’s conference was presided over by the Bishop, in presence of the whole college and of certain town notables. The applicant received the investiture in Latin. He abandoned the red robe for the black robe of his new rank and received the signed parchment from the bishop, conferring the right to practice “urbi et orbi” (in Rome and in the entire world). A banquet closed the celebration. The Doctorate ceremony was “l’Actus Triumphalis” of ancient times, the coronation to say all! Someone came to fetch the new doctor at his residence. There was a procession to the Collège Royal to the sound of trumpets and violins where he would receive the insignias of his rank: the doctoral hat, a sort of square hat of black cloth topped by a crimson silk tassel; the ring and the golden belt, which consecrates his marriage with medicine; and the book of Hippocrates, of which the conferring attests the fullness of mastery. Once the ceremony was ended, he circulated amongst assistants and distributed gloves and sugared almonds. After which, the same cortege conducted him home to the sound of instruments. A day off for the school, it ended with a light meal for which the new degree holder paid all the fees.

## **An annual cost : double the salary of a laborer**

The cost of this meal leads us to the cost of studies. For three years, Hubert Bonnet estimates it at 600 livres tournois<sup>XLVII</sup>, of which more than 150 livres tournois went toward entrance rights and registration for exams. This left 450 livres tournois, of which 150 livres per year would have gone toward lodging, board, festivals, drinking, games, to which one must add the tips and other recognitions, without omitting leisure spending... That sum of 150 livres represents double the annual salary of a laborer, valid as it was estimated by Vauban around the year 1700<sup>23</sup>.

## **Teachers of quality**

Teachers in Etienne Jolly's time were particularly reputable. We first cite his diploma and doctorate jury president, François 1er Chicoyneau<sup>24</sup>, who taught anatomy and surgical operations. A generous man. Jean Astruc<sup>25</sup> depicts him thus: "While he wasn't an anatomist, nor a botanist of the first order, he charmed everyone, and he knew enough for the schoolboys that he was charged to instruct. He was precise in fulfilling his functions, of easy access to the schoolboys, very honest to the professors, with whom he lived in the greatest of friendship and the most perfect unity, and he was generally liked." Very devoted to his patients, he didn't want an honorarium. His charity toward the poor became proverbial. A man of courage, he exhibited an extreme generosity during the plague epidemic at Marseille (1720-1721), where during nearly a year he cared for the sick, spending time and resources without counting. Named the King's First Physician in 1732, he died at 80 years of age in 1752.

Next, Pierre Chirac<sup>26</sup>. Saint-Simon speaks of him thus: "He was the most knowledgeable physician of his time, in theory and in practice, and, as avowed by all his colleagues and of those with the highest reputation, their master in all, before whom they were all as respectful as schoolboys, and he with them in full authority as though another Asclepius<sup>XLVIII</sup>. That's what no one knew, but what I have learned since and what experience has also taught me is that stinginess ate at him, and he was overrun by

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<sup>23</sup> Based on 190 days of work per year each paid, on average, 8 sols, be it 76 livres tournois collected in a year. – VAUBAN, *Projet d'une Dixme Royale*, (Project of a Royal Tithe), 1707, cited by GOUBERT Pierre, *L'ancien régime*, (The former regime), 1 : la société (Society), Armand Colin, Collection U, 1976, p. 99.

<sup>24</sup> Son of Michel, professor and chancellor of the University of Medicine of Montpellier and of Catherine de Pichoty, born at Montpellier on April 22, 1672, bachelier on November 14, 1692, diploma on February 27, 1693, Doctor on March 12, 1693, he was then 21 years old! After the death of his father on May 28, 1701, inherited the chair of "anatomy and botany" created in 1593, succeeding him as Superintendent of the botanical garden and chancellor of the University. Married on January 12, 1712, to Marie Chirac, daughter of Pierre and of Claire Issert.

<sup>25</sup> ASTRUC Jean, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier*, (Memories to serve the history of the School of Medicine at Montpellier), Paris, P. – G Cavelier bookseller, 1767. Jean Astruc obtained the vestige of the Chair of Pierre Chirac when he settled in Paris (1715). He preferred shortly after, in 1716, to become the successor of Jacques Chastelain. That's to say how much his memories reflect the very heart of the University.

