

TRANSACTIONS  
OF THE  
HUGUENOT SOCIETY  
OF  
SOUTH CAROLINA

No. 91

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE SOCIETY



(INCORPORATED JUNE 21, 1909)

CHARLESTON, S. C.

1956



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## THE HUGUENOT MIGRATION AS SEEN IN LETTERS

Address to the Huguenot Society of South Carolina

MAARTEN ULTEE

The University of Alabama

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a great honor to speak to your distinguished society, both to follow in the footsteps of the authorities who have spoken to you in the past, and to say a few words about my research to a sympathetic audience of fellow descendants of Huguenot exiles. We are particularly sensitive to their suffering and persecution, and we should not be surprised that in the first years after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October, 1685, all Europe was informed of their situation, which was vividly described in letters and newspapers, journals and pamphlets. Even the Oratorian philosopher Nicolas Malebranche, who had written to a Huguenot friend before the Revocation, "I have not heard that you are being persecuted," by late 1685 was receiving graphic reports of the kidnapping of children from their Protestant parents.<sup>1</sup>

Few people could remain indifferent, and we find it quite understandable that many Huguenots emigrated. Yet when our ancestors left France in the 17th century, often under extremely difficult conditions, they did not know what fate lay in store for them. Living hundreds or thousands of miles away from their homes, they found communication through letters essential to their cultural survival. As the English poet John Donne wrote, "Sir, more than kisses, letters mingle souls, / For thus friends absent speak."<sup>2</sup> The Huguenots certainly wanted to mingle souls; indeed, we can say that three factors motivated their letter writing: First, they desired to maintain contacts with friends and relatives in the home country, those who had been left behind in the churches of the desert. Second, and just as important, they needed to preserve the international Huguenot community, now dispersed over England, Holland, Germany, Switzerland and America. Their third important reason for writing was to transcend the particular circumstances of their persecution — to come to a new vision of European culture.

Political exile in the seventeenth century did not necessarily mean leaving one's home country forever, as it so often does today. In the 1680's our ancestors did not know how long their exile would last — and at least some of them hoped that Louis XIV might change his mind and allow the French Protestants to live

<sup>1</sup> Malebranche to J. P. de Crousaz, 27 Nov. 1683 (?), *Correspondance, Actes et Documents 1638-1689*, André Bobinet, ed., *Oeuvres complètes*, 18 (Paris, 1961), p. 265. R. de Langey to Malebranche, Minbré, 15 Nov. 1685, pp. 388-90. See Roger Mettam, "The Persecution of the Huguenots in Louis XIV's France," paper to the Huguenot Heritage Conference, London, 1985, to be published in *The Huguenots in England, 1550-1750*, Irene Scouloudi, ed. (in press, 1986).

<sup>2</sup> John Donne, "Verse letter to Sir Henry Wotton," ca. 1597-98.

and worship in his kingdom. The Huguenots had before them the example of England, where political instability and changes of government had led to successive generations of exiles. The English Civil War and its aftermath culminating in the execution of King Charles I in 1649, the Restoration of his son Charles II in 1660, the ascension to the throne of the Catholic James II in 1685, and his departure in the Glorious Revolution of 1688 — all produced political refugees. If prominent writers such as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Gilbert Burnet found it prudent to take a fair wind for France or Holland, many others out of favor with the government of the day kept quiet at home or joined them abroad, waiting for better fortune. Indeed, Hobbes, Locke and Burnet were able to return to England within a few years when the climate improved. Even in France, generally considered a country of more autocratic government, there were precedents for the exiles' return. Rebellious generals such as Condé, ministers such as Cardinal Mazarin, and prominent Jansenists such as Antoine Arnauld went into exile and negotiated terms for their return to royal favor. An arbitrary monarch could and did change his mind: unfettered by parliamentary or constitutional restrictions, he might as easily restore his favorites as disgrace them.

But for the Huguenots, some points could not be compromised. Foremost among these was the religion itself, or so they claimed. Yet the seventeenth century also saw leaders of the Huguenot party follow Henri IV into the Roman Catholic Church. The Dukes of Rohan and Lesdiguières, the great general Turenne, royal agents such as Paul Pélisson-Fontanier, even Protestant ministers Pierre Bayle and Daniel Larroque converted to Catholicism and left the cause. I need hardly add that thousands of ordinary people also became Catholics. We should not judge these conversions too harshly, bearing in mind the extraordinary inducements and pressures the French government used on the Protestants. Pélisson, administrator of royal and monastic lands, himself became director of the Caisse des Conversions, which promised financial rewards to converts.<sup>3</sup> When Jacques Basnage, a Protestant minister, left France for Holland, his brother Henri Basnage de Beauval, a prominent lawyer in Rouen, stayed behind and converted to Catholicism — if only to save the family property and escape to Holland when it was secure.<sup>4</sup> We know of the *dragonnades*, the billeting of troops in Huguenot houses, the kidnapping and forced conversion of children; but we should also keep in mind that there were apparently sincere changes of faith, not motivated by self-interest or persecution. These voluntary conversions were most threatening to the Huguenot cause, since they called into question the survival of the religion itself.

To keep their faith alive, the Huguenot exiles relied on the support of their communities. In Holland, Switzerland, Germany and England they founded or

<sup>3</sup> See Orest Banum, *Artisans of Glory* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1980), pp. 233-77.

<sup>4</sup> Hans Bots et al., *Henri Basnage de Beauval en de Histoire des ouvrages des savans 1687-1709*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1976).



joined churches, sought spiritual and financial support among their co-religionists, and often worked together in trades and businesses.<sup>5</sup> The international Huguenot movement required constant contacts, and depended heavily on letters. Letters could offer religious encouragement, transmit persuasion and propaganda, communicate news and intelligence — for much of the first thirty years following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes Europe was at war, and no fortunes were followed more carefully than those of France and Louis XIV. Many letters from this period have been preserved, and I want to share with you today my research and reading in these materials, and show you how the letter-writing was related to their other activities.

Let us consider some examples of personal and political scholarly letters. In the first place, Huguenot letters show touching concern for relatives and friends left behind in France. Pierre Bayle, who left the kingdom in 1681 when the Academy at Sedan was closed, found another teaching post in Rotterdam and lived there for 25 years.<sup>6</sup> He continued to write to his relatives at Le Carla in southern France, and was particularly concerned about the fate of his brother Jacob, arrested and imprisoned by the authorities. Pierre felt strong guilt about his brother's suffering and death in prison — he blamed his own literary and political activities, and later adopted an ambivalent approach toward the government of Louis XIV. On the one hand, his journal *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* [News of the Republic of Letters] (1684-87) and ironically-titled pamphlets such as "Ce que c'est la France toute catholique sous le règne de Louis le Grand" [Life in Completely Catholic France under the Rule of Louis the Great] (1686) were highly critical of the king. On the other hand he was involved in producing the pamphlet "Avis important aux réfugiés sur leur prochain retour en France" [Important Advice to the Refugees on their Forthcoming Return to France] (1690) which urged the exiles to moderate their criticisms of France and retain their hope for an eventual return. Bayle's biographer and younger contemporary, Pierre Desmaizeaux, was only 9 years old at the Revocation and grew up in exile in Switzerland.<sup>7</sup> But Desmaizeaux, who wandered through exile communities in Geneva and Holland before settling in London, also kept in touch with his family. His letters, preserved at the British Museum, show that he was informed of the sufferings of his co-

<sup>5</sup> In banking, for example, there was an international Huguenot network. Herbert Lüthy, *La Banque protestante de la révocation de l'édit de Nantes à la Révolution*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1959-61).

<sup>6</sup> Elisabeth Labrousse, *Inventory critique de la correspondance de Pierre Bayle* (Paris, 1961); *Pierre Bayle* (2 vols., The Hague, 1965-64); *Bayle*, *Past Masters Series* (Oxford, 1985).

<sup>7</sup> The correspondence of Pierre Desmaizeaux is at the British Library, London, esp. Add. MSS 4281-4289. See the work of J. H. Broome, "An Agent in Anglo-French Relationships, Pierre Desmaizeaux, 1673-1745," University of London Ph.D. Thesis, 1949; Broome also published three related articles: "Bayle's biographer: Pierre Des Maizeaux," *French Studies* 9 (Jan. 1955): 1-17; "Pierre Des Maizeaux, Journaliste: Les nouvelles littéraires de Londres entre 1700 et 1740," *Revue de littérature comparée* 29 (1955): 184-204; "Anthony Collins et Desmaizeaux," *Revue de littérature comparée* 30 (1956): 161-179. Mr. Joseph Almagor of the University of Nijmegen is preparing a thesis on Desmaizeaux.

religionists; and while his writings show certain free-thinking tendencies, he did not differ from other Huguenots in his hatred of Louis XIV.

From hatred of the French king to direct action against him was a step taken by many Huguenots who fought in the armies of the coalition against France. Henri, Marquis de Ruigny (later Earl of Galway) and the Duke of Schomberg, who had distinguished themselves in French service before the Revocation, were perhaps the most famous of those who went over to the other side. But scholars could also wage war, as their letters reveal. The most militant of the French Protestant ministers in Rotterdam, Pierre Jurieu, wrote to the flock left behind in the desert.<sup>8</sup> Jurieu considered himself a guardian of orthodoxy and would not bear of moderation and compromise — indeed, he condemned Bayle for writing the "Avis important aux réfugiés" and had him dismissed from his teaching job. Jurieu wanted to encourage resistance and revolt in France. His pamphlets were filled with bizarre apocalyptic visions, that the end was near for the persecuting French government and perhaps for the world in general, that angels would help the Huguenots win their struggle, that William III of England would invade France and overthrow the tyranny of Louis XIV — who might himself convert to Protestantism and restore the Edict of Nantes. To us these visions seem sadly out of touch with reality, but they must be understood in their historical context. Madame Labrousse has stated that the Revocation had left many adult Huguenots in despair; when Jurieu's inflammatory writings appeared, they stirred the imagination of Huguenot children and inspired widespread revolts in the South.<sup>9</sup> If the Catholic King of England James II could be driven from his throne by William and Mary, champions of the Protestant cause, why not Louis XIV? From the safety of the Dutch Republic, Jurieu fired blast after blast of propaganda, quite in harmony with the hopes of other prophetic writers such as the Reverends Increase and Cotton Mather of Boston. But most provincial revolts in the early modern period were doomed because rebels seldom had effective military leadership and adequate resources to resist central government. Normally rebels also lacked any vision of what would replace the government they were rebelling against. Pierre Bayle knew that French Protestants faced a paradox: only the absolutist king could give them what they wanted — freedom of worship and local autonomy, as they had enjoyed in the sixteenth century. By rebelling against Louis XIV, Huguenots risked even harsher punishment.

Why, then, did they listen to Jurieu's letters urging them to revolt? Why did they think the revolts had a chance of success? It was not simply the intolerable persecution that finally led to an irrational reaction, but rather a calculated view of international politics. French aggression was feared by other European

<sup>8</sup> F. R. J. Knetsch, "Pierre Jurieu, Theologian and Politician of the Dispersion," *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae* 5 (1971): 213-242, which is an English summary of his larger work in Dutch, *Pierre Jurieu: Theoloog en Politicus der Refuge* (Kampen, 1967).

<sup>9</sup> Huguenot Heritage Lectures at the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, 2 Oct. 1985.

rulers. By 1689, William III of Orange, the military leader of the Dutch Republic and the strongest opponent of France, had become King of England.<sup>10</sup> The great organizer of coalitions would set to work, punish Louis for his temerity in the Rhineland and his cruelty to the Huguenots in France itself. The Huguenots were not alone in thinking this: after the Glorious Revolution which had brought William to power in England, Cotton Mather "received a strong Persuasion, that some very overturning Dispensations of Heaven will quickly befall the French Empire."<sup>11</sup> One Huguenot financier in Switzerland even doubted that France could afford a long war, because its finances were in disarray and so many of its most productive subjects in exile and supporting the enemy: his pamphlet was read with interest by the German philosopher Leibniz and his friends.<sup>12</sup> But I think Jurieu, Mather, and the rebellious children of the Cévennes were fully convinced of the rightness of their cause: they thought God was on their side, and they read Biblical prophecies of the Slaying of Witnesses in Revelations to confirm their view that the time was right for resistance. On a more practical level, Jurieu even organized a spy network in France, and received money from the English for his intelligence.<sup>13</sup> Thus Huguenots took part in the grand coalition against Louis XIV by fighting in opposing armies, by leading internal revolts, by financing the allies, and by writing and publishing propaganda.<sup>14</sup>

This last activity, writing and publishing, was the ideal role for Huguenot men of letters, members of an international letter-writing community. Holland and England were the main centers for this activity, but there were also contacts with scholars in Geneva and Berlin. Naturally this community was strongest in the cities where exiles found refuge — Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, London, Geneva and Berlin. These cities had institutions ready to receive and support newcomers — prominent among these were the existing French Protestant churches. Huguenot ministers had been forced to leave France in 1681, four years before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. These ministers sought employment in foreign pulpits: some, like Jacques Abbadie, went from

<sup>10</sup> For a recent biography, see Stephen B. Baxter, *William III* (London and New York, 1966).

<sup>11</sup> Quoted by Kenneth S. Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (New York, 1984), p. 170.

<sup>12</sup> The pamphlet was published anonymously and titled, *Etat présent de la France et de ses finances, où l'on prouve qu'il lui est impossible de se maintenir, et la guerre que les allies lui font, continue* (Geneva, 1692). Cited by Leibniz to Landgraf Ernst von Hessen-Rheinfels, Hannover, 5/13 Jan. 1692, *Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe, Erste Reihe, Band 7* (Berlin, 1964), nr. 126, pp. 242-44; to Johann Friedrich Simml Gen. Schütz, Wolfenbüttel, 13 March 1692, nr. 337, pp. 494-95; Henri Justel to Leibniz, London, 9/18 March 1692, nr. 342, pp. 605-07.

<sup>13</sup> Joseph Dedieu, "Jurieu organisateur d'espionnage," "L'Agence Jurieu: Prospérité et Revers," and "L'Agence Jurieu: la Fin d'un Carrière," Chaps. 9-11 of *Le Rôle politique des Protestants français 1685-1715* (Paris, 1920). Because of its bias, this work should be used with caution.

<sup>14</sup> Robin D. Gwynn, "The Huguenots and the Defeat of Louis XIV's France," *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (London and Boston, 1965), pp. 144-59.



one exile church to another across Europe — in his case from France to Berlin to London; others, like François Charles d'Artis, pastor in Stockholm, and the Massons, Jean and Samuel, changed from strict Calvinism to the Anglican church, where they thought there were better prospects. All of them kept in touch through letters that reveal their daily concerns and struggles.

The concentration of Huguenot scholars in certain areas was also related to the relative freedom of the press. Freedom of the press as we know it did not exist in the seventeenth century — in all countries governments cast a wary eye on writers of seditious pamphlets and books, and they tried to watch and control printing. In France all publications had to be submitted to an official censor for approval, and those dealing with religious topics also required a certificate from the Catholic authorities.<sup>15</sup> Obviously Protestant "heretical" works were not allowed. In England until 1695 there were only three cities where books could be published, and all publications were controlled by the Stationers' Company.<sup>16</sup> At the time of the Revocation, James II actually suppressed pamphlets telling of the Huguenots' sufferings.<sup>17</sup> The situation for Huguenot writers in England improved considerably after 1688, when William and Mary appreciated their talents and allowed the printing of tracts critical of France — by then of course, those countries were at war. Active Huguenot writers might hope for a royal pension, an office or (better yet) sinecure, and the honor of election to the Royal Society — Pierre Desmaizeaux, who arrived in England penniless in 1699, had acquired all three by 1720.

But the greatest center of scholarship and printing in this period was Holland.<sup>18</sup> Not only did it attract the largest number of Huguenot exiles, but also the most distinguished scholars of Protestant and free-thinking persuasions. The Dutch Republic had the most tolerant printing policies in Europe.<sup>19</sup> Thanks to strong institutions of local and provincial government, it was difficult to censor and suppress literary work — even when a particular work was condemned in one town, the author and publisher could simply move to another town nearby. The officials of the Republic were sympathetic to the printing of tracts for export, which they regarded as good business and no danger to their own authority. All through the seventeenth century, well before the great Huguenot migration after 1685, Holland was a European center of printing and

<sup>15</sup> Daniel Roche, "La Censure" and "La Police du livre," *Histoire de l'Édition française*, Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin, eds., vol. 2: *Le Livre triomphant* (Paris, 1984), pp. 76-91.

<sup>16</sup> Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company, a History 1493-1959* (London, 1960).

<sup>17</sup> Robin D. Gwynn, "James II in the light of his Treatment of Huguenot Refugees," *English Historical Review* 82 (1977): 820-33.

<sup>18</sup> Graham C. Gibbs, "Some Intellectual and Political Influences of the Huguenot Emigrés in the United Provinces, c. 1680-1730," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 90 (1975): 255-87; "The Role of the Dutch Republic as the Intellectual Entrepôt of Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *R.M.G.N.* 86 (1971): 323-49.

<sup>19</sup> Simon Groenewald, "Censorship in the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century," paper at the Tenth Anglo-Dutch Historical Conference, London, September, 1985.

subversion.<sup>20</sup> English and French ambassadors might complain bitterly that Dutch writers and booksellers did not respect their kings, but these complaints drew little more than reassuring words from the Dutch authorities. When 50,000 Huguenots arrived in Holland there was a substantial population highly critical of Louis XIV, ready to read news reports about France and attacks on French policy.

Huguenot pamphleteers may have written out of economic necessity as much as from political and religious motivation. They evolved a distinctive new form of writing, the periodical journal, to air their views to a general learned public. Pierre Bayle's *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, begun in 1684, was the most famous of these journals. Bayle corresponded with learned men all over Europe and composed his journal from his letters. He treated high literary and philosophical subjects, but also could not avoid mentioning the Revocation five times between October, 1685, and February, 1687, when the burden of editorship proved too much for his health and forced him to retire temporarily from journalism and pamphleteering.<sup>21</sup> *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* reviewed both Protestant and Catholic books, and set a high standard: it soon had many imitators and successors. It is remarkable how many journals were produced by Huguenot exiles — the Basnage brothers, Jacques Bernard, Henri du Sauzet, Charles de la Motte and many more were active in the trade. They already had a command of French, the international language of diplomacy and, increasingly, of scholarship; they saw the possibilities for employment. To get literary news, they naturally wrote to friends in other European cities. The resulting "Nouvelles Littéraires" printed in every journal were excerpts from private letters, and might persuade us that the journals were letters writ large.

Starting a journal required initiative and capital, as well as a co-operative printer and a congenial publishing climate. For those learned Huguenot exiles who did not possess such advantages, there were teaching posts — as private tutors in aristocratic households, or as teachers in schools and universities. Of course there was much competition for these posts, and a need to overcome resentment of foreigners in the countries of refuge.<sup>22</sup> The best advice for a would-be Huguenot literary figure in England was to learn English, and to hope for the favor of an aristocratic patron.<sup>23</sup> In Holland there were municipal

<sup>20</sup> The history of Dutch printing has been carefully studied by many scholars; for this period see the valuable work of Dr. I. H. van Erghen, *De Amsterdamsche Boekhandel, 1680-1725*, 5 parts in 6 vols. (Amsterdam, 1960-1979).

<sup>21</sup> References to the Revocation appear in Nov. 1685, art. IV, p. 412; May, 1686, art. IV, p. 553; July, 1686, art. I, p. 590; Aug., 1686, art. I, p. 611; Jan., 1687, avert., p. 722. Page numbers are to vol. 1 of Bayle, *Oeuvres diverses* (The Hague, 1727; reprint, Hildesheim and New York, 1970).

<sup>22</sup> For an example of the difficulties Huguenots faced, see Aubrey Rosenberg, *Typset de Paris and his Work 1655-1738*, *International Archives for the History of Ideas*, 47 (The Hague, 1972), esp. pp. 18-25.

<sup>23</sup> The studies of Graham C. Gibbs have done much to illuminate these problems. Besides the articles cited above, see "Abel Boyer Gallo-Anglus Glomographus et Historicus, 1667-1729: His Early Life, 1667-1686, *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* 22-2 (1978): 87-98, and "Huguenot Contributions to the Intellectual Life and Traffic of England, c. 1660 to c. 1720," paper to the Huguenot Heritage Conference, London, 1985, to be published in *The Huguenots in England*.



schools in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Deventer, where Huguenots might be employed; there were also the universities of Leiden, Utrecht, and Groningen that attracted scholars from all over Europe. The career of Jean Barbeyrac shows the international character of learning. From his student days in Montpellier he moved to Lausanne and Geneva in Switzerland, then to Frankfurt and Berlin. Later he returned to Lausanne to teach until 1717, when he was called to a professorship in Groningen. On his scholarly odyssey Barbeyrac corresponded with Bayle and Desmaizeaux, Leibniz and other scholars.<sup>24</sup>

The active correspondence and movement of Huguenot scholars around Europe may prompt us to ask, just how *learned* were these people? Naturally they had strong interests in religious studies and philosophy, current politics and history — all of which had practical application in their lives. Their real distinction was frequently achieved in these subjects, closest to the heart of their Protestant faith. But Huguenot scholars were also fascinated by classical learning and science. Some were appointed to teaching posts at Leiden and Oxford, and still others elected to the scientific academies of Berlin and London. Nonetheless, what passed for learning in their letters and journals often resembled contemporary collections of curiosities and trivia. Henri Justel, an elderly librarian living in London, gathered reports on "Les commoditez de la vie," marvelous inventions that made life easier and more comfortable. His letters to Leibniz are filled with petty detail — which the German philosopher encouraged him to publish in a great book.<sup>25</sup> Pierre Desmaizeaux, at best an author of mediocre talents, wrote letters to collect still more letters of Bayle and free-thinking tracts for publication in Holland. These Huguenot writers were in harmony with the general collecting spirit of their age. Desmaizeaux joined a coffee-house club of aristocrats and professional men whose actual scholarly work was quite limited. Even the gentlemen of the Royal Society collected curious bits of information, colorful details to enliven their *Philosophical Transactions*. Indeed, election to the Royal Society of London, which has been regarded as recognition of scientific merit, was often given for social reasons. The subjects discussed there at times veered toward "crackpot learning,"<sup>26</sup> and the Huguenot scholars shared these tendencies. In 1706, for example, scholars were excited by the discovery of some elephant bones in Siberia. Since they did not know about woolly mammoths, they faced the problem of explaining just how those bones got to Siberia. In the letters of Gisbert Cuper of Deventer and the French Protestant exile Mathurin Veysi re de La Croze of Berlin two explanations were suggested, following two well-known paradigms: first, that

<sup>24</sup> E. Haag et al., *La France protestante* . . . (Paris, 1840-50).

<sup>25</sup> On Justel (1620-1683), see the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1940-50 ed.) 10 = 1119-20; *La France protestante*.

<sup>26</sup> An example of the esoteric scholarly discussions of the time appears in Joseph M. Levine, *Doctor Woodhouse's Shield: History, Science, and Satire in Augustan England* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1977).

the bones had been washed up to Siberia during the Great Flood — a typical Biblical explanation; and second, that there had been a powerful civilization in Siberia, whose further traces would soon be found. Elephants were instruments of war, used by Hannibal when he crossed the Alps; in ancient times only a great power such as Carthage could employ them — thus there must have been a great power in Siberia — the classical explanation.<sup>27</sup> The same applies to some of their learned journals. The Massons published an article in their journal, *Histoire critique de la république des lettres*, explaining the utility of the Chinese language for understanding the Old Testament.<sup>28</sup> While we may consider these views eccentric, in their time scholars did pursue the study of oriental languages exactly for that reason. In a search for universal language and harmony, Leibniz carried on extensive communication with Jesuit missionaries in China.<sup>29</sup> The scholars of that age were locked in biblical and classical categories; their notion of science differed greatly from ours.

I mentioned earlier that the Huguenot letter-writers were coming to a new vision of European culture, transcending the circumstances of their persecution. This ideal of a *Republic of Letters*, an international community of scholars, was certainly strengthened by the network of Huguenot writers spread all over Europe.<sup>30</sup> The Republic of Letters had existed before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but in that first generation after 1685 it was at its height.<sup>31</sup> Letter-writers who thought of themselves as citizens of an international republic were not limited by national frontiers. Even during wartime the correspondence continued. The Republic of Letters included Catholics as well as Protestants, and served to open a dialogue about reunion of the faiths. We can still read the ardent letters of the Protestant Leibniz in Germany and his Catholic friends in Paris, the former Huguenots Paul Pélisson and Daniel Larroque, the Oratorian Nicolas Malebranche and Bishop Jacques-Benigne Bossuet. If their efforts at Christian unity through scholarly letters were ultimately unsuccessful, there was at least good faith on both sides. Neither Catholic nor Protestant scholars lost hope of converting correspondents to their point of view.

Membership in an international letter-writing society had to be balanced with everyday life in exile, which raised the problem of eventual assimilation to

<sup>27</sup> Cuper — La Croze letters, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, MS 72 H 18, nr. 11, 18.

<sup>28</sup> [Samuel Mason et al.], *Histoire critique de la république des lettres*, vol. 2 (1713): 96-153.

<sup>29</sup> David Mungello, *Leibniz and Confucianism: the Search for Accord* (Honolulu, 1977).

Leibniz' idea of universal correspondence has been explained by Rudolph W. Meyer, *Leibniz and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (Cambridge and Chicago, 1952), pp. 100-115.

<sup>30</sup> Erich Haase, *Einführung in die Literatur des Refuge* (Berlin, 1959). Ms. Anne Goldgar of Harvard University is preparing a thesis on this subject.

<sup>31</sup> For a brief development of the history of the idea, see Fritz Schalk, "Erasmus und die Res Publica Literaria," *Actes du Congrès Erasme, Académie royale Néerlandaise des sciences et des sciences humaines*, Rotterdam, 27-29 Oct. 1960 (Amsterdam and London, 1971), pp. 14-28; repr. in Schalk, *Studien zur Französischen Aufklärung* (Frankfurt am Main, 1977).

the host countries. The scholarly letters say little about this subject, but it is important. A country of exile is seldom as emotionally appealing as one's native land: while the Huguenots were grateful for their places of refuge, the first generation still looked longingly back to France. They hoped that their exile would be short-lived, that France would be defeated in war, that Louis XIV would change his mind, and that a new ruler would call them back. From 1685 to 1715 there were some grounds for believing that any or all of these things could happen. France was at war 1688-1697 and again 1702-1714, facing powerful coalitions of other European states and suffering terrible defeats in battles. In 1693-94 and 1709-10, bad weather and harvest failures drove up the price of grain and caused widespread misery. Louis XIV needed so much money to fight the wars that he had to stop the building works at his beloved palace of Versailles in the 1690's, and sell his household silver in 1709. Indeed, that winter was so cold that wine froze in the glasses on the Sun King's table. Was God sending him a message? Cuper, La Croze, and other Protestants certainly thought so: in a letter of 1709 Cuper attributed the king's bad fortune to his persecutions:

Sound reason persuades us, and history confirms it, that the Roman Emperors who persecuted the flock of Jesus Christ were punished in an exemplary manner . . . if the hand of God is against the King and France, as we believe and as experience teaches us, it must follow that some things that happened a few years ago in that large and flourishing kingdom were not approved by the Master of the Universe.<sup>22</sup>

Yet the Huguenots who thought of an early return to France were sorely disappointed by the treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt-Baden in 1713-14. England was the first of the allies to make peace with Louis XIV: the Protestant champion William III was long dead, and the Tory ministers of Queen Anne were tired of the war and the Protestant cause. Holland and the German Empire agreed to terms that did not restore the rights of Protestants in France.

What was left for the Huguenot exiles but to become respectable citizens of the host countries? Though they had tried to preserve their culture and community, the Huguenots had settled and raised children in Holland, England, Germany, Switzerland, New York and South Carolina. Having learned the local language, perhaps changed their names to make them more pronounceable, they soon saw the advantages of assimilation. Naturally those in trade would have to learn local customs and obey local laws, which meant asking for letters of naturalization, joining craft guilds, showing their support of the local government. Long before the Revocation, there were settled French communities abroad, a result of the sixteenth-century Huguenot migration and normal trade: the French Protestant church in London already existed in the

<sup>22</sup> Cuper to La Croze, Owen, 16 June 1709, K.B., MS 72.H.18, nr. 20.



1550's. Such institutions suggested that refugees could maintain their cultural unity while becoming loyal citizens of the host country.<sup>35</sup>

Maintaining French culture was perhaps easier in the eighteenth century, when France was still the greatest power in Europe, and its cultural dominance extended far beyond its borders. Foreigners looked to Paris as a center of wealth and learning, an essential stop on the grand tour; they learned the French language and used it for their diplomacy and social conversation; they admired and copied French styles of interior design, even in supposedly austere Protestant countries. By taking their commercial and artistic expertise with them into exile, the Huguenots actually helped extend French influence in Europe. English, Dutch and German culture were underdeveloped and weak by comparison — and in many fields they could not withstand the French onslaught. It is another paradox that the host countries, political enemies of France, enthusiastically adopted French culture, in large measure because of the activities of the Huguenot exiles.

The scholarly letters I have read come from the first generation after 1685. They show more concern for the Protestants still in France, for those escaping and establishing themselves in foreign countries; and less immediate concern for the consequences of assimilation. Pierre Bayle lived in Rotterdam for 25 years but apparently never learned Dutch; certain others in England, judging from their awkward writing in English, still felt more comfortable expressing themselves in French well into the eighteenth century. The loss of French language and culture among Huguenot descendants appears to me as a problem of the twentieth century. My great-great-grandfather certainly wrote and spoke French when he set out from Holland for South Africa in the 1850's, and my grandmother was still attending Walloon church services in French in the 1920's and 1930's. Our own generation, myself included, has had to study to relearn the French language and the Huguenot heritage. Ladies and Gentlemen, there is so much of our history yet to be read and written. I thank you for your attention, and commend you for your efforts to keep alive your interest in the past.

<sup>35</sup> Robin D. Gwynn, "The Process of Assimilation," *Huguenot Heritage*, pp. 160-75.

## MINUTES OF ANNUAL MEETING

Charleston, South Carolina  
Saturday, April 12, 1986

The One Hundredth and First Anniversary Meeting of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina was held this day at four o'clock in Mark Clark Hall on the campus of The Citadel, Military College of South Carolina. John Miles Horlbeck, President, called the meeting to order. The Reverend Robert L. Oliveros, Chaplain, offered the invocation.

Mr. Horlbeck welcomed all members and guests present, General James A. Grimsley, Jr., President of the Citadel, our member and host, and special guest and speaker, Dr. Maarten Ultee, of whom more will appear below. He then urged out of town members and guests to rise for special recognition.

Minutes of the 1985 Anniversary Meeting held April 20, at Charles Towne Landing, printed in *Transactions* Number 90 (1985), were approved by motion.

As the audience rose and remained standing, the President read the In Memoriam List, names of those members lost to the Society by death since the last report in *Transactions* Number 90.

After this, Mr. Horlbeck extended a welcome to the new members elected during the year whose names were on printed lists distributed in the assembly, and to three additional new members whose applications had not arrived in time for the applicants' names to be incorporated in the lists. The Report of the Treasurer for the year ending March 31, 1986, had also been printed and distributed and was received as information.

Mr. Horlbeck at this time gave his President's Report, printed elsewhere herein. This was followed by a final report of the Huguenot Heritage Committee delivered by Mr. deRosset Myers, its Chairman.

For the ensuing election of officers for the 1986-1987 term, Mr. Charles E. Menefee, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, presented his Committee's slate of proposed officers. Mr. Menefee expressed the sorrow of the Executive Committee that Barnard Snowden elected the previous year as Vice President for New Bordeaux had not lived to occupy the position. Nominations were called for from the floor, and there being none, motion was duly executed to elect Mr. Horlbeck for a second term as President, and Mr. Thomas Oregon Lawton, Jr., of Allendale, South Carolina, to replace Mr. Snowden as Vice President for New Bordeaux. Other officers remained unchanged. Mr. Horlbeck thanked the Society for the honor bestowed upon him, saying that service to the Society was his pleasure and foremost priority.

The President then introduced Dr. Maarten Ultee, Professor of History at the University of Alabama, in these words:

Johannes Maarten Ultee is a descendant of Huguenots who settled in



Holland in the 17th and 18th centuries. Both sides of his family belonged to the Walloon Community Church in The Hague. His great, great-grandfather was a missionary in Cape Colony, South Africa.

Dr. Ultee was born in Holland in 1949, came to the U.S.A. with his parents in 1953, and grew up in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. He took his B.A. in political science at Reed College in 1969, then studied French religious history at The Johns Hopkins University, where he received M.A. (1972) and Ph.D. (1975) degrees. His first teaching posts took him to California, New York, and North Carolina. Since 1980, however, he has taught European History at The University of Alabama, and is now associate professor there.

Professor Ultee has received research grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Newberry Library, the German Academic Exchange Service, and the Bankhead Fund. His first book, *The Abbey of St. Germain des Prés in the Seventeenth Century*, was published by Yale University Press in 1981. This year he has produced another volume at University of Alabama Press, *Adapting to Conditions: War and Society in the Eighteenth Century*. Dr. Ultee has also published articles and reviews in historical journals. His current research is the history of letter-writing among European scholars, in which Huguenots played a prominent role. In connection with this work, he attended the Huguenot Heritage celebrations in England in the fall of 1985, when he had the pleasure of meeting many members of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina.

At the conclusion of Dr. Ultee's address, Mr. Horlbeck thanked him for a scholarly and informative talk greatly appreciated and enjoyed by all present.

The Chaplain closed the meeting with the benediction and the President declared it adjourned. A reception followed, prepared by Mrs. Floyd L. Dovell, III, Miss Eleanor Simons, and Mr. Henry Ravenel Dwight, Jr.

*Respectfully submitted,*

Martha Bailey Burns,  
*Secretary*

ANNUAL REPORT  
of  
The Treasurer for the Year ending March 31, 1986  
GENERAL FUND

*Receipts*

Brought forward April 1, 1985 .....	\$ 2,054.35
Dues .....	25,979.00
Initiation fees .....	3,442.00
Interest on Permanent Fund .....	1,531.51
Interest on this account .....	778.53
Securities (dividends) .....	1,678.06
Transactions sold to members and non-members .....	451.00
Huguenot Heritage Medallions sold .....	3,868.00
Emblem pins sold to members .....	354.00
Huguenot crosses sold .....	933.00
Reinstatement of members .....	324.00
Gifts .....	102.00
Postage and aerox reimbursement .....	45.63
Dr. Jane Mahler's Huguenot guide booklet sold .....	90.00
S. C. Historical Society, royalties on microfiche use of Transactions .....	59.32
Dr. G. P. Cuttino's Cuttino book sold .....	60.00
Chart .....	3.00
Reimbursement from Huguenot Heritage Committee .....	1,004.74
Reimbursement check .....	18.00
Building Fund Memorials (due to Building Fund account) .....	348.00
Life Memberships (due to Permanent Fund account) .....	2,425.00
Huguenot Church restoration fund .....	25.00
Total .....	<u>\$46,456.14</u>

*Disbursements*

Rent, electricity, water, parking .....	\$ 2,537.62
Salaries .....	3,750.84
IRS .....	497.38
S. C. Employment Security and State tax .....	57.63
Transactions No. 90 (1985), publication 3,500 copies .....	15,658.65
U. S. Post Office, postage, pre-stamped supplies, mailing costs .....	1,851.31
Printing and office supplies, includes catalog envelopes for Transactions .....	1,921.12
Heat .....	231.50
Telephone .....	761.90
Annual Meeting 1985, reception, rental, speaker's expense, honorarium .....	1,578.00
Fall Service 1985, collation, rental, minister's expense, honorarium .....	1,136.80
Engrossing, new member certificates .....	456.50
Insurance .....	150.00
Bank charges, including safety box rental .....	155.37
Purchase of books and periodicals for Library .....	155.05
Tercentenary Commemoration and Huguenot Heritage Committee .....	6,656.77
McKnight, Frampton, Baskirk Co., preparation tax reports for the Society and for Huguenot Heritage Committee .....	590.00
Addressograph machine, maintenance and supplies .....	168.70

Huguenot crosses, includes \$500.00 deposit on new order of 100 crosses .....	608.00
Bulkmailing for Transactions No. 90 (1985), includes deposit at P. O. for No. 91 (1986), forthcoming publication .....	961.74
Copyright for Transactions No. 80 (1984), and No. 90 (1985) .....	20.00
Indexing of Transactions Nos. 1-85, sorting process now being done .....	222.65
Postage for mailing Medallions .....	30.00
To Huguenot Church restoration fund, donation by member .....	25.00
Toward 1986 Annual Meeting, speaker's expense .....	296.00
Flowers .....	22.05
Check returned by bank .....	36.00
Total .....	\$37,519.56
Balance on hand March 31, 1986 .....	\$ 8,956.58

## BUILDING FUND

## Receipts

Brought forward April 1, 1985 .....	\$21,149.90
Interest on this account .....	1,218.51
Memorials and Gifts .....	597.00
Total .....	\$22,965.41
Balance (no disbursements) on hand March 31, 1986 .....	\$22,965.41

## PERMANENT FUND

## Receipts

Brought forward April 1, 1985 .....	\$36,290.51
Life Memberships .....	5,318.00
Interest 27/Sept./1985 to 21/Nov./1985 .....	304.76
Total .....	\$39,853.07
Balance (no disbursements) on hand November 21, 1985 .....	\$39,853.07

Pursuant to a vote of the Executive Committee of the Society at a meeting held October 12, 1985, to close out the Permanent Fund pass book Savings Account No. 101-08611-5 at First Federal Savings and Loan Association for the purpose of reinvestment for the benefit of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina at the most advantageous rate of interest consistent with safety of the principal, the following action was taken: a three-year Certificate of Deposit entitled The Huguenot Society of South Carolina Permanent Fund Account Number 435 08622 17 103 was established November 21, 1985, with Robinson-Humphrey Company, American Express, dividend on full redemption.

## REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee reports the following letters of application for membership in the Society. These letters have been favorably acted upon by the Committee.