<sup>26</sup> Born at Conques in July 1648, bachelier on January 12, 1683, diploma earned on June 14, 1683, Doctor on September 2, 1683. He tutored the children of Michel Chicoyneau and thus of the aforementioned François I. This last married the daughter of his former tutor Marie Chirac.

possessions; that honor, honesty, and maybe religion were unknown to him; and that his audacity put all to the test<sup>27</sup>. That said, as the instigator of the fusion between medicine and surgery, his experience is immense. Chief Doctor of the Army of Roussillon, he was on the theater of operations. Shortly after, he reorganized the sanitary structures at the military port of Rochefort (Charente Maritime). According to L. Dulieu, these military interludes would have provided him the opportunity to dissect more than 500 cadavers! An anatomical experiment without precedent! When one knows that the number of bodies delivered to the University for dissection is insufficient, that the students go so far as to disinter cadavers in cemeteries! Returned to Montpellier, he instituted a course cycle in three years that interested all the disciplines with a liking for anatomy and surgery. He formed a court of devoted students to whom he presented himself sometimes as “faiseur de these<sup>28</sup>.” He took an interest in everything: pathological anatomy, compared anatomy, physiology, botany. His herbarium, the oldest known at Montpellier, still exists. According to Jean Astruc, “He [Pierre Chirac] wasn’t without fault[!], his lessons and writings lacked order and, consequently, clarity and accuracy. His style was bad, hard, obscure, difficult.” He is yet the author of a treaty qualified as remarkable entitled “*Observations générales sur les incommodités auxquelles sont sujets les équipages des vaisseaux et la manière de les traiter*” (General observations on the illnesses to which ships’ crews are subject and the manner in which to treat them). There he presents a precursor in terms of exotic pathology. Superintendent of the King’s garden in 1716, he “didn’t maintain anything, took the quintessence for himself, devastated it, and, in dying, left it a wreck so that it had to be remade and reestablished almost entirely,” according to Saint-Simon. King’s First Physician in 1731, he died at Marly on March 1, 1732.

Also citable: Pierre Magnol (1638-1715)<sup>29</sup> physician and botanist. Author of several works that contributed to spreading a taste for botany and called attention of savants to natural methods; François Lapeyronie (1678-1747) éminent surgeon, friend of Pierre Chirac, work equally toward the end that medicine and surgery be united. King’s Physician by quarter (1733), first surgeon of Louis XV (1736), chief surgeon of the armies of the Kingdom (1738), he cared for the crowned heads of all Europe.

These personalities illustrate the quality of the University of Montpellier at the time when Etienne Jolly studied there. But which was his master? The archives are sadly mute on this point. The University was thus organized that each Doctor formed his own school. Certain doctors lodged the student at their home, with all the intellectual advantages that one can imagine for the schoolboy who could talk with his master until dinner. Pierre Chirac has the corresponding profile to what a young Breton called to

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<sup>27</sup> SAINT-SIMON once again evokes him at the Duchess of Berry’s death. He tells how Chirac, fearing the affront that the Duchess would be cured by another physician, Garus, furtively makes the patient swallow a purgative that undoes the positive effect of the elixir prescribed by his colleague. “Chirac, seeing the agony advance, crossed the bedroom, and making a reverence out of an insult at the foot of the open bed, wished her bon voyage in equal terms and went from there to Paris. The marvel is that he was something else, and that he lived near the Duke of Orléans as beforehand.” SAINT-SIMON, Louis de ROUVROY, duke of (1675-1755), *Mémoires*, Jean de Bonnot, 1967, t. 15, pp. 320-321; t. 17, chapter XI, year 1719, pp. 228-119.

<sup>28</sup> “Faiseur de these” meaning he who writes the thesis on behalf of the student. Each found his benefit: the student who was proud of “his work”; the teacher who earned authority, especially if the subject was novel in some way – BONNET Hubert, *opus cite*, p. 75, note in margin.