Wiley Lovejoy Aids, Jr. — <i>Gabriel Marignault, Solomon Legaré, Jean (John) Bonnetheau</i> .....	Charleston, SC
Otis Clebourne Johnston, Jr. — <i>Robert Lanier</i> .....	Columbia, SC
Mrs. Clara Jane Dart Maunell — <i>Isaac DuBois</i> .....	New Orleans, LA
Mrs. Eleanor Simons Sofge Boulware — <i>Benjamin Simons, I</i> .....	Rock Hill, SC
Aaron Thomas Holtbrook — <i>Henri deSauzure</i> .....	Humble, TX
Mrs. Julianne Bacot Fripp Mosk — <i>Pierre Bacot</i> .....	Lexington, SC
Dr. George McFarlane Mood, Jr. — <i>René Batenet</i> .....	Charleston, SC
Mrs. Catherine Whaley Holt Heger — <i>Benjamin Marion, Judith Baluet</i> .....	Blacksburg, VA
Mrs. Septima Holmes Porcher Murray — <i>Isaac Porcher</i> .....	Atlanta, GA
Vincent Thomas Murray, Jr. — <i>Isaac Porcher</i> .....	Marietta, GA
Miss Allison Porcher Murray — <i>Isaac Porcher</i> .....	Charleston, SC
John Porcher Murray — <i>Isaac Porcher</i> .....	Mt. Pleasant, SC
Mrs. Carrie Anne Bracey Edmund — <i>George Jun, Susanne Leffiche</i> .....	Broken Arrow, OK
Mrs. Mary Gourdin Montgomery Madlock — <i>Louis Gourdin</i> .....	Columbia, SC
Colonel Neil Gaillard Bates, USAF (Ret.) — <i>Joachim Gaillard, Esther Paparel, Dr. Isaac Porcher, Claude de Chertigny, Philip Gendron, Magdalen Chardon, Dr. Antoine Cordes, Magdalen Baluet, Isaac Mazjék, Jacques LeSerrurier, Jacques Leger, Marie LeComte</i> .....	St. Matthews, SC
Richard Champion Davis — <i>Henri deSauzure</i> .....	Mt. Pleasant, SC
Mrs. Ella deSauzure Hunter Davis — <i>Henri deSauzure</i> .....	Mt. Pleasant, SC
Miss Elizabeth Evans Morgan — <i>John Miot, Rev. James de la Fontaine</i> .....	Burke, VA
Miss Margaret Kirkwood Morgan — <i>John Miot, Rev. James de la Fontaine</i> .....	Burke, VA
Mrs. Corinne Cunningham Laval — <i>Pierre Gibert, Elizabeth Bienaimé</i> .....	Jonesville, SC
Mrs. Elizabeth Brunson Wilson — <i>Pierre Bacot, Isaac Porcher</i> .....	Myrtle Beach, SC
Mrs. Catherine Ravenel Mood Townsend — <i>René Batenet, Charlotte de St. Julien</i> .....	Pigah Forest, NC
Mrs. Judith Dianne Robertson Lawson — <i>Dr. Isaac Porcher</i> .....	Burton, SC
William Eamond Howell — <i>Daniel Trezevant, Susanne Maulard</i> .....	Sunter, SC
Miss Bonnie Leigh Brake — <i>Daniel Horry, Daniel Garnier, Elizabeth Funton</i> .....	Myrtle Beach, SC
Mrs. Edith Evelyn Friel Head — <i>Claude Philippe de Richebourg, Anne Chantam</i> .....	Kingsville, TX
Joseph McCord Bates, Jr. — <i>Joachim Gaillard, Esther Paparel, Dr. Isaac Porcher, Claude de Chertigny, Philippe Gendron, Magdalen Chardon, Dr. Antoine Cordes, Magdalene Baluet, Isaac Mazjék, Jacques LeSerrurier, Jacques Leger, Marie LeComte</i> .....	Irmo, SC
Matthew Chaxelle Dougherty — <i>Philip LeRoy</i> .....	Newnan, GA
Mrs. Florence Watts Parry — <i>Richard Durrett</i> .....	Brevard, NC
Mrs. Gladys Virginia Lambrecht Russell — <i>John Gaston</i> .....	Union, SC
Charles Darius Massey — <i>Dr. Robert Henry (Pastor, Huguenot Church)</i> .....	Gastonia, NC
Charles Sloan Massey — <i>Dr. Robert Henry</i> .....	Charleston, SC
Harold Taylor Dukes, Jr. — <i>Jean Postell</i> .....	Ravenel, SC
Carl Pinckney Dukes — <i>Jean Postell</i> .....	Ravenel, SC



Mrs. Hazel Bonneau Jackson — <i>Antoine Bonneau</i> .....	Opp, AL
John Jacob Bonneau — <i>Antoinette Bonneau</i> .....	Elba, AL
Joseph Johnson Miller, III — <i>Rev. Pierre Robert, Daniel Jaudon, Jacques deBourdeaux, Jean Carrière</i> .....	Goldboro, NC
Mrs. Marion Rhodes Martin — <i>Pierre Bacot</i> .....	Columbia, SC
Mrs. Martha Lawton Cooper — <i>Rev. Pierre Robert, Jeanne Bruge, Daniel Jaudon, Jacques deBourdeaux, Sarah Bertonneau, Jean Carrière</i> .....	Fl. Walton Beh., FL
Mrs. Kathryn Wilder Tate — <i>Daniel Trezevant, Susanne Maulard</i> .....	Sumter, SC
Edward Holmes Stall — <i>Pierre Bacot, Marie Feronneau, Henri deSaussure</i> .....	Greenville, SC
Philip Griffen Clarke, III — <i>Jean François de Gagnilliat, Daniel Trezevant</i> .....	Charleston, SC
George Congdon Lohr, Jr. — <i>Vincent Rongnon</i> .....	Charleston, SC
William Kent Haydock, Jr. — <i>Rev. Elias Prioleau, Jeanne Burgeaud, Philippe Gendron, Magdalene Chardon, Jacob Guérard, Benjamin Godin, Isaac Mazjick, Jacques LeSerrurier, John Abraham de la Motte</i> .....	Summit, NJ
Thomas Pinckney Haydock — <i>Rev. Elias Prioleau, Jeanne Burgeaud, Philippe Gendron, Magdalene Chardon, Jacob Guérard, Benjamin Godin, Isaac Mazjick, Jacques LeSerrurier, John Abraham de la Motte</i> .....	Darien, CT
Miss Caroline Prioleau Haydock, II — <i>Rev. Elias Prioleau, Jeanne Burgeaud, Philippe Gendron, Magdalene Chardon, Jacob Guérard, Benjamin Godin, Isaac Mazjick, Jacques LeSerrurier, John Abraham de la Motte</i> .....	Darien, CT
William Harvey Hunter, Sr., M.D. — <i>Jean Baptiste de la Chaumette</i> .....	Clemson, SC
Mrs. Gail Pinckney Crayton — <i>Dr. Isaac Porcher, Claude de Chertigny, Joachim Gaillard, Esther Paparel, John Abraham Motte</i> .....	Graniteville, SC
William Joseph Hennessy — <i>René Bavenel, Pierre Julien de St. Julien, Isaac Mazjick, Henri Feronneau, Rev. Elias Prioleau</i> .....	Mt. Pleasant, SC
George Timothy Mouton — <i>Leuis Mouton, Pierre Vidéau, Jeanne Elizabeth Mouté</i> .....	Springfield, OH
Edward Earnest Cuttino — <i>Jeremie Cothanneau, Marie Billon</i> .....	Spring, TX
Elbert Lamar Bailes, Jr. — <i>Pierre LaNoue</i> .....	Walhalla, SC
Mrs. Annette Richardson Chappell — <i>Jean Velas L'Orange</i> .....	Macon, GA
Mrs. Caroline de Veaus Carson Rickenbaker — <i>Francis DesChamps</i> .....	Columbia, SC
James Walker Coleman, Jr. — <i>Rev. Elias Prioleau</i> .....	Charleston, SC
Mrs. Catherine Hill Tilt Porter — <i>Rev. Pierre Robert</i> .....	Atlanta, GA
Mrs. Gabrielle Peterson Foster — <i>Justus DuPré, Sr.</i> .....	Columbia, SC
Carl Bruce DeVane — <i>Thomas DeVane</i> .....	Kings Mt., NC
Charles Valk Boykin, Jr. — <i>Henri deSaussure, Amalie Goudard, Dr. Daniel Brabant, Jacques de Bourdeaux, Madelaine Garillond, Catherine Fremé</i> .....	Charleston, SC
Henry Oswald Coste, Jr. — <i>Louis Coste</i> .....	Sullivan's Isl., SC
David Vincent Coste — <i>Louis Coste</i> .....	Sullivan's Isl., SC
Mrs. Charlotte Cornelia Coste Austin — <i>Louis Coste</i> .....	Edgewater, FL
Edward Dana Beach — <i>Isaac Mazjick, Pierre Julien de St. Julien, Benjamin Simons, Justus DuPré, Jacques LeSerrurier, Elizabeth Leger</i> .....	Charleston, SC
Miss Sarah Boyd Wannamaker — <i>Justus DuPré</i> .....	Camden, SC
Jackie Gene Eldon Dilleshaw — <i>Jacob de la Chaux</i> .....	Boyd, TX
Robert William Overman — <i>Jacques D'Auges</i> .....	New Bern, NC
Mrs. Laurie Thomas Overman Roberts — <i>Jacques D'Auges</i> .....	Pineville, NC
Colonel John Kellogg Joliet — <i>Daniel Joliet, Marie Courcier, Jean Cavalier</i> .....	Virgin Islands
Mrs. Leah Elizabeth Bavenel Hennessy — <i>René Bavenel, Pierre Julien de St. Julien, Isaac Mazjick, Henri Feronneau, Rev. Elias Prioleau</i> .....	Mt. Pleasant, SC
Mark Patrick Hennessy — <i>René Bavenel, Pierre Julien de St. Julien, Isaac Mazjick, Henri Feronneau, Rev. Elias Prioleau</i> .....	Tybee Isl., GA
Palmer Dunham Marvin — <i>Solomon Legaré</i> .....	Charleston, SC



Tom Bailey LaRoche — <i>James LaRoche</i> .....	John's Isl. SC
Miss Aletha Cameron Dukes — <i>Jean Postell</i> .....	Ravenel SC
Mrs. Sara Jean Orr Morris — <i>Jean de Jarnette</i> .....	Anderson SC
Miss Margaret May Curry — <i>Antoine Bonneau</i> .....	Tallahassee FL
Mrs. Elisabeth Gavin Cattino Martin — <i>Jérémie Cothanneau, Marie Billon</i> .....	Houston TX
Mrs. Althea Ann Cattino Quiroz — <i>Jérémie Cothanneau, Marie Billon</i> .....	Spring TX
Thomas McCatchen Gignilliat — <i>Jean François de Gignilliat</i> .....	Seneca SC
Mrs. Francesca Boynton Johnston — <i>Abraham Michau, Elise Jaudon, Sarah Bertonneau, Pierre Guerri, Jean Broussard, Jean duPont, Marie du Busc, Charles Faucheraud, Anne Vignaud, André Rember, Anne Bressan</i> .....	Charleston SC
Mrs. Sandra Scruggs Boyd — <i>Abraham Michau, Elise Jaudon, Sarah Bertonneau, Pierre Guerri, Jean Broussard, Jean duPont, Marie du Bose, Charles Faucheraud, Anne Vignaud, André Rember, Anne Bressan</i> .....	New Port Richey FL
Weston Adams, III — <i>Thomas Blanchard, Cornelius d'Aubigné, Pierre Videns, Anthony Bonneau, David Peyre, Judith Bousseau</i> .....	Sewanee TN
Robert Adams, VI — <i>Thomas Blanchard, Cornelius d'Aubigné, Pierre Videns, Anthony Bonneau, David Peyre, Judith Bousseau</i> .....	Clemson SC
Miss Georgia Elizabeth LeBoy — <i>Philip LeBoy</i> .....	Anderson SC
Mrs. Leslie Dukes Tumbleston — <i>Jean Postell</i> .....	Ravenel SC
Mrs. Nona Miller Maddray — <i>Claude Philippe de Richebourg, Anne Chastain</i> .....	Irving TX
Ms. Magdalyn Mears Fraser — <i>Dr. Francis Le Jan, Isaac Mazjick, Jacques LeSerrurier, Jacques Leger, Dr. Isaac Porcher, Claude de Chertigny, Suzanne Ferré, Isaac Lesenne, Daniel Trezevant, Benjamin Simons, Mary Esther DuPré, Pierre Julien de St. Julien, Jeanne Le Febvre</i> .....	Mt. Pleasant SC
Melvin Richardson Hymen, Jr. — <i>Dr. Francis Le Jan, Isaac Mazjick, Jacques LeSerrurier, Jacques Leger, Dr. Isaac Porcher, Claude de Chertigny, Suzanne Ferré, Isaac Lesenne, Daniel Trezevant, Benjamin Simons, Mary Esther DuPré, Pierre Julien de St. Julien, Jeanne Le Febvre</i> .....	Mt. Pleasant SC
Philip Maury Wilkinco — <i>Mary Anne Fontaine Maury</i> .....	Georgetown SC
Mrs. Linda Dayhoff Smith — <i>François L'Egare, Anne Lancou</i> .....	Columbia SC
Edward Horn Boines, III — <i>Pierre Guerri</i> .....	Charleston SC
Daniel Scott Boines — <i>Pierre Guerri</i> .....	Charleston SC
Robert Alexander Boines — <i>Pierre Guerri</i> .....	Charleston SC
Richard Adams Boines — <i>Pierre Guerri</i> .....	Charleston SC
Edward Horn Boines, IV — <i>Pierre Guerri</i> .....	Charleston SC
John Leslie Lobingier, Jr. — <i>Rev. Pierre Robert, Daniel Jaudon, Jacques de Bourdeaux, Christopher Lobingier (Lot Bisiere)</i> .....	Brewster MA
Elias Horry Morrison — <i>Elias Horry</i> .....	Mt. Pleasant SC
Lucian Cary Hutson — <i>Henri deSaussure, Dr. Daniel Brabant, Jacques de Bourdeaux, Madeleine Garrilind, Pierre Bacot, Samuel Petanneau, Jeanne Collin, Jacques LeSerrurier, Jacques Leger, Elizabeth Bossu, Jean François de Gignilliat, Benjamin Martin, Judith Baluet, René Het, Blanche Sauxeau, Jacques du Bose</i> .....	Tampa FL
Mrs. Margaret Girardeau Davenport Staveloy — <i>Jean Girardeau</i> .....	Soul Beach CA
Miss Carolyn Ann Bice — <i>Philip LeBoy</i> .....	Easley SC
Charles Richardson Daniel, Jr., DMD — <i>Nicholas Farrar</i> .....	Charleston SC
Joseph Robert Surface — <i>Abraham Harpine (Harbin)</i> .....	Columbia SC
Mrs. DeEtte DuPre Nisbitt — <i>Justus DuPré</i> .....	Houston TX
Mrs. Nyleen Barnett Bell — <i>Nicholas Bochet, Suzanne Deshats</i> .....	Monroe LA

Robert Jackson Walker Hawes — <i>André Guillebeau</i> .....	Augusta, GA
Miss Bohyn Lee Hawes — <i>André Guillebeau</i> .....	Augusta, GA
Zachary Lee Smith, born February 21, 1985 — <i>Philip LeRoy</i> .....	Augusta, GA
Joseph Bacon Martin, III — <i>Rev. Pierre Robert, Daniel Jaudon</i> .....	Charlotte, NC
John Ernest Gibbs, Jr., M.D. — <i>Benjamin Simons</i> .....	Charleston, SC
Mrs. Lucretia Mott Gibbs Townsend — <i>Benjamin Simons</i> .....	Charleston, SC
Mrs. Elizabeth Parker Dixon — <i>Rev. Francis Le Jau, Captain Anthony Bonneau, Pierre Videns</i> .....	Atlanta, GA
Miss Elmore Howell DesChamps — <i>Francis DesChamps</i> .....	Charleston, SC
George Thomas DesChamps — <i>Francis DesChamps</i> .....	Columbia, SC
Mrs. Anne Wienges Stallworth — <i>Daniel Trezetant</i> .....	Charleston, SC
Mrs. Anne Augusta White Strawn — <i>Vincent Guérin, Judith Guérin</i> .....	Spartanburg, SC
Evans Allen LaRoche — <i>James LaRoche</i> .....	Clemson, SC
Dr. James Patton Deaver — <i>Dr. Isaac Forcher</i> .....	Charleston, SC
Robert Alexander Pringle, Jr., M.D. — <i>Joachim Gaillard, Esther Paparel</i> .....	Charleston, SC
Mrs. Barbara Pringle Clayson — <i>Joachim Gaillard, Esther Paparel, David Fryer, Isaac Mazjick, Jacques LeSerrurier, Benjamin Godin</i> .....	Charleston, SC
Mrs. Elizabeth Forcher Jones Tompkins — <i>Dr. Isaac Forcher, Benjamin Marion, Judith Baluet, Claude de Cherigny, Suzanne Ferré, Dr. Anthonie Cordes, Esther Madeleine Baluet, Philippe Gendron, Magdalene Chardon, Isaac DuBose, Suzanne Couillardens, Isaac Mazjick, Henri LeNoble, Jacques LeSerrurier, Joachim Gaillard, Esther Paparel, Pierre de St. Julien, Damaria Elizabeth LeSerrurier</i> .....	Windsor, NC
Mrs. Claudia Pack Geddings — <i>Rev. Claude Philippe de Richebourg, Anne Chastain</i> .....	Columbia, SC
Mrs. Lee Larkin Pipes Fleury — <i>Rev. Peter Fontaine</i> .....	Millsburn, NJ
Robert Norris Clark — <i>Abraham DuPont, Pierre Guéri, John Ferdriau, Rev. Claude Philippe de Richebourg, Anne Chastain</i> .....	Manning, SC
Mrs. Josephine Pack McCarthy — <i>Rev. Claude Philippe de Richebourg, Anne Chastain</i> .....	Paxville, SC
Mrs. Nancy Peronneau Avert Beals — <i>Henri Peronneau</i> .....	Atlanta, GA
Miss Frances Marion Wellborn Gay — <i>Benjamin Marion, Judith Baluet, Jean Thomas de Guérin</i> .....	Charleston, SC
Miss Elizabeth Floyd Gay — <i>Benjamin Marion, Judith Baluet, Jean Thomas de Guérin</i> .....	Charleston, SC
Fred Chewning — <i>René Juin, Judith Pù, Suzanne Lefliche</i> .....	Manning, SC
Mrs. Mary LaRoche Palmer Douglas — <i>Elias Horry, Margaret Huger, Dr. Isaac Forcher, Claude de Cherigny, Philip Gendron, Magdeleine Chardon, Dr. Anthonie Cordes, Esther Madeleine Baluet, Benjamin Marion, Judith Baluet, James LaRoche</i> .....	Tryon, NC
Mrs. Lewis Bouquie Ingalls — <i>Etienne (Stephen) Bouquie</i> .....	Spartanburg, SC
The Reverend Richard Ferguson Bouquie — <i>Etienne Bouquie</i> .....	Spartanburg, SC
Mrs. Marianna Bhatt duPont Hanckel — <i>Jehan duPont, Robert Briere, Jehanne Guerry, Jacques Cosart, Laurent Touatatin, Marguerite Le Comte, Guillaume du Basc, Suzanne de l'Escu, Anne Boyer, Pierre de la Porte, Marie le Sauvage, Heliodore du Noyer, Jehan de Montchamin, François Louis deSeuzure, Amelie Goudard, Daniel Brabant, Jacques de Bourdeaux, Madeleine Garillond, Jean Abraham de la Motte, Benjamin Simons, Rev. Josias duPré, Martha Lamar, Paul Mazjick, Elizabeth Van Eutick, Jacques LeSerrurier, Marie le Comte, Jacques Leger, Elizabeth Bossu, Pierre Julien de St. Julien, Joanne Le Febvre, Alexander Thèse de Chastaigner, Pierre Buretlet, Elizabeth Chénria,</i>	

<i>Jean le Noble, Suzanne le Mercier, Elias Fouzon, Alexandre Friell, Elizabeth Neufville, Pierre Villepontoux, Joanne Revaison, Rev. Francis Le Jan</i>	Charleston, SC
Mrs. Susan Green Heriot Burgess — <i>Antoine Bonneau</i>	Summerton, SC
Mrs. Jane Heriot Burgess Richardson — <i>Antoine Bonneau</i>	Summerton, SC
Mrs. Ruth Anderson Johnston — <i>Marquis Calmes</i>	Columbia, SC
Mrs. Elizabeth Johnston Dunbar — <i>Robert Lanier, Marquis Calmes</i>	Columbia, SC
Otis Clebourne Johnston, III — <i>Robert Lanier, Marquis Calmes</i>	Columbia, SC
Mrs. Ruth Macfie Johnston Irick — <i>Robert Lanier, Marquis Calmes</i>	Columbia, SC
Mrs. Christine Johnston Nexsen — <i>Robert Lanier, Marquis Calmes</i>	Greenwood, SC
Mrs. Margery Clark Sagor — <i>Daniel Jaudon</i>	Jacksonville, FL
George June Boun — <i>René Juin, Suzanne Leffiche, Judith Pié</i>	Charleston, SC
Mrs. Elizabeth Blackman Leslie — <i>Rev. Pierre Robert, Daniel Jaudon, Jacques de Bourdeaux, John Davant, Adrian Loyer</i>	La Jolla, CA
Mrs. Mary Anne Street Lantz — <i>Benjamin Simons, Mary Esther DuPré</i>	Charleston, SC
Lucian duPont Pelot Russell — <i>Abraham duPont, Rev. John Francis Pelot</i>	Alexandria, VA
Chevis Delwin Clark — <i>Abraham DuPont, Pierre Guert, John Perdriau, Rev. Claude Philippe de Richelbourg, Anne Chastain</i>	Kingstree, SC
Edward Eve Crawford — <i>Dr. Jean Pasteur</i>	Rosemont, PA
Anna Grey Hilton, born August 22, 1905 — <i>Jérémie Cothonsneun, Marie Billon</i>	Charleston, SC
Mrs. Mary Hardin Keitt Hinton — <i>Mark Hardin</i>	Clemson, SC
Michael Rodney Culler, Jr. — <i>Rev. James de la Fontaine, Jean Gaillard</i>	Orangeburg, SC
John Caldwell Culler — <i>Rev. James de la Fontaine, Jean Gaillard</i>	Orangeburg, SC
Roderick Hill Canney — <i>Henri de Saussure</i>	Camden, SC
Mrs. Elisabeth Lawton Converse — <i>Rev. Pierre Robert, Daniel Jaudon, Jacques de Bourdeaux, John Davant, Adrian Loyer</i>	Dunwoody, GA
Mrs. Virginia Maxwell Manning Moses — <i>David Peyre, Judith Bonneau</i>	Spartanburg, SC
Mrs. Martha Bacon Morrisette Livingston — <i>Thomas Morrisette</i>	Sylacauga, AL
John Wilcox Horlbeck — <i>Philippe Gendron, Elizabeth Le Ger, Pierre Manigault, Daniel Huger, Magdaleine Chardon, Isaac Mazjék, Jacques LeSerrurier, Nicholas Bochet, Suzanne de Hays, Louis Mouzon, Antoine Bonneau</i>	Virginia Beach, VA
Peter Henry Miles Horlbeck — <i>Philippe Gendron, Elizabeth Le Ger, Pierre Manigault, Daniel Huger, Magdaleine Chardon, Isaac Mazjék, Jacques LeSerrurier, Nicholas Bochet, Suzanne de Hays, Louis Mouzon, Antoine Bonneau</i>	Greenville, SC
Frederick Henry Horlbeck, III — <i>Philippe Gendron, Elizabeth Le Ger, Pierre Manigault, Daniel Huger, Magdaleine Chardon, Isaac Mazjék, Jacques LeSerrurier, Nicholas Bochet, Suzanne de Hays, Louis Mouzon, Antoine Bonneau</i>	Charleston, SC
Mrs. Caroline Manigault Wilcox Horlbeck — <i>Philippe Gendron, Elizabeth Le Ger, Pierre Manigault, Daniel Huger, Magdaleine Chardon, Isaac Mazjék, Jacques LeSerrurier, Nicholas Bochet, Suzanne de Hays, Louis Mouzon, Antoine Bonneau</i>	Charleston, SC
Leonard Wright LeRoy — <i>Philip LeRoy</i>	Alexandria, VA
Mrs. Crystal Hope Wellborn Gregg — <i>Jean Gaston de Foxe, Duke de Nemours</i>	Franklin, LA
Mrs. Effie Lloyd Allen Beattie — <i>Claudius Piquas, David Minetrel</i>	Greenville, SC



## LIFE MEMBERS

The following names have been added to the Life Membership roster since publication of last year's report in *Transactions Number 90* (1985):

Mrs Eleanor Anne Cuttino, Columbia, SC  
 Colonel Neil Gaillard Bates, St. Matthews, SC  
 Miss Elizabeth Evans Morgan, Burke, VA  
 Miss Margaret Kirkwood Morgan, Burke, VA  
 William Edmonde Howell, Sumter, SC  
 Joseph McCord Bates, Jr., Irmo, SC  
 Mrs. Florence W. L. Parry, Brevard, NC  
 Edward Earnest Cuttino, Spring, TX  
 Mrs. Elizabeth Gavin Cuttino Martin, Houston, TX  
 Mrs. Althea Ann Cuttino Quiroz, Spring, TX  
 Thomas McCutchen Gignilliat, Seneca, SC  
 Mrs. Sandra Scruggs Boyd, New Port Richey, FL  
 Melvin Richardson Hyman, Jr., Mt. Pleasant, SC  
 Mrs. Margaret Girardeau Davenport Snavely, Seal Beach, CA  
 Miss Carolyn Ann Brice, Easley, SC  
 Zachary Lee Smith, Augusta, GA  
 John Ernest Gibbs, Jr., M. D., Charleston, SC  
 Mrs. Lucretia Mitt Gibbs Townsend, Charleston, SC  
 Mrs. Anne Wienges Stallworth, Charleston, SC  
 Mrs. Ruth Anderson Johnston, Columbia, SC  
 Mrs. Elizabeth Johnston Dunbar, Columbia, SC  
 Otis Clebourne Johnston, III, Columbia, SC  
 Mrs. Ruth Macfie Johnston Irick, Columbia, SC  
 Mrs. Christine Johnston Neesen, Greenwood, SC  
 Edward Eve Crawford, Rosemont, PA  
 Michael Rodney Culler, Jr., Orangeburg, SC  
 John Caldwell Culler, Orangeburg, SC  
 Mrs. Crystal Hope Wellborn Grogg, Franklin, LA  
 Wade Hampton Sherard, III, Greenville, SC  
 Mrs. Mary Louise McCullough Gaskin, Florence, SC  
 Henry Lyman Parsons Beckwith, Jr., Providence, RI  
 Mrs. Francis Marion Wrenn Smith, Tucker, GA  
 Mrs. DeEtte DuPre Nesbitt, Houston, TX  
 Winburn Earl Stewart, Jr., Macon, GA  
 Mrs. Mary Hardin Keitt Hinton, Clemson, SC  
 Mrs. Lee Larkin Pipes Fleury, Millburn, NJ  
 John Richard Nichols Anderson, Greenville, SC  
 The Reverend Robert Marshall Blalock, Frogmore, SC  
 Mrs. Joseph L. Johnson, Jr., Charleston, SC  
 Miss Mabel Brogdon Pace, Charleston, SC  
 Miss Frances Haskell Potcher, Atlanta, GA  
 Miss Bobyn Lee Hawes, Augusta, GA  
 Robert Jackson Walker Hawes, Augusta, GA  
 Charles Darius Massey, Gastonia, NC  
 Mrs. Kathryn Wilder Tate, Sumter, SC



## PRESIDENT'S REPORT

JOHN MILES HORLBECK

Charleston South Carolina

April 12, 1986

I am happy to report that your Society is healthy in every aspect: membership, financial, library facilities, and use of the library.

Since the last Annual Meeting, accomplishments have been many and considerable.

We have participated with the Huguenot Heritage Committee of South Carolina, and, specifically, with Clemson University in commemoration of Huguenot Heritage, and have carried off our own One Hundredth Year Anniversary festivities with style and grace.

Our participation has branched out, indeed in many directions, during the past year.

Your Society was asked to assist the Huguenot Society of America in small part toward publication of its *Huguenot Refugees In the Settling of Colonial America*. Our part was to furnish Mrs. Donald M. Liddell (Jane Hawkes), in her Chapter, "Why Huguenots Flocked to the Carolinas," our South Carolina ancestor list. Although this Society has never published an ancestor list, we had a fairly good start toward a compilation of such a list from sources largely in our own publications. Admittedly, this list is far from complete, but when the work of indexing *Transactions*, Number One through Eighty-Five, has been finished, it would be reasonable to conclude that we could provide an ancestor list as complete as current records will allow. This will be a fine project to undertake.

In the late summer, Monsieur Jean-Pierre Richardot, well-known author and lecturer, and his French television crew arrived in Charleston to film the Charleston part of his "Magazine on the Huguenots," a television program for presentation October 16, 1985, as part of the global Reunion in France of Huguenot Descendants, and the 1985 Tercentenary Year of Commemoration of the Revocation. It was on the air while the French tour was still in progress, and several of our members, while on tour, saw this program. We were honored to be included in M. Richardot's undertaking, especially in view of the fact that he came to Charleston first, leaving from here for New York, and thence to Germany. Various Charleston members of our Society went to great lengths to cooperate in making the Charleston filming a success.

In early summer, Dr. Stephen Wise, Curator of the Parris Island Marine Corps Museum, sought our assistance in locating relics and artifacts from the Jean Ribaut *Charlesfort* excavations and archeological research, which has been going on for a long period of years. Brigadier General Eli K. Cole, Parris Island Marine Corps Commander, in 1926 had given some of the recovered

relics to our Society when the Ribaut Monument was erected at the supposed Charlesfort site. We were delighted to share our relics with Dr. Wise and his Museum for further examination and evaluation. Dr. Wise and his associates arranged for special treatment of these items to prevent further and future deterioration.

On the home front, in July, your President appointed a special committee, with Mr. Charles E. Menefee as Chairman, to make a thorough review of our financial assets with the object in view of increasing our funds through increased interest upon the existing balances in our savings accounts and financial securities. As the Treasurer's Report shows, this endeavor is well under way.

Our Fall Service on October 20, 1985, with the Reverend Dr. Penrose St. Amant, Senior Professor of Church History, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, as guest minister, proved to be a highlight of our Huguenot Heritage program as well as a credit to the Reverend St. Amant and to our Society.

*Transactions* Number 90 (1985), was our ten-year issue. Only every ten years do we publish our whole Roster of members and their ancestors. Always, the Roster issue is in great demand, so we published extra copies. Hopefully, Number 90 has been received by now by our membership in this country and abroad.

With regard to obtaining a supply of the Huguenot crosses, we have commissioned the Charleston Mint to make the crosses, which formerly we have been obtaining from the Huguenot Society of London. If this arrangement is satisfactorily concluded, we have every expectation of securing the crosses and having them readily available, without the heretofore long waiting period.

## THE BUILDING FUND

### *Memorials and Gifts*

#### *Memorials:*

In Memory of Monsieur Jean Dollfus, Mulhouse, France,

by Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Robertson Mullins, III, Marion, SC.

In Memory of Howard B. Dominick, Prosperity, SC,

by Mrs. Ethel Wannamaker Dominick, his wife, Prosperity, SC.

In Memory of Mrs. Edward Rutledge Ravenel, Decatur, GA,

by Miss Betty Ann Darby, Florence, SC.

In Memory of Mrs. Edward Rutledge Ravenel, Decatur, GA,

by Miss Isabella Videau G. Mouzon, Florence, SC.

In Memory of Mrs. Abby M. Leland, Mt. Pleasant, SC,

by Mr. and Mrs. Alex L. Lofton, Mt. Pleasant, SC.

- In Memory of Edward Harleston Waring, Jr., Charleston, SC,  
by Mrs. Martha B. Burns and Mrs. Barbara B. Burns, Charleston, SC.
- In Memory of Mrs. Philip H. Eve, Stone Mountain, GA,  
by Philip H. Eve, Jr., Stone Mountain, GA.
- In Memory of Mrs. Philip H. Eve, Stone Mountain, GA,  
by Miss Eugenia F. Eve, Stone Mountain, GA.
- In Memory of Robert Bolling, of Virginia, 1666,  
by Mrs. Isabelle McKenzie McKemie, his descendant, Sylacauga, AL.
- In Memory of Thomas Davis Porcher, Willington, SC,  
by Francis D. Porcher, New York, NY.
- In Memory of John deSaussure Gilland, III, Conway, SC,  
by Dr. and Mrs. John deSaussure Gilland, his parents, Conway, SC.
- In Memory of Mrs. Frances Holland Cox, Fort Myers, FL,  
by Mr. and Mrs. Matthew L. Hooper, Estero, FL.
- In Memory of Floyd Isaac Dovell, Jr., Charleston, SC,  
by Mrs. Martha B. Burns, Charleston, SC.
- In Memory of Robert Wrenn Lefroy, Troy, SC,  
by Mr. and Mrs. Daniel F. Dougherty, Griffin, GA.
- In Memory of Robert Wrenn Lefroy, Troy, SC,  
by Dr. and Mrs. J. Sanders Pike, Atlanta, GA.
- In Memory of Mrs. Emmett Venning (Martha Hill), Folly Beach, SC,  
by Milton F. Brown, Jr., Virginia Beach, VA.
- In Memory of William Walpole Caldwell, Houston, TX,  
by Mrs. Martha B. Burns, Charleston, SC.
- In Memory of William Ferguson Colcock, New Orleans, LA,  
by Mr. and Mrs. Michael Jenkins Hutson, El Paso, TX.
- In Memory of Mrs. Margaret Lefroy Hemminger, McCormick, SC,  
by Dr. and Mrs. J. Sanders Pike, Atlanta, GA.
- In Memory of André de Veaux, Huguenot of Carolina,  
by Elinor T. Richardson, his descendant, Florence, SC.
- In Memory of Jack E. Maroney, Greenville, SC,  
by Mrs. Martha B. Burns, Charleston, SC.

*Donations:*

Mrs. Thelma N. Cornfield, Bakersfield, CA.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS TO ROSTER OF  
MEMBERS IN TRANSACTIONS NUMBER 90 (1985)

## CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

- William Wise Vallotton, M.D. — *Jeremiah Oliver Vallotton*, name misspelled, p. 112.  
 John Workman Zemp, add following ancestors omitted: *Marie Le Stoude, Marie Fougerant, Anne  
 Bressan, Judith Boisseau, Catherine Chailion, Magdalene de Bourdeaux, Magdeleine  
 Garlland, Suzanne Forêt*, p. 113.

## SOUTH CAROLINA

- John Denny Evans — *Jean and Marie de Jarnette*, of Anderson, was omitted, p. 114.  
 Robert Biraud Kendall — *Benjamin B. C. Biraud*, of Cheraw, name was misspelled, p. 115.  
 Mrs. Anne Johnston Gregg — *Rev. Pierre Robert, Jacques de Bourdeaux, Daniel Jaudon*, of  
 Columbia, was omitted, p. 117.  
 Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Dove Gilland should be the correct listing for Mrs. J. D. Gilland, of Conway, p.  
 120.  
 Mrs. Masey Carroll Bozneau, of Greenville, was omitted, p. 123.  
 Mrs. Elizabeth Eason Appleby Hudson, of Kiawah Island, is a descendant of *Pierre Mounier*, not  
*François Legaré*, p. 126.  
 Thomas Boyle Clark, Jr., M.D., add the following ancestors omitted: *Abraham Michau, Esther  
 Jaudon, Sara Bertonneau*, of Marion, p. 128.  
 Miss Anne Harvin Smoak and Miss Eleanor Randolph Smoak — *Rev. James Fontaine, Jacques  
 LeGrand*, of Orangeburg, were omitted, p. 131.  
 Mrs. Gladys Virginia Lambright Busell — *John Gaston*, of Union, was incorrectly listed, p. 136.

## ALABAMA

- Mrs. Irving Legaré Ansel, Jr., of Birmingham, was located incorrectly in North Carolina, p. 159.

## CALIFORNIA

- Mrs. Alida Wilbur Watkins — *Jérémie Cothonneau, Marie Billon*, of Carmel, was omitted, p. 140.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

- Ernest Harper — *Daniel Horry, Daniel Garnier, Elizabeth Fanton, Rev. Jean LaPierre*, was listed  
 incorrectly in South Carolina, p. 113.

## FLORIDA

- Mrs. Grace Baird Williams — *Daniel Perrine*, of Stuart, was omitted, p. 145.

## GEORGIA

- Miss Eugenia FitzSimons Eve — *Isaac Mazjck, Elizabeth Van Wyck, Jacques LeSerrurier, Pierre  
 Julien de St. Julien, Jacques Leger, Jeanne LeFebvre*, of Stone Mountain, was omitted, p. 147.  
 Philip Henry Eve, Jr., following ancestors omitted: *Elizabeth Van Wyck, Jacques LeSerrurier,  
 Pierre Julien de St. Julien, Jacques Leger, Jeanne LeFebvre*, of Stone Mountain, p. 147.  
 Louis McCelvey Lefloy, of Lawrenceville, name was misspelled, p. 149.  
 Mrs. Charles M. Schaefer, Jr., of Savannah, was listed incorrectly in New Orleans, p. 154.  
 Winburn Earl Stewart, Jr. — *Jean François de Gignilliat, Jacques LeSerrurier, Jacques de  
 Bourdeaux, Josiah DuPré, Daniel Brabant, Rev. Pierre Robert, Daniel Jaudon*, of Macon, was  
 omitted, p. 151.



## MARYLAND

Mrs. Calvin G. Bumbley, Sr., add following ancestors omitted: *Isaac Chauvin, Rev. Pierre Robert, Jacques de Bourdeaux, Vincent Guérin, Pierre du Tertre, Anthoine Poitevin, Anne Renault, Gabrielle Berou, of Cambridge, p. 155.*

## NORTH CAROLINA

Mrs. B. Grey Chambers, add following ancestors omitted: *Isaac Chauvin, Rev. Pierre Robert, Jacques de Bourdeaux, Vincent Guérin, Pierre du Tertre, Anthoine Poitevin, Anne Renault, Gabrielle Berou, of Winston-Salem, p. 160.*

Robert Bailey Chambers, Sr., add ancestors of his mother listed immediately above, p. 160.

Mrs. Beverly C. M. Soussmon, add ancestors omitted: *Jeanne Broussard, André Bembert, Anne Bresson, Abraham Michau, Esther Jaudin, Sara Bertonneau, of Cullowhee, p. 163.*

## OHIO

Miss Margaret Elizabeth Johnston, add ancestors of her mother listed directly below, of Dayton, p. 164.

Mrs. Wilmet Green Johnston, name misspelled; also, following ancestors omitted: *Jonas Pelot, Susanne Marie Jaquet, Jean François de Gignilliat, Jacques LeSerrurier, Jacques Leger, Cornelius DuPré, Dr. Daniel Brabant, Jacques de Bourdeaux, of Dayton, p. 164.*

## TEXAS

Mrs. Floyd L. G. Sparks, of Waco, is also listed, incorrectly, in the Virginia roster, p. 170.

## VIRGINIA

Milton F. Brown, Jr. — *Francis DesChamps, André Bembert, James LaRoche, Daniel Horry, of Virginia Beach, was omitted, p. 160.*

Mrs. Mary Jaquelin Simons, name incorrectly spelled, of Alexandria, p. 170.

## PILGRIMAGE INTO THE PAST

The Journey of Huguenots to The International Reunion  
Commemorating the 300th Anniversary of The Revocation of  
the Edict of Nantes in Britain and France  
September and October, 1985

JANE GASTON MAHLER\*

When we were airborne, heading from New York to London, we knew that we had embarked on an adventure in international living. As I studied the other passengers on the great white Jet, I tried to identify some of them who did not blend into the general category of travelers from North America and Northern Europe.

There were four from India, South India, judging by their speech and the gauzy saris worn by the ladies, who were escorted by a watchful male relative. He ordered vegetarian dinners for Hindus from the Stewardess. Another group, clad in tunics and trousers, also asked for special diets, a Punjab family most likely. From the same region one could identify Sikhs by their turbans and beards, and there were Pakistani Muslims who did not want to be near any of those Hindus. There were Chinese and Japanese, Vietnamese, Thai, and Africans from various regions.

Of the people carrying U. S. passports, the Hawaiians of mixed genetic strains were the handsomest and most relaxed, unlike some New Yorkers who talked constantly and demanded frequent attention from the staff. It was obvious that, in the small space inside the Big Bird, we had to eat together, use the same washing facilities, and sleep side by side no matter what taboos or prejudices we might have started with. Under the watchful eyes of the British it was accomplished without a hint of unpleasantness. They set a tone of courtesy and friendliness that prevailed in our lives during the weeks ahead.

For the first official ceremony in the Huguenot Heritage Program we gathered in St. Paul's Cathedral on the morning of September 26th, about 2,000 of us, who filled it to capacity. The Grenadier Guards played while dignitaries of State proceeded to their seats of honor: a representative of the Queen and other noble Patrons, and the Lord Mayor of London (who is a lady).

Above us the golden and blue domed ceiling resounded with vibrations of solemn music of hundreds of voices accompanied by the organ. This ceased as His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury led the clergy to their places. In his sermon he recalled the reasons for the escape of French Protestants to Britain and faraway lands, where they had to depend on strangers, and to learn new

\* Dr. Mahler (Mrs. Charles Henry Mahler), our member, is Professor Emeritus of Art History and Archaeology, Columbia University. The pilgrimage now described had an origin in her 1984 invitational address for the Ninety-ninth Annual Anniversary Meeting of this Society.

ways of life as hope faded that they could ever return to their homes. To us, their descendants, his message was to look to the future, not to dwell on the past and their suffering, but to go forward with the conviction that we can achieve peace, and make our world a place of tolerance, of understanding, and of love.

On leaving that massive Renaissance structure we were aware of the rebuilding of the neighborhood made necessary by the terrible destruction of The Blitz, and we felt a surge of admiration for the steadfast English men, women, and children who have held on so doggedly to the places, and the customs, that symbolize their legacy.

Up a winding street our hosts led us to the Goldsmith's Hall for a luncheon reception. As the invitation read: "These magnificent surroundings are particularly appropriate in view of the many famous huguenot craftsmen who have added lustre to the fine traditions of the goldsmiths' craft through the centuries." The rooms were indeed a splendid example of the care one would expect of a guild with very strict laws, such as, "an apprentice must serve seven years before he could begin any independent work supervised by a Master."

We mingled with the other guests, but learned to reach the buffet tables as directly as possible. Huguenots from all over the world seem to share a yearning for good food and drink after a sober church service or a conclave, and it was interesting to watch the strategies of the people of diverse backgrounds. On that day, with so many who had come from Scotland, Ireland, Wales and other parts of the Empire, the conversation in many dialects was interrupted by an eager foray into salads, sandwiches and strawberry tarts.

Driving back to our hotel we enjoyed seeing flowers in the window boxes on public and private buildings, on posts and streetlamps, all flourishing in the soft autumn sunshine that blessed all of our stay in Britain.

Toward evening we were ready to board our coach for a reception and buffet supper at the Museum Of London, where a private preview gave us the opportunity to study, and admire the Exhibition, "The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots 1685 to 1985."

The Catalogue lists some 475 items that range from portraits and documents to the arts and crafts produced by the Emigres. The meticulous research that was evidenced in the show makes the Catalogue a valuable addition to our studies of the past. This is, by the way, one of several large exhibitions devoted to Huguenot history and art in Britain and in France during this year of Commemoration.

While we talked to Curators and fellow guests, the Museum, thanks to busy caterers, became a place of conviviality and fine repast. We did not leave it until after 10 p.m., to be bused through silent streets to our pleasant refuge, the Westbury Hotel, where the final words were, "You must be ready to leave for a River trip to Greenwich first thing in the morning. Wear hiking clothes."

It required some rushing around, but we were there to be counted by our Tour Leader, Eleanor Simons, who handed to each of us a packet filled with



instructions, invitations, and brochures. This proved to be the routine for each day, part of the careful preparation made by the British Committee whose members had worked for three years for our benefit.

Circling through elegant residential areas, we reached the Thames, where a typical London fog held the boats at their moorings. We were near a garden and an old Watergate that once controlled the tidal wash. It was a good place to rehearse history, and to stroll with our new friends until the "All Aboard" sent us scurrying to the landing. Nearby we saw vessels that still bore the scars of strafing in World War II, a mute testimony to those dark days, and, as we passed the Tower of London we saw the Traitor's Gate (a low arch in the embankment through which a small boat could be rowed), I thought of Henry VIII and the women who had gone that way to the chopping block, and of Elizabeth I and the courtiers who had displeased her.

In Greenwich, where our guides were members of the local Antiquarian Society, we were shown relics of ancient days, The Barrows, where Saxons were buried, and then climbed a hill to get an idea of the extent of this, the first enclosed Royal Park (1433), with residents of former Kings and Queens, the birthplace of Henry VIII and his two daughters. We went on to the Royal Observatory designed by Wren for Charles II in 1675. While there, we could stand astride a line with one foot in the Western Hemisphere and the other in the Eastern, and, at 1 o'clock, watch the red ball descend marking "GMT" for all of the world to follow.

Huguenots had lived there in considerable numbers, joining the other foreign craftsmen who had been brought in to work on the buildings, gardens, and furnishings, and to produce luxury goods for their royal and noble patrons. By the 17th century there was a well-established Foreign Protestant Community which attracted the refugees after the Revocation. A French Church was founded in 1686 with services that continued until about 1800, when other Protestants took it over. French residents included doctors, teachers and other professionals. One of the most prominent exiles was the Marquis de Ruvigny who had come to Greenwich when he was 80 years old, a religious and social leader, who then raised four Huguenot regiments for William III.

After a luncheon in one of the former palaces that had walls painted like porcelain, we explored Crooms Hill where so many French had once lived that it is sometimes called "Huguenot Hill," where mulberry trees still grow; they had been essential to the "Drapers" Guild, those designers and weavers of silk hangings and rich raiment.

Homeward bound on the Thames, we heard more about tide control when we saw The Barrier, the wild water rushing past boats and bridges, and buildings hoary with age set beside new ones with neon signs. The Houses of Parliament and Big Ben loomed in the dusk, and their lights came on to greet us, to become part of the web of history woven in our memories.

Eleanor's final instructions were: "It's an early start tomorrow, for we go to



Canterbury and must be on coaches at the Embankment by 8:15. There will be a lot of walking, and a civic reception after the church service." Again the puzzlement: how can one hike, climb over cobblestones, and yet appear with decorum in a Cathedral, and with some style at a party given by local officials? This was a challenge that we had to meet every day for nearly a month. We rarely had an opportunity to change clothes, or shoes, often were told to be prepared for rain which, luckily, didn't come to dampen our spirits or wardrobes.

We headed for the old Dover road, now jammed with lorries and small autos, a road that once echoed to the sound of Roman Legions on the march, or Medieval pilgrims plodding to a shrine. We realized that we were, in a sense, like Chaucer's motley crowd on our way to a great religious center, but we whizzed past the hedgerows and meadows where cattle grazed undisturbed by the streams of traffic on the highway.

On arrival we learned that motorcoaches have a Parking Area well away from the heart of town and our objectives. This, too, proved to be a part of the pattern of our daily lives no matter where we were, for we always had to trudge long distances up narrow roads, while the chauffeurs enjoyed an easy day of conviviality until after 5 p.m., when we stumbled down the "goat paths" to get aboard, too weary to talk, grateful for a place to sit, to sort out the impressions of the day, and recall the faces of new friends.

Lured on by the Cathedral spires that gleamed against the sky, we went through a formal garden, a cloistered place, past outbuildings to the huge edifice. Once inside it we felt a pervasive gloom as we saw the effigy of the Black Prince, and were reminded of the martyrdom of Thomas à Becket. We felt relieved when we were told to go out to meet local guides, the Kent Family History Society, who gave us outlines of history, and took us to view bits of Roman walls and gates, and fragments of early dwellings.

Summoned again to the Cathedral we were led down into the crypt, one of the places where the Walloons were allowed to worship in the 16th century, as these ancestors of our Belgian contingent arrived before the French Huguenots who joined them, making some 250 French speaking families in all.

The majority of them were weavers and fabric finishers, who soon found that they were regarded with hostility by the London Cloth-men, who accused them of working too long and too hard, and of using silk in an unorthodox way to charm the Elizabethan dandies. They were not allowed to be Freemen, nor to join established Guilds; the records of the 16th and 17th centuries give many instances of penalties exacted, and of jealousy.

It was not an easy life, but, with their own religious services, schools and hospitals, and their hopes for the future to sustain them, they survived this phase of exile. It was our privilege to honor their memory in a service given in both French and English.

Afterward our hosts led us up to High Street to a reception at the Guildhall.

then out of doors to watch a ceremonial planting of a mulberry tree by the Mayor, who recalled the importance of silk as Canterbury became a flourishing and productive city. Some of our group went on guided tours, while many of us chose to "do the town" on our own. It was a Festival Day, no traffic allowed on High Street, which was like a Country Fair, with music, dancing, and some outlandish looking youths making merry. For them 1985 was the Year of Boy George, purple and scarlet hair, the Mohawk haircut, or hair that looked as though it had been electrified. This was the birthplace of Christopher Marlowe (1564-93), a contemporary of Shakespeare, a man with true theatrical flair who would have appreciated the carnival atmosphere that still abounds at Holiday Time.

The streets were lined with houses from the 13th century to modern; some were museums where weaving was demonstrated and souvenirs sold, others had tea gardens with streams and swans and flower boxes to complete a postcard picturesqueness. Everywhere there was friendliness and cordiality, and a wish to preserve what remains of ancient gates, walls and traceried windows. Our deadline came all too soon as we returned to the Cathedral, crossed the garden, and found the coaches, with London 2 hours distant down the road.

Our Sunday schedule took us over the same route to visit Rochester to see La Providence (the Hospital), the Cathedral and other places of interest. The Hospital, founded in 1718 as a charity for poor Huguenots, was made possible by a legacy from Jacques de Gastigny, "a gentleman of kind heart, sometime Master of the Buckhounds to William III, to benefit the refugees he had seen in pitiable condition at the Old Pest House."

For over 200 years, "almost without a break," the Office of Governor has been in the Pleydell Bouverie family, held by the hereditary Earls of Radnor, the present Governor being the 8th Earl. The list of Director's names — the Minets, Bosanquets, de Crespignys, Romillys, Duvals and Cazalets, and many others, have been echoed and re-echoed from the 18th century into our time.

A prayer has opened the meeting of the governing body since September, 1718:

"Benis cette maison  
Que ta Providence a préparée pour nos affligés."  
(Bless this habitation  
Which Thy Good Providence hath prepared for  
those among us who are in distress.)<sup>1</sup>

This is its fourth home. We were to visit Spitalfields in London, the old "Hospital in the Fields," the next day.

Rochester is a hilly place. Our guides, a most unselfish group of citizens, gave us many of their Sunday hours to take us through residential streets, parks

<sup>1</sup> Jane Brown, "The French Hospital: A Short History," no date — a brochure.

and gardens to the famous castle, a huge Norman structure built for William the Conqueror on a site once occupied by a Belgic civilization. The Romans came in A.D. 43 to make a camp which later became a walled city. They were followed by Saxons, Vikings, and a long line of English sovereigns who had a special fondness for the place. It was a port city on the Thames, hence the need for fortification, and a religious center, too, with a Benedictine Abbey. In more recent times, it was beloved by Charles Dickens, whose name is seen on plaques throughout the heart of the town. Now added to its other distinctions, there is La Providence.

When we assembled for luncheon in the spacious dining room of the Corn Exchange, we saw that a long table was reserved for the speakers and guests of honor, many of them people of importance because of the prestige of La Providence and its long tradition of good management.

In mid-afternoon, within Rochester Cathedral, we heard Evensong, part of it in French. The sermon, preached by the Reverend Canon Samuel Van Culin, Secretary General of the Anglican Consultative Council, sounded like that of an American, for he was descended from Huguenot stock that had found its way to the Hawaiian Islands, and had his schooling there. He reminded us of the influence of John Calvin on French intellectuals. "These Huguenots are estimated to have numbered at one time an eighth of the population of France, including some half of the nobility. Pious to the point of severity, clever, capable, connected and productive, they were resented by much of Catholic France, from the poorer peasantry to the entrenched power-brokers." After the Revocation, in spite of the efforts to prevent their escape, an estimated 200,000 to a quarter of a million successfully immigrated.

"Our Huguenot Commemoration can help us to appreciate the terrible struggle in the world today, to contain the extraordinary diversity that is at play in belief and practice, and in social, political and economic systems. Ours is an age of refugees as we see literally millions in flight throughout the world. Because of this diversity we are better equipped than were previous generations to bring understanding to their plight. In doing this, we can make the Huguenots' heritage a common gift for the future in our own lives."

We thought of his words when we were homeward bound after a final reception on the grounds of La Providence. The residents in the Retirement Home apartments had shown us their quarters, given us tea, and begged us to stay longer. Like the monarchs who had good reason to favor Rochester, we felt a warm affection for the place.

A day in London took us first to Soho, to the church used by French Protestants, "Le Temple du Seigneur Jesus." It is one of 28 that formerly existed in the Capital City. Small in scale, and plain, there was a striking contrast between the Huguenot House of Worship and the Anglican Cathedrals and lesser churches.

Looking down the center aisle one sees an open Bible on a table, no altar, no



richly carved choir stalls, only the vertical accents of organ pipes flanking a cross in the central panel of the curving apse. To our left was a very large pulpit, reminding us of the great emphasis placed on the spoken word in the Calvinist tradition. There is no stained glass, and the only sculpture is a bas-relief beneath an arch depicting, in Medieval style, the granting of asylum to refugees by King Edward VI in his Charter of 1550. Above, at the springing of the vaulting ribs, his crown served as the base. The structure dates from 1893, keeping primitive features for symbolic purposes.

Around the walls that day the Archivists had hung an exhibition of documents and scenes associated with the Emigre community which we examined with great interest. Then, in the Parish Room below the main church, a buffet luncheon was offered by the Parishioners to all of us from overseas.

Next we were driven to old Spitalfields, the original site of the homes and the Hospital once in the fields, now in the process of being renovated and preserved.

On Elder Street the residents were dressed in 18th century costumes acting out the roles of the weavers, musicians, candlemakers, and other residents whose trades were indicated by signboards, or symbols, displayed at each doorway. They had even spread horse manure and straw on the street, a realistic note that, for those of us who live in Charleston in the Old City, was a vivid reminder of our home neighborhoods.

Our guide pointed out the big windows in the second story levels of many of the houses, the "weavers' windows" in the Loom Room where colors could be easily identified, and work carried on for 16 hours a day. To bring cheer during the long hours they often kept canaries, something of a local obsession of the French that prompted the native English to refer to Huguenots as Canary Birds. This lady guide, a chipper Senior Citizen, grew up on the street; she told us that the Watchman went through, calling the hours in French. At dusk there were lengths of firewood stacked near an iron container where a fire was kept going so that those walking about could light the flambeaux (torches) to avoid problems on the cobblestone ways.

The area now is pretty well taken over by Pakistani refugees who are living 10 or 12 in a room, sewing garments out of bright cloth that they dye in the manner of their native lands. The old French Church is a Mosque.

On another street we saw the courtyard of a former Huguenot home which was turned into a Synagogue during the Hitler years. Now seldom used, the custodian appealed to us for funds. The entire district obviously needs money, and all of it deserves support, because the original houses have real beauty and integrity. There is an adaptive use program in progress.

We were led on through streets littered with rotten fruit and garbage near an old market to Armory House, Headquarters of the Honorable Artillery Company on City Road. A young American, Dennis Severs, gave a slide program in which we saw his imaginary family living in Spitalfields in 1750. It



was followed by a bit of relaxation at the wine tables, and a buffet supper that we thoroughly enjoyed, for we had developed real 18th century appetites during our adventure in Old London.

The letterhead of all of the Huguenot Heritage Programs bears the list of Patrons, headed by: "Her Majesty the Queen," then comes "His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Rt. Rev. Robert Runcie, D.D.," followed by "His Grace, the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensbury KT, VRD." We were invited to visit one of his homes, Boughton House, Northamptonshire, on October 1st, a most propitious event to start the new month.

It lives up to one's dream of a Stately Home set in a splendid garden, all of it so extensive that only an aerial photo can do it justice. Originally it was a monastery, St. Edmundsbury Abbey, which was acquired in 1528 by Sir Edward Montagu, Lord Chief Justice to King Henry VIII, and ancestor of the Montagu Douglas Scott family who have been its owners ever since. Later generations have added rooms, halls and courts to the Manor House built by Sir Edward. The most important expansion took place in the time of Ralph, the First Duke of Montagu who served as Ambassador to Louis XIV from 1669 to 1678. He became enamoured of French art, and brought the Renaissance Chateau style to the Manor.

We were aware of the changes made during the 400 year span, changes in taste, in building styles, and fashion, as we went from room to room, some very English Tudor, some like a small Versailles, every wall filled with portraits, tapestries and murals, every floor with a rare rug from the Orient or the looms of Europe, graceful furniture from France and Italy, treasures purchased by the owners who were born collectors who had added them to family heirlooms.

Since all of us were of Huguenot descent, admiring thrift and good management, we were fascinated by another aspect of the place that "each acre of land makes a serious contribution to the food and timber production of the estate, a factor not only of national benefit, but also essential in providing for the maintenance of an historic asset such as Boughton as well as the five associated villages. Without the continuous loving care of generations of family occupants, skilled craftsmen and the financial backing of an efficiently managed rural estate, house and villages would soon fall prey to the ever present threats of death-watch beetle, dry rot and decay." But stand it does, with its 7 courtyards, 12 entrances, 52 chimney-stacks and 365 windows.

"The morning room oak floor, and that of the Rainbow Room next door had both been gradually destroyed by death-watch beetle and had to be replaced in 1976. This was done by Estate craftsmen using oak planted 350 years before, when this part of the house was built."<sup>1</sup>

The ties to France lay deeper than a preference for French art. A bronze bust of Henry IV (Navarre) is labelled "an ancestor of the Dukes of Buccleuch."

<sup>1</sup> *Boughton*, a booklet, no author, p. 2.

Before that, the lineage goes back to the time of William the Conqueror and his French followers. Duke Ralph purchased flower paintings by Monnoyer (1634-94), and brought him to England with several other Huguenot craftsmen. These Huguenot overtones, the extraordinary art collection, and the prosperous appearance of the great estate made Boughton, for us, an inspiration.

On our last day of the Huguenot Heritage Program we headed for Oxford. As the "Welcome to Oxford" brochure informed us, "Within one square mile alone the city has more than 900 buildings of architectural or historical interest." For the visitor this presents a challenge — there is no one building that dominates Oxford, no famous fortress or huge cathedral that will give you a short-cut view of the city. Even Oxford's famous University is not in one convenient, easily visited site but rather is spread amidst a tangle of 40 different colleges and halls, a few sleekly modern but the majority of considerable antiquity.

"Nor does Oxford flaunt its treasures; you must winkle them out. Behind department stores lurk grand Palladian doorways or half-hidden crannies of Medieval architecture. . . . Visitors enjoy the peaceful college quadrangles with their immaculate gardens (Oxford is said to have the best concentration of urban gardens outside of Japan), the bookshops and student pubs."<sup>1</sup>

We began to winkle out the treasures, starting at the Sheldonian Theatre and going off to explore the Ashmolean Museum, where there was a display of silver and watches of Huguenot make. We found, in the Bodleian Library, an exhibition of rare manuscripts that celebrate the emergence of independent thought after the Dark Ages.

Oxford Day ended with Evensong at Christ Church Cathedral, a service marked by solemn grandeur worthy of that very English setting. Guests of honor and the Clergy sat in the throne-like choir stalls, leaning against the high wooden backs that had been carved with grotesque images from the Middle Ages. There were memories of Henry VIII and Wolsey, of Christopher Wren (who had designed Tom Tower which houses the bell, Great Tom, which weighs over 6 tons and is rung 101 times every night at 9), and memories of former students who had been here: John Wesley, William Penn, the painters Reynolds and Gainsborough, and of "Lewis Carroll" (Charles Dodgson, who taught mathematics while he told the tales of *Alice in Wonderland* to local children). The organ and choir brought attention to the blending of the music of France with that of England; the First Lesson was read in French, then the Sermon (given by the Reverend Professor John McManners) ended on a note that echoed the Tercentenary Theme: "Three centuries after the Revocation, we thank Almighty God for the deliverance of the thousands of Huguenot refugees who came to Great Britain, for the great and lasting material and moral

<sup>1</sup> "Welcome to Oxford," The Thames and Chilterns Tourist Board, Abingdon, Oxon., 1984, p. 4.

contributions they made to this country, and for the understanding that has largely replaced the religious intolerance of those days." This was the last Memorial Service that we would attend together until we assembled later in Paris.

Some of us had elected to spend the next several days in England for a review of history. Again we went down the old Dover Road, stopping at Stonehenge to see the prehistoric stones of the Druids and their nature-worship. It is a place now restricted to one quick look at one stone under glass, a measure taken to protect the ancient monoliths from souvenir-hunting tourists and vandals, who are ever-present in the post-war decades.

As we approached Bath, the occupation by the Romans, and their life-style, is being revealed by archaeological excavation, which each year brings to light more proofs of the luxury enjoyed by them in the steamy, rockhewn halls of The Bath. Present-day luxuries are offered for sale in smart shops but a few yards away from "the waters," and one can visualize the Sedan-chairs bringing fashionable Londoners to taste them in the days of Nash and other stylish dandies, who dallied here in their brocaded coats.

On the morrow we went to Leeds Castle, a fortress stronghold where we climbed the ramparts to admire the view, and the moat transformed into a garden. The days of Chivalry seemed very remote as day-trippers ambled about, or had their tea and crumpets.

The climax of the three days came at Windsor Castle, where we saw the private apartments with "Closed to the Public" signs, and realized that the present Sovereign resides there part of the year. We had a keener awareness of the continuity and power of Kings and Queens as we entered countless rooms through which tourists may go at measured pace to view the arms and armor, paintings, needlework, toys, sculpture, tapestries, mementoes of sporting life, pets, the renowned collection of prints and drawings, the Library, gifts from loyal subjects and from Chiefs of State, a great range of items that provide a visual chronology of the taste of monarchs over the centuries.

On leaving England we thanked our British hosts, realizing how long they had labored for us, how many interviews they must have had, over a three year span, with Town Councils, Churchmen, Historical Societies, Museum personnel, transportation experts, musicians, caterers, homeowners, and dedicated Huguenots. One, Dr. Robin Gwynn, had been granted a year's leave of absence from his University in New Zealand to give full time to the project. Lady Emma Munson coordinated many of the functions and was often present. Mr. Randolph Vigne, Mr. Peter DuVal and Mr. Peter Minet with other officers of their respective Societies had been ever mindful of our needs, as had the Patrons and their Advisory Committees, the scholars, genealogists, and journalists. A unanimous, if silent, "Well Done!" must have vibrated over the thoughtwaves to them as our plane passed over the White Cliffs of Dover, and the shores of France loomed ahead.



Upon our arrival in Paris we were summoned to a dinner-buffet in one of the hotels in Montmartre where most of the overseas participants were quartered. It gave us an opportunity to meet members of the French Protestant community, and the Committees that had been busy since the last International Reunion planning for this, The Great One. The Chairman, M.L. Ambassadeur Jean Basdevant, had rare talent and tact.

For those who had never before visited Paris there was, the next morning, a drive through the city to special landmarks and points of interest. By noon we were due at a luncheon in a restaurant in the Eiffel Tower; we were joined by Mr. and Mrs. Vigne and the English contingent, and some newcomers from neighboring countries. All of us chatted in our various languages, exchanging experiences since we had seen each other last in Oxford.

We were beginning to feel like a family, with our cousins, the local citizens, to identify buildings and precincts for us as we gazed out from our high perch and its balconies on a sparkling afternoon, noting the clarity and order of the Boulevards, the Seine meandering among palaces and government offices, the tree-lined streets, the gardens and parks, the fountains, the church spires, and, in the distance, skyscrapers in the suburbs.

Afterward we stopped at a small Museum, the Marmottan, for the exhibition of Impressionist Painting. We were very fortunate that we were able to see it, especially the work of Monet, because the world was shocked to learn that thieves broke in a few days later, taking some of the rarest among them, "which may never be seen again," according to commentators. We had been on our way to the Society for the History of French Protestantism on the Left Bank, an excellent place to purchase books and study materials, or to order them.

In marked contrast to that part of Old Paris, with memories of artists working in garrets, students deep in discussion at the Deux Magots, tiny streets, and crumbling walls, we saw, the next morning, an edifice of steel, glass and plastic pipes, the National Center for Art and Culture, named for Georges Pompidou.

An earnest Staff-member guided us from floor to floor, extolling the opportunity it offers to children to splash paint on blank walls, or do whatever urban youngsters need to express themselves. Finally, after some two hours, we made it to the upper levels where the more traditional works of art proved to be rather a relief to our weary eyes. The Library was our last stop; an eager Librarian had computerized a Program on Huguenots that would have required one's undivided attention for several hours, but, to her disappointment, our time had run out. After profuse thanks to all of them we said "Adieu!" and made our way to the Hotel de Ville.

In surroundings of grandeur the official welcome to the City of Paris awaited us. It was given by M. Couve de Murville, former Prime Minister, Counsellor of Paris, and Honorary President of the Protestant Committee. We had begun to realize what a rare event this was in a Catholic country; our local



friends whispered: "To have had a Protestant Prime Minister gave heart to all of us, and now for our Government to extend a welcome to all of you from Overseas, descended from the Exiles, is quite unheard of!" It was truly an historic occasion.

By mid-afternoon we experienced the Spartan simplicity of a House of Worship of the resident Protestants, the Reformed Church of Paris Luxembourg. It was the assembly hall for the delegates from all over the world for the International Rendezvous, for the reading of their reports. We were very proud of Virginia Gourdin when she told about activities in South Carolina in our busy Year of Commemoration. Others followed, ideas were exchanged, and it was announced that the next Reunion will be in South Africa in 1988; "Everyone is welcome!"

Off again, at 6 P.M. for the Salons of the President of the Senate where our host was M. Cazaux, President of the Franco-Holland Association, honoring the Huguenot Foundation of the Low Country, which had been awarded the Descartes Prize. The rather small Salons, with their handsome damask draperies and no fresh air circulating, became very hot as nearly 300 people stood for more than two hours listening to the dignitaries of the Diplomatic Corps of both countries. Their speeches were not translated; unfortunately only a few in our groups could understand them, or even see the ceremony. It seemed ages ago that we had been in the Georges Pompidou Center, but our feet reminded us that it came at the start of a day dedicated to special functions. We did not reach hotel rooms until 10 that night, and felt that, in our hectic world, we had reached a sanctuary, not monastic but tranquil, with time to sort out impressions of sight and sound.

Coaches heading for Versailles picked up the participants for a day at the Palaces and gardens, and a reception proffered by the Mayor, M. André Damien. The Royal Residences and seat of Government of Louis XIV greatly interested the foreign guests, who could imagine Le Roi Soleil clad in his golden raiment and high heeled pumps as he went from room to room, dazzling all courtiers in the Hall of Mirrors with its multiple reflections. On the terraces he had performed in amateur theatricals to amuse them, and himself. Now everyone may stroll through who has the price of a ticket, listening to guides who emphasize his dreams of glory that left this jewel for the Department of Tourism in the Republic of France. For our members there was an Organ Recital by Mme. M. L. Girod-Parrot in the Royal Chapel, an unforgettable performance by an outstanding Protestant musician.

On Friday, October 11, we met just before noon at the Center for International Conferences of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at the invitation of the Secretary General. Ambassador Jean Basdevant had chosen South Carolina to make the response for all Foreigners on that occasion, and I felt honored to be asked to do so, in French and in English. His Excellency rewarded me with a kiss on each cheek, and there were warm embraces from the Americans, Canadians

and other English-speaking guests, mostly because they could understand what was going on.

In the afternoon, at UNESCO Headquarters, the President of the Republic, M. François Mitterand, gave a welcome that made headlines in the journals and was shown on Television, the Ultimate Welcome. He said that Louis XIV was right in ridding France of Protestants and other Dissenters because he wanted to unify the Nation, but it was deplorable that, in so doing, it meant the exodus of some of the most gifted and industrious members of the population, which set France back for over a century. Among the Minorities represented in UNESCO (and there were some among his guests) he thought that Protestants should have their place.

The more cynical of our Parisian friends shrugged this off with a wry smile and remarked, "He's a foxy politician who needs all the votes he can get," but others expressed incredulity that here, at last, their government would publicly acknowledge them, and our Commemoration. For the Organizing Committee and Pastor Jacques Maury, President of the Protestant Federation of France, it was a time of triumph.

On the morrow we met at the Exposition on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes at the National Archives, Ministry of Culture. We were divided into Linguistic Groups: French, German and English. Our hosts had become aware of the barriers of language that had been a real handicap, and, from that time on, an effort was made to have adequate translations for us.

Outside of the old Hotel de Rohan a great banner proclaimed: "Les Huguenots." Again our French friends whispered, "Our name outside of a public building, a Government Building! Unbelievable!" They were as excited as we were when we saw the hundreds of items assembled by research scholars and staff, in all, 527 of them described in the Catalogue. They were borrowed from public and private collections in France and neighboring countries, and ranged in size from minuscule gems to murals.

There were tapestries and other textiles, sculpture in various media, portraits, mechanical devices, clocks, models of the galleys where men were shackled to the oars, patents, prints and drawings, scenes of punishment and torture, certification of conversion, abjurations, books, religious and secular narratives, coins and caricatures. Among the latter the most daring are the Allegories, usually engravings in the Grand Italian manner, with cherubs, gods and goddesses lolling on puffy clouds bearing the faces of Louis XIV and his courtiers, in a mocking travesty of the Sun God and his circle. They were printed outside of France and distributed by the Underground.

All phases of the rise and decline of Protestantism, from 1517 through 1789, were explored. It was an enormous task involving experts in many Disciplines in many countries, undertaken with the hope that, "it may touch women and men of every background and every opinion, to serve not only as an act of re-

membrance, but also as an appeal to understanding and tolerance."<sup>1</sup>

Afterward we were led around the picturesque Marais Quarter and the Place des Vosges where many Huguenots had resided, then on to lunch "in common" at a nearby restaurant. A few hours of leisure gave us a breather before we prepared for a reception and supper at the Parish of L'Étoile on the Avenue de la Grande Armée.

On Sunday morning we attended Church in the Temple of the Oratory of the Louvre. It was built 1621-30; in the reign of Napoleon I, he made a gift of it to Protestants in 1811 for their place of worship. The service was conducted by M. le Pasteur Pierre Fath, with a full choir and Mme. Girod-Parrot at the organ. This was a Communion Service; when the Pastor realized that hundreds filled the Oratory, he announced that it would be a Symbolic Ceremony, with only the regular communicants of the Parish partaking of the bread and wine. Since he said this in French few of the foreigners understood him, and they went forward to the square table to participate. The Elders assisted the Pastor, four very busy men who kept moving. As the line of the Faithful seemed endless, they would go behind the Pulpit to replenish the wine and hastily cut more little pieces of bread, hoping it would go around.

In his sermon Pastor Fath reminded us of the need for constancy when he described the sufferings of the women imprisoned for decades in the Tower of Constance, of the men in Galleys, of the Martyrs, and of all of our ancestors who were fugitives. Nothing could reduce or destroy their faith. In our time we must be equally unwavering, he said; we must keep our heritage, depending only on the Bible as the guide and light of our lives. In our actions there must be a constant defense of freedom of conscience, a compassion for the oppressed, and all who are in distress.

At the close of this time of worship together we paid homage to Admiral de Coligny at his monument outside of the Oratory. A wreath was placed there by the head of the delegation of the National Huguenot Society, U.S.A., in the name of the Founders of Manakin in the Colony of Virginia. It was the last time that we could chat with our friends in the Protestant Community of Paris, for we were off to see the Loire Valley the next day, and we said a regretful "Au Revoir-Merci mille fois!" to them.

It was early morning when we checked out of our hotels, and, handling most of the luggage ourselves, a strenuous business. We were anticipating the first stop at Chartres; we were told that there would be several other visits along the way, with an arrival at Tours after 9 p.m. The drive through Paris traffic, then into rural France gave us a bit of time to reflect on the splendid hospitality extended to us in The City of Light; it had been almost overwhelming, truly memorable, warm and wonderful.

<sup>1</sup> *Les Huguenots*, Exposition Nationale, Archives Nationales, Paris, 1963, p. 7. Preface by Jean Favier, Member of the Institute, Director General of the Archives of France.



The spires of Chartres Cathedral dominated the skyline as we approached the old city; for some it was a first look, but for many of us it was a beloved sight. I was eager to see the interior, for I had heard about the painstaking cleaning of the famous windows in recent years, and, once inside, it was breath-taking. The strong colors have a new life, with each pattern as vivid as a constellation stored in one's memory.

We were most fortunate that we had the best guide of all, an Englishman named Malcolm Miller. He communicated his enthusiasm and great knowledge to our spell-bound group as he told about the life of the Middle Ages, the Guild system of work, the dominant Churchmen, and the Cult of the Virgin. It was also an excellent introduction to the evolution of Gothic styles in the architecture of Touraine that we would see during the next four days. He managed to do all of this in his discourse on one stained glass window, which whetted the appetite for more — but that would have to come on a different journey, a different schedule.

A luncheon stop in Vendôme brought all of the 250 overseas Huguenots together for a culinary treat, a meal served with notable style by the young waiters, who brought in course after course of Specialties of the Region, undaunted by the hundreds of us seated in such close formation that they could scarcely find a gap between our shoulders to set down the plates and glasses.

By mid-afternoon we reached Amboise. Originally settled by Gallo-Romans, it then became a Medieval fortress. The Chateau, after numerous Renaissance additions, took on a more gracious aspect. The taste of kings, of Charles VII, Charles VIII, Louis XII and François I, may be seen in the towers, halls and chambers that vary from the sturdy and practical to the "lacework in Stone" of St. Hubert's Chapel that was built by Charles VIII in 1491 after his marriage to Anne of Brittany. This was his birthplace and Royal Residence, a seat of great pomp and splendor, where treaties were negotiated, and the fate of provinces and nations decided in games of diplomacy. There was still the mystery of an Age of Faith portrayed in the famous bas-relief on the Chapel that illustrates the Vision of St. Hubert, who saw the Cross between the antlers of a stag, a vision that changed his life. The Age of Reason, on the other hand, began to emerge when Leonardo da Vinci came to dwell there.

We departed for Tours by late afternoon to take a look at its Cathedral, and, afterward, to go to a reception of welcome prepared for us by members of the Protestant Community. Though it was exciting, it was past dark when we wearily dismounted from the auto-coaches, stood in the hotel lobby for room assignments and keys, sorted out luggage, and could retire for what was designated as a "Free evening," with the warning that we must board the buses the next morning by 8:45.

Off we went down roads lined with poplars, past well-tended fields of grain and very neat vineyards. We were impressed by the cleanliness and order in

rural France which is maintained in spite of the Loire Valley being a center of tourism.

Our first halting place was the Chateau of Chenonceau, with its famous wing that spans the Cher river. Again we were immersed in history and the drama of people who vied for royal favor in these very rooms, still richly furnished.

The power of patronage was well illustrated when we returned to Amboise to go to the Clos Lucé, the home provided by François I for Leonardo da Vinci during the last four years of his life. Though partially paralyzed, the artist exerted himself to design canals and other engineering projects for his Sovereign, always striving toward his goal of bringing new light, new inventions and new dreams to his fellowmen.

Working models of his "Fabulous Machines" are on view on the ground floor, and we Americans were pleased to see that the marvels of A.D. 1515 are displayed "Courtesy of IBM." These predecessors of flying machines and modern engines may now be enjoyed by all who come to pay homage to a Master of the Renaissance, and to see his quaint house, with its rose gardens and flower beds behind a high wall, and a view that seems limitless, across the valley to infinite space.

Engines of war and airplanes used in World War II cannot be forgotten in the Loire Valley. The Resistance Movement of the followers of de Gaulle took a stand here against Collaborators in many a bitter conflict. On our way to lunch our French guide pointed out chalky cliffs, and told us that the caves had been used as hiding places, or as residences when homes had been destroyed. "Now," she said, "It is quite chic to live in them."

We had an opportunity to try the life of a cave-dweller when the buses stopped at a restaurant at Montlouis. Our South Carolina group, the first to arrive, were led into the gloom to a long table. We found it to be restful, and supposed the rough stone ceiling, blackened by smoke from open fires, served to deaden sound. When all of the other coach-loads joined us, however, it was a very different story. As the local wine and peasant food were consumed, the decibels rose. Hours later the guides and chauffeurs were reluctant to face duty in the bright outdoors, lingering as long as they could, but they had to take us back to Tours, where they slept it off while we marched off to see the Old City, its streets too narrow for the coaches.

The Protestant Community again gave us a "brotherly welcome," and invited us into the Protestant Temple for hospitality and conversation. Our next appointment at 6 P.M. was at the Hotel de Ville to be received by the Mayor of this city of 250,000 people, M. Jean Royer, who is also a Deputy to the National Assembly. In the Great Hall he most graciously gave official recognition to our presence, and our purpose for being in France.

The local Protestants had arranged a buffet-supper for us in the Refectory of the Old Priory of Saint-Côme outside of the city, rather a long drive in the

darkness, but the gardens were lighted up for us so that we crossed them without difficulty. We entered a long rectangular hall where they had prepared an Exhibition on The Revocation. Regional historians spoke about genealogy and documents, knowing that many of the ancestors of American and Canadian Émigrés had lived in Touraine.

While we heard, as background music, recorded chants and hymns that once were intoned by the monks in this very Refectory, we became acquainted with our hosts and hostesses. A young matron presided at our table: she said that they had had a busy afternoon rounding up folding chairs, tablecloths and tables, and waiters, so that we could sit and be served, all because they knew what an exhausting day we had been through when they saw us earlier in the Temple. We were deeply touched by their understanding and concern.

She spoke of the Community and its wish to maintain its identity in spite of the tendency in France today to forget religious preferences. As there is more free mingling of teenagers at school the trend is toward mixed marriages, especially where arranged marriage and dowry agreements become outmoded. Greater freedom for women, too, is quite obvious; she admitted that, later, she would have to drive 5 kilometres to her home, alone, because her physician husband was unable to attend the supper, and she has no Protestant neighbors nearby. There is no lack of courage and independence in that group who have been noted for generations for those very traits.