<sup>29</sup> Born at Montpellier in 1638, died in 1715; physician and botanist. Proposed a classification of plants by family. CARL VON LINNE delivered a posthumous homage to him by giving his name to the Magnolia.

practice in Saint-Malo could research. His work “*sur les incommodités des équipages des vaisseaux*” (see translated title earlier in the text), although published much later than the period when Etienne Jolly “did his medicine,” shows the great interest that he had toward men of the sea, an interest that dates from the 1690s during his mission to reorganize the sanitary structures of the port of Rochefort, before the arrival of Etienne Jolly in Montpellier. Was he this master? Their years at Montpellier are compatible. It is not possible to speculate further.

### **From medicine to the nobility**

His studies finished, Etienne Jolly established himself at Saint-Malo. Qualified as Nobleman, lord of the Dauphinois, doctor in medicine, he married at Dinan on January 7, 1711, to Jeanne Marie Couppé, who brought him the land of Pontcadeuc in the Champs-Géraux (Côtes d’Armor) of which he took the name. The couple would give birth to 16 children.

On May 17, 1716, he was chosen and unanimously named physician of the Maison-Dieu of Saint-Malo, “to fulfill the aforementioned function and to benefit from wages, remuneration, privileges, and bonuses accorded ordinarily to the aforementioned charged as physician at the aforementioned Hôtel-Dieu.” In 1756, he was no longer at the post<sup>30</sup>.

In 1757, six physicians practiced at Saint-Malo, in addition to Etienne Jolly: MM. La Chapelle Lemesle, his successor at the hospital; Belot; Lechaux; Mousset; and Sebire.

Sworn physician of the States of Brittany, he bought a charge as Secretary Advisor of the King, house Couronne de France (Crown of France) in the Chancery near the court of aides at Clermont-Ferrand. Endowed with that office<sup>31</sup> on November 20, 1747. Ceased his functions on February 17, 1768 after more than 20 consecutive years, which allowed him to obtain, on March 2, 1768, a letter of honor conferring to him the title of emeritus and thus to enjoy “*the honors, authority, privilege of nobility, prerogatives, exemptions, immunities, advantages, and rights of the position [...] and that after his death his widow during her widowhood, and his children born and yet to be born in legitimate marriage enjoy the same honors, privileges, exemptions, advantages, and prerogatives which are enjoyed or are to be enjoyed by widows, children, and male and female descendants of our Honorary Secretary Advisors [...]*” Malicious tongues call this type of office, which, at the end of 20 years, confers nobility, “savonette à vilain” (villain soap<sup>XLIX</sup>)!

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<sup>30</sup> The archives of the Hospital of Saint-Malo between March 26, 1716, and 1755 have disappeared. We can thus know nothing more on Etienne Jolly.

<sup>31</sup> An edict of June 1715 fixes the price of that office at 25,000 livres. In December 1727, another edict raises the price by 3,414 livres 12 sols 8 deniers. There was a new increase of 10,000 livres in December 1743. That made a total of 38,414 livres 12 sols 8 deniers. In September 1755, His Majesty asks for more and fixes the finance of that office at 55,000 livres! Etienne Jolly sees himself obligated to shell out 16,585 livres 7 sols 4 deniers in order to reach this amount. He does his duty in four equal periods of 4,146 livres 6 sols 10 deniers paid on December 13, 1755, February 23, March 23, and June 9, 1756. A receipt is given to him on December 1, 1756. In addition to access to the nobility, what does that earn him? Wages at 4%, which would be 2,200 livres per year, exempt from the twentieth and from two sous for the tenth. That would be a tax savings totaling 330 livres (110 + 220)! The cost for the royal treasure comes out at 4.6% taking account of the fiscal benefit. Today this is called “tax credit, exemption, relief, etc.” The terms have changed but not the method!

On November 26, 1765, at the time of his son Joseph Marie's marriage to Françoise Le Bonhomme, he is called, "Écuyer (Squire) Etienne Jolly, lord of Pontcadeuc, advisor and secretary to the King."

Our medical student died at the Isle of Saint-Malo on May 1, 1771. He was 93 years old! Doubtlessly he applied good medicine to himself.



[IMAGE OF DOCUMENT TRANSLATED BELOW]

(No. 148.)

LAW

Fixing the steps to take when the Homeland  
is in danger.

Given at Paris, July 8, 1792, year IV of liberty.

LOUIS, by the grace of God and by the constitutional Law  
of the State, King of the French:  
To all present and to come. Salutations.

Decree of the National Assembly, from July 4 and 5  
1792, the fourth year of Liberty.

The National Assembly considering that the efforts of enemies to the order are multiplying, and the propagation of all sorts of troubles in diverse parts of the empire, at the moment when the nation, for the maintenance of its liberty, is engaged in a foreign war, is able to put in peril<sup>L</sup>

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Louis XVI still reigns. Not for much longer, however. On August 10 he will be suspended.  
The Homeland is in danger.

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Municipal archives of Saint-Malo LL 10/13

## Charles Félix RUELLAN and his siblings

**RUELLAN**<sup>32</sup> Jules Marie, born at Saint-Quay on November 11, 1837, son of Auguste Jacques Marie and of Eugénie DUPUY-FROMY, deceased at Paramé on August 16, 1909; married on November 23, 1868, to **du RIVAU** Marguerite Julie Marie, daughter of Félix Charles and of Françoise [?], o Saint Croix lès Le Mans (Sarthe) May 9, 1848, † Paramé November 12, 1906.

Eighteen children were born from this union: 12 boys and six girls. Of the 12 boys, two died at a young age, six “died for France,” four survived of which the last, Stanislas, left the world in 1972, at age 90 in Los Angeles.

1/ Marguerite Marie Anne, o Saint-Malo January 30, 1870, † Paramé October 10, 1884, s.a; [Sans Alliance = unmarried during his/her lifetime]

2/ Charlotte Marie-Thérèse Anne, o Saint-Malo April 1, 1871, † [illegible<sup>L1</sup>] February 14, 1900, nun of the Sacred Heart, s.a;

3/ Yvonne Marie Anne, o Saint-Malo September 17, 1872, † Notre-Dame de Guildo January 18, 1927, s.a;

4/ Jules Marie Anne, o Saint-Malo January 5, 1874, priest<sup>33</sup>, captain of the 93<sup>rd</sup> Infantry Regiment, **Died for France** on October 1, 1918, at Souain (Marne) from wounds received during the attack of Sainte-Marie-à-Py;  
Sainte-Marie à Py<sup>34</sup> is situated east of Reims, north of Suippes; Souain-Perthes-Lès-Hurlus, next to Suippes. Regarding the way the operations unfolded:

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<sup>32</sup> The essential source of this document is a letter dated from Val, in Notre-Dame du Guildo, on October 11, 1971, addressed to Georges III Lesbaupin (1904-1989) by Mme. Georges Poinçon de la Blanchardière, born Madeline Louise RUELLAN (private archives) – Completed thanks to other sources cited at the end of the document.

<sup>33</sup> Family tradition tells that, on Leave at Paramé, on the eve of his return to the front, he had gone to visit Georges II Lesbaupin (1867-1949) and shared with him his astonishment that he, the priest, had been spared in regard to his five brothers! Wounded, he died some time after.

<sup>34</sup> In the Historique complet du 99<sup>ème</sup> Regiment d’Infanterie (Complete History of the 99<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment), the attack of Saint-Marie-à-Py in which the regiment participated, is described as follows:

“New voyage by railway, some days of training in the rear, transport by truck, and once again we arrive in Champagne for the September 26 attack. To understand the regiment’s thankless task during that offensive, one must have an clear idea of the zone where it was going to maneuver from September 30 onward, the day when it attacked for itself.

“A rather narrow valley at the bottom of which we find a river: the Py; a narrow raised road, a village entirely demolished, but a veritable fortress completely blocking the passage Sainte-Marie-à-Py. From each side of the river, two plateaus of roughly the same height with steep slopes on the valley, to much gentler slopes at the exterior with gentle gullies. If one adds that the plateau occupied by the Germans is powerfully organized, solidly held by troops of elite armies with numerous machine guns, that the woods of Fourmillier on this plateau is a nest of German batteries, one realizes easily the difficulties that the regiment met at each attempt to advance, each time that its companies tried to pass through the valley and reach the enemy ridge.

offensive aimed at upsetting the Germans who still held the plateau of Notre-Dame-des-Champs, to the north of the Py – maneuver of Champagne-Argonne (September 30 – October 12, 1918).