We said farewell to her and the other hosts, and to the old Priory, once famous as a center for men of letters and the monastic life, returning to our various hotels. The notice for the next day was, "Be ready here in the Lobby by 9 a.m.!" It was to be our last day in the "Val de Loire."

Ready we were on that golden morning of October 16th, heading west for the Castle of Chinon to see the rooms where Joan of Arc had lived, and to be reminded of her meeting there with the Dauphin, recognizing him in spite of his disguise, and of the unfolding of episodes thereafter. She had restored his faith in himself in spite of all of his recent defeats, had insisted that he join battle with his enemies, his victories that followed, then his coronation, and his abandonment of The Maid, letting her be tried and condemned by the Catholic Hierarchy, and burned at the stake. That same destiny had befallen many a Protestant in this fair valley.

As we pushed up the cobblestoned winding ramp, designed for the cavalry to gain the upper levels of the Chateau, we wished that we, too, were mounted — but we did not falter. We went from room to room, courtyard to courtyard, outer defenses to inner defenses, through gardens, up spiral stairs, down into dungeons, and we came out with a better understanding of those who were willing to risk imprisonment, and torture, for their faith.

Having had but one strenuous hour at Chinon, we were due for lunch at the Royal Abbey of Fontevraud, described as being: "The Cultural Center of the West, a Monument, a Restoration, a Reutilization, XI-XX Centuries." When it



was a Royal Abbey, 1115-1792, one of the largest monastic complexes in Western Christendom, most of the Abbesses were of royal blood, ruling this domain that was a Plantagenet stronghold. The Counts of Anjou, before they became Kings of England, had lived nearby and wished to be buried in the Abbey Church. In it we saw the effigies of Henry II, Richard the Lion Hearted, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and Isabelle of Angoulême, recumbent on their tombs.

With the Revitalization of 1963, after the period of Napoleon I (who had turned it into a prison), it has become a Conference Center under the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. We were given a reception and luncheon in the big Refectory, followed by guided tours of the vast premises, with its formal gardens laid out in geometric patterns to fill every space available between cloisters, residence halls and outbuildings. There was the whisper of history at every turn.

The climax of the day, and of the Huguenot Reunion, came in Saumur, about a half-hour away. It was on the Route of the Good King René, "One of the most famous of the Anjou line, the epitome of Medieval Chivalry —" a master of amusement. He held balls and masques, was an importer of exotic plants and animals, and of sprightly courtiers. He called Saumur "The City of Love."

With the Reformation this scene of gallantry became a center for intellectuals, for Protestants. A Huguenot friend of King Henry of Navarre, Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, was appointed Governor. He began to make plans for a Protestant Academy in 1590, in spite of the frequent confrontations there between Catholics and Protestants in the 16th century. The numerous châteaux and fortresses, many of which still stand, bear witness to the opposing forces that faced each other frequently in the strategically important Valley.

Of them, Saumur is the "castle of dreams." It looks today very much as it did in the 15th century in the miniature painting preserved in the exquisite Book of Hours, the *Très Riches Heures* of the Duc de Berry (Musée Condé, Chantilly). Its towers are topped with crenellations and turrets, gilded weather vanes and tall chimneys. Here it was that Duplessis-Mornay played host to the followers of Calvin among the Royal line and high Nobility. He was dubbed by the Catholics "The Pope of the Huguenots"; they considered him their most dangerous enemy, though he was a man dedicated to peace and diplomatic negotiation.

He traveled widely to keep in touch with erudite Protestants of Germany, Switzerland, and the Low Country and Scotland, telling them about his plans. The Academy became a reality in 1599, and immediately attracted outstanding students. Among those coming from England was William Penn.

There were Faculties of Theology, Philosophy, Literature and Ancient Languages — which required, at one time, seven printing presses to serve them. In a few years Saumur's population tripled, exceeding 20,000. Merchants flocked to the prosperous city, coming from as far away as Holland. At that time vessels were able to come upstream from the open sea through St. Nazaire, Nantes and Angers; it was the principal access-route for students from the south

of France, from Scotland and other parts of Britain, from Flanders, Germany and the northern ports.

Trouble started under Louis XIII, who removed Duplessis-Mornay as Governor after he had resided in the Chateau from 1596-1621. When the Revocation became effective in 1685 it forbade the teaching of Science and Ancient Languages. The Protestant properties were turned over to the Catholics, and the Bishop of Angers ordered the Temple to be levelled to its foundations. The glory, and many of the population, departed.

In a petition to The Crown asking for help, the citizens described it as, "a place for 85 years world renowned, now deserted by the nobility, the scholars, and the craftsmen who had served them."<sup>1</sup>

Under Napoleon I the castle was turned into a state penitentiary, then it became a barracks and military arsenal. In 1908 it was purchased by the city of Saumur, which began a program of restoration. The first floor has become a Museum of Decorative Arts furnished with the most choice pieces of period furniture, tapestries, painting, sculpture and ceramics, which bring life and beauty to each room.

In the second story there is an International Horse Museum. This stems from the long tradition of horse breeding in the area, and the Riding Academy that was part of the Protestant Academy, a branch of that institution designed to give a balanced program to young men of learning. During the centuries it has been the home of famous black horses which are still used by the *Élite Cadre Noir*, the Black Horse Drill Team that now performs in Official Ceremonies. The National School of Equitation is the capitol of the *Haute École*, the training place for Olympic Teams, located just outside of the city.

After our inspection of the Chateau we had been taken for a drive around the Old City, and for a quick look at the rolling meadows, the streams and groves where the black horses graze, and are schooled.

Our guide, a local historian, told us that as the French Cavalry had become mechanized and horses were replaced by tanks, the Museum has collected these modern war machines from all over the world, the latest having recently come from Egypt (Russian made), and Israel. The contrast of old and new in a small place adds to the fascination of Saumur.

A final ceremony for us took place in the Hotel de Ville. We went up the grand stair carpeted in scarlet to the Reception Hall, where champagne glasses were lined up on a range of tables set against tall windows. The chimney, with a richly carved over-mantle that displayed the heraldic symbols of François I and Anne of Brittany in gold and red, dominated one end of the room. It was there that the young Mayor, M. Jean-Paul Hugot, welcomed us, and introduced some of the Protestant leaders who were also our hosts.

We were told of a new program in international education and friendship

<sup>1</sup>"Academie Protestante de Saumur," Office of Tourism, Saumur, 1955.

which has been initiated to commemorate the Old Protestant Academy. Qualified students from all over the world will be invited to attend for a year, with expectation that the credits earned will be accepted for graduation in the home institutions. This revival of learning in the city that once had so much prestige truly reflects the emerging influence of Protestants in France, and their insistence on freedom of thought.

The champagne was poured, toasts were proposed by hosts and guests, then the Mayor pointed to a Golden Book which he asked official delegates to sign. Virginia Gourdin was the first to do so, putting The Huguenot Society of South Carolina at the top of the page.

We said reluctant farewells, and, as the bus wheeled out in the direction of Tours, we saw the towers of the great Chateau gleaming white in the darkness, standing majestically above the Loire, like a vision in a fairytale, part of the pageant of history that had come into our lives.

The dream stayed with us to compensate a bit for the next hurried hours, sleepless for many of us, because the heavy luggage had to be packed as soon as we reached the hotel and be on the bus at 4:30 a.m. With the usual complications of paying accounts and checking out it was a hectic time, but we climbed aboard before dawn and settled down for the three hour drive to Paris. To squeeze through the early morning traffic jam as one approaches the City requires great skill and luck, and we had been short of both with a driver still drowsy with the wine of old Touraine. When we reached the Airport we could not have gone through the lines to be checked out if the husbands had not pulled out all of our baggage that was stacked in the coach. I thought, with gratitude, that there should be another Beatitude, "Blessed be Husbands!", for those few gallant men had never failed us.

By that time, in the latter part of our journey, there were three who required wheelchairs. With Eleanor Simons in charge they were procured, Customs cleared, and off we roared for England, with many a "Merci!" to our friends who remained in La Patrie.

At Heathrow it was a repeat performance: find wheelchairs, and porters, pick up luggage, go through Customs and Security checks, get on minibuses, and escalators, and people-movers, and race toward the Departure Gate. It was another International flight, a Jet crowded with families and groups who spoke in many different languages. When we were airborne we flew backward in time, reaching New York just as a glorious sunset greeted us, though in Paris it was after midnight and we should have been slumbering.

We had, in recent weeks, literally gone backwards in time to view the remnants that still exist, the visible and tangible evidences of the lives of our ancestors and their friends, things we could touch, and people who touched us.

Above the sparkling lights of Manhattan one could almost see up the Hudson River Valley to the New Paltz Settlement, or, eastward, to New Rochelle and the New England States where the other Huguenots had taken refuge. Then, as



we wheeled south over New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, and the mountains of the Carolinas, there was an endless chain of lights where, 300 years ago, only flickering hearth flames had warmed the intrepid ones, the frail and sturdy ones, our forebears who had adventured into the New World.

We had a new perspective of them and how they had kept the Faith, believing that their hopes would be realized from generation to generation. We felt a renewed appreciation of the legacy they left us, a keener awareness of ourselves as World Citizens, and a greater resolve to do our utmost to perpetuate, wherever we are, our Huguenot Heritage.

#### The South Carolina Huguenot Heritage Tour In England

Colonel and Mrs. Lucius Beebe (Janice), Charleston, SC  
 Mrs. Frances Cox, Ft. Myers, FL  
 Miss Virginia Gourdin, Charleston, SC  
 Mr. and Mrs. David Hamrick (Betty), Bradenton, FL  
 Mrs. Charlotte Harvey, Alexandria, VA  
 Mrs. Isabelle Hodges, Atlanta, GA  
 Mrs. Mary Lynn, Tampa, FL  
 Mrs. Ercell McGowan, Hampton, SC  
 Dr. Jane Gaston Mahler, Charleston, SC  
 Mrs. Doris Moody, Hampton, SC  
 Mrs. Janet Norton, Old Fort, NC  
 Mrs. Margaret Norwood, Greenville, SC  
 Miss Frances Porcher, Atlanta, GA  
 Mrs. Elizabeth Schieffelin, Los Angeles, CA  
 Mrs. Betty Skinner, Jacksonville, FL  
 Mrs. Eugenia Sundin, Mt. Pleasant, SC  
 Mrs. Esther Wood, Naples, FL

#### Joining Us In France

Mr. and Mrs. Francis Dougherty (Julia), Charleston, SC  
 Mr. and Mrs. Robert Smith (Marian), Tucker, GA  
 Mr. and Mrs. John Trezevant (Dorothy), Tiburon, CA  
 Mrs. Effie Leland Wilder, Summerville, SC

Tour Escort: Miss Eleanor Simons, Charleston, SC

## In Memoriam

- Miss Sarah Margaret Bailey, Orangeburg, S. C.  
Edward Stanley Barnhill, Charleston, S. C.  
James Pete Belvin, Roswell, Ga.  
Mrs. John W. Brantley (St. Clair Albergotti), Columbia, S. C.  
William Walpole Caldwell, Houston, Texas  
Mrs. Clara Sanders Coney, Mt. Pleasant, S. C.  
Mrs. Frances Holland Cox, Ft. Myers, Florida  
Judge Charles Lynum Cuttino, Jr., Sumter, S. C.  
Herman Ballenger Cuttino, Bellville, Texas  
Guerric Gaspard de Coligny, died 1963, Slidell, La.  
Miss Lucile DuBose, San Antonio, Texas  
Mrs. Philip H. Eve (Martha FitzSimons Ford), Stone Mountain, Ga.  
Thomas Legaré Fenn, Buzzard's Bay, Mass.  
Mrs. Camilla Mays Frank, Memphis, Tenn.  
Alexander H. Fraser, San Antonio, Texas  
Mrs. William S. Gaillard (Gabrielle Kirk), Eutawville, S. C.  
Melvin Floyd Gay, died 1982, Charleston, S. C.  
George W. I. Gignilliat, Seneca, S. C.  
Mrs. George W. Hawkins (Harriett Gregg Howard), Summerville, S. C.  
Miss Kathleen Emily Hay, Charleston, S. C.  
Thomas Jehu Jackson, Manning, S. C.  
Mrs. Agnes Gaillard Jacobs, Summerville, S. C.  
Pierre Gautier Jenkins, M.D., Summerville, S. C.  
Mrs. Marion Wilson Jurgens, died 1983, Newport, R. I.  
Mrs. George E. Keith (Irene Hendricks), Pickens, S. C.  
Mrs. Annie Laurie Venning Martin, Walnut Creek, Calif.  
Mrs. John C. Mithoefer (Mary Whitaker), Charleston, S. C.  
Walter Smith McDonald, Atlanta, Ga.  
Mrs. Abner W. Patton, Jr. (Ellen Stuart), Tuscaloosa, Ala.  
Mrs. Sidney Lake Paine (Margaret Delaney Betts), Sewanee, Tenn.  
Miss Ruby Lee Pedigo, Glasgow, Ky.  
Prime Francis Osborn, III, Jacksonville, Fla.  
William C. Scott, New York, N. Y.  
Mrs. Francis L. Shirer (Ellen Law), Sumter, S. C.  
Mrs. Royal Randolph Smith (Janie Little), Selma, Ala.  
B. E. B. Snowden, Charleston, S. C.  
Mrs. James Fraser Sofge, Aiken, S. C.  
Mrs. Agnes Wilkinson Stevens, Wadmalaw Island, S. C.

Mrs. Aubrey E. Stroman, Columbia, S. C.  
 Theodore Gaillard Thomas, II, Naples, Florida  
 Mrs. Charles Townsend, Jr. (Sarah Legaré), Wadmalaw Island  
 Mrs. Harriet S. Vardell, Summerville, S. C.  
 Edward Harleston Waring, Jr., Charleston, S. C.  
 James Nephew West, III, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 Mrs. George T. Wilhelm (Kathleen Anderson), Spartanburg, S. C.  
 Mrs. William J. Wilkins (Virginia Boney), Myrtle Beach, S. C.  
 Charles Hamilton Young, Kyle, Texas

## A RESOLUTION

- Whereas* Barnard Elliott Baker Snowden departed this life on August 10, 1985, and
- Whereas* he was a loyal and highly esteemed member of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina on record of descent from Joachim Gaillard and Esther Papparel, and many other Huguenot émigrés to South Carolina; and
- Whereas* he served this Society in many ways using his talent and skills to improve and embellish the Library of the Society, and to organize the arrangement of our storeroom facilities; and
- Whereas* he was elected to serve as Vice President for New Bordeaux for the 1985/1986 term of office but did not live to occupy this important position; and
- Whereas* he was a gentleman distinguished as an electrical engineer and founding partner of the Southern Engineering Company of Atlanta, Georgia, and a person of exceptional warmth and enthusiasm admired by all having the opportunity of knowing him;
- Now Therefore* be it *RESOLVED* by the Executive Committee of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina that the loss of Barnard Elliott Baker Snowden is noted with sorrow and regret; and that his



valued service and passing be memorialized by the printing of this *Resolution* in *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina* Number 91 (1986); and finally, that a copy of this Resolution be sent to his widow, Mrs. Lila Thurston Snowden.

For the Executive Committee

JOHN M. HORLBECK  
*President*

### SOME REFLECTIONS ON HUGUENOT HISTORY

An address given by Penrose St. Amant, Senior Professor of Church History at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky, at the Meeting of The Huguenot Society of South Carolina, in The Huguenot Church, October 20, 1985.

Last June, my wife and I took a tour of England by car. Believe it or not, we visited a medieval manor in Cornwall named Penrose and then made our way through Penzance, where we saw no pirates, to Land's End. We saw the Yorkminster, the rebuilt Coventry cathedral of steel and glass that rises defiantly beside the ruins of the old cathedral shattered by fire bombs in World War II, and, of course, the Canterbury Cathedral, of which we had pleasant memories from our first trip to Great Britain 35 years ago. We strolled through that magnificent edifice and then went outside to feast our eyes on that Gothic masterpiece. A small sign, pointing toward a side door, elicited my curiosity. It read: "French Huguenot Church, Founded 16th Century, Services Sunday, 3 P.M." That arrested my attention, especially the date, the 16th century. This Huguenot church was founded in the 1550s prior to the Edict of Nantes, which was adopted in 1598, and even before Calvin's death in 1564. This means that the Huguenots who established this church in England left France more than 40 years before the Edict was issued. That is not surprising. The fact is that the Huguenots began to leave France before the Edict (1598) was passed and a long time before its repeal (1685). Of course, this process was greatly accelerated by the Revocation, which intensified persecution and extended it over a wider territory.

October 22, 1685, almost exactly 300 years ago today, was a sad day for the Huguenots, the day on which Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes. The Edict, issued by Henry IV in 1598, admitted Huguenots to public office, permitted them to worship in public wherever it had existed in 1597 (except in Paris, Rheims, Toulouse, Lyons, and Dijon), rescinded the regulation by which Huguenot children had been forced to receive Catholic training, and placed certain fortified towns in Huguenot hands as guarantees. The Revocation came as no surprise to these beleaguered folk because for a period at least a year prior to this date French troops made their way through the countryside clearing out Protestant congregations. On the very day of the Revocation, soldiers destroyed the Protestant temple at Charenton. Jon Butler in his brilliant study of *The Huguenots in America* has described vividly what happened: "For a decade thereafter, royal troops marched from village to village carrying the banner of the monarchy before them. They arrested known Protestants, parading them past jeering Catholic partisans, and delivering them to local Catholic authorities

who used violence and the threat of violence to obtain quick public abjurations of their Protestant faith."<sup>1</sup>

Louis XIV hoped to divide and conquer Protestants by forcing Huguenot pastors to conform to Catholicism or to leave France. About three-fourths of them left the country. Pressure was put upon lay Protestants to stay in France or lose their properties. About seventy-five percent remained and many of them embraced Catholicism, at least publicly; the rest were scattered and some came to these shores.

Estimates of the number of Protestants who left France vary widely, from as many as 2,000,000 to as few as 100,000. Probably about 160,000 (more or less) left their homeland and of this number 20,000 to 30,000 made their way to England. The remainder fanned out into Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and into other parts of the continent and beyond. They came from all ranks of French society — soldiers and sailors, ministers, merchants, and mechanics, teachers and traders, lawyers and laborers, farmers and fishermen.

The Huguenot flight to England forms a bridge to the history of the Huguenots in America. Most refugees who eventually settled on these shores settled first in England. The registers of Anglican churches contain many French names, attesting to the fact that scores of Huguenots identified themselves with the Church of England. Many of these names appear again in the records of South Carolina.<sup>2</sup>

There are many reasons for the Huguenot emigration to America from the British Isles. England's economic policy was a factor. The British crown had granted a patent for the Carolina region and the proprietors wanted it settled. Therefore, the Huguenots were encouraged to go to the colonies.

Another factor that turned some to these shores was the unpredictable policy toward the Huguenots in the late Stuart period. The refugees did not know what to expect. In such an atmosphere, anxiety and frustration tend to escalate. That is exactly what happened. At times, the drive for strict conformity to the Church of England was stressed; at other times, the crown granted financial aid to the Huguenots and permitted them to form independent congregations. Fear of a return to Roman Catholicism in England during the reign of James II (1685-1688), more perceived than actual, was an additional factor that led some to leave Britain. Also, the Huguenots in England, who were skilled in numerous trades and experts in the "manufacture of silkes, oiles, wines etc.," elicited complaints from their English counterparts with whom they were in direct competition. So great was the demand for "poor relief," especially by the Huguenots, that some found it difficult to get economic assistance and went westward to the New World in search of security.

<sup>1</sup> Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in A New World Society*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> See Arthur Henry Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, (London: Archon Books, 1928), pp. 4-5.



There were, of course, positive reasons for the flight across the sea to the American colonies by perhaps 2,000 persons. Liberal tracts of land, immunities, and privileges were granted to the refugees who went to the Carolina region. They were received with warm hospitality. That is not surprising. South Carolinians have been noted for their hospitality for a long time!

French Protestants who reached Carolina before 1680 were in the main adventurers from France by way of the British Isles. Butler speaks of a "trickle of individuals"<sup>3</sup> at this time. The first company of Huguenot refugees, about ninety adults and children, came to Carolina in 1680. The log-book of the good ship *Richmond* shows that they landed at Oyster Point, Charles Town, Province of Carolina on April 30, 1680, after a voyage of four and one-half months. Subsequently, families and groups of emigrants made their way to Carolina to escape persecution, to satisfy their hunger for freedom, to find a more secure life. Most of them debarked at Charles Town. As you know, this church was founded perhaps as early as 1681, though no minister came until several years later, and apparently a building was constructed in 1687.

Butler speaks of the "Huguenot Diaspora on the Continent [as] massive, not small. It was the most explosive forced migration to occur in western society between the Renaissance and the fifteenth century and the rise of industrialism in the nineteenth century."<sup>4</sup> At least 160,000 Protestants left their homeland, and yet everywhere the Huguenots settled they, in time, largely lost their identity in both Europe and America. The group cohesion that might have taken place never materialized. By 1700 in Britain almost all French pastors had been reordained by the established church and recognized the ecclesiastical authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury only. The traditional French Protestant form of worship persisted. A similar situation prevailed in the New World. Despite strenuous efforts to sustain the vitality of the French church in Charles Town, large numbers of Huguenots transferred their membership to St. Philip's Church, the major Anglican congregation in the town at that time. No independent denomination-in-exile came to pass anywhere.

In 1726, a Huguenot minister, John La Pierre, sent a letter to the Bishop of London, to whom he complained about the arbitrary policies of Commissary Alexander Garden of Charleston. In the letter, he says that he as well as his adversary is "a laborer in the Lord's vineyard." He speaks of himself as under the "inspection and patronage" of the Bishop and as his "most dutiful most humble and obedient servant."<sup>5</sup> It is evident that explicit Huguenot traditions were absorbed by the new cultures in Europe and America into which the French Protestants moved. Arthur H. Hirsch calls it "one of the most remark-

<sup>3</sup> Butler, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 211.

<sup>5</sup> Jean La Pierre, "Letter to the Bishop of London," in *A Documentary History of Religion in America to the Civil War*, Edwin S. Gaustad, ed., (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1962), p. 155.

able cases of absorption in history."<sup>6</sup> The situation of the Huguenots in America is aptly described in the *Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*: "It is a grave matter that such people [the Huguenots] who were banished because of their Protestant religion and suffered great hardship can so easily grow indifferent in this country. . . . There are so many Huguenots here who have grown completely cold and allowed their children and children's children to grow up in unbaptized darkness."<sup>7</sup>

It is clear that French Protestantism-in-exile was never really set up as an explicit movement and was absorbed in Anglicanism (ecclesiastically and culturally) and in other traditions, religious and secular. It is also clear that some Huguenots turned their backs upon religious matters and became indifferent to issues for which their fathers and forefathers had suffered great hardship. What is not clear, however, is what happened to the implicit dimensions of Huguenot life and thought. On this the 300th anniversary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, it seems especially appropriate to raise the question: Has the Huguenot heritage been so obliterated that about all that remains is the historical problem? The question can be phrased differently — Does anything "permanent" remain after the absorption of Protestantism-in-exile into this or that and the surrender of many Huguenots in and out of France to a sort of secular indifference?

Absorption and indifference are evident keys to an understanding of Huguenot history. What is not evident, I repeat, is what happened to the implicit dimensions of Huguenot life and thought. This, I believe, is a neglected aspect of Huguenot history. The Huguenots-in-exile failed to develop a cohesive movement and, in the sense of a specific identity, were largely absorbed in the diaspora. The Huguenots who remained in France either abjured their faith or went underground and, as a result, dramatic shrinkages and profound internal changes took place in the movement at home. My contention is that, despite the explicit absorption of the Huguenot heritage in the diaspora and the shrinkage and the changes in it that occurred at home, it has continued in implicit ways. Aspects of Huguenot life and thought, I believe, have persisted often in contexts different from those in which they first appeared. By "implicit" I, of course, mean by implication, not directly expressed, implied. For the historian, this can be treacherous territory. I shall proceed with caution and hope for the best, searching not so much for concrete conclusions based upon primary sources as for suggestions that hopefully will illuminate the Huguenot experience. There is, quite frankly, an underlying assumption in my remarks concerning the Christian faith, which I regard as *sui generis*, or unique, however much it has been distorted by the contexts in which it has been expressed. On this point I speak not so much as historian but as theologian. However, I do not think history is a purely quantitative affair.

<sup>6</sup> Hirsch, p. 263.

<sup>7</sup> Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, *Journals*, in Butler, p. 69.

Let me try to address the issue of "what happened to the Huguenots?" by commenting, first, about the impact of Protestantism in France, where, as Butler says, it "survived" but "did not survive intact."<sup>8</sup> Protestantism claimed no more than one-percent of the population after 1700 and no more than five to ten percent before 1660. In the 18th century, it was identified with the middle class and largely lost the support of the peasants, farmers, and workers almost everywhere except Languedoc. What Butler calls a "miniature version" has been carried forward into contemporary France. French Protestantism in its various expressions (mainly French Reformed, which perpetuates the Huguenot tradition) is a larger factor, I believe, in France today than is generally realized. The impact of John Calvin, French theologian and humanist, and Calvinism upon French culture may not be evident in France on the Champs Elysées, the Rue Pigalle, the Follies-Bergère, the sidewalk cafes and the Sorbonne, but the Calvinistic tendency cannot be dismissed as merely a "remembrance of things past."

The Protestant Theological Faculty in Paris is an example of my point. It is a rather small theological school housed in an unprepossessing building but is made up of able scholars and continues to educate pastors for French Reformed churches, by which it is supported. Richard Stauffer of that faculty, who also lectures at the Sorbonne, is an authority on Calvin. His book, *L'humanité de Calvin*, that looks at the reformer from the standpoint of his sermons humanizes the austere French theologian. Other well-known Protestant scholars who have taught there are Auguste Sabatier, prolific author, whose *Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit* was widely read in and out of France. Paul Ricoeur, brilliant philosopher and theologian of world renown, who was attached to the Paris Faculty until recently, now teaches at The University of Chicago. Ricoeur's writings and penetrating mind put him at least on a par with secular intellectuals like the late Jean-Paul Sartre. Ricoeur has given Protestantism a prestige among intellectuals in France it has not enjoyed since the Reformation. His impact also extends into Europe as a whole and America as well. In particular, he has addressed the phenomenon of finitude and guilt in *Fallible Man and The Symbolism of Evil*. He does not end in a pessimistic view of the human condition. He writes, "Innocence is older than sin; joy is more basic than anxiety."

François Wendel, French Protestant historian at The University of Geneva, should be mentioned, especially for his work on John Calvin. He has reminded us that Calvin was not only a theologian but also a humanist and one of the best Latinists of the 16th century. Calvin's French was of a range and elegance comparable to Pascal's or Bousset's. His immense erudition and refinement of taste put him very near Erasmus.

Marc Boegner, who became a pastor in Paris in 1918, was the first president

<sup>8</sup> Butler, p. 214



of the unified Reformed Church in France and served in that capacity from 1938 through World War II. He was also the first president of the Ecumenical Council of Christian Churches, which included Protestant and Eastern Orthodox faiths. He was elected to the Academie Française in 1962. At his death in 1970, Paul VI in a telegram to Boegner's widow referred to him as a "pioneer of Christian unity."

Let me add the names of Maurice Couve Murville and the Peugeot family to this list. Murville served as Foreign Minister of France in the post war years. The Peugeots are known for automobile manufacturing. The Murvilles and the Peugeots are Protestants.

I, of course, am not saying that the spiritual, ethical, intellectual, political, and commercial gifts cited are all traceable to the Huguenot tradition. That would be ridiculous. I am saying that Stauffer, Ricoeur, Wendel, Boegner, Murville, and the Peugeots, and other leaders in French life and thought now and in the past are in one way or another expressions of that tradition.

There is a second historical point about the Huguenot diaspora and its consequences. This has to do with the impact upon France of the forced migration of about 160,000 Huguenots that removed from French life and culture a hardy, industrious, and stable group who took Protestantism seriously. Protestant troubles in France, however, began long before the Revocation and go back into the Reformation itself. Seven savage wars occurred between the Huguenots and Catholics from 1562 to 1580. The murder of Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, the Huguenot leader, and the massacre of thousands of his followers on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572, polarized the Huguenot-Catholic conflict, which was not resolved until the Edict of Nantes in 1598. However, the resolution was only temporary and, after a period of relative peace, persecution of the Huguenots was resumed and intensified especially by the Jesuits, leading to the Revocation in 1685 and its results.

The removal of the Protestants who left France and the neutralizing of many who remained but abjured their faith left a vacuum in French life and culture that was filled by extremists. On the right was a Jesuit dominated Roman Catholicism. The Jesuits were active in the Catholic League in France, organized to fight against the Huguenots. The Jesuits reached such heights of bigotry that they were suppressed in France in 1767. Six years later the order was abolished by Pope Clement XIV. But it was too late. The damage had been done. On the left were Voltaire and other intellectuals of the Enlightenment who rejected Christianity. Then came the French Revolution, followed by a period of terror and the overthrow of the Catholic Church in France along with the monarchy. Religion in general and Roman Catholicism in particular received a massive blow in France that is still felt today.

I believe, though I cannot, of course, prove it, that the excesses which plagued the French Revolution would have been mitigated, at least, if a genuine Protestant option had been available in the late 18th century. In this

case, consequences flowed not from the presence but the absence of the Huguenots and, therefore, a vacuum into which extremism moved, first the Jesuits and then the Rationalists. The vacuum became a vortex that drew into itself both the Catholic Church and the crown and led to bloody terror, the dictatorship of Napoleon, and the revival of a reactionary Catholicism. The zealous pursuit of reform by pseudo reformers who cover their selfish concerns with altruistic masks produces a ruthlessness that brings the whole moral superstructure down in ruins.

Let me offer a few reflections on the impact, much of it implicit, of the Huguenot heritage upon American life.

First, there was a strong element of vitality in early Huguenot history, traceable in some measure to the fact that "young people dominated the Huguenot emigration to America."<sup>9</sup> Most of those who came from England did so not by force but by choice. This was certainly the case for those who settled in South Carolina as the naturalization lists suggest. They settled not only in Charleston but also distributed themselves along the tide-water area and after a time some of them moved into the back country along the frontier. Frequently they were granted the least productive and the least protected tracts. Some remained poor, usually women and needy children. Many in time were successful in commerce and agriculture and contributed significantly to the industrial development of Carolina. Some accumulated great wealth as in the case of the Manigault family. Sent across the sea by authorities in England to produce "silkes, oiles, wines, etc.," many of them gradually abandoned low-paying tasks to become specialists in raising horses and cattle, in diversified agriculture, various businesses, and money lending with interest, of course. Some became professors, politicians, slave-holders, and slave-traders, among whom the Manigault family stood out. The Manigaults were among the richest colonists in 18th century America.

The discoveries and inventions of these gifted people came into general use throughout the South. The newspaper, printing, and book-binding business of South Carolina was controlled by French Protestants for an extended period in the 18th century. They were leaders in what was perhaps the first fire insurance company in Charleston, organized in 1735. They were "go-getters," young or old. What remained of their early rigorous Calvinism, based upon Calvin's *French Confession of Faith* (1559), and the capitalism they embraced in the New World were fused. The spirit of the entrepreneur was abroad in the new land. The virtues of thrift, frugality, diligence, discipline, patience, hard work, and a sense of destiny, which were rooted in their Calvinistic heritage, persisted in Huguenot life long after the heritage had been widely secularized. It is, of course, true that the Calvinism of the Huguenots was seriously attenuated by Arminian theological notions. Calvinism as a theology quickly eroded. How-

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

ever, certain psychological and sociological consequences persisted and contributed to the enthusiasm and a certain serenity with which the Huguenots conducted their lives and labors.

A second reflection has to do with a number of people I have encountered whose ancestors were Huguenots. A few examples will have to suffice. A brother-in-law of a professor at Southwestern Baptist Seminary, William Estep, is Kenneth Cuddeback, a name derived from the French Caudebel. There is a town by that name in France near the Belgian border.

Joy Balyeat of Huguenot descent is the wife of a friend, Stanton Nash. A book about the Balyeat family, written by Stephen Clay Balliet, was published in 1968.<sup>10</sup>

The Mullinnix family of South Carolina is, as you know, derived from the Huguenots. The late Marguerite Mullinex McCall was the wife of Duke K. McCall, former president of The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

I could go on with this but will refrain except for the comment that these families became Baptists. And so the Huguenot heritage persists among Baptists, including my friend Philip Charles Bryant, pastor of this church. Other Huguenots became Presbyterians, Methodists, and, of course, Episcopalians.

When I was asked to prepare this paper about one year ago, I began to notice not only Huguenot names but also stories about the Huguenots in unexpected places; more and more stories in more places than I can report today. My third reflection relates to several of these stories.

I picked up the publication sent to the alumni of Louisiana College and a headline "jumped out" at me: "Huguenot Award Given" it read. The article said that a student of the College "was named recipient of a scholarship from the Huguenot Society of the Founders of Manakin." The Manakin Huguenot community, settled in 1700 on the Virginia frontier, experienced the same assimilationist tendencies and lack of cohesion well known to the Carolina refugees of the 1680s. Nevertheless, the history of these Huguenots has been preserved by a historical society and a story about the Manakin Huguenots appeared on the front page of a college paper.

Another headline, accompanied by a picture of the Huguenot Church of Charleston, came to my attention. The headline in the *New Orleans Times-Picayune* read: "America's Last Huguenots and English Turn." I was born and reared in South Louisiana and as a historian have been aware of the Huguenots for a long time. This is the only inkling I ever had that French Protestant refugees ever intended to settle among the French Catholics of South Louisiana. According to the story, four hundred Huguenots in the Charleston area in 1699 hoped to resettle in Louisiana due to a desire to return to a French-oriented culture. This did not materialize because the English ship on the Mississippi

<sup>10</sup> Stephen Clay Balliet, *The Balliet, Balyeat, Balliet, Balliet, Balyeat, Bolyard and Allied Families*. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Thomas J. Morgan's Sons, 1968).



River searching for a place where the Huguenots might resettle was turned back by the French explorer, Jean Baptiste Le Moyne De Bienville, a French adventurer who was exploring the river. He told the captain of the English ship that a large armed French encampment had been established upriver and the Huguenots then in Carolina would not be allowed to settle there. It was only a ploy but it worked and the English ship was turned back at a point in the river at what is now Plaquemines Parish (County) called "English turn." This story, which occupied most of a page in the newspaper with a photograph of this church, illustrates a continuing curiosity about and interest in the Huguenots.

Another story appearing in a publication named *Liberty* is about a settlement called La Caroline at the mouth of the St. John's River in Florida. It was occupied briefly by French Protestants who were butchered by the Spanish in 1565. This was the last effort of the Huguenots to settle in America as part of a national policy by the French government to colonize the New World. The article, complete with a picture of an enlarged 1965 postage stamp, commemorates what incredibly was called "the settlement of Florida by the Huguenots." According to this article, only twenty-six Frenchmen escaped, among whom was Jean Le Moyne, the geographer of the settlement. His account of the Fort Caroline massacre with drawings was later published and caused quite a stir in Europe.

None of these articles is of any special importance. I mention them merely to suggest a certain popular fascination with the Huguenots. It does seem to me that interest in the Huguenots goes considerably beyond their explicit importance in the history of American religion.

My fourth and concluding comment concerning the continuation of the Huguenot heritage relates to this church and the occasion of commemoration that brings us together today. This magnificent Gothic revival edifice, designed by Edward Brickell White and dedicated in 1845, is symbolic of the Huguenot heritage. Worship in this church, as you know, is conducted according to a liturgy that has been in use for over three hundred years. Thus a living continuity with the Huguenot past is preserved in this sanctuary week by week.

The activities this weekend in this church commemorating the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes serve to keep the Huguenot story alive. Added to this is the series of lectures by distinguished scholars this Fall sponsored by Clemson University and the Huguenot Society of South Carolina under the rubric: "The Huguenot Connection: The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and Early French Migration to South Carolina."

The dramatic event of the Revocation contributed to a far-reaching debate on political and religious freedom and the issue of human rights. The Revocation, the Huguenot diaspora, and the settlements in the New World played various roles, mostly unintended, in the church-state debate and the ongoing discussion concerning authority and freedom, unity and uniformity, pluralism and order. The Huguenot quest for freedom, the sacrifices endured in that

quest, and the determination to succeed whatever the cost have left their impression upon the American character. Is this not a part of the reason for our continuing fascination with the Huguenot heritage? Does this not partly explain why a story entombed in dusty archives sometimes seems to be strangely alive?

## OF INTEREST TO MEMBERS

### Commemoration of the Two Hundred and Twenty-Second Anniversary of the Arrival of the French Huguenots at New Bordeaux

Judging from the volume of mail received in the Library, this reunion of descendants of New Bordeaux Huguenots held August 10, 1986, set a precedent that will be hard to excel.

Dr. Arthur H. Hirsch in his *Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina* tells us that the last large group of French Protestants to reach South Carolina landed at Charles Town April 12, 1764, an event which came on the heels of the 1763 conclusion of the Peace of Paris ending the Seven Year's War. They proposed to settle in Hillsboro Township, old Abbeville District, and were a total of 371 émigrés. The Reverend Jean Louis Gibert led them as their pastor, and also as their negotiator with English authorities. Associated with Pastor Gibert was the Reverend Jacques Boutton.

Patrick Calhoun, grandfather of the statesman John C. Calhoun, surveyed the township laying it out in vineyard lots, plantations, and "a village on a New England plan," which the settlers named New Bordeaux because many of them had come from Bordeaux in France.

In 1765, after further negotiations with the London Board of Trade, other French Protestants joined the first contingent. Again, in 1767 another group of French, together with German Protestants, increased the New Bordeaux population. These people were under the direction of M. Louis Dumesnil de St. Pierre in vessels bound for a settlement at Cape Sable in Nova Scotia. Due to storms at sea the expedition was forced to put in at Charles Town. Eventually this addition found haven at New Bordeaux. They fared so well that M. de St. Pierre in 1772 returned to England and France where he induced other families to join the settlement.

Meanwhile, individual families of French Protestant origin were finding their way to Hillsboro Township by way of the back country. These were persons of pioneering spirit who came down the "fall line," from frontier areas of the other colonies. Dr. Hirsch cites for example James and Mary Petigru, journeying from France to Ireland, from Ireland to Pennsylvania, finally by way of the frontier down into Abbeville District of South Carolina.

Today, we speak of this area as McCormick, S. C., Abbeville, S. C., "old Willington," S. C. — much of it is now McCormick County. Descendants of the original settlers gather in the Willington Community every other year to pay their respect, to visit their own particular areas of interest, and to gather at the site of the large granite cross erected by the Huguenot Society of South Carolina on Little River, a place thought to be where the New Bordeaux Huguenots established their first house of worship.



B. F. (Bob) Edmonds, Chairman of the McCormick County Historical Commission, our loyal member, has for many years kept careful watch over the New Bordeaux Cross. Last July he wrote us of the ambitious program planned for the August reunion.