- 5/ Félix Marie Anne, o Saint-Malo April 3, 1875, y † January 23, 1876;
- 6/ Charles Félix Henri Marie Anne, o Saint-Malo February 22, 1876, † March 25, 1955, x Arcachon (Gironde) October 16, 1908 Marie [illegible] de Kercluose-Vuillaume, daughter of André and of Séverine Léon;
- 7/ Auguste Marie Anne, o Saint-Malo January 30, 1877, † Rouen October 15, 1938;
- 8/ Louis Alexandre Marie Anne, o Saint-Malo August 13, 1878, captain of the 308<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment, **Died for France** on November 22, 1916, at Ablaincourt (Somme), x Campsegret (Dordogne) September 23, 1907, Marguerite Denopix de Saint-Marc, daughter of Henri, of whom there are descendants;  
Ablaincourt is situated to the south of Péronne, midway between Amiens and Saint-Quentin. It is a strategic crossroads where the routes Amiens – Saint-Quentin and Arras – Senlis cross. Regarding the unfolding of operations, the battle of the Somme (July 1, 1916 – November 18, 1916) came to an end without significant advances for British and French troops.
- 9/ Joseph Maire Anne, o Saint-Malo 1880 and † there the same year;
- 10/ Xavier Vincent Marie Anne, o Saint-Malo July 19, 1881, † Arcachon January 8, 1931, x Notre-Dame de Verdélous (Gironde) July 10, 1911, Fernande Drapé, widow of M. Jauzengue, daughter of M. Drapé, banker at Agen;
- 11/ Stanislas Marie Anne, o Saint-Malo March 23, 1883, † Los Angeles November 4, 1972, captain, service of Saint-François, knight of the Légion d'Honneur, cross of war 1914-1918, s.a;
- 12/ Marie Marguerite Anne, o Paramé September 28, 1884, † there on July 11, 1920;
- 13/ André Marie Anne, o Saint-Malo October 13, 1885, registered in the recruitment service of Constantine, sergeant of the 7<sup>th</sup> Colonial Infantry Regiment, **Died for France** on May 16, 1915, at Ville sur Tourbe (Marne), s.a;

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“Being unable to execute that operation, it received the order to go beyond that objective by passing to the right on the terrain of the neighboring division. Delicate and dangerous operation due to a lack of cover. The attack took place. Numerous machine guns fired on them and immediately caused heavy losses of officers and of men and paralyzed the assault from the start.

“New attacks took place, always with the same spirit and sometimes without the support of artillery. They strove to advance by small leaps and succeeded in gaining terrain at the price of bloody losses caused by relentless machine gun fire that finished by curbing all advancement.”

Ville sur Tourbe is situated 95 km from Reims and 61 km from Verdun, north of Sainte-Menehould. Regarding the unfolding of operations, the combats of Champagne (February 16, 1915 – March 10, 1915) are, for the moment, ended. The army of the general of Langle is distinguished by its heroic acts<sup>35</sup>.

**14/** Louise Joséphine Françoise Marie Anne, o Saint-Malo March 9, 1887, † after 1972, s.a.; donator of the present manuscript “*Fuite d’un suspect ou Les mésaventures de la famille Jolly de Pontcadeuc*” to J.-H de la Blanchardière.

**15/** Bernard Louis Joseph Marie Anne, o Saint-Malo March 16, 1888, registered to the recruitment service of Constantine, chief warrant officer to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Zouaves, **Died for France** on February 17, 1915 at Frévent (Pas de Calais), s.a.; Frévent, north of Amiens, level with Arras. The 3<sup>rd</sup> Zouaves is in position in L’Oise, at Tracy le Val, which would be 122 km further south. The regiment only participated on September 25 in the offensive of Champagne launched in the hope of rupturing the front.

**16/** Jean-Berchman<sup>36</sup> Marie Anne, o Paramé August 21, 1890, lieutenant in the 23<sup>rd</sup> Battalion of fighter pilots, **Died for France** on May 31, 1918 in the sector of Dickebusch (Belgium), s.a.;

Dikkebus today, to the southwest of Ypres. Regarding the unfolding of operations, the battle of the Lilly had just taken place (April 9-29, 1918). Under German pressure, the Allied front had to pull back several kilometers. Dickebusch was afterward on the edge of the new front line.