During the morning Dr. J. Sanders Pike of Atlanta delivered an address, "Huguenot Heritage and LeRoy Legacy." This was followed by a play, "Huguenot Heritage," directed by Ellen Lyddane of Greenville. We have received many pictures of Carlisle Sullivan in her leading role as Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre.

Mr. Edmonds said that about three hundred descendants were expected to attend the reunion. L. S. Brice writing in *The McCormick Messenger*, August 21, reported guests registered from South Carolina, North Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Texas, Oklahoma, Ohio, Indiana, and Maryland. Among them were descendants of the families of Bouchillon, Covin, Delachaux, Gibert, Guillebeau, LeRoy, Bellot, DeHart, Langel, Legueux, Manneau, Maurin, Morangne, Mouchett, Paschal, and Venable.

Between a fish fry, picnic lunch, and a collation, all held at various places, there still was time to visit the Guillebeau House at Hickory Knob State Park, the LeRoy Family cemetery, the Willington Historical Center, and our Huguenot Cross on Little River. Who had the best time of all? Perhaps our member Mrs. Bessie LeRoy Wrenn, who is only ninety-nine years old.

#### *Suggested Reading*

We should be aware of two 1985 publications. Mr. Horlbeck alluded to the first in his President's Report: *Huguenot Refugees In the Settling of Colonial America* published by the Huguenot Society of America, may be obtained by writing to the Society, 122 East 58th Street, New York City 10022.

A worthy successor to *The Huguenot Society of America Tercentenary Celebration of the Promulgation of the Edict of Nantes*, published ca. 1900, the present volume "endeavors a scholarly pursuit of clues revealing the final destination of Huguenot refugees who migrated to North America before 1787," in the words of the editor, Peter Steven Gannon.

The second publication, brought to our attention by Virginia Gourdin, is *Généalogies Huguenotes*, by Thierry DuPasquier, with a preface by Jean Basdevant, published in Paris. It may be obtained from Editions Christian, 5, rue Alphonse-Baudin, BP91, Paris, 75522, Cedex II, France. Genealogical records of Foissins, Hauduroys, and Houzels are followed; also a short treatment is given to the families of Amonnet of Virginia, Foissin of South Carolina, Dufour of Paris, and Houssaye of Tours.

As valuable as the above would be to those of our members interested in these particular lineages, Virginia Gourdin comments, "More important to professional genealogists, and to those amateurs who travel often in France, are the 'Sources.' After acknowledging his debt, as I also have done, to Mme.

Idelette Ardouin of Tours, and giving credit to records in London, Holland, Germany, our own Huguenot Society Library, as well as the indispensable ones in Paris at Archives Nationales, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Bibliothèque du Protestantisme Français. M. DuPasquier presents our *pièce-de-résistance* — the list of manuscript sources which he consulted in the departmental archives of Seine, Charente, Charente-Maritime, Dordogne, Cher, Aisne, Gironde, Indre-et-Loire, Loir-et-Cher, Maine-et-Loire, Seine-et-Oise, and Nièvre.”

MADELEINE CHARDON, OF TOURS, TOURAINE  
AND HER FAMILY

by  
VIRGINIA GOURDIN\*

Part I: In France and England<sup>1</sup>

Little did her parents suspect, in 1657, as they cuddled their new-born daughter, christened "Madeleine" in the Protestant (Reformed) Temple at Tours, that she would, about three hundred years later, be the "Huguenot ancestor" of at least a thousand descendants scattered across a land called America or that more than a hundred of them would join the Huguenot Society of South Carolina to perpetuate the memory of all those of her faith who fled France during two centuries of Huguenot persecution.

In fact, her father, Isaac Chardon, a "marchand, bourgeois de Tours, Sieur du Boisdenier,"<sup>2</sup> and her mother, Jeanne Huberson, probably had days so full that they never took time to think of a distant future for this seventeenth of their twenty-two children.

Nor can we today describe this "grandmother" whom so many of us claim. She did not leave a diary. Perhaps she was too busy growing up in an enormous family, marrying a cousin at sixteen, bearing four sons in Tours and burying one, escaping with her husband and three babies to join other refugees in England, baptizing another child at the Threadneedle Street Church, and becoming a god-mother as well. In London, she had to learn English, teach it to her children, and gather supplies for a long, rough ocean voyage to Carolina.

Finally, after setting up a home, adjusting to the climate and Indians at Santee, and being widowed, in her earliest thirties, in a primitive land, this city-girl from Tours promptly found an eligible French-speaking second husband, on a plantation almost next door, bore him at least six children during the next eight years, encouraged and advised him, nursed and trained her ten children, and, in her forties and fifties, watched them grow up and marry successful "English citizens" of pure French blood,<sup>3</sup> named Chastaigner, Huger, Prioleau, Cordes, Porcher, Mazÿck, and Doussaint, with plantations in the country and houses in Charles Towne. Has any mother yet done more?

As far as we know, no portraits of her have survived, nor letters to her scattered siblings, nor signatures releasing dower rights (neither husband ever

\* Miss Gourdin, a ninth generation descendant of Madeleine Chardon Gendron, holds BA, BS, and MA degrees and is Chairman of our Research Committee.

<sup>1</sup> Part II: in Carolina will appear in a subsequent issue.

<sup>2</sup> Now a suburb of Tours, near Saint Symphorien, on the north side of the Loire.

<sup>3</sup> Some have said that Philip Gendron's large family intermarried with the English but I have found no proof of this.



sold land), nor even a copy of a will. Yet, all of us know that she existed for her genes have passed down to a numberless progeny — even her very own deoxyribonucleic acid chain (DNA) which came to her from Marguerite Deffenes through Marie Gourdineau, through Jeanne Houssaye, through Jeanne Huberson, her mother, may now have passed on, through female lines, to American women living today.

Let us then create a picture of Madeleine Chardon by a study of heredity and environment as we follow her through a dangerous, challenging, productive life.

Her native city, Tours, in the beautiful Loire Valley, surrounded by royalty's country castles (Amboise, Blois, Chenonceau, Chinon, Loches, and Ussé) was, in the mid-seventeenth century, a bustling trading center in a province that lay between the democratic and Protestant southwest of France and the bureaucratic and Catholic Paris.

Nothing was stagnant at this crossroads of cultural, religious, political, and economic thought. As an introduction to our extensive French Protestant clan, nearly all a part of the city-dwelling merchant class for generations, let me quote from Baird:

The political importance of the Huguenots . . . may be said to have ceased with the fall of their principal city, La Rochelle, in the year 1628. . . . The Huguenots accepted the situation, and . . . gave themselves up zealously to the pursuit of the arts of peace. . . . The Protestants of southern and western France surpassed all others as cultivators of the soil. In many of the seaboard towns, Huguenot merchants had long been foremost in commercial enterprise. The foreign trade of the kingdom came to be, very largely, controlled by them. . . . The manufactures of woolen cloth and linen goods, of serge, and silks, and sailcloth, the ironworks and papermills, and tanneries, that enriched France at this period were founded or promoted chiefly by Protestants. . . . They were prudent and circumspect in their dealings with others, and ready to combine and cooperate among themselves in their business procedures.<sup>4</sup>

Madeleine's family had for generations also been Protestant, for how long we cannot know.<sup>5</sup> Two of Calvin's disciples had begun preaching in Saintonge in 1534 and their teachings had soon reached every village along the western seaboard;<sup>6</sup> by 1550 the provinces of Aunis, Saintonge, and Poitou were mainly Protestant, and Touraine heavily so.

<sup>4</sup>C. W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1973), Vol. I, pp. 238-240.

<sup>5</sup>Extant Protestant Registers of Tours are: *Baptisms, 1630-1685; Marriages, 1622-1685; Burials, 1668-1685*. Documentation for records cited in this paper can be obtained either from these or from the early Notarial Records of Charles Bertrand, Claude Chardon, François Hamart, Charles Letoy, and — Bonneau, all of Tours, and of Notaries Huguet and Benaux of Saumur.

<sup>6</sup>Baird, *op. cit.*, Vol I, pp. 81-82.

In 1561 came an edict forbidding all Protestant services; however, in 1562, by Coligny's efforts, the "new religion" was made legal.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, the massacre of Vassy, in 1562, gave them advance warning. Samuel Smiles says,

More appalling, however, than the burning of churches, were the massacres which followed that of Vassy all over France . . . At Tours the number of the slain was so great that the banks of the Loire were almost covered with the corpses of men, women, and children.<sup>8</sup>

It is not likely that one hundred years could erase this scene from the collective memory of Madeleine's clan; nor the picture, at nearby Amboise, of Mary Stuart, young Queen of France and Scotland, smiling in approval as she looked down on the dying Protestants writhing on the parapets and being tortured in the courtyard below.

Early refugees departed for Holland, England, and the Channel Islands, providing contacts and assistance for the hundreds of thousands who followed. The Edict of Nantes, 1598, has been called a "patchwork"<sup>9</sup> which gave only a few years of peace. With the increase of harassment following the assassination, in 1610, of Henry IV, many sought refuge in the French islands of the Caribbean<sup>10</sup> — mainly in Saint Christopher's (Kitts), Gaudaloupe, and Martinique — where for fifty years they prospered and held religious services in their homes with Protestant pastors, Calvin's prayers, and Marot's psalms.<sup>11</sup>

Baird notes that many Huguenot families who left France before 1685 settled there — even on the English, Dutch, and Danish islands — and cites such names from the "role des habitants de Saint Christophe," in 1671, as Buretel, David, Deschamps, Duval, Gaillard, Gendron, and Marion.<sup>12</sup> We have, however, no "liste" of those pouring into the Caribbean islands as persecution in France increased, no "liste" of those brought as slaves in the galleys, only fleeting references in early statutes and wills, including those of Pasquereaus and Chardons, to relatives in the West Indies.

Henry Edmund Ravenel reminds us that, as early as February 10, 1629, "French Protestant refugees in England were in communication with Charles I for planting a colony in what is now South Carolina," adding that "parties of friends left their afflicted land together, and made common cause."<sup>13</sup> As he did, many of us will continue, through the ages, to try to establish these relationships and beg forgiveness if we err.

Madeleine's family had, for generations, intermarried into other merchant

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

<sup>8</sup> Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1972), p. 57.

<sup>9</sup> Janine Garrison, "L'Edit de Nantes," in *Réforme*, No. 2084, Paris, March 23, 1985.

<sup>10</sup> Baird, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Chapter III: The Antilles, pp. 201-217.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 204-207.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 211-212.

<sup>13</sup> Henry Edmund Ravenel, *Ravenel Records* (Atlanta, Ga.: Franklin Printing and Pub. Co., 1898), p. 55; also Baird, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 165, note.

families of Tours, as well as with merchants, bankers, doctors, and government officials of such neighboring cities as La Fleche (Sarthe), Azay-le-Rideau (Indre-et-Loire), Poitiers (Poitou), Saumur (Maine-et-Loire), Angers (Anjou), Châtellerault (Vienne), Sancerre (Cher), Saintes (Charente-Maritime), and Paris (Ile-de-France).

Whether her father, grandfathers, and uncles were traders of grains, or silks, or leathers, we do not yet know, but we can be sure they met others of the "bourgeoisie" from all areas of western France at trade fairs, where Protestant services were regularly held, and that they had contacts with the shippers of Saintonge, Aunis, and Poitou, from which Protestant mariners had been sailing for decades to Newfoundland, New Amsterdam, the West Indies, and the Protestant countries of northern Europe.

As merchants, the Housayes, Hubersons, Chardons, and Pasquereaus must have understood — as certainly did the capitalist Isaac Mazÿck — all about barter, interest, bills of credit, mortgages, insurance, rental agreements, foreign coins, the fluctuating values of currencies or national notes, as well as the usefulness, in times of trouble, of a little money in trust accounts outside their own country. The early records lead us to believe that many who came to Carolina did have mercantile or trust accounts in England before they fled France and maintained them long after they settled here. The arch-Catholic, Hilaire Belloc, who believed "Huguenotry" should have been completely destroyed, contends that the Revocation failed "as a policy" because Louis XIV could not destroy Huguenot wealth — a liquid wealth that escaped with them in the form of "orders for merchandise to be collected on arrival," as well as the ships they owned and the skills of craftsmanship carried in their heads.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to a wide acquaintanceship with the commercial interests and the religious community of western France, the children of the bourgeoisie, like the Chardons, were, without doubt, attending schools in Tours, Poitiers, and La Rochelle, under masters trained at Saumur (only sixty kilometers away) and, as they matured, attending the famous Protestant academy there themselves. Many of Carolina's early Huguenots knew the English language far too well to have acquired this facility during only a short stay in a refugee community in London.

More important to us now, and to Madeleine then, was her enormous network of siblings, uncles, aunts, grandparents, in-laws, and numberless cousins, many of whom may have preceded her into exile, or may have gone as slaves to the galleys, or may have abjured, but all of whom probably helped each other find guides, disguises, wagons, safe-houses, funds, and contacts as they fled toward the coasts to seek passage in ships of any size to countries of refuge.

From the extant records in Tours,<sup>15</sup> we learn that Madeleine's paternal

<sup>14</sup> Hilaire Belloc, *Louis XIV* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1898), p. 313.

<sup>15</sup> We are all indebted to Madame Hèleette Ardouin, of Tours, for sharing with us the following items from her ten years of research in the early records of Touraine. We hope other descendants will check the records of Angers, Indre-et-Loire, for the earlier Chardon line.



great-grandfather, Gabriel Chardon, probably a native of Azay-le-Rideau, Indre-et-Loire, about twenty-four kilometers from Tours, died before February 6, 1611, leaving a wife Martine (or Marenne) Viollet, and four or five children:

1. René, a merchant at Azay-le-Rideau.
2. Urban, "procureur au siège présidial de Tours" (i.e., a magistrate in the lower civil and criminal court system established in 1551 by Henry II), died between Aug. 5, 1636, and date of his Inventory on Sept. 24, 1638.
3. Hélène, who married Daniel Roy, a merchant at Azay-le-Rideau.
4. Joseph, a merchant at Azay-le-Rideau, who married Judic Renault.
5. Claude, the royal notary at Tours, who married Marie Turreau, may have been Gabriel's son or brother.

Madeleine's paternal grandfather, Urban Chardon, the magistrate, first married Suzanne Mahiet (Mayet) and by her had three children:

1. Suzanne, who married Pierre de Toulieu, a doctor of medicine, (marriage contract, Tours, December 6, 1614), son of Jean de Toulieu and Barbe Bernard.
2. Anne, who married Théophile Le Royer, a counsellor to the king, elected from Baugé, Maine-et-Loire, (marriage contract, Tours, December 6, 1626), son of Bonaventure Le Royer and Philippe Almain.
3. Daniel, a merchant of Tours, who married Renée Housaye, daughter of Jean Housaye and Marie Gourdineau, (marriage contract April 13, 1633).

Urban's son Jean may have been a child of this first marriage or of his second marriage to Françoise Sauvage, our ancestor, the mother of Urban's youngest child, Isaac Chardon, Sieur du Boisdénier, born about 1611 and buried at the Temple of Tours on April 9, 1674.

Madeleine's grandmother Françoise Sauvage, the second wife of Urban Chardon (marriage contract, Tours, Feb. 6, 1611; her dowry, 1500 *lires*) was still alive on June 17, 1641, having survived her husband whose inventory was taken Sept. 24, 1638. Françoise, the daughter of Isaac Sauvage, a citizen and merchant of Tours (who died between Nov. 16, 1638, when he made his will, and April 19, 1641), and Catherine Villamoine (whose will was dated Dec. 30, 1632, and whose inventory was taken Dec. 9, 1636), was the granddaughter of Robert Villamoine and Marie Rolland, who had lived near the church of Saint Pierre du Boille<sup>19</sup> in Tours. Marie Rolland died before Nov. 3, 1601, leaving her husband Robert Villamoine (who died between that date and July 7, 1610), and at least three children (order of birth not known):

1. Abraham Villamoine, a merchant and citizen of Tours, who died before Jan. 26, 1631, and who married, first, Elisabeth Legaigneux, and, second, before 1624, Anne Leschallas.
2. Pierre Villamoine.
3. Catherine, our ancestor, who married Isaac Sauvage.

<sup>19</sup> This church, having fallen into ruins, was destroyed about 200 years ago.

Isaac Sauvage, a merchant and citizen of Tours, who dated his will Nov. 16, 1638, died before Apr. 19, 1641; his wife, Catherine Villamoine, dated her will Dec. 30, 1632, and her inventory was taken Dec. 9, 1636. They had produced at least nine children (order of birth not known):

1. Françoise, our ancestor, whose marriage contract with Urban Chardon is dated Feb. 6, 1611.
2. Lucretie, whose marriage contract with Thomas Febvrier is dated Oct. 19, 1615, and notarized by Claude Chardon of Tours.
3. Henri, whose marriage contract with Marie de Rocquigny is dated May 1, 1616, in England.
4. Marie, marriage contract on Jan. 27, 1618, with Jean DuPré, merchant of Paris, son of Jean DuPré<sup>17</sup> "courrier ordinaire du roi," and Catherine Nicquet.
5. Catherine, marriage contract with Isaac Bregondis, merchant of Tours, Aug. 25, 1624, the son of Pierre Bregondis, a merchant of Tours, and Catherine Jourdain.
6. Judic, marriage contract with David Lenain, a nobleman, Sept. 6, 1627.
7. Marthe, marriage contract with Jean Boutin, a magistrate in the royal court at Châtellerault, Vienne.
8. Annex, marriage contract with René Gilles, a merchant of Tours, Aug. 24, 1630.
9. Elisabeth, marriage contract with Étienne Renouard, a counsellor to the king and lieutenant of the "grenier à sel" at Sancerre, Cher, July 21, 1631.

Madeleine's father, Isaac Chardon, our ancestor, son of Urban Chardon and his second wife Françoise Sauvage, was the younger half-brother of a merchant in Tours, the nephew of merchants in Azay-le-Rideau, the son-in-law and brother-in-law of merchants in Tours and in Paris, and, not surprisingly, he became a merchant in Tours.<sup>18</sup>

His marriage contract on Aug. 5, 1636, at the office of François Hamart, Notary, witnessed by both Protestant pastors of Tours, Mathieu Cottière and Jean Forent, linked two prominent merchant families: the groom, Isaac Chardon, deposited 6000 *livres*; the bride, Jeanne Huberson, deposited 8000 *livres*; and the marriage was solemnized in the Temple of Tours on Oct. 23, 1636.

Madeleine's mother, Jeanne, was a daughter of Pierre Huberson, a merchant of Tours, probably a native of La Flèche, Sarthe, where his brother Nicolas Huberson was a merchant. However, on Aug. 28, 1613, Pierre had entered into a contract to work for the commercial house of his future father-in-law, Jean Houssaye, II, later had married his boss's daughter, and had had two

<sup>17</sup> No effort has been made in this article to follow the DuPré trail through France to Carolina.

<sup>18</sup> The word "marchand" seems to have meant "businessman" and, as in early Charleston, was not limited to retail shop-keeping, but included money-lending and investing, the purchase and sale of real estate, the wholesale trade, warehousing, and perhaps shipping.

daughters by her — Jeanne, born about 1618, and Marie, born about 1621 — before his early death, sometime before Apr. 26, 1627. Madeleine Chardon's aunt Marie Huberson, born about 1621, buried on Jan. 3, 1673, at the Temple of Tours, had married, first, on Dec. 12, 1637, Simon Garnault, a merchant in Paris (son of Siméon Garnault, a merchant of Tours, and his wife, Elisabeth Espied), and, second, on Apr. 22, 1660, Jacques Veron, "écuyer, porte-manteau du roi et commissaire ordinaire des guerres," in Paris.

Madeleine's maternal great-great-grandfather, Jean Housaye, I, a merchant and citizen of Tours, was alive on Mar. 29, 1598, but an inventory of his goods was taken on Jan. 9, 1603, by Notaire Pierre Bertrand of Tours; his wife, Claude Allaix (Allays, or Alles), still alive on the date of his inventory, had given him at least three children who survived, out of eight baptized:

1. Claude, a daughter, who married Pierre Daviau (or Daniau), a merchant of Tours.
2. Claude, a son, buried July 21, 1631, (his inventory taken July 24, 1631, required 172 pages), who married Rachel Daviau, widow of Samuel Cibot, a merchant of Tours.
3. Jean, II, our ancestor, a merchant of Tours, who died before Nov. 11, 1630, when his Inventory (requiring 160 pages) was filed with Notaire Hamart of Tours, and who had married, first, Marie Gourdineau, in 1591, at Saumur (marriage contract Sept. 2, 1591, at the office of Notaire Bezaux, is mentioned in the Inventory of Jean Housaye, Nov. 11, 1630) and, second, Marguerite Daviau (marriage contract Dec. 30, 1627), a daughter of François Daviau, a merchant of Poitiers, and his wife Olive Joubert, whose dowry was 1000 *livres* (no issue from this second marriage).

Marguerite Daviau Housaye, the second wife of Jean Housaye, II, made her will on Feb. 9, 1632, but was still alive on Dec. 13, 1647. The other Daviaus, Pierre and Rachel, probably her cousins, are believed to have been children of Jean Daviau, of Poitiers, Vienne, and his wife Antoinette Gabilleau.

Our ancestor, Marie Gourdineau Housaye, was the daughter of Isaac Gourdineau<sup>19</sup> and his wife Marguerite Deffenes. The division of Marguerite's estate on Sept. 22, 1618, before Notaire Bonneau, Tours, shows at least three children (order of birth not known):

1. Isaac, II, a merchant of Tours, who died before 1614, and who had married Marie Auchez.
2. Marthe, who married Jean Bourguet.
3. Marie, our ancestor, who married Jean Housaye, II, in 1591 and died before his second marriage on Dec. 30, 1627.

<sup>19</sup> The names Gaudineau and Goulineau, often seen in London records, seem not to be variations of Gourdineau, nor of Gourdlin, a name from the northeast of France, nor of Gourlon, a name from southern France.



Madeleine's great-grandparents, Jean Housaye, II, and Marie Gourdineau, had at least ten children (order of birth not known):

1. Noël Housaye, "du Pressoir," a merchant and citizen of Tours, born by 1597, buried Feb. 25, 1670, at the Temple of Tours, married Marguerite Daviau (Daniau), born about 1607, at Tours, (marriage contract, Notaire Hamart, on Dec. 3, 1627), a daughter of Pierre Daviau and Catherine Deméré, and buried, at Tours, Apr. 4, 1684.
2. Catherine, baptized July 29, 1606, died young.
3. Marie, who married before July 24, 1631, Jean Thibaudeau, a merchant, and who was living in 1632 in the Seigneurie de Chastenot, near Saintes, Charente-Maritime.
4. Suzanne, who married about Jan. 2, 1625 (marriage contract), Jacques Theart (Theard), a merchant of Angers.
5. Jean, a merchant of Tours, who married, before 1627, Elisabeth Martin, and, second, on Jan. 23, 1633, Marguerite Jumeau, and whose inventory was taken Mar. 30, 1648, by Notary Charles Leroy of Tours.
6. Jeanne, our ancestor, who married before Jan. 28, 1617, Pierre Huberson, the young man in her father's commercial house who became a merchant of Tours.
7. Renée, who married Daniel Chardon, a merchant of Tours, (the much older half-brother of our Isaac Chardon), marriage contract Apr. 13, 1633.
8. Marthe, who on Dec. 27, 1633, married Pierre Pasquereau, a merchant and citizen of Angers, Maine-et-Loire, the son of Morille Pasquereau, a merchant of Angers, and his wife Suzanne Douben (or Doncheu, or Doucher), marriage contract Nov. 30, 1633, and who became the mother of Madeleine Chardon's first husband, Louis Pasquereau, and of his brother Pierre Pasquereau, and the grandmother of Madeleine's niece Madeleine Pasquereau Fauconnier, (bp. 1665; married Pierre Fauconnier, 1684).
9. Claude,<sup>20</sup> ancien, or Elder, in the Temple of Tours in 1650, baptized there on Aug. 19, 1610, buried there on Feb. 10, 1681, and married there on Apr. 26, 1637, to Madeleine Gilles, a daughter of René Gilles and Madeleine Daviau.
10. Elisabeth, who married Daniel Thibaudeau, a merchant of Tours, both of whom died before Mar. 4, 1625 (marriage contract, Feb. 5, 1615).

The marriage, in 1636, of Madeleine's parents, Isaac Chardon and Jeanne Huberson, was blessed with twenty-two children,<sup>21</sup> all baptized in the Protestant Temple of Tours:

<sup>20</sup> Genealogists working with Touraine records are advised to be careful in tracing descent from either Noël or Claude Housaye: in this paper alone we have mentioned many different people who bore these names.

<sup>21</sup> We have attempted to follow only the line of Madeleine Chardon.

1. Jeanne, bp. Oct. 11, 1637.
2. Françoise, bp. Dec. 26, 1638.
3. Marguerite, bp. Nov. 25, 1639.
4. Isaac, bp. Oct. 28, 1640, who married on Oct. 31, 1666, Marie Houssaye, a daughter of Claude Houssaye, a merchant and distant cousin,<sup>22</sup> and his wife Madeleine Gilles.
5. Suzanne, bp. June 19, 1642.
6. Catherine, bp. Apr. 22, 1643.
7. Marie, bp. June 19, 1644; probably died before 1652.
8. Elisabeth, bp. Nov. 1, 1645; who, on June 7, 1665, became the first wife of Noël Houssaye, bp. Nov. 1, 1635, a son of Claude Houssaye and Madeleine Gilles.
9. Anne, bp. Nov. 30, 1646, also, on June 7, 1665, married Claude Houssaye, a son of Claude Houssaye and Madeleine Gilles, and married, second, on Feb. 18, 1683, Estienne Faget.
10. Charles, bp. Mar. 15, 1648.
11. Mathieu, bp. June 11, 1649; married, on Aug. 15, 1677, Suzanne Catherine Jallot (possibly a sister of Pierre Jallot who, in 1677, married Marie Dufour and abjured in 1685).
12. Daniel,<sup>23</sup> bp. July 5, 1650; who may have taken refuge in England.
13. Marie, bp. May 21, 1652; who may have died before 1662.
14. Jacques, bp. June 8, 1653; who died before 1663.
15. Jean, bp. July 31, 1654; and died Feb. 14, 1682.
16. Pierre,<sup>24</sup> bp. Mar. 19, 1656; who is believed to have gone to Paris, then England, then Boston.
17. Madeleine, bp. Jan. 25, 1657; who married first, in 1673, Louis Pasquereau, I, who died in Carolina, and, second, about 1689, at French Santee, Philippe Gendron, a native of Marans, Aunis, naturalized 1701/2.
18. François, bp. Mar. 30, 1658.
19. Charlotte, bp. May 4, 1659, who, on Apr. 30, 1673, married Pierre

<sup>22</sup> Isaac and Marie (Mary) Chardon disappear, in 1666, from church and Notarial Records in Tours; however, on Dec. 5, 1705, their son James, said to have been born in Tours, was naturalized in England, (*Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XXVII, p. 52), and a younger Isaac Chardon, possibly his son, suddenly appears as a merchant in Charleston in the early 1700's.

<sup>23</sup> The Naturalization List for Apr. 9, 1687, spells his name Daniel Chardin, but places him near Pierre Chardon; however, on Feb. 1, 1692, Andrew Mayer, a London merchant, left a legacy to "his loving friend, Daniel Chardon," apparently living in London. (*Huguenot Society of London, Proceedings*, Vol. I, pp. 306-307)

<sup>24</sup> *La France Protestante*, 2nd. ed., Vol. IV, p. 46, says "He was naturalized in England Apr. 15, 1687, and soon removed to Massachusetts . . . believed to have been a native of Tours." Baird, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 230, says "He was an Elder in the French Church of Boston between 1696-1705." Lucian G. Fouldick, *French Blood in America* (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1911), p. 188, says "Peter Chardon became one of the richest merchants in Boston; his mansion stood at the corner of Chardon Street, his son Peter, the last of the family, died in the West Indies in 1766." But there may be descendants in America through female lines.

Quenouault, and abjured Dec. 12, 1685 (the only Chardon to do so).

20. Noë, bp. July 22, 1660.

21. Marie, bp. Sept. 10, 1662.

22. Jacques, bp. Nov. 25, 1663.

In 1661, a decree had set the age at fourteen for boys and twelve for girls when children could be said to have renounced Protestantism and be taken from their homes by Catholic authorities;<sup>25</sup> parents were forbidden to send Protestant children out of the country to be educated.<sup>26</sup> One of their cousins Amonnet had been caught at fourteen and made a "new Catholic" and others were imprisoned in convents,<sup>27</sup> and we can imagine frequent family conferences, during these years, in all the Protestant households. But there were also happy times — when Madeleine was eight her big sister Anne married Claude Housaye on the same day that her big sister Elisabeth, married Noë Housaye, and, when she was nine, her big brother, Isaac, married Marie Housaye. Finally, in 1673, when she was sixteen and her sister, Charlotte, was fourteen, they both had April weddings in the Temple of Tours. Madeleine, on Apr. 16, 1673, married her first-cousin once-removed, Louis Pasquereau, I, son of Pierre Pasquereau, a merchant of Angers, and his wife Marthe Housaye (who were married on Dec. 12, 1633), and grandson of Morille Pasquereau, a merchant of Angers, and his wife Suzanne Douhen (or Doncheu, or Doucher). Her mother-in-law, Marthe Housaye Pasquereau, was a much younger sister of her grandmother, Jeanne Housaye Huberson.

The next year, in 1674, her father, Isaac Chardon, died, leaving his wife, Jeanne Huberson, with at least six minor children, but also with a large and supportive extended family. During their thirty-eight years of marriage, the harassment of Protestants had continually increased. Perhaps he lived long enough to see his grandson, Louis Pasquereau, II, born just a month before his death.

Louis Pasquereau, I, was an established merchant of Tours when he married Madeleine Chardon in 1673. Born to them, in Tours, were:

1. Louis, II, bp. Mar. 15, 1674.

2. Pierre, bp. Jan. 9, 1681.

3. Twins, Jean and Isaac, bp. June 18, 1682; but the infant Jean Pasquereau was buried Sept. 15, 1682, at Tours.

In June, 1681, had come a decree that nuns and priests could now "convert" Protestant children as young as seven, take them into custody, and require parents to pay for their maintenance in Catholic homes or convents.<sup>28</sup> This followed a scourge even more bitter, one which caused the panic flight of

<sup>25</sup> Baird, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 243.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Thierry Du Pasquier, *Généalogies Huguenotes*, Paris: Editions Christian, 1985.

<sup>28</sup> Baird, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 243, and Charles Weiss, *History of the French Protestant Refugees* (New York: Stringer and Townsend, 1854), Vol. I, pp. 85-86.



thousands of all ages — the quartering of troops, or *dragoons*, in March of 1681, on the Protestant families of nearby Poitou. According to Weiss, priests would follow the soldiers through village streets "crying, 'Courage, gentlemen; it is the intention of the king that these dogs of Huguenots should be pillaged and sacked' . . . thousands converted, thousands fled."<sup>29</sup> One of the King's mistresses wrote her brother, "Estates in Poitou may be got for nothing; the desolation of the Huguenots will drive them to sell more. You may easily acquire extensive possessions."<sup>30</sup> Word spread, but, by 1683, it was too late to sell land profitably, if at all, in Touraine as "all contracts for the sales of property made by the Reformed one year before date of their emigration were declared nullified."<sup>31</sup> All trying to sell would have been suspected of trying to leave: a crime.

In 1681, Madeleine's eldest son, Louis Pasquereau, II, was seven years old and subject to seizure if any jealous neighbor or delinquent debtor had reported that the child desired "conversion." And, in July 1681, moved by his own subjects' uproar, the Catholic King of England, Charles II, had promised "letters of denization," but not naturalization, to all Protestants forced to leave their country, freedom to bring in their possessions without customs' duties, and financial aid for those needing relief.

Many of their relatives may have tried to sell property, transfer liquid assets, or plan an escape. Louis Pasquereau's first cousin Noël Houssaye, (who was also Madeleine's cousin), had left for London and may have helped others transfer money there. However, traveling was impossible for Madeleine, who, in 1681, had a new-born baby, Pierre, and was already pregnant with twins. So, it could not have been until after her baby, Jean, was buried on Sept. 15, 1682, that they fled with a little boy and two babies.

Before leaving this old graveyard at the Protestant Temple of Tours and turning toward the diaspora, let me add this quotation from Captain Charles Hart's introduction to the booklet *Registers of the Protestant Church of Loudun, 1566-1562* (an area of Poitou very near Touraine):

Honorable Men and Honest Women: Your bodies are buried in peace but your soul is living forevermore; not by the sunny Loire, or smiling Azay, or Royal Chinon, but far through all the seven seas to the farthest post of the World: If we have been cast out and scattered abroad, we have at length been gathered in again. . . .<sup>32</sup>

The diaspora from Tours had begun. We can never trace their routes, because, as others<sup>33</sup> have found, women and children, separated from each

<sup>29</sup> Weiss, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 83.

<sup>30</sup> Smiles, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> As quoted by Dr. A. J. Mauzé, in his article, "On to Glory," *Transactions of The Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, No. 82 (1977), p. 152.

<sup>33</sup> Grace L. Gwynn, "The Huguenot Settlements in London," in *Le Lien*, Special Number 1985, Église Protestante Française de Londres, pp. 2-4.

other, were sent ahead in different directions at different times; those caught helping others to escape were marched or beaten to death, sent to prison, or enslaved in the French colonies;<sup>34</sup> church records were lost when the King's men tore down the Protestant Temples;<sup>35</sup> shipmasters kept no "liste" of escaping passengers, some in barrels in the hold; others assumed not only disguises but also aliases, and kept them, or immediately anglicized their names. We read that

The ingenuity of a desperate people was exhausting itself in devising methods of escape. . . . They contrived a thousand ways to elude the vigilance of countless sentinels appointed to prevent their flight. . . . Never before had there been seen so many merchants called by pressing business into foreign parts. . . .<sup>36</sup>

Our story tells of just a few members of merchant families of Western France who managed to escape from cities such as Tours (where few of the early Protestant names can be found today). Others tell the fate of peasants and those in small villages such as Villiers-le Bel,<sup>37</sup> or Preuilley (then in southern Touraine) where the threat of the *dragonnades* brought mass conversions into "new Catholics,"<sup>38</sup> considered "bad Catholics" for the next one hundred years, watched and imprisoned (but still Catholic today — bearing the old names but unconscious of their heritage).

Judith Giton-Royer Manigault<sup>39</sup> has left us an account<sup>40</sup> of her own escape, toward the east, over land, to Germany, Holland,<sup>41</sup> then to England and America. James Fontaine has told us of his escape, toward the west, "on a small merchant ship . . . to a small coastal village in Devon where they were greeted by the refugees who had arrived the day before."<sup>42</sup>

Madeleine Chardon and Louis Pasquereau, heading west on a route trod by thousands before and after them, with two babies in their arms and leading a little boy, must have gone, in 1683 or 1684, down the Loire towards Saumur,

<sup>34</sup> Gaston Tournier, *Les Galères de France et les galériens protestants des XVII<sup>e</sup> et XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Le Musée du Désert, Mas Soubeyrin, Mialet, 30140 Anduze, France, 1984; and Thierry du Pasquier, *Généalogies Huguenotes*, Paris: Éditions Christian, 1985.

<sup>35</sup> Baird, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 251-252.

<sup>37</sup> Du Pasquier, *op. cit.*: the native city of Pierre Foisin, born 1635, lace-merchant and Parisian banker, and of his son Elias Foisin, of Carolina.

<sup>38</sup> Weiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-102.

<sup>39</sup> In Carolina, she married, in 1685, Noël Royer, Jr., born in Tours, and, in 1698, Pierre Manigault, born in La Rochelle, both of whom left the French colony at Santee to become vintners in Charlestown; descent is through her children Noël and John Royer and Gabriel and Judith Manigault.

<sup>40</sup> Baird, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Appendix, pp. 396-397.

<sup>41</sup> Smiles, *op. cit.*, p. 435: "Nearly a thousand fugitives successfully embarked for Carolina in the ports of Holland alone." We hope members of our Society will send us information from the Dutch records, said to be available on 90 tapes in the Mormon Library.

<sup>42</sup> As quoted by Dr. A. J. Mauzey, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123.

Angers, Nantes, and the seaports of Brittany, or across the meadows of Poitou towards La Rochelle and the seaports of Aunis, being helped by Protestants they would never see again, perhaps joining others they would see often in London or Carolina — the Gendrons, Bruneaus, Chastaigners, Buretels, Berchauds, Bonneaus, Cothonneaus, or Perdriais of La Rochelle — possibly climbing with them into one of "the multitude of fishing boats and 60-ton vessels" which took "loads of women and children from France to Tower Wharf from 1681 through the years just after the Revocation,"<sup>45</sup> to be met there, at the Tower of London, by others greeting them in their own language, seeking news of those left behind.

Many old friends and relatives had reached England well ahead of them, such as René Baudouin,<sup>46</sup> son of Claudius Baudouin of Tours, who became a naturalized citizen in 1678 and was still a merchant in London in 1687 when mentioned by Caesar Mozé,<sup>47</sup> of Carolina, in his will.

Made denizens, early in 1682, were Anthony Poitevin,<sup>48</sup> with his wife Gabrielle Berou, the former widow Moulard, and their children Anna, Anthony, and Pierre. How fortunate that Anna was not clairvoyant! Looking into the future she would see that, in three short years, her parents would be settled in Carolina's "Orange Quarter,"<sup>49</sup> joined there by her half-sister Suzanne Moulard Trezevant,<sup>50</sup> with her husband, Daniel, and their children, and that she herself would be the wife of an older man, Pierre Dutartre<sup>51</sup> (like her own family from the area of Eure-et-Loir, south of Chartres) and on her way to help him clear their first 100-acre tract near French Quarter Creek and build a home near their church of Saint Denis.

<sup>45</sup> British Public Record Office, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles II*, pp. 444-457.

<sup>46</sup> We know of no connection between the Baudouin family of Tours and that of La Rochelle, home of Dr. Pierre Baudouin who emigrated to Dublin in 1685, then to Maine, where the name was changed to Bowdoin. (See Allen Forbes and Paul F. Cadman, *Boston and Some Noted Emigrants*, State Street Trust Company of Boston Historic Monographs, 1938).

<sup>47</sup> Caroline T. Moore and Agatha Amsar Simmons, *Abstracts of the Wills of the State of South Carolina, 1670-1740*, Vol. I, p. 10.

<sup>48</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XVIII; see also Isabel Barksdale, "Antoine Poitevin, and Some Others," *HSSC, Transactions*, No. 87, pp. 70-76. "The Liste" tells us Antoine Poitevin, Sr., was the son of Jacques Poitevin and Jeanne Modeman of Orsement, France; however, I have found no link between this Jacques Poitevin and the one in London who married Marguerite le Motteux, the widow d'Amberbes. Antoine's daughter, Anna, was probably the fiancée of Pierre Dutartre by Sept. 9, 1683, when they were both godparents to Pierre, son of Jean and Marie Argis Dutartre (*Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XIII, p. 262). On May 2, 1682, Antoine Poitevin, mercer, with a wife and three children received assistance (*Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XLIX, p. 158). Do not confuse this Antoine with "le sieur Antoine Poitevin," whose wife Catherine Haukensare registered on May 11, 1690, her witness made in the Crevennes in "Bas Languedoc."

<sup>49</sup> A. S. Salley, Jr., *Warrants for Lands in South Carolina, 1672-1711* (Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1975), p. 394, Warrant Oct. 6, 1685.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*; Warrant Oct. 6, 1685.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*; Warrant Oct. 6, 1685. Pierre Dutartre had made his *témoignage* in Canterbury on Dec. 31, 1682. (*Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XXI, p. 98).



Anna would see herself, in the years ahead, toiling to rear "four sons and four daughters" in the Calvinist tradition, as she and Pierre accumulated, between 1696 and 1708, another 800 acres,<sup>30</sup> probably north of their home tract, on Dutartre Creek which runs into Santee (just a mile or so east of where the Pasquereaus and Gendrons would settle).

She would see her daughters marrying young men of good "French" families — the widowed Suzanne Dutartre Lemonier<sup>31</sup> to André Rember's son Peter, Ann Gabriel to Jacques Le Sade's nephew Peter Le Sade, Jr., and another (perhaps a Magdalen-Elizabeth) to Michael Boineau — and her grandchildren beginning to surround her, when, in the early 1720's, came the whirlwind<sup>32</sup> in the form of an itinerant evangelist "Christian George," called a "Pietist," who bewitched her family, inducing them to withdraw from "traditional" services, to believe themselves the only ones possessing "Truth," to follow new religious guidelines, trusting in "visions" and "revelations," and, for them most dangerous of all, to refuse to bear arms in the Militia or to shoulder their share of maintenance work on the muddy roads — civil disobedience, said to have been, for the Provincial Government, the final straw.

Anna would see their neighbor, Magistrate and Militia Captain Peter Simons ("Symmons") arrive, perhaps in late 1723, with a summons, be rebuffed, then return, perhaps in early 1724, with arrest warrants and a small regiment of ten to assist him; she would see the "shoot-out," said to have brought death to the heir of the Simons family, to one of his militiamen, and to her own daughter, Ann Gabriel Dutartre Le Sade, a young mother of two, visiting in her own mother's house, and to have brought convictions, in September, 1724, for her husband "Father Pierre Dutartre," probably in his seventies, for her sons-in-law Michael Boineau and "The Prophet" Peter Rember (both of whom showed contempt for the Rev. Garden, an Anglican who tells this story), a later conviction for her young son John Dutartre, poverty for Daniel and Joseph and Moses Dutartre, and years of sorrow for Magdalen Cordes Harris Simons and the other widows, for all the surviving Dutartres, Rember's, Boineaus, Le Sades, for all the small orphaned children and the extensive family connection between Orange Quarter and French Santee — the Trezevants, Poitevins, Duboses, Royers, Du Prés, Guerrys, Cordeses and Simonses — demonstrating that Carolina's eighteenth century Anglicans had little tolerance for "alternative life-styles" and "charismatic movements." All available accounts of "The Dutartre Affair" are based on the Rev. Garden's emotional sermon about

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*: Warrants pp. 560, 570, 641.

<sup>31</sup> Brent H. Holcomb, *South Carolina Marriages, 1688-1799* (Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983), p. 7.

<sup>32</sup> See Alexander Garden, *Take Heed How Ye Hear: A Sermon*, (Charleston, S. C.: Printed by Peter Timothy, 1741) pp. 29-38; George Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, Vol. I, pp. 194-197; Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), pp. 116-120; Misc. Records of Chas. Co., Vol. 60, pp. 97-98.

an event which had occurred fifteen years earlier; the details cannot be checked by extant legal, land, or church records, nor against any other contemporary account, and there are many inconsistencies.<sup>53</sup> *Take heed what you believe*: this is not the account of a disinterested observer. The Rev. Garden's flock at the Church of St. Thomas, an Anglican church, increased when the Church of St. Denis, originally a Calvinist Church, already unable to secure and support a French-speaking pastor, received this blow from "Christian George." When all citizens were taxed to support a state (Anglican) church, after the Church Acts of 1704 and 1706, many Dissenter churches were in financial difficulty and the rural Huguenot Chapels closed or became "state churches" also.

But, in 1682, Anna Poitevin was not clairvoyant; as her parents planned for the voyage to Carolina, she probably earned a little extra money, like any modern teen-ager, "sitting" with the children of newly-arrived French families during the interminable christenings which their parents so loved to attend on Threadneedle Street, and, by 1683, flirting with Monsieur Pierre Dutartre.

By May 16, 1683, Jacques Le Serrurier, Sr.,<sup>54</sup> and his sons Jacques and Pierre may have been organizing their trading business between London, Charlestown, and the West Indies. Although the Le Serrurier men kept moving about,<sup>55</sup> Madame Elizabeth Leger Le Serrurier, after a successful visit, in the 1690's, to South Carolina, where she married her daughters to Pierre de St. Julien, Henri Le Noble, Jean-François Gignilliat, and Isaac Mazýek, returned to her permanent home on Berwick Street, Soho Square, Westminster, London, where she had settled herself with her mother, Madame Elizabeth Bosu Leger,<sup>56</sup> widow of Dr. Jacques Leger.

It is possible that Louis and Madeleine Pasquereau fled Tours in the company of their own Protestant pastor, Louis Fleury, who reached England in 1683.<sup>57</sup> Some of the Fleury family had left for Carolina, some were awaiting passage, but many must have remained in London. Daniel and Jeanne Bernard Fleury had a son, Abraham,<sup>58</sup> baptized in London in 1682. A different Daniel Fleury,<sup>59</sup> son of the deceased Isaac Fleury and Jeanne de Bouchevreau of Tours, had married, Aug. 29, 1680, Marie, daughter of Jean Bernard and Judith Boulanger of Canterbury; in 1683, their daughter, Judit,<sup>60</sup> was baptized, and on June 24, 1686, a second daughter, Jane-Judith,<sup>61</sup> was baptized with a Daniel

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XVIII: James and Prier Le Serrurier made denizens May 16, 1683; James, Jr., naturalized June 27, 1695; Jacques Le Serrurier naturalized Dublin, Jan. 31, 1698/99.

<sup>55</sup> See Henry Bainbridge Hoff, "The Le Serrurier Family," *HSSC, Transactions*, No. 52, pp. 75-77. This name has disappeared but descendants of the Le Serrurier sisters are legion.

<sup>56</sup> *HSSC, Transactions*, No. 37, p. 45: Isaac Mazýek, Jr., went to the University of Dublin in 1717, before returning to Carolina in 1723, he visited his grandmother and his great-grandmother, Mrs. Leger, then about 100 years old, in London.

<sup>57</sup> *Smiles, op. cit.*, p. 412.

<sup>58</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XIII.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

Fleury and a Catherine Fleury as godparents. Many other members of the Fleury (Fleuri) family took refuge in England before the Revocation.

The future Carolina Huguenots gathered around the French Church on Threadneedle Street — a church established as early as 1550, which continues today on Soho Square.<sup>88</sup> Although thirty-one other French churches sprang up around London after 1685, it was at this old church that "our crowd" continued to make their *témoignages* as to where or before whom they had professed their Calvinist faith.<sup>89</sup> It was here that they were married, here that their children were baptized, as they tried either to establish themselves in London or to secure passage to America. This church, a very French enclave, the center of their religious life, was a center of their social life as well.

Baptisms and marriages were important family affairs in France. During the 1670's and 1680's there were many such events on Threadneedle Street. Madeleine arrived in London much too late for the Le Sade wedding, but, as their departure was delayed for nine years and as they were still participating in baptisms in 1685, she probably saw them at church.

Elizabeth d'Amberbo (d'Amberbaut), daughter of Étienne d'Amberbo and Marguerite le Motteux, was apparently born in Amsterdam about 1656, with older brothers and sisters born in France or Holland and three brothers and a sister baptized at the Threadneedle Street Church between 1658 and 1664. Soon after the birth in 1664 of her sister Anne, her father died and her mother married, second, Jacques Poitevin, had a son, Jean Poitevin, baptized in 1668, and was again a widow, by July 25, 1675, when she was godmother to Suzanne, a daughter of Jacques and Suzanne Horry Varin. Marguerite seems to have had a brother in London, Jehan (le) Motteux, and a brother-in-law, Jehan d'Amberbo. Elizabeth d'Amberbo had been godmother, on June 21, 1674, to Isaac, an earlier child of Jacques and Suzanne Varin. On May 28, 1676, Jacques Le Sade,<sup>90</sup> son of Adam and Anne Gérard Le Sade, of Caux, Normandy, having arrived in London, made his *témoignage* at the Threadneedle Street Church and soon met Elizabeth; by Oct. 25, 1676, Jacques and Elizabeth made a decision and notified the French Church that they would be married in the English Church.

Nevertheless, they kept returning to their old church for baptisms: on Apr. 15, 1677, Jacques was godfather to Adam, son of Paul and Catherine Crompton Formé; on Sept. 28, 1679, Jacques Le Sade and his mother-in-law Marguerite le Motteux (widow of Étienne d'Amberbo and of Jacques Poitevin) were god-

<sup>88</sup> Gwynn, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>89</sup> Warning: The *témoignages* are reliable in placing a refugee at a certain time, denizations a little less so, and naturalizations much less so, as the latter were sometimes recorded more than a decade after the subject had left England and often were recorded several times as the laws changed.

<sup>90</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. II, pp. 55, 150, 156, 160, 163, 166, 173, 187-211, 215, 234, 244, 252, 260, 274, 275; Vol. III, pp. 6, 101; Vol. XXI, p. 173.

For passenger list of the *Margaret*, see B.P.R.O., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, James II, Vol. I, Feb.-Dec. 1685, No. 2193, p. 439. Early in the 1680's, in Charleston, were François Le Sade and Abraham Le Sade whose relationship, if any, to Jacques and Peter Le Sade is not known.



parents of Marguerite Roger, daughter of Jean-Baptiste and Françoise Beard Roger; on Sept. 4, 1681, Elizabeth d'Amberbo, wife of Jacques Le Sade, and Pierre Dubosc were godparents of Elizabeth, daughter of Germain and Anne Ferré Honfré; on Jan. 25, 1685, Jacques and Elizabeth Le Sade were godparents of Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas and Anne Guérard d'Amberbo; on Mar. 8, 1685, Jacques Le Sade and Marie Catherine le Motteux, wife of Gabriel le Quien, were godparents to Caterine Françoise, daughter of Jacques and Judy le Motteux Torquel (or Torquet).

There is no record of births to Jacques and Elizabeth Le Sade, but certainly they had many godchildren to remember. On July 15, 1685, Jacques and Elizabeth and mother, Margaret Poitevin, are listed as passengers on the *Margaret*, a pink bound for Carolina. None of the Le Sades appear on the list of those desiring naturalization in 1696-1697, probably considering themselves "English," having married twenty years earlier in an Anglican Church in London, but this was over-confidence. On Jan. 16, 1696, Isaac Caillaboef petitioned that the votes of Jonas Bonhoste and James Le Sade be counted (in the election for members of the General Assembly), a petition denied when neither could produce letters of denization or of naturalization.<sup>65</sup>

We do not know exactly when Peter Le Sade, I, and his family left London but we do know he was here by Mar. 3, 1689, when he and John Shelton and the Rev. Josias Du Pré put up a bond for the marriage contract of Jean Boisseau, son of Jacques and Marie La Court Boisseau, of Marentes, and Mrs. Mary Laurens (apparently the widowed sister, Marie, of Jean Postell, and daughter of Nicholas Postell of Dieppe and the widowed Marie Brugnet Postell, of Charles Town). On June 22, 1698, an Anne Le Sade, daughter of a Pierre Le Sade, fifteen years old and apparently alone in London, made her *témoignage* at the Threadneedle Street Church, a girl just the right age to marry Jean Girardeau if she sailed soon for Carolina. However, it seems more likely that Peter Le Sade, I, and all his family were included in the warrant for 350 acres of "arrival rights," issued to Jacques Le Sade on Sept. 21, 1695. By Apr. 14, 1704, Peter Le Sade, Jr., went shopping for wedding rings; on that date, he got two "bagues" or *anneaux de mariage*, on credit, from Carolina's goldsmith, Nicholas de Longuemare,<sup>66</sup> possibly to marry the teen-aged Ann Gabriel, daughter of Peter and Anna Poitevin Dutartre. (How time flies!)

Nor could any of the Le Sades look into the future, but I must digress, again, to clear up a little confusion. Jacques Le Sade soon began acquiring desirable property<sup>67</sup> from the Lords and others: between 1694 and 1697 he got 820 acres, by warrants, including, on Sept. 21, 1695, 350 acres for "arrival rights,"

<sup>65</sup> Arthur Henry Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, London: Archon Books, 1962, p. 118.

<sup>66</sup> "Account Book of Nicholas de Longuemare, 1703-1711," HSSC, *Transactions*, No. 55, p. 48.

<sup>67</sup> Salley, *op. cit.* pp. 453, 518, 554, 577.

suggesting seven persons, and purchased some land adjoining his plantation from Francis Blanchard, bounded by Henry Samways and John Godfrey, on Old Town Creek, which he included in his "Old Town Plantation," today a public park called "Charles Towne Landing." His brother Peter Le Sade, I, acquired Francis Blanchard's adjoining plantation, called "Westpenny," or Wespanee.

Childless, Jacques Le Sade wrote his will, Nov. 3, 1703 (proved Nov. 26, 1703),<sup>68</sup> leaving all his property, real and personal, to his brother Peter, I, but entailing the real estate to his wife Elizabeth for her widowhood (naturally she never remarried).

After that, young Peter Le Sade, II, had married Ann Gabriel Dutartre (Anna Poitevin's daughter), who had borne Peter Le Sade, III; so, belatedly, on Mar. 2, 1716, he signed a "marriage contract," or trust agreement,<sup>69</sup> (with her uncle Pierre Poitevin and Jacob Calteau as trustees), pledging his "expected" share of "Old Town Plantation" to the maintenance of his wife and son, if they should survive him.

Later that year, on Aug. 9, 1716, his father, Peter, I, drew his will,<sup>70</sup> leaving his wife, Ann, a life interest in his estate (including his "expected" estate), naming his son as heir, but specifying that his home place, the 200-acre "Westpenny," should go to his daughter Ann<sup>71</sup> (then wife of John Girardeau who owned an adjoining plantation), plus an adjoining 250-acre tract to be taken out of the 960-acre "Old Town" tract and, also, that his son Peter, II, be permitted to live at "Westpenny" until he could move to "Old Town" (that is, at the death of Elizabeth Le Sade).

Peter Le Sade, I, died and, soon after, on Oct. 5, 1716, his wife, Ann, died.<sup>72</sup> But Aunt Elizabeth lived on and on — nobody could move, nobody could sell.

Finally, the St. Andrews Parish Register<sup>73</sup> tells us, on May 25, 1722, "Mrs. Le Sad" was buried. Which of the Mrs. Le Sades? This can only be Mrs. Elizabeth

<sup>68</sup> Misc. Records of Chas. Co., Vol. 52, p. 80.

<sup>69</sup> R.M.C. Chas. Co., Book K, p. 280; Jan. 1, 1732/3, Quitclaim.

<sup>70</sup> R.M.C. Chas. Co., Book H, p. 97; Sept. 12, 1723, Partition. This transaction mentions the will of Peter Le Sade, I. (now missing).

<sup>71</sup> Ann Le Sade married Jean, son of Pierre and Catherine Laine Girardeau, of Poitou, after 1700, he had a warrant, Apr. 22, 1711, for 640 acres adjoining his earlier tract or her father's "Westpenny"; by Feb. 24, 1720/1, when he wrote his will (proved Apr. 28, 1721), she had borne him five sons, still under 20; by July 18, 1723, she had married André Deveaux, I, who had six children of his own by earlier wives and a step-son, Antoine Poitevin, III, son of his deceased wife, Marguerite (daughter of Jacques de Bourdeaux and widow, by 1709, of Antoine Poitevin, II); by Jan. 29, 1729/30, Ann Le Sade Girardeau Deveaux was dead. André Deveaux, I, married again on Feb. 17, 1739, "Magdalen," whose maiden name is still in doubt but who was certainly the widow of John Metheringham in 1700, of John Beauchamp in 1720, and of James Jousseau in 1723, a fourth marriage for both from which there was no issue. Ann Le Sade has many descendants in the Girardeau line.

<sup>72</sup> R.M.C., Chas. Co., Book K, p. 280.

<sup>73</sup> St. Andrews Parish Register, in the *S. C. Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 12 (1911), p. 198.

Le Sade, widow of Jacques, because before Aug. 21, 1723, Ann Le Sade Girardeau, by then Mrs. André Deveaux, had demanded that her brother Peter, II, their father's surviving executor, divide the "Old Town" tract and give her the 250 acres adjoining the 200-acre "Westpenny" — a survey had been made and a division took place,<sup>74</sup> a partition not possible as long as Elizabeth Le Sade lived. Furthermore, Ann Le Sade Girardeau Deveaux and her husband, in September of 1723, sold their 450 acres on Old Town Creek to John Garnier (husband of Magdalen Deveaux, born 1699; André's daughter by his first wife), and, also in September of 1723, Peter Le Sade, II, sold four of the Jacques Le Sade tracts to Charles Hill, sales<sup>75</sup> which could not have carried clear titles unless their Aunt Elizabeth were dead.

This also means that poor Ann Gabriel Dutartre Le Sade was mistress of the beautiful "Old Town Plantation," in Saint Andrew's Parish, for little more than a year before her own tragic death at her parents' home in "Orange Quarter."

The problem is that, on Jan. 1, 1732/3, ten years or more later, when all may have been trying to forget "the Dutartre affair," in a long and complicated transaction<sup>76</sup> (in which Peter Le Sade, II, explaining this inheritance, admitting that his "then wife Ann Gabriel" was dead, buys back from his son, Peter, III, the interest put in trust for him in 1716), somebody seems to have made a slip-of-the-tongue, either Peter himself, or the attorney, or probably the clerk, and says that "Elizabeth Le Sade, widow of James, departed Jan. 1, 1724," which may be the date on which his wife, Ann, had "departed" in such an unforgettable way.

Let us pity the clerk: Peter Le Sade, II, had a grandmother Ann, a mother Ann, a mother-in-law Ann, a wife Ann, a sister successively Ann Le Sade, Ann Girardeau, Ann Deveaux, a daughter Ann, and, perhaps, a second wife named Ann, because, in 1736, a widow Ann Le Sade<sup>77</sup> lived on Elliott, near the corner of Church Street, in the new town.

As soon as Peter, III, by then at least eighteen, relinquished his claim, for a large sum, Peter, II, sold his 710 acres of "Old Town Plantation," on Jan. 4 and 5, 1732/3, to Daniel Cartwright.<sup>78</sup> (What happened to Peter Le Sade, III, and his sister Ann?)

Madeleine Chardon also reached London too late for many interesting baptisms. As early as 1675, Suzanne,<sup>79</sup> a daughter of Jacques and Suzanne Horry

<sup>74</sup> B.M.C., Chas. Co., Book H, p. 37; Sept. 12, 1723, Partition.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, Book H, p. 262; and Book C, p. 20.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, Book K, p. 250.

<sup>77</sup> B.M.C., Chas. Co., Book Q, p. 63; see also Book D, pp. 186 and 198, Feb. 15, 1724/5, in which Peter Le Sade, II, gave a long lease on his property to Charles Hill, who owned property nearby, "for maintenance and clothing of Ann Le Sade, Peter's child," possibly in preparation for a second marriage.

<sup>78</sup> B.M.C., Chas. Co., Book K, 304.

<sup>79</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XIII.



Varin, and, in 1676, Jean-Jacques,<sup>80</sup> their son, were baptized. In 1678 were baptized Gabriel,<sup>81</sup> the third child of Louis and Charlotte Mariette Thibou,<sup>82</sup> as well as a second Suzanne Varin.<sup>83</sup> On Feb. 23, 1679, Jacob Thibou,<sup>84</sup> and, on Oct. 12, 1679, Isaac,<sup>85</sup> a son of Noë and Catherine Challion Serré, were baptized — both of whom may have died before December, 1679, when the Varina, Thibous, and Serrés all boarded the *Richmond* for their winter voyage to Charlestown.

One who had gotten out of Anjou early, probably with a little money, was Charles Trinquant. Baptized, in 1681, was Charles Trinquant,<sup>86</sup> (Trinquand), in 1683, Jeanne Trinquant,<sup>87</sup> and, in 1684, Louis Trinquant,<sup>88</sup> all children of Charles Trinquant, son of Louis Trinquant and Jeanne Doucher of Anjou, and his wife, Marie Sochon,<sup>89</sup> close friends and possibly cousins of Louis Pasquereau<sup>90</sup> — who, if he had reached London in time, would certainly have been at the Threadneedle Street Church for these baptisms.

On Sept. 2, 1683, Marie Porcher,<sup>91</sup> first daughter of Dr. Isaac Porcher and Claude de Chérigny,<sup>92</sup> was baptized there. As she congratulated Claude Por-

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> Louis Thibou, born in Orleans, son of Jean and Marie Collard Thibou, and Charlotte Mariette had six children still alive when "the Liste" was prepared about 1696, including a second Jacob. We are told, in the Warrants, that Thibou arrived in 1680 with "two servants," but on Feb. 25, 1683/4, two children, Lucy and Gabriel, were included with Louis and Charlotte in the head-rights sold to Abraham Fleury (Salley, *op. cit.*, pp. 337, 352).

<sup>83</sup> As far as is presently known, only one son of Jacques Varin, joiner and merchant, survived the voyage to Carolina and he died without issue. A child Suzanne, born in Charleston about 1690, is the only proven line of descent from this emigré: a transaction recorded in Book Q, p. 63, H.M.C. Office, Chas. Co., July 19, 1730, says Suzanne, the wife of Joel Poinsett, is the "sole daughter and heir of James Varin." A Pierre Varine was naturalized in England on Sept. 29, 1698, along with Paul de St. Julien and Peter Buretel, long-time residents of Carolina, and Samuel and Jeremiah Varine were both here before 1700, but their relationship to each other is not known. There was another Jacques Varin, in London in 1681, clothier and linen weaver from Rouen, with a wife and four children, and also a Jacobus Varré, who received assistance through the Threadneedle Street Church, who should not be confused with "our" Jacques who was in Charleston in 1680.

<sup>84</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications, Vol. XIII.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications, Vol. XVIII and Vol. XXI:* Daniel Sochon, son of David Sochon of Dieppe, was naturalized Dec. 1660 and settled at Canterbury with his wife, Ann Gort; their daughter, Marie, married Charles Trinquant, in 1677, possibly a second marriage for him, as Peter, a son of Charles and Susanna Trinquand, born at Bordeaux, was naturalized in 1707.

<sup>90</sup> The Pasquereaus were also from Anjou where we have done no research. The name of the grandmother of Louis Pasquereau, in the records of Touraine, now almost illegible, may have been Suzanne Douben, Danchen, or Doucher.

<sup>91</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications, Vol. XIII.*

<sup>92</sup> Dr. Porcher, son of Isaac and Suzanne Ferré Porcher, born in St. Sévère, Berry, married, in 1681, at Preuilly, Touraine, Claude de Chérigny, of La Roche, Poisy, Touraine; their son Isaac was born in France in 1682; and, on Apr. 18, 1683, they made *témoignages* at the Threadneedle Street Church. They are believed to have reached Carolina in late 1686; he is said to have gotten 150 acres in Goose Creek in 1696, adjoining Abraham Fleury de la Plaine, and, between 1699-1710, he accumulated more than 3000 acres northwest of that, towards Waccamaw. See also, *HSSC Transactions, No. 81* (1976), pp. 90-186.

cher, four years her junior, Madeleine Chardon could not have guessed that someday far-away they would share the same grandchildren. Only a week later, on Sept. 9, 1683, was the baptism of Pierre, son of Jean and Marie Argis Dutartre, whose godparents were Pierre Dutartre and a young lady (*filie*) who was perhaps his fiancée, Mlle. Ann Poitevin.

It was around this central London Church, as their children learned a second mother-tongue, that adults organized groups to go to America. In December of 1679, Abraham Fleury,<sup>83</sup> Sieur de la Plaine, son of Charles and Madeleine Soubzmain Fleury,<sup>84</sup> of Tours, found room on the *Richmond*<sup>85</sup> for himself and Charles Fromaget,<sup>86</sup> of Châtellerault, Poitou, son of Charles and Marie Lenain Fromaget, as well as for "four servants" (perhaps the surviving members of the Thibou family indentured only for their passage).

By 1685, Abraham Fleury, apparently a widower, had gathered around him others from Touraine on the high land where he had settled at the head of Yeaman's, or Goose, Creek, north of the future settlement at Dorchester. On a corner of his plantation, near present-day Ladson, was soon erected one of Carolina's earliest Huguenot Chapels.<sup>87</sup>

By 1685, the family of Jacques Dugué, Sr.,<sup>88</sup> of Bésance, Berry, had arrived — he and a second wife, Elizabeth Dupuy,<sup>89</sup> three sons and three daughters.

<sup>83</sup> Salley, *op. cit.*, p. 321: a warrant, Nov. 1, 1683, to De la Plaine for 350 acres for himself and four servants, at 70 acres each, says he arrived April, 1680; in 1684, he acquired the rights of James Phillips and Henry Blanchard to 70 acres each; he got 200 acres for bringing the Thibou family, although, on Nov. 1, 1683, Louis Thibou had received 210 acres for himself and "two servants"; between 1690 and 1704, he had warrants for 1200 acres and he purchased land from other settlers.

<sup>84</sup> Abraham Fleury, a "marchand passementier" (laces and fine trimmings), of Tours, married, first, Suzanne Fegre, who was the mother of Isaac Fleury who married Jeanne Bouchereau, and married, second, Catherine Huet, who was the mother of Charles Fleury, merchant and citizen of Tours, who married Madeleine Soubzmain in the Protestant Temple, June 15, 1636; their children, all of whom came to Carolina, were Madeleine, baptized Feb. 2, 1638; Abraham, baptized Dec. 11, 1642; died in Carolina, 1722; and Isaac, baptized Mar. 7, 1644. In script "Fleury" appears to be "Henry" and is sometimes so indexed.

<sup>85</sup> See Martha B. Burns, "The Richmond," HSSC Transactions, No. 85, pp. 43-46; René Petit and Jacob Guérard were each to receive 4000 acres on which to settle their group; passengers boarded Dec. 19, 1679, and landed at Oyster Point, Apr. 30, 1680; there is no final passenger list, but Abraham Fleury and Charles Fromaget are believed to have been aboard.

<sup>86</sup> Charles Fromaget made *témoignage* at Threadneedle St. Church, Sept. 17, 1676 (*Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XXI, p. 112). He is listed as one of the "six servants" of Jacob Guérard, in a warrant Feb. 18, 1680/1, with Peter Oliver, Solomon Bremar, John Carrière, Anna Lafelleine, and Mary Fortress. In 1703, he witnessed the will of Daniel Legendre at Santee (Misc. Records of Chas. Co., Vol. 52, p. 87).

<sup>87</sup> HSSC Transactions, No. 81, pp. 99-100; Dr. Isaac Forcher is believed to be buried here. Dr. Hirsch and Dr. Childs place Dr. Forcher at Santee but neither offers any proof of his connection with the St. James, Santee, colony.

<sup>88</sup> Among those signing the oath of allegiance to James II on Oct. 6, 1685 (Other records say 1686) were: J. Dugué, P. Bacot, Anthony Poitevin, D. Trezevant, P. Dutartre; on Oct. 20, I. Fleury; on Oct. 31, Noël Royer (SCHG Mag.) Vol. II, pp. 53-54, and Misc. Records of Chas. Co., Vol. 54, p. 520).

<sup>89</sup> "The Liste," HSSC Transactions, No. 68, p. 28. Jacques Dugué, Sr., married, first, Judith Soamin, the mother of Judith, and probably of Jacques, Jr., and Marie; and second, Elizabeth Dupuy, the mother of Pierre, Isaac, and Elizabeth. Jacques Dugué, Sr., signed a petition of naturalization on Mar. 30, 1696 (Misc. Records, Chas. Co., Vol. 54, p. 57), wrote his will on May 28, 1696, and died before "The Liste" was prepared later that year.

Jacques Dugué, Jr., who soon married Abraham Fleury's daughter, Marianne;<sup>100</sup> Isaac and Peter Dugué, later shipwrights in Jamaica, both still unmarried in 1696;<sup>101</sup> Marie, who, before 1696, married Jacques du Bose (James Dubose, to us);<sup>102</sup> Elizabeth, who, after 1696, married Paul Trapier;<sup>103</sup> and Judith, who, in 1690, married Captain Samuel Du Bourdieu.<sup>104</sup>

Jacques Dugué, Sr., on Mar. 31, 1683 (warrant Apr. 14, 1685), paid 25 pounds for a 500-acre tract<sup>105</sup> on the northwest side of New Town Creek, on James Island; but he soon began acquiring "Town Lots" in Charleston. His son, after marrying Marianne Fleury, may have gone to Goose Creek to live with or near her father and her uncle Isaac. Anthoine Prudhomme's will,<sup>106</sup> dated July, 1695, was witnessed by a number of his neighbors — "Prioleau, de la Plaine, Boisseau, James Dugué, I. Fleury, Elié Horrý, and Porcher" — and we are not told whether this is Dugué *l'ainé* or Dugué *le jeune*, but James, Jr., is the one expected to be in that locality. After his death, in Dec. 1695 or Jan. 1696, his widow and child, Marianne, probably remained at Goose Creek, where Marianne Fleury Dugué married, by 1698, her second husband Pierre Bacot, Jr., son of Pierre and Jacquine Menéssier Bacot<sup>107</sup> who had arrived from Tours, by

<sup>100</sup> Jacques Dugué, Jr., probably died early in January of 1695/6; on Jan. 18, 1695/6, Peter Girard and Henry Le Noble posted a 2000 pound bond for John Lebar (Jean Lebert) to administer the estate of James Dugué, decd., of Charles Towne, and Lebert was also ordered to take the Inventory (Misc. Records of Chas. Co., Vol. 53, pp. 320-323). Jean Lebert, of Redon, Brittany, is No. 32 in "The Liste"; his relationship to James Dugué, Jr., is not yet known; they may have been business partners.

<sup>101</sup> "The Liste," *op. cit.*, p. 28; Pierre, Isaac, and Elizabeth were unmarried in 1696.

<sup>102</sup> "The Liste," shows Marie, in 1696, as wife of Jacques Dulkoze with one daughter; by Nov. 28, 1706, she was a widow with three daughters; Dr. John Thomas put up bond for her to administer her husband's estate; this was the "Jean Thomas, born at St. Jean d'Angely, son of Jean and Ann Dupont Thomas," the "chirurgion" on Caillabeuf's Lane, who became Marie Dugué's second husband. Dr. John Thomas, in his will dated July 22, 1710 (Misc. Records of Charleston County, Vol. 52, pp. 175-177) left a bequest to Thomas Cordes, probably his god-son, born to Dr. Antoine and Ester Madeleine Balluet Cordes after 1696, as a boy of twelve or thirteen. See also Leola W. Kotopa, "Jacques Du Bose," in HSSC, *Transactions*, No. 78, pp. 112-114. There are many descendants of Jacques Dugué through the Wragg, Bethmahler, Manigault, and Gadsden lines.

<sup>103</sup> Clara A. Langley, *S. C. Deed Abstracts, 1719-1722*, (Easley, S. C.: Southern Historical Press, Inc., 1983), Vol. I, p. 50; Deed of Sale, R.M.C., Chas. Co., Book D, p. 92, Aug. 6, 1724.

<sup>104</sup> Misc. Records, Chas. Co., Vol. 53, p. 375. This is labeled "Will of Jacques Dugué" but is actually the marriage contract, in French, of Judith Dugué to Samuel duBourdieu who was in Carolina before 1687. Dr. Childs was mistaken in thinking Judith Soumis the first wife of James Dugué, Jr. (*S. C. Hist. Mag.*, Vol. 43, p. 91) as this record tells us that Judith is daughter of the "deffunt Judith Soumis," that Samuel duBourdieu has a "deffunt femme" and has provided for his child by her, and that he will leave his "esperée épouse," Judith, one-third of his goods in Carolina, Britain, and France, a contract signed by the two principals and her father, witnessed by Jean de Farcy, Susanne Margueritte de Farcy, Anthoine Boureau, P. la Salle, both Dubones, probably [Pierre] Dugué, and one who appears to be (Elizabeth) Dugué. "The Liste" tells us that Samuel was a Squire, born in Vitré, Brittany, son of Olivier and Marie Genno duBourdieu, the widower of Louise Thoury, with a son by her named Philippe and a son by Judith named Samuel. The only known descent is through these two sons and a daughter, Judith, who, in July, 1720, married James Colleton.

<sup>105</sup> British Public Record Office, *Records relating to S. C., 1685-1690*, p. 50.

<sup>106</sup> Misc. Records of Chas. Co., Vol. 53, pp. 314-315.

<sup>107</sup> Pierre Bacot, Jr., son of Pierre Bacot, a master worker in silk, was baptized in the Protestant Temple of Tours, Nov. 15, 1671; by Oct. 6, 1685, the family was in Carolina.



1685, and had settled at Goose Creek with their children Pierre, II, Daniel, and Elizabeth.

Some are unhappy at not finding the two Jacques Dugués in "the St. Julien Liste," which was a list of *émigrés* desiring naturalization about 1694, or 1695, or 1696: there is much disagreement even about its date. Like Caesar Mozé, Daniel Horry, Alexander Pepin, Jacques Varin, Arnaud Bruneau, Arnaud France, Louis Pasquereau, I, and many others, the two James Dugués had sailed here, settled here, been buried here, and no longer cared about this world's laws.

James Dugué, Sr., in his will<sup>108</sup> dated May 28, 1696, specified that his property be divided into six parts for his five living children and his granddaughter, Marianne Dugué, a fatherless, but not penniless, only child. The division of his property was made on Oct. 27, 1696 — so, we know that "the Liste," showing Marianne Fleury's husband, James Dugué, Jr., as *defunct* and mentioning James, Sr., only as the father of Pierre, Isaac, and Elizabeth, must have been prepared after May of 1696, if not in 1697.

So, who were the children of James Dugué, Sr.? We need only trace a few of his Town Lots, perhaps those purchased, by warrant, on Oct. 20, 1692,<sup>109</sup> and on Feb. 7, 1693/4<sup>110</sup> and that one on Broad Street bought from Jacques de Bourdeaux on Oct. 31, 1687; after Marianne Dugué, the granddaughter, grew up and married Tobias Fitch, they sold, in 1720, the northern half<sup>111</sup> of Town Lot 70 to Andrew Dupuy, merchant, perhaps a relative of Elizabeth Dupuy Dugué, the widow; Peter Dugué, on Nov. 28, 1698, sold part<sup>112</sup> of a Town Lot left him by his father to Jonas Bonhoste, whose son married Elizabeth Bacot, sister-in-law of Marianne Fleury Dugué Bacot; Elizabeth Dugué got one-fourth of a Town Lot ( $\frac{1}{2}$  of  $\frac{1}{2}$ ) which "fell"<sup>113</sup> to her husband, Paul Trapier, who, then, purchased from Isaac Dugué,<sup>114</sup> the other one-fourth ( $\frac{1}{2}$  of  $\frac{1}{2}$ ) of this Broad Street lot; and the partition tells us that Judith Dugué du Bourdieu, and her husband, took their share in cash.<sup>115</sup> How we wish every *émigré* had made it so easy to learn the names of his children!

<sup>108</sup> Misc. Records of Chas. Co., Vol. 52, p. 545; Vol. 53, p. 400; and Langley, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>109</sup> Salley, *op. cit.*, pp. 433, 441. See also Misc. Records of Chas. Co., Vol. 53, p. 400: this shows property on New Town Creek and Town Lots 165 and 166 going to Pierre Dugué;  $\frac{1}{2}$  of a Town Lot on Broad Street, with buildings, to Isaac and Elizabeth Dugué together; personal property to James and Marie Dubose and the use for 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  years of Town Lots 70 and 98, after which they were to go to Marianne, daughter of James Dugué, Jr.; Judith Dugué took her share in cash.

<sup>110</sup> "London Records," HSSC Transactions, No. 87, p. 78, show James Dugué, Sr., granted lots 93, 165, 180, and 186 and Jonas Bonhoste, Sr., granted lots 184 and 187. Another lot on Broad Street was purchased from Jacques de Bourdeaux.

<sup>111</sup> Langley, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 75: July 11 & 12, 1720, sale of northern half of Lot 70.

<sup>112</sup> See appendix.

<sup>113</sup> Langley, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 50.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> Misc. Records of Chas. Co., Vol. 53, p. 332. The lots for James Dugué, Sr.'s granddaughter, Marianne, were "two town lots . . . in the street that leads from the French Church to yn White Point," one of which, No. 70, was granted to Arthur Middleton and was purchased from Robert Skelton by James Dugué, Sr., and No. 90 was granted to him. I believe these lots were at the west side of Church Street, corner of present Queen Street, where the Dock Street Theatre is today; lots were later divided and renumbered.

Joining Abraham Fleury at Goose Creek were his brother, Isaac, who, on Apr. 4, 1685, bought 350 acres<sup>116</sup> for 17 pounds; his sister Madeleine Fleury and her husband Isaac Le Jay, who bought 500 acres<sup>117</sup> for 25 pounds; and their cousins Charles and Mary Baulier Franchomme, who bought 500 acres<sup>118</sup> for 25 pounds; all of whom paid in full for these tracts in London. Later, on Sept. 3, 1696, Abraham Fleury purchased from "the Honorable Charles Franchomme and Mary" this 500 acres at the head of Yeaman's Creek, adding it to his adjoining plantation.

Settling later, above the headwaters of Goose Creek, were Anthoine Prudhomme, Jean Boisseau, Pierre Bacot, Abraham DuPont, Benjamin Marion, Elias Horrý, Dr. Isaac Porcher, the Rev. Elias Prioleau, the Guérin brothers, Daniel Couturier, Gidon Faucheraud, and, of course, the sons of Jean Pôtell (when they finally inherited parts of the Boisseau plantation from their pitiful old Aunt Marie Postell Laurens Boisseau Gignilliat, whose young and avaricious husband, the Rev. James Gignilliat, was said, by the contemporary gossips, to have sold her former husband's rich lands and absconded to France with all the money, leaving her not enough for food or clothing) — giving a distinctly French flavor to the area west and northwest of Goose Creek, where a few years later, three of Madeleine Chardon's children would settle.