**17/** Henri Marie Anne, o Paramé, October 17, 1892, brigadier in the 7<sup>th</sup> Artillery Regiment, 3<sup>rd</sup> battery, **Died for France** on February 27, 1916 during the hunting ground of Avocourt, near Vauquois (Meuse), s.a.;

Avocourt, 21 km from Verdun, surrounded by the woods of: Cheppy, Very, Malancourt; by the forests of: Montfaucon, Hesse. The plateau of Vauquois is a marvelous observatory to control long-range artillery fire. It was the subject of a fierce struggle between the two camps in order to seize it. Six days beforehand, on February 21, General von Falkenhayn, commander in chief of the German army, launched his offensive on Verdun, aiming to bleed the French army dry, perceived as the sword of England on the continent.

**18/** Madeleine Louise Henriette Marie Anne [to whom we owe these facts], o Paramé October 26, 1893, x there on October 9, 1917 George Poinçon de la Blanchardière, son of Hippolyte and of Marie-Thérèse d’Auray de Saint-Poix, of whom there are descendants.

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<sup>35</sup> Ville sur Tourbe is located in the same sector as the small fort Beauséjour where the under lieutenant Cazeau, wounded, faced the enemy under a hail of bullets, urged his men by bursting into the song “Mourir pour la patrie...” (“To die for the homeland...”) and died gloriously. It’s also there that the lieutenant Lelong cried out before falling, pierced by blows, “I am going to make you see how a French officer dies.” – DAUZET P., *opus cited*, p. 69, col. B.

<sup>36</sup> Saint Jean-Berchman (1699- Rome 1721), Jesuit, patron of altar boys, celebrated on November 26. Numerous churches are dedicated to him, notably at Galena in Alaska, to cite only one!

### Street of the six Ruellan brothers

On May 18, 1919, during the meeting of the Municipal Council, “Monsieur the Mayor<sup>37</sup> announced to the council that it would respond to the unanimous sentiments of the population to perpetuate, in the memory of generations, the heroism displayed by the Ruellan family in the course of the Great War. [...] Ten Ruellan brothers responded to the call of the Homeland; six of them fell on the field of honor, after having given in all circumstances the greatest example of discipline, generosity, and courage.” Unanimously, the council expressed to the Ruellan family “the tribute of its admiration” and decided to give to the street called Cancale the name of the “Six Ruellan brothers<sup>38</sup>.”



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<sup>37</sup> Joseph, Jean-Marie Jumelais (1871-1929), medical doctor, named mayor on May 17, 1908, succeeding Georges II Lesbaupin (1867-1949), the forbear of our branch. Besides, Joseph Jumelais is first cousin of Marguerite Beaufile, another maternal ancestor. That's to say if we are on familiar territory!

<sup>38</sup> *Paramé: la rue des Six-frères-Ruellan*, (Paramé, the street of the Six Ruellan brothers), GUILLEMAUD Barnabé, Ouest-France, November 10-11, 1994.

***Special sources for this appendix:***

- *POINÇON de la BLANCHARDIÈRE, Mme. Georges, born Madeline Louise RUELLAN;*
- *DAUZET P., Gloria, Histoire illustrée de la guerre 1914-1918, (Illustrated history of the war 1914-1918), Hachette, without date;*
- *L'HISTOIRE, 1914-1918, La Grande Guerre, (HISTORY, 1914-1918, The Great War), Collection No. 21;*
- *SGA – memory of men – individual cards of those who died for France - [www.memoiredeshommes.sga.defense.gouv.fr/](http://www.memoiredeshommes.sga.defense.gouv.fr/)*
- *[perso.wanadoo.fr/chimiste/regiments/zouaves.htm](http://perso.wanadoo.fr/chimiste/regiments/zouaves.htm) ;*
- *[perso.wanadoo.fr/Champagne1418/bataille/sept15/bataill15.htm](http://perso.wanadoo.fr/Champagne1418/bataille/sept15/bataill15.htm) ;*
- *[fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/7e](http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/7e) ;*
- *[pages14-18.com/pagesDocuments/DocFr/Batcha.htm](http://pages14-18.com/pagesDocuments/DocFr/Batcha.htm) ;*
- *[pages14-18.com/pageshistoire/HistoriquesFr/chasseurs3.htm](http://pages14-18.com/pageshistoire/HistoriquesFr/chasseurs3.htm) ;*

Presentation achieved this March 28, 2006,  
on the day of Saint-Gontrand,  
King of Bourgogne from 561 to 593,  
who renounced the ceremony of the century  
and distributed his treasures to the poor and to churches.