Surely, during the early 1680's, these Carolina settlers were writing letters discussed in the churchyards of Touraine and in the French coffee-houses of London. Made denizens<sup>119</sup> between 1679 and 1682 were others the Pasquereaus had known in France or would know in Carolina: Noël Royer,<sup>120</sup> Charles Faucheraud,<sup>121</sup> Peter and Magdalen Girard and daughter Judith, John and Martha Lenoir, John and Mary Leger, John and Peter Oliver, Daniel Huger,<sup>122</sup> and Suzanne Le Mercier, widow of John Le Noble of Paris, with nine children, including her sons James<sup>123</sup> and Henri.

<sup>116</sup> Salley, *op. cit.*, p. 400, and British Public Record Office, *Records relating to S. C., 1685-1690*, p. 51.

<sup>117</sup> B.P.R.O., *Records relating to S. C., 1685-1690*, p. 55. On Jan. 17, 1700, Isaac Le Jay, Jr., born in Tours, son of Isaac and Madeleine Le Jay, was naturalized in England (*Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XXVII, p. 29).

<sup>118</sup> See appendix.

<sup>119</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 140-160.

<sup>120</sup> See appendix.

<sup>121</sup> See appendix.

<sup>122</sup> A Daniel Huger made *témoignage*, London, Oct. 21, 1681; a Daniel Huger, son of Jean Huger (1618-1697) and Anise Bassin, of Loudun, with a wife named Jeanne, was made a denizen in London, Mar. 8, 1682; a Daniel Huger sailed alone to Carolina, July 15, 1685, on the *Margaret*. The Daniel Huger (1651-1714) in "The Liste" with a wife, Marguerite Perdrian, and a daughter, Marguerite, born in La Rochelle, the founder of the S. C. family, left an account of his family in Touraine and La Rochelle (HSSC, *Transactions*, No. 5, pp. 11-12). See also "The Remarkable Application of N. H. R. Dawson," in HSSC, *Transactions*, No. 80, pp. 46-50.

<sup>123</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XXI, p. 170; also Vol. XVIII. James and Henri Le Noble were made denizens Jan. 18, 1682/3; born in Paris, they were naturalized June 25, 1685. James may have reached London as early as Nov. 5, 1675, when a "Jacques Le Noble," who had made his *témoignage* in Paris, registered at the Threadneedle Street Church. The surname has disappeared but descendants exist through such lines as Marion, Marýck, Ravenel, Dubose, Meuns, and related lines.

Joining the church, by filing their *témoignages*, was usually done earlier than applying for letters of denization or naturalization, sometimes decades earlier. Many delayed, hoping to return to their native land, unable to believe they were permanent exiles.<sup>124</sup> There was a tradition in France that Louis Gourdin wrote his parents,<sup>125</sup> in Artois, before 1705, "that he had a family, that he was wealthy, and that he would come back to his native country when France should enjoy civil and religious liberty,"<sup>126</sup> but he died, in 1716, and his children died, and his grandchildren died, before liberty was finally restored to the French by the bloodiest of Revolutions.

They could not go "home" again: their houses were occupied by others, their *biens* confiscated and sold, their jobs and customers, friends and relatives had disappeared:

At Tours, where some 40,000 persons had been employed in the silk manufacture, the number fell to little more than 4,000; and instead of 8,000 looms at work, there remained only about 100, while of 800 mills, 730 were closed. . . . The population of Nantes, one of the most prosperous cities in France, was reduced from 80,000 to less than one-half. . . .<sup>127</sup>

The English welcomed these newcomers, especially those associated with cloth manufacturing, who soon set up major establishments at Canterbury, Spitalfields, and Dublin: "the weavers," mainly from Tours and Lyons, "had brought with them models of the looms they had used in France and taught the English how to make superb brocades, satins, velvets"; to encourage the local trade, England forbade the importation of taffetas from France.<sup>128</sup> Associated with the weaving trade, either as masters or apprentices, were several Carolinians whose names come quickly to mind: Pierre Bacot, the "maître ouvrier en soie à Tours,"<sup>129</sup> Noël Serré, Jean Aumant, Noël Royer, Pierre Dutartre, Jean Petineau, and Joel Poinsett. However, the "Court Books of the Weaver's Company"<sup>130</sup> are full of other familiar names, such as Claude Baudouin, Anthony Bourdeaux, Daniel Brabant, Abraham Chauvin, David Cochusac, John Dutartre, John June, Daniel Godin, James Guignard, Joseph Baber, Stephen d'Amberbo, Isaac Batoon, Moses Caron, Jacques Bremer, John Lenoir,

<sup>124</sup> Smiles, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

<sup>125</sup> His father, Valentin Gourdin, died 1705, and his mother, Marie Pieduin, died Nov. 12, 1693. The village of Caucourt, commune of Pas-de-Calais (62), arrondissement of Béthune, canton of Houdain, is within an area not annexed to France until about 1678; in such annexed lands "proper" French records were not kept until about 1737; so, communal records, or earlier Catholic church records in Arras, must be used for research.

<sup>126</sup> Letter from Hermé Gély, The Mayor, Caucourt, France, May 22, 1894, to Robert Newman Gourdin, in "Gourdin Collection," S. C. Historical Society Library, Charleston, S. C.

<sup>127</sup> Smiles, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

<sup>128</sup> Gwynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>129</sup> HSSC, *Transactions*, No. 78, p. 142. A Peter Bacot appears on the denization list Mar. 11, 1699/1700 (*Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XVIII, p. 312).

<sup>130</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XXX.



Peter LaSalle, Daniel Trezevant, and Charles Fromayett and Daniel Menéssier, both of Tours, many of whom may have been referred to the Weaver's Company for jobs by the French Church.

Another of those who had left Tours early and were already settled in London, by Mar. 2, 1681, was Madeleine's "first cousin once-removed" Noël Houssaye,<sup>121</sup> (baptized Nov. 1, 1635), one of the five children of Noël and Marguerite Daviau Houssaye,<sup>122</sup> of Tours. He was a full first cousin of her husband Louis Pasquereau and of his brother Pierre Pasquereau, Jr.,<sup>123</sup> and the latter had married another first cousin, Madeleine Houssaye, one of the fourteen children of Claude Houssaye, an *ancien* of the Protestant Church of Tours, and his wife Madeleine Gilles.

Furthermore, on June 7, 1665, in a double wedding, a different Noël Houssaye (baptized Oct. 7, 1640), another of the fourteen children of Claude Houssaye, had married<sup>124</sup> Madeleine's older sister Elizabeth Chardon (baptized Nov. 1, 1645), and his brother Claude Houssaye (baptized Feb. 11, 1638) had married her older sister Anne Chardon (baptized Nov. 30, 1646). By the end of 1669, her sister Elizabeth Chardon Houssaye and her two children had been buried in Tours, but her widower, Noël, son of Claude, is believed to have taken refuge in London and to have remarried.

Noël, son of Noël, was in London by 1681 with his wife Marie Blondeau and his small son Noël.<sup>125</sup> On August 10, 1684, their daughter, Marie Houssaye, was baptized at the Threadneedle Street Church,<sup>126</sup> with Guille, wife of François Backsted, of Tours, as godmother, a baptism followed by those of Isaac, 1685; Marguerite, 1687; Marthe, 1688; and Abraham Houssaye, in 1691.<sup>127</sup> As a former member of an important mercantile family, with wide-ranging accounts, who had left France when it was safe to leave, he was, perhaps, by 1684, an established trader or importer, with new accounts, able to employ his later-arriving cousins.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 146, 217, 252: made denizens on Mar. 2, 1681/2 were "Noël, Mary, and Noël their child," on the naturalization list for Jan. 21, 1689/90, which did not pass, was "Noël, son of Noël and Margareta"; finally naturalized on Apr. 2, 1698, was "Noe, son of Noël and Margaret." See also Du Pasquier, *op. cit.*, p. 113; however, I do not agree that the Noël who married Elizabeth Chardon is the same as the Noël who married Marie Blondeau.

<sup>122</sup> There are many branches of the Houssaye family of Touraine, nearly all of whom preferred exile to abjuration and fled to England, Holland, and other countries.

<sup>123</sup> Louis and Pierre, Jr., were sons of Pierre, Sr., and Marthe Houssaye Pasquereau, one of the ten children of Jean Houssaye and Marie Gourdinou.

<sup>124</sup> Du Pasquier, *op. cit.*, p. 113; this information differs from more recent work done by Mme. Ardouin.

<sup>125</sup> Both Noël Houssayes, first cousins, are believed to have taken refuge in London; we believe Noël, husband of Marie Blondeau, was the son of Noël Houssaye, rather than of Claude Houssaye, because godparents chosen for his children were often the Dufour and Amannet relatives, closer kin than to the other.

<sup>126</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XIII, p. 270.

<sup>127</sup> Du Pasquier, *op. cit.*, p. 113. See also *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. III, pp. 51, 65, 100, 270, 279.

Between Sept. 15, 1682, when they had buried their baby, Jean, in the Protestant graveyard in Tours, and late 1684, Madeleine Chardon had made a home in London. She and Louis and their three sons were made denizens on Mar. 24, 1685,<sup>139</sup> the same day as her niece Madeleine Pasquereau and her husband Pierre Fauconnier.<sup>140</sup>

On Jan. 30, 1684, all these "cousins from Tours" may have attended the baptism of Madeleine Elizabeth Fromager,<sup>141</sup> daughter of Étienne Fromager<sup>142</sup> and Madeleine Royer, whose godparents were Noël Royer and Elizabeth Viellar, and that of her brother, on Mar. 29, 1685, Étienne Fromager (or Fromaget),<sup>143</sup> whose godparents were Noël Royer and Marie Dozquesez, wife of Adam Cartier. Soon after, on May 13, 1685, although expecting soon her fifth child, Madeleine Chardon, now a matron of twenty-eight, was witness (*Tem.*), or godmother, or *marraine*, along with the *parrain*, Philippe Janssen,<sup>144</sup> to the baptism of her grand-niece, Madeleine Fauconnier.<sup>145</sup> This child, daughter of Pierre Fauconnier, Jr., was the grandchild of Pierre Fauconnier, of Angoulême, and his wife Anne de la Frocade. The child's mother was Madeleine Pasquereau, daughter of Madeleine's brother-in-law, Pierre Pasquereau, Jr., and his wife Madeleine Houssaye<sup>146</sup> and granddaughter of Pierre Pasquereau, Sr., and his wife Marthe Houssaye.<sup>147</sup>

<sup>139</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XVIII, p. 174.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 102: Pierre Fauconnier made his *témoignage* May 17, 1685 (son of Pierre Fauconnier, of Angoulême, and Anne de la Frocade).

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 266, 276.

<sup>142</sup> Stephen and Madeleine Royer Fromaget may have come to Charleston: in 1687, an Étienne Fromaget, along with a Royer, witnessed the will of Alexander Pepin (Moore and Simmons, *op. cit.*, p. 11) and, on Apr. 14, 1700, when the widow, brother, and sisters of the deceased Peter Poinsett, Jr., freed a slave at his request, witnesses to the deed included a Magdalen Fromago (Records of the Secretary of the Province, Book G, 1700-1706).

<sup>143</sup> French orthography was not fixed until the nineteenth century: if names have the same pronunciation in French, they may be interchangeable, such as, Fromager and Fromaget, Pânet and Pizet, Fouchereau and Fouchetroux, possibly Gaudineau and Goudineau, and Pasquereau and Pasquereau, but not Patureau or Pastureau.

<sup>144</sup> Possibly also from Angoulême: naturalized 1685 were Theodore and Isaac Janssen, sons of Abraham Janssen and Henrietta Manigault, of Angoulême. On Feb. 19, 1688, the godparents of Theodore Fauconnier, son of Pierre and Madeleine Pasquereau Fauconnier, were Theodore Janssen and Mlle. Houssaye.

<sup>145</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XIII, p. 277: some genealogists have thought her to be "granddaughter" of Madeleine Chardon instead of the correct relationship of "grandniece," probably because French women, on legal documents, sign their given names rather than their marriage titles. The Fauconnier family is said to have been in New York by Dec. 1702, and that descendants trace their line from Pierre Fauconnier whose "daughter, Madeleine . . . married Pierre Valbeau," *Register of Ancestors, Huguenot Society of New Jersey, Inc.* (Cranford, N. J., 1975). One Valbeau family, Stephen and Mary with their children Stephen, Sarah, Mary, Marianne, and Anne, were passengers, July 15, 1685, to Carolina on the *Margaret* but did not remain.

<sup>146</sup> Pierre Pasquereau, Jr., was a grandson of Morille and Suzanne Douben Pasquereau, of Angers; his wife was a granddaughter of Jean Houssaye, II, and Marie Gourdeineau, of Tours.

<sup>147</sup> Marthe Houssaye was a sister of Noël (born ca 1597), Catherine, Marie, Suzanne, Bené, Elizabeth, Jean, Claude, the ancies, and of Jeanne Houssaye Huberson, grandmother of Madeleine Chardon.

We do not know how many of the Chardon, Houssaye, and Pasquereau families had arrived in London before Louis and Madeleine sailed away or where they had spent the intervening years. A Pierre Pasquereau was naturalized on the same day as Paul Bruneau,<sup>147</sup> on Mar. 6 (and Mar. 20) 1686, perhaps the same as the one who was godfather, on June 24, 1686, to Pierre-Étienne Fauconnier.<sup>148</sup> This may have been the infant's elderly great-grandfather, the merchant of Angers, whose death date we do not yet know; the infant's great-grandmother, Marthe Houssaye Pasquereau, had been buried at the Protestant Temple of Angers, on Mar. 1, 1681, at the age of 77. The infant's grandfather, Pierre Pasquereau, Jr., seems not to have reached England until after the death of his brother, Louis, in Carolina about 1689.

Pierre Pasquereau, II, of Tours, and his wife, Madeleine Houssaye (baptized 1641), made their *témoignages* on Sept. 15, 1689, and were both naturalized Jan. 31, 1690.<sup>149</sup> She was one of the fourteen children of Claude and Madeleine Gilles Houssaye, a sister of Marie (baptized 1648) who married Madeleine's brother Isaac, and of Claude (baptized 1638) who married her sister Anne, and of Noë (baptized 1640) who married her sister Elizabeth. Two of the other children of Claude and Madeleine Gilles Houssaye had fled to Holland with their families: Dr. Jean and Jeanne Deffray Houssaye and Jean and Jeanne Houssaye Briot. Another of the fourteen, Isaac Houssaye (baptized 1659) fled to England, and then Holland, but kept returning to France to retrieve his own property and send theirs to his brothers and sisters abroad, finally abjuring, dying unmarried, and being buried, in 1689, in the Catholic graveyard in Tours.

Pierre Pasquereau, II, and Madeleine had ten children baptized<sup>150</sup> in the Reformed Church at Tours, several of whom died in infancy: Pierre, 1662; Madeleine, 1665; Claude, a son, 1668; Marguerite, 1669, d.y.; Noë, 1671; Marguerite, 1672; Pierre, 1674; Marthe, 1675, d.y.; Isaac, 1676, d.y.; and Jeanne, 1681, who also died young. Of these, Madeleine (Fauconnier) was made a denizen in England in 1685<sup>151</sup>; Marguerite made her *témoignage*<sup>152</sup> in 1689; Noë was made a denizen<sup>153</sup> in 1694; and Pierre was on the naturalization list Jan. 21, 1689/90, an act which did not pass.<sup>154</sup>

In 1706 and 1707, a Pierre Pasquereau,<sup>155</sup> then 72 years old, received assistance, in Southampton, from the Royal Bounty — possibly Pierre, II,

<sup>147</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XVIII: there was a close relationship, in Carolina, between Louis Pasquereau, I. and Paul Bruneau, who may have been named in Pasquereau's will, about 1688 or 1689, as guardian of his and Madeleine's children.

<sup>148</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications, Baptisms*, Vol. III, p. 46.

<sup>149</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XXI, p. 213, and Vol. XVIII, p. 174.

<sup>150</sup> *Registers of the Protestant Temple of Tours*, from notes by Mme. Idelette Ardouin.

<sup>151</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XVIII, p. 174.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 213.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 236.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 217.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 65.



Louis' brother and father of Madeleine Pasquereau Fauconnier, by then a matron in New York.

Just two months after she had been *marraine* to little Madeleine Fauconnier, Madeleine Chardon's own son, Charles Pasquereau,<sup>150</sup> was baptized, July 8, 1685, with godparents Charles Trinquant and Marie (Blondeau) Houssaye. The next month, on Aug. 12, 1685, Charles Piozet, the pastor, and Elizabeth Paiset (or Piozet), wife of Claude Baudouin, of Tours, a cousin<sup>157</sup> of the Porchers, were godparents at the baptism<sup>158</sup> of Elizabeth,<sup>159</sup> the third child of Dr. Isaac and Claude Porcher. And the next month, on Sept. 27, 1685, Pierre and Madeleine Pasquereau Fauconnier were godparents to Isaac,<sup>160</sup> son of their cousin Noël Houssaye and his wife Marie Blondeau.

Madeleine Chardon may have been too busy preparing four children for a long voyage and life in a new world to attend, on Nov. 18, 1685, the baptism of Jeanne, daughter of Pierre Videau<sup>161</sup> and his wife Jeanne-Elizabeth Mauzé, (a girl who would grow up in Carolina and marry, in 1702, Antoine Bonneau, Jr., who had already sailed, on July 15, 1685, with his parents and brother and sister on the *Margaret*), or the christening, Dec. 9, 1685, of Pierre,<sup>162</sup> son of Jean and Elizabeth Le Clere Melet, (whose mother, as a widow, would marry Pierre Gaillard, a native of Cherveux, Poitou, would live in Carolina, and would be erroneously linked, for hundreds of years, with Pierre Gaillard, Joachim's son, a native of Montpellier, Languedoc).

It seems unlikely that any of these busy young mothers left England before 1686.

While awaiting the birth of her fifth son, Charles, Madeleine and Louis Pasquereau<sup>163</sup> and their sons Louis, Pierre, and Isaac, all born in Tours, were made denizens under the law in force at that time<sup>164</sup>; Charles soon to be "native-

<sup>150</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XIII, p. 275.

<sup>157</sup> See appendix.

<sup>158</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XIII, Part II, Baptisms, p. 278.

<sup>159</sup> Made denizens, Apr. 15, 1693, were Peter Verditty and his son Theodore, a boy who would grow up, go to Carolina, and marry this Elizabeth Porcher. *The Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XVIII, p. 229.

<sup>160</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XIII, Baptisms, p. 279.

<sup>161</sup> Made a denizen on Oct. 14, 1681, along with Elias and Elizabeth Mauzé, and again Apr. 9, 1687, with "daughters Jane and Elizabeth," apparently a mistake meaning "wife Jeanne-Elizabeth and daughter Jeanne," the latter baptized Nov. 18, 1685 (*Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XVIII, p. 129). Dr. A. J. Manséy, *op. cit.*, p. 125, says Pierre, son of Pierre and Madeleine Borgeaud Videau, of La Rochelle, was naturalized Apr. 9, 1685.

<sup>162</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XIII, Baptisms, pp. 253, 264, 281. The Melets may have lost two older sons, Pierre, baptized Sept. 24, 1682, and Elzé, baptized Dec. 19, 1683.

<sup>163</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XVIII, p. 174.

<sup>164</sup> Louis Pasquereau, II, secured naturalization, Act No. 1110, June 1, 1702. (Journal of the Commons House of S. C., 1702), had it notarized in London, and sent to Carolina (Misc. Records of Chas. Co., Vol. 54, p. 421), at least fifteen years after he had been made a denizen and had settled, with his parents, in Carolina.

born" would, hopefully, never need more than a baptismal certificate (yet he appears, in 1696, desiring "naturalization" like the others).

On the same day, Mar. 24, 1684/5, a letter of denization was issued to Isaac Caillaboef, son of Louis and Marie Charuyer Caillaboef,<sup>165</sup> of Ste. Soline, Poitou, who sailed, just four months later, on July 15, 1685, on the *Margaret*,<sup>166</sup> a pink bound for Carolina, along with Peter and Magdalena Gaellaert (possibly Peter Gaillard, the Charleston block-maker, about whom little is known).<sup>167</sup>

Also on that voyage were Daniel and Elizabeth Fanton Garnier, with five children, and her sister, Rachel Fanton. After a summer shipboard romance (on a small ship full of chaperons), Rachel Fanton married Isaac Caillaboef, who became a King Street merchant (before King Street had a name), had a dwelling with a porch facing south on Caillabeuf's Lane, and, during fifteen short years of marriage, bore him three children. In 1694, he got a delayed grant for "arrival rights," for six, of 300 acres between the Echau and Wambaw Creek in French Santee, but it seems doubtful that he himself ever lived there. Instead, he probably took employment in an earlier Huguenot's mercantile establishment until, in 1694, he was able to buy from Anthony Boureau a part of Lot 103, the southeast corner of Broad and King, just outside the city wall, adjoining, on the south, the French Churchyard.

Later, Isaac owned the east side of Meeting Street, facing the Wall, from Tradd's lot on the corner down to Water (Lots 308, 309, 310),<sup>168</sup> acquired Feb. 2, 1694/5; yet, he wrote his will Sept. 11, 1699 (now missing), and, on Feb. 13, 1701, Rachel, his widow, petitioned<sup>169</sup> the Grand Council to be allowed to sell, for the benefit of their children, his dwelling-house on the southern part of Lot 12, on the north side of Elliott (then called Caillabeuf's Lane, later Poinsett's

<sup>165</sup> HSSC, Transactions, No. 68, p. 28: more than five years after settling in Charleston, Isaac Caillaboef is shown again on a denization list in England, Mar. 5, 1690/1, along with Peter Girard, Peter Belin, and Peter and Jane Villepontoux, with their children Peter, Marie, and Jane (*Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XVIII). In 1696, we find Isaac still on "The Lists" asking for naturalization. The "o" dropped from the name early, and, in later records, it is just "Callibuff."

<sup>166</sup> Salley, *op. cit.*, p. 446: Isaac claimed "arrival rights" for himself and Rachel, two "Gallards," Mary Quembert (Jambert), and James Benes, all of whom were passengers, in 1685, on the *Margaret*. By 1696, Marie Lambert was the wife of Daniel Bonnel and had a daughter Suzanne; by Oct. 14, 1699, both Bonnels were dead, leaving Suzanne and her little brother John (*SCHS Mag.*, Vol. X, pp. 90, 138), in the care of a Mary Bonval, upon whose death, in early 1700, they became wards of Elnha Prioleau.

<sup>167</sup> See also J. Ernest Harper, Jr., "Isaac Caillabeuf," HSSC, Transactions, No. 71, pp. 54-56. The last of the name may have been Elizabeth Callebuff, in the 1790 Census for Williamsburg Co., with no males in the family; W. W. Bodlie, *History of Williamsburg County*, Columbia, S. C.: The State Company, 1923) p. 156.1.

<sup>168</sup> Salley, *op. cit.*, p. 486. Also, on Mar. 14, 1694, there was an indenture for a ½ acre town lot, which I believe was the southern half of Lot 12, not Lot 10 which was on the south side of Elliott Street and owned by the Elliotts.

<sup>169</sup> Journal of the Commons House of S. C., 1701. See also Misc. Records of Chas. Co., Vol. 52, p. 80, and Vol. 53, p. 322. Dr. John Hutchinson and Dr. James Kilpatrick also moved to Caillabeuf's, or Poinsett's, Lane (Langley, *op. cit.*, p. 156).

Lane, and later Elliott's Lane), between Bedon's Alley and East Bay Street, property he had acquired by indenture. Rachel Fanton Caillaboeuf had no trouble selling it promptly to Dr. John (Jean) Thomas, the "chirurgion," because by the early 1700's, Caillabeuf's Lane was becoming "Doctor's Row."

But, let us step back in time to London where we probably can still find the Pasquereaus on Mar. 5 and 20, 1686,<sup>170</sup> when a large group of present or future Carolinians were being given letters of denization: Jean Gendron (but not his younger brother Philippe),<sup>171</sup> Alexandre Thésée Chastaigner (but not his older brother Henri Auguste),<sup>172</sup> Thomas and Jane Satur<sup>173</sup> with six children, Paul Bruneau and his nephew Henri Bruneau (son and grandson of Arnaud, but not Arnaud himself),<sup>174</sup> a Peter Pasquereau, James Scheult<sup>175</sup> (probably he who settled east of the Cooper River, the father of Margaret, wife of Johnson Lynch), Peter Albert, Daniel Perdriau, John Sarazin, and others who may, of course, have left England before this Denization Act had been passed and recorded.

During 1685, or earlier, Jean-François Gignilliat, of Vevey, Switzerland, and Arnaud Bruneau, Sieur de la Chabossière, of Le Villedieu, Poitou, may have been in London organizing groups to settle in Carolina. On July 30, 1685, and on Jan. 26, 1685/6, and again on July 14, 1687, the Lords wrote their Deputies that, in 1685, they had granted 3000 acres (a manor) to one "to encourage more of the Swiss," and to the other for "having contributed to the settlement of our Province," and had added, "yes, they are to be rent free except for one ear of corn when lawfully demanded."<sup>176</sup> On Sept. 26, 1685, they had authorized a manor for Jacques Le Bas,<sup>177</sup> then in London, and, on Oct. 23, 1689, they wrote that Le Bas had already paid Governor West 90 pounds for 1500 of the acres due him.<sup>178</sup> On Sept. 4, 1686, the Lords sold 1000 acres for 50 pounds to Henri Auguste Chastaigner, Sieur de Cramahé, and his brother,

<sup>170</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 176-180.

<sup>171</sup> Finally recorded in London, July 3, 1701, were naturalizations for Philip Gendron, Peter Girard, a Peter Gullard, and a Peter Guillard, long-time Carolina residents; and, on Mar. 11, 1700, for Peter Bacot and Daniel Jaulin. The Rev. David Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1874), pp. 64-68.

<sup>172</sup> See appendix.

<sup>173</sup> See appendix.

<sup>174</sup> The will of Arnaud Bruneau, dated Dec. 30, 1692, recorded Oct. 21, 1694, was witnessed by René Ravanel, Jean-François Gignilliat, and Jean Boyd, all of Santee; an Inventory ordered Nov. 20, 1694, shows that, in addition to his large land holdings, he had a general merchandise store left in care of a Monsieur de la Salle (Misc. Records of Chas. Co., Vol. 52, pp. 218, 306, 550). This is not Pierre La Salle, the Charleston merchant born in Bordeaux, who died in 1699, leaving children Pierre and Elizabeth La Salle, and whose estate was administered by the Rev. Florent Philippe Trouillart.

<sup>175</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XVIII, p. 178, and Vol. XIII, p. 279. Further research may show that Jacques and Jean Scheult (Scheulte), being naturalized along with Huguenots, were actually French Huguenots themselves.

<sup>176</sup> B.P.B.O. Records relating to S. C., 1685-1690, pp. 81, 120, 209.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 277.

<sup>178</sup> Salley, *op. cit.*, p. 404; grant given in London, Sept. 26, 1685; warrant issued in Carolina, May 6, 1686.



Alexander Thésée Chastaigner, Sieur de Lisle, with arrangements for 2000 acres more (so, a manor), at one penny per acre rent.<sup>179</sup> The records show only the sale of 626 acres for 31 pounds, on July 13, 1687, to Jacques Boyd,<sup>180</sup> but we know that he and his brothers, Jean and Gabriel, also got a manor, of 3000 acres, or more.

Although Joachim Gaillard did not receive his grant<sup>181</sup> of 600 acres in "Jamestown Precinct" until Oct. 1687 (and was reported by a refugee in Boston to have gone to Carolina that year with his family), the early records give us a feeling that his son Bartholomew may have arrived several years earlier to begin "a settlement" of the French on a 3000-acre tract, east of the Bruneaus, Chastaigners, and Gignilliat, south of the Boyds, northeast of LeBas, between the Echau<sup>182</sup> and Wambaw Creek, both of which run north into Santee. Yet, records have not surfaced to show any of these Gaillards in London, nor a denization or naturalization date for Bartholomew who was a large landholder, surveyor, Indian trader, held several provincial offices, and never was challenged for voting "illegally." (Where are the rest of our records?)

The Lords, in London, probably did not intend that the French *émigrés* be given swampy, flood-prone, unproductive lands, but the warrants were being issued to "refugees" by English officials in Charles Town who must have known that a few years in Santee Swamps would decimate the numbers of the French Calvinists, mainly from cities and villages on the uplands or seacoasts of France, and lessen the political threat both to the other Dissenters and to the Anglicans already settled here. Certainly refugees in London were advised that denization, or preferably, naturalization, was valuable to those expecting to trade or buy land in the British "plantations" and most of them rushed to secure these letters before they sailed.

It is doubtful that Madeleine Chardon and Louis Pasquereau were still in London on June 24, 1686, but, if they were, they would surely have attended the baptism of Pierre-Étienne,<sup>183</sup> son of Pierre and Madeleine Pasquereau Fauconier, at which Pierre Pasquereau (either the child's grandfather or great-grandfather) and Madeleine's sister Anne Chardon were the godparents.

This is the first news we have had that Anne, another of the twenty-two Chardons, had arrived in London. After the joint wedding on June 7, 1685, of the two Chardon sisters to the two Houssaye brothers,<sup>184</sup> in the Protestant

<sup>179</sup> B.P.R.O., Records relating to S. C., 1685-1690, pp. 165-166.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 216.

<sup>182</sup> In an earlier article in *HSSC Transactions*, No. 88, p. 68, I said "Echau" was an Indian word but have now been corrected by Mlle. Suzanne Hoyez, of Paris, that "echau" is a common French masculine noun that designates either a ditch for irrigation of the meadows or a ditch for drainage—the exact function of the "Echau" on the Santee.

<sup>183</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. III, p. 46.

<sup>184</sup> Information on the Houssaye family from the Records in Tours also comes to us from the genealogical files of Mme. Ardouin.

Temple of Tours, Anne Chardon had borne nine children, had buried six, and was expecting one more when, in 1681, her husband, Claude Houssaye, and his father, Claude Houssaye, the *ancien*, both prominent merchants, died. Her children by Claude Houssaye (1638-1681) were: Madeleine, baptized 1666; Isaac, baptized and buried 1668; Anna, baptized 1669 and died young; Pierre, baptized 1671 and buried 1672; Jean, baptized 1672 and buried 1676; Anne, baptized 1674; Claude; Jean, baptized and buried 1677; Isaac, baptized and buried 1678; and Jean, posthumous, baptized 1681.

So, Anne Chardon Houssaye had only four living children when, on Feb. 18, 1683, she married her second husband, Étienne Faget, in the Protestant Temple of Tours. Later that year, on Dec. 19, 1683, her eldest daughter, Madeleine Houssaye,<sup>185</sup> married Luc Leclercq, a merchant in Tours, son of Jacques Leclercq and Marie Morin, and seems to have fled with him, in 1685, to Holland where we find her, at The Hague, on Nov. 18, 1703, marrying her second husband, a first cousin, François Amonnet, a son of Mathieu and Rachel Houssaye Amonnet.<sup>186</sup> Anne Chardon's younger children,<sup>187</sup> Anne and Jean Houssaye, also sought refuge in England, in 1685, with her, and their stepfather and their little half-brother Étienne Faget. However, her young son Claude Houssaye had been caught in France, imprisoned, and not freed until 1689; he then married, in 1694, Jeanne Breton, who had been baptized in the Protestant Temple of Tours in 1672 but who had, with her parents Elié and Charlotte Besnard Breton, become a "new Catholic convert"; their seven children were all baptized, in Tours, as Catholics, between 1695 and 1705, a group of her grandchildren that the widow Jeanne Huberson Chardon never did see.<sup>188</sup>

However, her daughter Anne Chardon Houssaye Faget had begun a new life in England. Her husband received denization on Apr. 9, 1687, and she, with her son Étienne, now Stephen, were made denizens on Aug. 19, 1688. On Jan. 21, 1689/90, her son Stephen, born at Tours, and her husband, Stephen Faget, born at Meuvoizin, son of James and Mary Faget, were both on the list of those applying for letters of naturalization.<sup>189</sup>

When Marie-Anne,<sup>190</sup> the daughter of Étienne and Anne Chardon Faget, was baptized, on Aug. 17, 1687, the *marraine* was Madeleine Pasquereau Fauconnier. On Dec. 5, 1688, Pierre Fauconnier and Marthe Mignon (Desgalleniére) were the godparents of Pierre,<sup>191</sup> son of Étienne and Anne Chardon

<sup>185</sup> Du Pasquier, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>187</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. III, p. 164. Here we find Anne Houssaye, now about 23, on Apr. 4, 1697, witnessing, with Jacques Testard, the baptism of Jacques, son of John and Judith Du Pré; and in Vol. XVIII, p. 235, we find John Houssaye, on June 22, 1694, getting a letter of denization along with Noah Pasquereau and James Faget.

<sup>188</sup> Information from the file of Mme. Arduin.

<sup>189</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XVIII, Aug. 19, 1688, and Jan. 21, 1689/90, pp. 213-217.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 57.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

Faget Marguerite Pasquereau, a sister of Madeleine Pasquereau Fauconnier, was also in London, as we find her witnessing the baptism, on Apr. 20, 1690, of her nephew, Étienne Fauconnier,<sup>192</sup> along with his *parrain* Étienne Faget. On May 18, 1690, Jeanne Chardon<sup>193</sup> was godmother of Isaac Faget,<sup>194</sup> the thirteenth child of her sister Anne.

Soon after 1685, there arrived in London, Noël Houssaye's sister, Marthe, daughter of Noël and Marguerite Daviau Houssaye, widow of Jean Dufour,<sup>195</sup> and her daughter Jaquine (or Jeanne) Dufour, who, however, did not make their *témoignages* until Jan. 11, 1687.<sup>196</sup> Her son, Noël Dufour, one of her twelve children, had married, in 1685, Marie Anne Foissin, a sister of Elias Foissin of Carolina, and had remained in France,<sup>197</sup> probably becoming a "bad Catholic" but a rich banker in Paris. The baptismal records at the Threadneedle Street Church show us that many of Noël Houssaye's Dufour relatives had reached London as well as his mother-in-law "Madame the widow Blondeau."

Besides two sisters, at least two of Madeleine Chardon's brothers and her widowed mother took refuge in London, but possibly too late to see her, and her children, one last time, before they sailed away forever. Her brother, Pierre, baptized in Tours on Mar. 19, 1656, and naturalized in London on Apr. 9, 1687, may have left soon for Boston where his earlier training in a Paris bank enabled him to acquire a fortune. Her brother Daniel, baptized in Tours on July 5, 1650, in the naturalization list also on Apr. 9, 1687 (where his name is spelled "Chardin"),<sup>198</sup> may have remained in London to take care of their mother, if he is the "loving friend" mentioned by Andrew Mayer in his will of 1692.<sup>199</sup>

"Jeanne Chardon, veuve d'Isaac," the former Jeanne Huberson, by then about 70 years old, the mother of Isaac's twenty-two dead or scattered children, stated on Sept. 3, 1689, at the Threadneedle Street Church, that she had made her *témoignage*<sup>200</sup> before young Pierre Fauconnier, who, as we know, had married the daughter of two of her first cousins. It would seem that a copy of the baptismal record of twenty-two children in the Register of Baptisms of the Reformed Church of Tours should have been enough to establish the fact that she was a Protestant, but she could not have known that this Register had been

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89. Anne Chardon Houssaye Faget, or a niece, may have followed the Fauconniers to New York; on Aug. 23, 1702, Anne Chardon was *marraine* and Jean David, *parrain*, to Jean-Jacques, son of Jean and Madeleine David Faget (Alfred V. Wittmeyer, ed., *Registers of the Eglise Française à la Nouvelle York*, Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1968, p. 90).

<sup>193</sup> No marriage record has been found for Madeleine Chardon's sister Jeanne, baptized Oct. 11, 1637, in Tours, the eldest child, now 53.

<sup>194</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. III, p. 90.

<sup>195</sup> DuPasquier, *op. cit.*, p. 110; see also for further information on the lines of Noël Houssaye, son of Noël, and his sisters Marthe, wife of Jean Dufour; Marguerite, wife of Antoine Berault; Rachel, wife of Mathieu Amonnet; and Madeleine, wife of Samuel Pelisson.

<sup>196</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XXI, p. 142.

<sup>197</sup> Du Pasquier, *op. cit.*, p. 111. See also for further information on the Foissin line.

<sup>198</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XVIII, p. 184.

<sup>199</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Proceedings*, Vol. I, pp. 306-307.

<sup>200</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XXI, p. 49.



safely hidden, nor could she have secured such a copy. (Was she aware, in this autumn of 1689, that her daughter Madeleine was already a widow in a little wooden house in a deep pine forest near a yellow river across the ocean, and that her four Pasquereau grandchildren were fatherless and far from all their clan?)

Eventually, some of her grandchildren found her, among them probably James Chardon,<sup>201</sup> son of Isaac and Marie Chardon, born in Tours, who was naturalized on Dec. 4, 1705; perhaps the same as the Jacques Chardon who, on Dec. 17, 1713, with Suzanne Primrose, was a godparent of Jacques, son of David Primrose,<sup>202</sup> and who, on Jan. 11, 1719, was godfather of Anne,<sup>203</sup> daughter of Jacques and Jeanne Du Pré.

We do not yet know when or on what ship the Pasquereaus left for Carolina. They may have gone with the large group in mid-1686 or may have waited until mid-1687 and have joined an even larger group of *émigrés* whose denizations were recorded on Apr. 9 and Apr. 20, 1687, including: Allard and Peter Belin (but not Jacques),<sup>204</sup> Peter Buretel,<sup>205</sup> Anthoine Boureau,<sup>206</sup> James Benoit, Henri Auguste Chastaigner, Elias Cothomeau, Peter Corrèges, the Rev. Étienne du Soul,<sup>207</sup> Paul Douxain with his wife Esther and daughter Mary, Samuel du Bourdieu, Caesar Mozé,<sup>208</sup> Jacques de Bourdeaux<sup>209</sup> with his wife Magdalen and his daughters Marguerite, Magdalen, Judith, and Judith-Jane, David and Françoise Godin with David and Benjamin,<sup>210</sup> Mary and Martha, Peter Julien de St. Julien with Jane and seven children, Stephen and Isaac Mazÿck,<sup>211</sup> the Rev. Elias Prioleau<sup>212</sup> with his wife Jane, and Elias and Jane, Alexander and Magdalen Pepin<sup>213</sup> with Paul and Madeleine, Caesar Paget, Peter and Elizabeth Perdriau with Peter and John, and others whose names are now familiar to all of us. (We do not know how many of these may have been in Carolina for a year or more or were still in London.)

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 52.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 332, and Vol. XVIII, p. 123; the Rev. David Primrose with his family were made denizens June 11, 1686.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 50.

<sup>204</sup> See appendix.

<sup>205</sup> See appendix.

<sup>206</sup> See appendix.

<sup>207</sup> See appendix.

<sup>208</sup> Caesar Mozé is another known to have been in Carolina in 1686, a year before this naturalization bill passed, and to have died here in an epidemic in Oct. 1687 (Dr. A. J. Mauzy, *op. cit.*, p. 118).

<sup>209</sup> See appendix.

<sup>210</sup> See appendix.