Copy No. 75 [initialed]



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- <sup>I</sup> The translator and editor have experience which shows that that “o” stands for birth, “x” stands for marriage, and “†” stands for death. We do not know what the letters after the symbols stand for.
- <sup>II</sup> Literally translated, the House of the King and the Crown of France
- <sup>III</sup> Literally translated, “Court of Helpers.”
- <sup>IV</sup> Original document never closes these quotation marks. I am assuming that this is where they end, and I have added these quotations marks as the translator.
- <sup>V</sup> Name of French governing body.
- <sup>VI</sup> Literally translated, “Commissioner General Organizer of the Navy.”
- <sup>VII</sup> Literally translated, “Naval Invalids.”
- <sup>VIII</sup> Ed: This confusing case apparently turned on the fact that the defendant had claimed that he had been summoned by his sister to her deathbed, to deal with her final will and testament. But he had written later, after her death, “Come here” on a document, in his own handwriting, and had claimed that that was the note that the sister had sent to him. This tactic backfired and he was stripped of all his possessions.
- <sup>IX</sup> Court charged with dealing with small matters.
- <sup>X</sup> Literally translated, “Constituent Assembly”
- <sup>XI</sup> A gold coin worth 20 francs.
- <sup>XII</sup> Name typed as it appears in the text.
- <sup>XIII</sup> Arrest of Robespierre and end of the Terror.
- <sup>XIV</sup> Ed.: It is not mentioned in this manuscript that Jean Baptiste obtained British citizenship via a Royal naturalization document, in October 1806. A contemporaneous copy of the very large naturalization document survives in the collection of Edward Ladd of Mobile, Alabama, a Florian descendant. Apparently J-B decided that even British citizenship did not make England home.
- <sup>XV</sup> Ed.: This island was the domain of Harman Blennerhassett, a wealthy Irishman who built a lavish 7000 square foot mansion on the island. In 1806 he became involved in the Aaron Burr plot to take over part of Spanish territory southwest of the US, and was accused of conspiracy. The warrant for the arrest of Burr and Blennerhassett and the other conspirators was issued by my great-g-g-g grandfather, Judge Harry Toulmin, Judge of the Mississippi Territory. It seems unlikely, due to the conspiracy charges, imprisonment, trial, acquittal and eventual departure of Blennerhassett, that he was not present when Jean Baptiste passed by the island, but rather J-B was told about him. Perhaps J-B only met the family. The house unfortunately burned in 1811, but has since be re-created and may be visited.
- <sup>XVI</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, a philosopher who also wrote much about education in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.
- <sup>XVII</sup> This is the town where I, Gena, [the translator] was born, and the French settlement mentioned here suffered a rash of Yellow Fever cases. The disease was brought to Gallipolis by a boat from New Orleans that stayed longer than anticipated because of needed repairs. The broken part of that boat is now part of a memorial which can be seen online at <http://www.roadsideamerica.com/tip/16538>.
- <sup>XVIII</sup> Also known as the Great Miami River, but here I respect the source document and stick with this name.
- <sup>XIX</sup> Literally translated, “Voyages in America.”
- <sup>XX</sup> Literally translated, “Big bone lick.”
- <sup>XXI</sup> The questionable translation comes direct from the text. The typist seems uncertain of what the writer meant by “Porter” (which is not a noun in French as it is presented here) and presents his or her interpretation of what the original writer meant (“[Porto?]”). Ed.: I have decided that porter, a dark form of English beer similar to Guinness, is what is meant here.
- <sup>XXII</sup> The English “house-volunteers” comes from original text. Ed.: I think this was a mistake in the original translation; horse volunteers (i.e. a cavalry militia) makes much more sense.
- <sup>XXIII</sup> Literally translated: “Lodge of the Knights of the Temple of New Orleans.” [Ed.: this is almost certainly the Masonic Lodge in New Orleans]
- <sup>XXIV</sup> Houat is an island in the Bay of Quiberon, on the SW coast of Brittany, about 1 by 3 miles in extent, with rocky cliffs.
- <sup>XXV</sup> This is almost certainly 10 August 1792, the date that King Louis XVI was taken from the Tuilleries by a mob. This marked the effective end of the monarchy in France. The King was afraid of the mob, but was reassured that he could walk between two files of revolutionary guards. It seems likely that the assassination attempt described herein occurred at this point. It appears that this assassination attempt and its thwarting is previously unknown to French historians, since research to date has failed to uncover any mention of it.

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- <sup>XXVI</sup> This last word likely refers to the secrets of the Masons, since the eulogy for Jean Baptiste was to be read in a Masonic hall.
- <sup>XXVII</sup> Bank notes used during the French Revolution.
- <sup>XXVIII</sup> Gold coin worth about 20 francs.
- <sup>XXIX</sup> Official English title direct from text. Ed. note: The British Library lists the following titles under the name of Jean-Baptiste Florian Jolly de Pontcadeuc: *An Essay on an Analytical Course of Studies: Containing a Complete System of Human Knowledge* (London, 1796); *An Elementary Course of the Sciences and Philosophy, Contained in a Series of Lectures Upon the Principal Branches of Elementary Mathematics, Mechanics, Astronomy and Cosmography* (London, 1806, 2 volumes); *A Guide to the Study of the History of Britain, in A Series of Questions upon Goldsmith's Abridgement* (London, 1814, 6th Edition); *A Guide to the Study of the History of England; in a Series of Questions; for the Use of Schools and Young People in General: A New Edition, Corrected and Improved, by John Gordon* (London: John Souter, 1836). In addition, the WorldCat integrated world wide library catalog, yields: Florian de Pontcadeux, "*An original air with variations for the piano forte*" (London: Printed for the author and sold at Clementi and Co., 1809) 13 pp. Note that the Florian family included at least nine artists, including Jean Baptiste, his wife, his four daughters, and various grandchildren. The family were also noted early art collectors. Some of their art work and art collection remains in the vault of the Mobile Public Library, Genealogy Division, and in the basement vault of the Mobile Museum of Art, both in Alabama. In the 1960s some of Jean Baptiste's artwork was issued as note cards, as part of an exhibition of his family's art and story at the Mobile Public Library.
- <sup>XXX</sup> Bank notes used during the French Revolution.
- <sup>XXXI</sup> *The Genius of Christianity*
- <sup>XXXII</sup> Chateaubriand
- <sup>XXXIII</sup> "Essay on Revolutions," also by Chateaubriand.
- <sup>XXXIV</sup> An "oncle à la mode de Bretagne" (Breton uncle) being the first cousin of one's father or mother.
- <sup>XXXV</sup> Page 60 of the original text.
- <sup>XXXVI</sup> Handwritten date, possibly the date the document was received in the library.
- <sup>XXXVII</sup> Number difficult to read on original (25), may not be accurate.
- <sup>XXXVIII</sup> Scanned image of page ends here.
- <sup>XXXIX</sup> Name extremely difficult to read, may not be accurate.
- <sup>XL</sup> Note "illegible" added by me as translator due to difficult handwriting.
- <sup>XLI</sup> Note "illegible" added by me as translator due to difficult handwriting.
- <sup>XLII</sup> Have yet to find a satisfactory English translation of *partage noble* (literally, "noble share"), but it's what attributes all or part of an inheritance to the eldest son.
- <sup>XLIII</sup> French title.
- <sup>XLIV</sup> A cross with arms narrow at the center that widen at the edges.
- <sup>XLV</sup> I couldn't find any specific mention of this "holiday" after some brief research, but I imagine it is a holiday for medical students devoted to Hippocrates. I have not, however, been able to verify this.
- <sup>XLVI</sup> Latin as it appears in original text.
- <sup>XLVII</sup> Monetary indicator, generally indicating that the coin was struck at Tours.
- <sup>XLVIII</sup> Greek god of medicine and healing.
- <sup>XLIX</sup> Villain in this case could also mean commoner, but it does have the double meaning of villain in the English sense.
- <sup>L</sup> Text of scanned document ends here.
- <sup>LI</sup> Note "illegible" is from original text.