<sup>211</sup> In an article in *HSSC Transactions*, No. 88, p. 64, I quoted an error made by Hirsch, *op. cit.*, that Isaac Mazyck arrived in 1692 on the *Royal Jamaica*; the record in the *Journal of the Commons House of S. C.*, 1692, Appendix, shows that Isaac Mazyck and Peter Girard, both established merchants or merchant-bankers, put up the security bond for Daniel Horry, who did arrive on this ship. According to Edmund Ravenel, *op. cit.*, p. 96, there are reasons to believe Mazyck reached Carolina in 1686.

<sup>212</sup> The Rev. Elias Prioleau and his wife, Jeanne Burgeaul, remained in Pons, France, until his church was battered down on Apr. 15, 1686; they are believed to have reached Carolina late in 1687 (*HSSC Transactions*, No. 71, p. 88).

<sup>213</sup> See appendix.

These three or four years in London appear to have been the best years of Madeleine Chardon's life — the most exciting, and, even with four little boys, the most carefree. She was French, young, healthy, therefore, obviously charming. She was surrounded by sparkling people from Touraine, Poitou, Anjou, Aunis, Saintonge, and Angoulême, a people who remembered their ancient troubadour tradition and the times of their Eleanor, Countess of Poitou and Aquitaine, Queen of France, and later Queen of England, and her Plantagenet sons (even then long in their tombs at the Abbey of Fontevault, near Tours, which the Chardons must have visited on holidays, just as we do today), and remembered her famous court at Poitiers where the Poitevins, Angevins, Bretons, and their neighbors were taught to laugh at trouble, to write poetry, to sing, and to practice *courtoisie*. She was a city-girl, a product of France's powerful *bourgeoisie*, now in a city, hardly as sophisticated, but larger and more dynamic than Tours.

Yet, we urge her on! We are thankful that she gave up the merry life of seventeenth century London and left her myriad of cousins, her mother, brothers and sisters, for a rough voyage and journey to a spot in "Jamestown Precinct,"<sup>214</sup> surrounded by whispering pines and moss-covered oaks, Indians and wild animals, swamps and snakes and mosquitoes, reached only by trails from the Atlantic bays and from the new Charles Town on Oyster Point, a growing village just a few years old; to a spot on the treacherous Santee, where, not yet but later, there would be a dependable Ferry to the north bank, operated successively by the Gaillards, the Skrines,<sup>215</sup> the Le Nuds, and the Gourdins, that would connect with the trails to western Indian settlements and to the older English towns in northern colonies; to a spot where she would, at first, have few of the "amenities" — only a minister, the Rev. Pierre Robert, living on part of the Bruneau place, and a doctor, Dr. Isaac Dejean, living next door to old Monsieur Joachim Gaillard at the boat landing, and one *super-marché* run by Monsieur de La Salle near the house of that old Squire from Poitou, Monsieur Arnaud Bruneau de la Chaboissière and his son, Paul, Sieur de Rivedoux, born in La Rochelle.

Why we are thankful she accepted this challenge is very easy to guess. Only in this lonely, remote, intensely rural, most unlikely spot could she have met the young, healthy, well-born, ambitious, energetic bachelor, who spoke excellent French and passable English, who shared her religious faith and cultural heritage, who could handle horses, guns, and boats, and, most important of all, who was destined to become her second husband, the step-father of her bad little boys, and the ancestor of all of us, her hundreds of descendants, remaining in Carolina.

<sup>214</sup> There was no village yet at Jamestown, nor town laid out, nor church built, nor militia organized.

<sup>215</sup> Even "Skrine" may have been Huguenot or Flemish: various "Skreine" and "Skrines" appear in the London records being naturalized along with the French. As far as I know, this name has not been traced.

## APPENDIX

<sup>122</sup> B.M.C., Chas. Co., Book F, no. 5, 1707-1711. Jonas Bonhôte, on Oct. 20, 1692, and Nov. 21, 1695 (Solley, *op. cit.*), got two town lots from the Lords by Indenture (said to have been either 93, 98, 164, 165, 180, 180, or 187), I believe they were No. 164, the southwest corner of Broad and King, bounding north on No. 160 of Jacques de Bourdeaux — just where everyone, having passed through the gates of the city, turned north on the Broad Path — and Lot 187, across from the French Churchyard on King, and that he purchased other property from earlier settlers, because he and Catherine seem to have lived on part of Lot 28, west of Jacques de Bourdeaux, near the corner of Broad and Church Streets. He signed the petition for naturalization on Mar. 30, 1696, along with many long-time Huguenot residents of Carolina, but is shown on the London list of July 10, 1696, only as a denizen (*Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XVIII, p. 242); finally, on Aug. 30, 1698, his naturalization was recorded in Charleston (Misc. Records of Chas. Co., Vol. 54, p. 167). He is shown, in 1696, as son of Pierre and Marie Garlin Bonhôte, born in Paris, with a wife Catherine Allaire and a son Jonas; after 1696, a second son, Jean, was born. In the early 1700's his widow married, second, the merchant Jacob Le Fôtre David (called "David" by Nicholas de Longemare, but "La Postre" or "Le Porter" by nearly all others), who bought and sold much land between 1705 and 1710, including 1000 acres from Daniel and Sarah Branson McGregor, at Seewee, on Apr. 7, 1710. In his will dated Oct. 13, 1710, he made his step-sons, Jonas and John Bonhôte, his heirs, and we later find Jonas (and Elizabeth) and John (and Marianne) selling the McGregor land. Their mother, Catherine Allaire Bonhôte La Postre, a widow still active on Feb. 14, 1736, sold a tract of 25 acres to Thomas and Richard Fairchild, butchers, land granted her on Mar. 21, 1715, which may sound small but this tract bounded east on the Broad Path (near the corner of King and Calhoun) just north of a city which could expand only in that direction.

<sup>123</sup> B.P.R.O., *Records relating to S. C., 1685-1690*, p. 53. Charles Franchomme appears to have been English-born. Charles, son of Estienne Franchomme (or Franchommé) and his wife Benoit, was baptized June 22, 1645, (*Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XIII, p. 102.) In 1712, he bought part of Lot 26, southeast corner of Broad and Church, from John and Mary Ester Postell, in 1710, he wrote his attorneys, Gendron and Hepworth, from England, to sell it and they sold it to Daniel Huger (B.M.C., Chas. Co., Book C). He married, second, Margareta Morin, who died, 1721, in Surrey County, England (*Huguenot Society of London, Proceedings*, Vol. I, 1885-1886, p. 306). In a will dated Feb. 20, 1723, Franchomme says he is a cousin of both Isaac Le Jay and his wife Madeleine Fleury (Moore and Simmons, *op. cit.*, p. 104).

<sup>124</sup> Noël Boyer, of Tours, appears among those receiving assistance in London on Mar. 21, 1681/2, as a shoemaker, with a wife and four children; he made his *témoignage* May 28, 1682, was made a denizen Mar. 24, 1685. (*Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vols. XLIX, p. 172, Vol. XVIII, p. 173, Vol. XXI, p. 235.) He was a son of Sébastien Boyer and Marie Bandon, who were married Jan. 14, 1635, and grandson of Denis Boyer and Agnes Bodin; his wife was Madeleine, daughter of Jacques Saulnier and Judith Bandon, of Châtelleraut; their children, alive in 1686, were: Noël (baptized Oct. 5, 1663, in Tours), Madeleine (baptized Dec. 11, 1664, in Tours), Pierre, and Marie. Noël, Jr., married Judith Giton and left descendants; Pierre married Anne, daughter of André Bambert, and left descendants; but we have as yet no information on Madeleine and Marie.

<sup>125</sup> *Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XVIII, p. 143, Vol. XXI, p. 109, Vol. XLIX, p. 86. Descendants are convinced that Charles Faucheraud died before reaching Carolina, but others doubt it. "Charles Fauchereau," anchorsmith, 36 years old, from Sculitz, received assistance on Sept. 20, 1681, because his wife and three children were all sick, needed lodgings and straw beds, and he needed work because the East India Company needed him no longer. "Charles Fouchereau" made his *témoignage* on Nov. 5, 1681, and "Charles Fouchereau" was made a denizen on Mar. 8, 1681/2. Butler says he was in Carolina by 1683 farming "arrival rights" land (Joe Butler, *The Huguenots in America*: Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1983). Certainly Anna Vignaud was a widow by Dec. 14, 1691, when she bought, from William Scott, one-half of Lot 41 in Charlestown (originally granted Thomas Clowter) adjoining Anthony Bonneau, on the north side of Broad between Church and State Streets (Records of the Register of the Province, Book G, 1700-1709, p. 151). I believe Charles Foucheraud had two sisters and nieces and nephews in Charlestown: Sarah Fouchereau was the wife of Pierre Poimet, of Sculitz, and Elizabeth Fouchereau was the wife of Daniel Durouzeaux, of St. Jean d'Angely. The Poimet genealogy has



been extensively treated (HSSC, Transactions, No. 85, pp. 84-117, and No. 86, pp. 68-79) but none mention that Catherine Poinset married, first, on June 22, 1687, in London, Jean Chevalier, son of Jean and Jeanne de Ramet Chevalier, of Saintonge (*Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. III, p. 4) before she married, second, Abraham Le Sueur, of Normandie; or that Jane Poinset, who married Elié Bisset, married, second, Michael Paquinett. Both Pierre Poinset and Sara Fouchereau died in 1699 (her son-in-law Abraham Le Sueur was appointed Oct. 25, 1699, to administer her estate); so, after the death of both Durouzeaus in 1700, their little sons, Daniel and Pierre, were, in 1702, made wards of their aunt "Hannah Fishreus, widow" (Misc. Records of Charleston Co., Vol. 52, p. 68). Anna, or Hannah, Vignaud Faucheraud had three children alive in 1696: Anne, who married Abraham DuPont, about 1697, and had six or more children; Gidon, who married Marie Villepoteaus and had at least three children; and Marie Faucheraud, born in England, whose story I do not know. Charles and Anna Vignaud Faucheraud have descendants today through the DuPont, Singleton, May, Dean, Moore, Grimke, Drayton, Allston, Harleston, and other lines. I do not know the relationship of Susannah June "Fousherole" to this family, if any. Michael Durouzeaus may have been a brother of Daniel. I know of no descendants.

<sup>167</sup> The Publications of the Huguenot Society of London and Carolina records mention many members of the Baudouin family of Tours but do not reveal their relationship to the Porcher: René Baudouin, London merchant, son of Claudius, of Tours, made a denizen 1678; Claude, who made *testimony* 1682, and Elizabeth Paiset Baudouin in London 1685; Christopher and Françoise Baudouin who, in 1684, chose, as godparents for their daughter, a Noël Housaye and Elizabeth Paiset Baudouin; George Baudouin, of Carolina, who, in 1695, calls Antoine Frudhomme his "father"; John, son of John and Margaret Baudouin, of Tours, on naturalization list for Jan. 21, 1689-90; Claude, son of Claude and Gabriella Baudouin, naturalized Apr. 2, 1698. The connection with the Porcher family is believed by Mme. Ardouin of Tours to be through the Toutin family of Preuilly; before 1648, Claude, son of Pierre Baudouin, married Gabrielle Toutin; and on Aug. 8, 1683, Pierre, son of Christopher and Jeanne Gendron Baudouin, married Marthe, daughter of René and Françoise Bedeuil Toutin. Perhaps Porcher descendants will follow this trail.

<sup>168</sup> Baird tells us the Chastaigners were an old and distinguished Protestant family of La Rochelle whose Château of Cramahé was about five miles southeast of the city (Baird, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-285). Smiles tells us that there were three brothers who planned an escape at the time of the Revocation — Cramahé, or Henri Auguste; De L'Isle, or Alexandre Thésée; and Des Roches, or Hector François — and two made it to England, but the eldest, Hector, "was detected under the disguise in which he was about to flee, was flogged, maltreated, stripped of all the money he had, put in chains, cast into a dungeon, transferred from one prison to another, found to be an obstinate heretic, and, after twenty-seven months' imprisonment, banished." (Smiles, *op. cit.*, p. 406) "The List" and English records tell us they were sons of Roch Chastaigner, Squire, deceased, and Jeanne his wife, of Aunis. Very little has been done to trace descent from the two brothers in Carolina, except for three children of A. T. Chastaigner: where should we place Theodore, Daniel, Peter, and a later one who calls himself Alexander Cramahé: who were their wives and children? The brother Seigneur Hector François de Cramahé settled in Ireland with his wife Marianne and had descendants (*Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. 22, New Church of Sainte Marie, Dublin) but whether the surname survives is not known to me.

<sup>169</sup> The Rev. Thomas Satur, *Docteur en Théologie*, born in Montauban, minister of the French Church in the Savoy, had probably been in London for several years when, on Apr. 2, 1698, along with Noël Housaye, Estienne Faget, Charles de la Tour, and a Daniel Ravenel from Vitry, he and his wife, Jeanne de Garrison, with six of their children (Thomas, Isaac, Jonathan, Jacob, Jane-Sarah, and Jane-Mary) were naturalized. Three others, Abraham, Marianne, and Valérie (who had married Jacob de Garrison, of Montauban) may have remained in France or been naturalized earlier. Jacob Satur, a merchant in Charles Town by 1707, and Commissioner for the Church of St. George, Dorchester, in 1710, had a wife Mary, a son Thomas, and possibly other children; his son Thomas owned property in Beaufort and Dorchester, served in the General Assembly for St. Helena's, 1717-1720, and was buried Jan. 25, 1729. A Thomas Satur, possibly a child, was buried Jan. 18, 1712, during an epidemic, by Commissary Gidon Johnston at St. Philip's Church. Jacob's brother, Abraham Satur made a will proved 1746 and left a wife Jane, a handicapped son Thomas, and a daughter Anne. By Feb. 1747, Jane Satur his wife, his parents and his brothers, were all dead and administration of Abraham's estate was placed on his niece Susannah, only child of his eldest brother Thomas Satur. By 1752, Susannah was the wife of Edward Jerman (Jermain), and, by 1754, all Satur

beis must have been dead when 4228 acres of Abraham Satur's land descended to Sumamah Satur Jerman, who died in 1768. (Are there descendants of the Saturs in branches of the Palmer, Gouturier, and Porcher families, lines not yet proved?)

<sup>294</sup> "Alard Belain" appears, almost as an afterthought, in Carolina's "Liste, No. 3, of French and Swis." An Alard Belin, son of James and Jane Belin, born in La Rochelle, was naturalized in London in 1702. Mentioned in the will of Mary Boudinot (See Mrs. Carl W. Bill, "Belin," *HSSC Transactions*, Vol. 89, p. 153) are an Allard Belin, son of Jean and Esther Boudinot Belin, who died before 1712, and his nephew, Allard Belin, a London merchant in 1712. Mentioned in the will of Madeleine Chardon's son Peter Pasquereau (Moore and Simmons, *op. cit.*, p. 70), is an Alard Belin, a London merchant in 1721. A Pierre Belin married, on Apr. 26, 1691, in the French Church of New York, Suzanne d'Harriette, believed to be a sister of Benjamin d'Harriette, a prominent Charleston merchant who died in 1756.

The only established line of descent in S. C. is that of Jacques Belin, who, before 1690, married Mary Lynch, daughter of Jonah Lynch and sister of Johnson and Thomas Lynch (See John Stewart's letter to William Dunlop for Lord Cardross, *S. C. Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 32, p. 91, footnote); who settled, before 1704, east of the Cooper River, near Thomas Lynch, Daniel Brahan, James Scheult, and Francis Paget (See Salley, *op. cit.*); and who left two or three children: James (who married Sarah, a daughter of Humphrey Torquet), Deborah (who became the first wife of John Alton, Jr.), and possibly a daughter, Julian, whose line has not been traced. Genealogical confusion has arisen from the marriage of the widow Sarah Torquet Belin to the widower John Alton, Jr., in 1748, a late marriage from which there was no issue. The relationship of Allard, Pierre, and Jacques to each other and to Jean Belin, of Rotterdam, was close but is not yet understood. The French name, Belin, may appear in Carolina records as Belain, Blaine, Blein, Bellin, or Belling, (not Billing); but the closest to the early Carolina pronunciation is surely that used when Mary Lynch Belin Darforth dictated her gift: "Bailin." See also Mary McClure Butt, "Belin Genealogy," *HSSC Transactions*, No. 67, pp. 61-64.

<sup>295</sup> Pierre, son of Charles and Sara Bouhier Buretel, of La Rochelle, his wife Elizabeth Chintrier, and daughter Elizabeth are said to have fled first to Holland (Baird, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 297). Records in La Rochelle show their loss of several infants, including those christened "Pierre," between 1675 and 1684, the last one buried July 4, 1684. Naturalized Apr. 15, 1687, he was an established Broad Street merchant in the early 1690's, an Elder in the Huguenot Church by 1693, and he died in 1702; but his widow, the *grande dame* "Mme. Buretel," (from her home on the east side of Church Street, between Gov. West's corner at Broad and Noë Boyer's corner at Chalmers), continued until her death, about 1727, to lend money to her needy countrymen (duly recording these transactions as she had been taught it was proper to do). Their only child Elizabeth, baptized Apr. 30, 1673, married, about 1688, Alexandre Théau Chastaigner, whom she may have known as a child in La Rochelle, both of whom died by 1708, leaving at least three children under 21: Alexandre, who married Suzanne Elizabeth, daughter of Henri Le Noble and granddaughter of Jacques Le Serrurier, J. Magdalen-Elizabeth, who married, first, Madeleine Chardon's son Louis Pasquereau, II, and, second, in 1712, Ralph Inard, II; and Charlotte Henriette, born after 1696, who married Nathaniel, son of Gov. Thomas Broughton and grandson of Sir Nathaniel Johnson.

<sup>296</sup> Anthoine Bourreau, gunsmith, of Louisan, Poitou, son of Jean and Marguerite Gourlain Bourreau, was in London in 1651 when assistance was given to his mother, a widow of 79 years, on Aug. 22, 1682, money was advanced "to bury the widow of Jean Bourreau," and Anthoine, then 40, was left with a 13-year-old niece, Marguerite, to care for, on Mar. 11, 1685, Anthoine and Jeanne Berard Bourreau had their son, Isaac, baptized, with godparents Isaac Bertrand and Madeleine Collin, wife of Louis David, (*Huguenot Society of London, Publications*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 39, 43, 44, and Vol. XIII, p. 275).

On Oct. 29, 1686, he and Jeanne, son Isaac, daughter Jeanne, and Louis Naudin, a "servant" under sixteen, arrived in Charleston. On Dec. 2, 1687, with Jacques Boyd and Jean-François de Gignilliat, he witnessed the will of François Macuire, a brother of Imbert and Jacques Macuire, who said he was "bedridden in the house of Mr. Alexander Pepin" and that he wanted to be buried in the Churchyard of the Reformed French Church of this city — certainly one of the earliest burials in the Churchyard on King Street (*SCHS Mag.*, Vol. 5, p. 225). In 1690, he was a witness to the marriage contract of Judith Dugué and the Squire Samuel du Bourdieu, suggesting that he was already an Elder in the Huguenot Church Congregation. On Nov. 25, 1692, Anthoine Bourreau finally got his "arrival rights" of 220 acres for two adults and three under sixteen, probably on the Ashley River



Broad (Salley, *op. cit.*, pp. 434, 445, 540, 568, 572). During 1692, we find him an Elder of the Huguenot Church Congregation (his difficult signature appears in the records as Bourau, Bouran, Courau, Cooran).

On Mar. 17, 1693/4 he bought, from the Lords, lots earlier granted to Peter Underwood, Numbers 103 and 104, on the extension of Broad Street just beyond the gates of the city at what is now the southeast corner of Broad and King, both bounding south on the French Churchyard (just where colonists turning up the Broad Path to their homes in "unsettled" areas would remember to buy an extra gun, but he soon sold). He continued to expand his holdings: on Jan. 15, 1696/7, he got "all the land not already laid out between the lot of Bernard Schencking and the lot of Mr. Searles"; and in 1696 and 1697 he got 100 acres and 200 acres which he sold as 316 acres to Stephen Fox, adjoining John Cattell, Stephen Elliott, and Mr. Fox (possibly now part of Magnolia Gardens). On Sept. 18, 1697, he registered the mark for his own cattle and swine and for those he had bought from the widow Horry. On Nov. 28, 1696, he and Peter Guenard (probably Girard), both called merchants, put up the bond for James Le Bas to administer the estate of John Lemoyne. Earlier, in 1694 and 1695, he sold part of Lot 103 to Isaac Caillaboeul, merchant, and part to Louis Thibou, vintner; before 1719, Bartholomew Garnet had acquired both lots from Bourau and others, which his widow, Elizabeth, gave to Thomas Heyward, feltmaker. By 1712, the widow Jeanne Bourau was living on the east side of Pooshie Swamp, St. John's Parish, on land adjoining Samuel du Bourbieu, possibly because her daughter Jeanne had married and settled there (S.C.H.S. Mag., Vol. 11, pp. 124, 128, Vol. 13, p. 227, and Early Land Records). Who are the descendants of the worthy Huguenot émigré Anthoine Bourau?

<sup>207</sup> The Rev. Étienne Du Soul was possibly a native of Tours (as was Jean, son of Mathieu Du Soul and Marguerite Thibaudeau). Either he or his son was in Charleston on Dec. 9, 1686, when a warrant was issued to "John Frances of Gignillarke and Stephen Duso (Dusom, Dessout, Dusoul), for Lots 92 and 93 "for the building of a church for French Protestants," bounding south on John Brown, north on lots of Peter Underwood, east on Mr. Dearsley, and west on a little street from the Ashley River (King Street), between the lots of John Stephens and Mrs. Marye Bennon, certified by Stephen Bull. Both Gignilliat and Du Soul are described as merchants (Records of the Register of the Province, Book E (1705-1709), p. 213-215. By the time this deed was recorded, those representing the Huguenot Church Congregation were Henri Le Noble and Peter Buretel. This is the earliest site of church and graveyard, but was abandoned in the 1690's for a site within the walls of the city, nearer the Cooper River docks, on what is now Church Street.

<sup>208</sup> Descendants of Jacques de Bourdeaux, 1630-1699, are often confused with those of Samuel du Bourdieu (whose three children were Philip, Samuel, and Judith), both important and quite different émigrés. When made a denizen, Apr. 15, 1687, Jacques, son of Evrimond de Bourdeaux and Catherine Fresné of Grenoble, had a wife Maglalen and four daughters; but he was already in Carolina, having bought, on Jan. 28, 1686/7, from Governor West, the eastern half of Town Lot No. 28, adjoining Jonas Bambeste on the west and Madame Buretel on the north, on the north side of Broad (almost from the C. & S. Bank to the Peoples' Building). By 1690, he had acquired Lots 160, 161, 171, 172 and 173 outside the wall, but this is the entire west side of King Street, between Broad and Queen Streets with extensive "frontage" on three streets. In 1697 and 1698, he acquired 500 acres in two adjoining tracts and other property on Lynches and Wuboo Creeks, adjoining property of the Videaus, the Poitevins, and the Church of St. Denis, and may have taken his family there for the summers, as two of his daughters married Orange Quarter neighbors, Daniel Brabant and Antoine Poitevin, II. It is obvious that Jacques de Bourdeaux was not an "ordinary blacksmith," having arrived with assets and having quickly made a fortune in "city" real estate.

In 1696, "The Lists" shows his daughter Judith-Jane missing, but adds three sons, Anthoine, Jacques, and Israel, all born in Carolina. On Sept. 19, 1699, Jacques wrote his will (now missing) naming Jean-François Gignilliat and Peter La Salle as his executors, but, as both had died before his will was proved, on Dec. 20, 1699, his son-in-law Antoine Poitevin, II, was named administrator, his sons apparently minors. Maglalen de Bourdeaux died soon after her husband. At the property division, Feb. 24, 1708/9, when all children were of age, there were only four survivors, three daughters and one son: Maglalen, wife of Daniel Brabant, got the Lynches Creek and Wuboo property and sold it, in 1718, to Francis Paget; Anthoine got the eastern half of Lot 28 on Broad Street and he (and Marianne, perhaps Marianne Trozevant) sold it in 1709 and 1711 to Timothy Bellamy (who left it, in 1725, and the dwelling houses thereon, to his wife and daughter); perhaps Marguerite and Judith got the King Street property or accepted cash. There are many descendants



of Marguerite by André Deveaux, I, and of Magdalen by Daniel Brabant, and of Judith (believed to have married Pierre Robert), as well as of Anthoine (died 1725) and his wife Marianne (died 1767 at age 79) who seem to have settled east of the Cooper River, perhaps on Daniel's Island, and left sons Anthony, James, Daniel, and Israel who called themselves "Bourdeaus." I have found no connection between the de Bourdeaus family, or that of the Mazycks, with the early Charleston merchant James Mazycke Du Poids d'Or, will dated and proved 1725, whose widow Mary-Magdalen, on Jan. 22, 1729, sold Lot 42, the northwest corner of Broad and Church Streets, to John Bee, and who may have married, on Oct. 17, 1731, Louis Mouzon, Jr., who, by 1734, was married to Hélène Gaillard, the only daughter of Bartholomew. (See Langley, *op. cit.*, p. 142; Alfred O. Halsey, *Map of the Grand Model*, 1949; Moore and Simmons, *op. cit.*, pp. 95, 96; Salley, *op. cit.*; Register of the Province, Book F, 1707-1711, and Book G, 1709-1712; St. Philip's Parish Register; *S.C.H.S. Mag.*, Vol. X, p. 242; and *HSSC Transactions*, No. 68, p. 38.)

<sup>109</sup> David, merchant of Havre, son of Nicolas Godin and Judith Dufour, married, on Sept. 29, 1667, Françoise, daughter of Benjamin Bezuelin and Marie Lecoutteus ("Notes" of Virginia Fripp Shaffer, *HSSC Transactions*, No. 90, p. 80); their son, Benjamin, who married Marianne Mazyck, was an important Charleston merchant in the early 1700's and a partner of Madeleine Chardon's eldest son, Louis Pasquereau, II.

<sup>111</sup> Alexander Pepin wrote his will in 1687 (not long after François Macaire had died in his home) and died in 1688, leaving a widow Madelaine Garillon, daughter of Israel Garillon and Suzanne Saunier, a son Paul and a daughter Madelaine. By 1696, his widow may have married their neighbor Pierre Le Chevallier, however, by 1702, Pierre had a wife Catherine, and, by 1712, a widow Catherine, who may have married her husband's good friend, the widower Étienne Taurvon — if so, it was an unhappy marriage, with Catherine's getting separate maintenance in 1726 and being buried in the French Churchyard in 1727, whereas Étienne Taurvon, in 1729, requested to be buried under an apple tree in his own garden at the rear of his extensive property on the north side of Broad Street near the market, leaving his property to his La Roche and Sicart grandchildren. (And Étienne Taurvon may be resting there still, within sound of Market Square, now Washington Park, under the flakes of broken tombstone beside the *roue Louis Philippe* in the dogwood-lined driveway of the old Confederate Home. Rest In Peace.)

By 1696, Alexander Pepin's daughter had four children by Jean Postell. Paul Pepin, a blacksmith, inherited one-fourth of Lot 26 (southeast corner of Church and Broad) from his father and, on Aug. 24, 1693, bought part of another lot; not yet married in 1696, he had died, intestate, by Dec. 18, 1699, when his wife Marianne, possibly a daughter of Humphrey Torquet, was appointed to administer his estate. By Jan. 26, 1703/4, Marianne seems to have married Peter Mailhet, when he was appointed an administrator of Humphrey Torquet's estate, and, on Oct. 26, 1706, Marianne and Peter Mailhet and Paul Torquet were made guardians of Judith-Marianne Pepin, an heir to her father's property. Did Judith Pepin die before Dec. 8, 1712, when part of Lot 26 had passed by inheritance to Jean Postell (as heir of his first wife Madeleine Pepin) and he and Mary Ester Postell sold it to Charles Franchomme, premises occupied at that time by Michael Durosmeaux and Abraham DuPont, both relations of the Faucherauds? I believe all descendants of Alexander Pepin are through the Postell lines. (*S.C.H.S. Mag.*, Vol. X, p. 242 and Vol. XII, p. 151; *HSSC Transactions*, No. 68, pp. 27-37; Langley, *op. cit.*, p. 161; Misc. Records of Chas. Co., Vol. 52, pp. 53, 89, 90; Records of the Register of the Province, Book F, No. 5, 1707-1711.)

NOTE: See Chardon Genealogical Chart in back of book.

## LAURE LICHÈRE

My name is Laure Lichère and I come from Anduze, a town in the department of Gard, province of Languedoc (southern France).

In France I am a student at the Université Paul Valéry of Montpellier; there I major in English. But I have spent this year (1985-1986) at Davidson College, North Carolina, as an international student on scholarship.

Part of my activities in the United States has been to do research on the Huguenots in the Carolinas, at the time of their settlements, and on their descendants. This research has been done for the purpose of writing a thesis required to obtain my fourth year degree at university (Maîtrise).

I myself come from a Huguenot family, whose members apparently remained in France, although we found in the *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* a Nicholas Lichère, buried in the County of Surrey, Great Britain.

There is in my family country house, which has been in my family for seven centuries, in the small hamlet called Aspères, about five miles from Anduze, a secret place hidden in the wall, where my ancestors used to hide their Bible so that the Dragoons of the King would not be able to discover they secretly remained Protestants.

My little brother and I have been baptized and have had our Communion in the Protestant (Huguenot) Church of Anduze. My big brother remains an atheist, according to the principles of his progressive and scientific spirit. My grandparents, both Protestants though they do not go to church (which is common in France), would like their grandsons and granddaughter to marry Protestants, since Protestants are a dying species in France, and it has been proven that Protestants, when they marry Catholics, have Catholic children!

My parents are both doctors. My big brother is studying in a school at Brest, paid by the army, to become an engineer. My little brother is still in high school. My mother's name is Mireille Lichère (formerly Charlin), born in 1936; my father's name is Jacques Lichère, born in 1934 in Anduze in the house he still lives in. My eldest brother's name is Jean Lichère, born in 1964 in Montpellier; and my little brother, François Lichère, was born in Alès in 1969. I was born in Montpellier (Hérault) in 1965. André Gide, a Protestant writer of prominence was my ancestor.

Here is the story of the French girl who came to Charleston to research about the Huguenots in South Carolina. Thanks to Mrs. Martha Burns who helped me a lot, and to Reverend Philip Bryant of the French Protestant Church of Charleston.

Laure Lichère

## "BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE MANIGAULT FAMILY"

CHOVINE RICHARDSON CLARK and DOROTHY ERVIN BRUCE  
Manning, South Carolina

Part I: Charlotte Drayton Manigault Benbow, a vignette.

Part II: The 1866 Manigault manuscript.

### PART I

CHARLOTTE DRAYTON MANIGAULT BENBOW

(A vignette)

CHOVINE RICHARDSON CLARK

Much of the information which follows was taken from a twelve-page manuscript titled "A Brief Account of the Manigault Family." The original manuscript, from which pages six and nine are unaccountably missing, is in the possession of Mrs. Dorothy Ervin Bruce, a Manigault descendant who lives in Manning, South Carolina. Mrs. Bruce is a member of our Huguenot Society and her late mother was a daughter of Charlotte Drayton Manigault Benbow. Charlotte was a daughter of Henry Middleton Manigault and his wife Susan Middleton Lining, of Charleston, South Carolina; she was born January 5, 1840, and died March 16, 1906.

Charlotte Manigault married William Washington Benbow, a widower, of Clarendon County, South Carolina, after the death on November 29, 1863, of his first wife, Rebecca A. Hilton. William and Rebecca had three children, not otherwise concerned in this vignette of Charlotte. William and Charlotte had thirteen children. After these, mostly daughters, grew up and had families of their own, William Washington, generally known as "Wash" Benbow, and wife Charlotte would make extended visits from time to time with the families of their daughters living in the community. Mrs. Bruce's mother, Lillian Benbow Ervin (1879-1941), was one of the daughters. That is how the manuscript is thought to have wound up and has remained in the Ervin family these past eighty years.

It was thought by some of her descendants that Charlotte herself prepared the manuscript but there is no proof of this or good reason to conclude that she did. Obviously, the document was prepared by some knowledgeable member of the Manigault family or someone who had access to the family records as the date and hour of births and deaths are shown. The manuscript itself contains no clue to the identity of its author or date of preparation except to have in one sentence, having reference to the ownership of a family church pew, the words "at the present time (1866)." And the manuscript ends so abruptly there is no way to tell whether originally it consisted of more than twelve pages. It does end with a picturesque little diagram or sketch showing the geographical location of



the Tidyman and Thomas Horrÿ residences, and the Pierre Manigault lands as of about the year 1692. In the period of time covered by the manuscript Charlotte's name and marriage are not mentioned.

William Washington Benbow, Charlotte's husband, was my great-uncle and I share pride in Charlotte Manigault's contribution to the history and well-being of Clarendon County by marrying one of its citizens, and coming here to make her permanent home. Many of the County's prominent citizens are among her descendants. And it has been for me, serving as I do on the Membership Committee of the Huguenot Society, a distinct pleasure and satisfaction to have personally assisted twenty-nine of Charlotte Benbow's descendants with their successful applications for membership in the Society.

First buried in the Benbow plantation family cemetery at wood's edge near Summerton, South Carolina, the site was in time reclaimed by forest and swamp because in the hard years following the Civil War families were not able to take care of some of these burying grounds on land which had passed out of the family's ownership. One of the descendant families of Wash and Charlotte some years ago had their parents' remains moved to a town cemetery lot in Summerton with a splendid gravestone. At that time all that could be found to identify the original burial site and the remains of Charlotte were the brass handles from her casket and her tortoise-shell hair comb.

## PART II

To the Editor of Transactions, July 18, 1986, from (Mrs.) Dorothy Ervin Bruce, Manning, South Carolina.

I have in my possession as custodian of family papers a hand-written, unsigned document consisting of ten pages titled "A Brief Account of the Manigault Family." This document was in the personal papers of my late mother, Lilian Benbow Ervin, a daughter of Charlotte Manigault Benbow. I hereby give permission for the Society to use this document in any way it wishes.

Manuscript in the possession of Mrs. Dorothy Ervin Bruce, Manning, South Carolina:

### Brief Account of the Manigault Family

Gabriel Manigault was a Country Gentleman of Aunis in the neighborhood of Rochelle in France, who possessed Lands in or near the Parishes of La Jarrie, Montroy, and Saint Medard.

Pierre and Gabriel Manigault were his sons.

Pierre Manigault was born about the year 1664. Gabriel was two years younger. They being Protestants, left their Father who was a Catholic (it is thought without his knowledge) and abandoned their Country on account of the

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Pierre was then about 21 years of age. They went to England where what money they had was soon spent and they were induced to embark from England to America, and arrived in Charleston, So. Ca. Not having been educated to any business, they were reduced to great difficulties, and were obliged to apply themselves to different Trades.

They first settled at French Santee, near a Creek which to this day is called Manigault Creek, but they afterward returned to Charleston, where Pierre kept a lodging house, worked as a Cooper, and sold large quantities of wine, it being at that time the custom for families to purchase their wine (which was Madeira) not in bottles, but by the Gallon, out of the Cask.

In Charleston, Gabriel was killed by a fall from the top of a house. He had taken to the business of a Carpenter, which accounts for the accident. The death of Gabriel Manigault, the Huguenot, occurred between the years 1701 and 1704.

Pierre Manigault married about the year 1699 the Widow Judith Boyer. Her maiden name was Judith Gitton, and she came to Carolina in 1685. (The receipt of her Passage Money from Bermuda to Carolina, being dated in Charleston 27th April 1685.) Vide Judith Manigault's Letter. Her brothers Peter and Louis Gitton & Mother were also of the party. Her first husband's name was Noé Royer, whom she married in Charleston. Judith Manigault died in 1711, aged 46 years, leaving two children, viz: Judith born 8th January 1701, and Gabriel born on 21st April 1704.

After Judith Manigault's death, Pierre Manigault married in 1713 Anne Reason, who died in 1726, aged about 40 years. Pierre Manigault died himself on the 8th December 1729, aged 65 years.

Judith Manigault (the daughter of Pierre & Judith Manigault) married in 1717 James Banbury, of Bedford in England, who was Captain of a Vessel. He died in 1732 and left by her, six children, viz: Mary, Elizabeth, William, Peter, Gabriel, & James. (Notice the Graves of Elizabeth & Gabriel Banbury, South side of St. Philip's Church, 2 or 3 feet from the structure.)

Judith Manigault was afterward married a second time to Thomas Witter (or Whitter) a Planter of James Island who died before her. She died September 5th, 1778.

Gabriel Manigault was educated a Merchant, and passed the whole of his life in Charleston (the place of his Nativity) except a short time, which he devoted to a voyage to the West Indies, when he was about 21 years of age, as Super-Cargo to a Vessel. Gabriel Manigault married 29th April 1730, Anne Ashby (daughter of John Ashby) who was born 10th November 1705. He died at 10:30 a.m. on 5th June 1781, aged 77 years and 1 mo. and his wife died 24th April 1782, nearly of the same age.

They had but one child, viz: Peter Manigault, born in Charleston, at 8 p.m. Sunday October 10th 1731 — who was educated to the Law. He married on 8th June 1755, Elizabeth Wragg, (daughter of Joseph Wragg, an eminent Merchant

of Charleston. N. B. Notice the name of Joseph, now introduced and hereafter in the family from Elizabeth Wragg's Father.) She died at 4:15 p.m. Friday 19th February 1773, aged 36 years & 6 months. He died himself in England (whither he went for the benefit of his declining health) during the lives of his Parents, 12th November 1773.

He had by his wife, Seven children, all born in Charleston, three of whom, namely, Judith, Peter & Elizabeth, died very young, and he left at his death four, viz: Gabril [sic] born 17 March 1758, married 1st May 1785, Margaret Izard (daughter of Ralph and Alice Izard, of the family of Delancy of New York). He died in Philadelphia from the effect of a Paralytic Stroke, 4th November 1809.

Anne born 9th October 1762 married at the age of 20 to Thomas Middleton, Esqr. of Charleston.

Joseph born at 7:10 p.m. 19th October 1763, [married] at Middleton Place, Ashley River, Maria Henrietta Middleton, the eldest Daughter of Arthur Middleton, Esqr. She died (from the effects of a second miscarriage) 14th January 1791, at 9 a.m. at the early age of 18 years and near six months. He married a second time the 27th May 1800 Charlotte Drayton at Drayton Hall & by her left many children. He died 5th of June 1843. Henrietta, born 21st April 1769, married Nathaniel Heyward Esqr who became a wealthy Planter of Carolina.

Page 6 missing

Page 7 is taken up with the continuation of a letter apparently copied from an original letter received by Peter Manigault, date missing but obviously after December 1754 when Peter had returned from London to Charleston, from a friend, Robert Jaussen (or Janssen), of London. In this letter, continued to page 8, his friend informs Peter that Lady Lambert desires to be remembered to him. "Young Lambert is married to a French Réfugée à Genève, with about 30 thousand pounds fortune," and had left Sir John Lambert's household to set up for himself. At the bottom of page 7 is a notation that "Sir John Lambert was a Banker in Paris, and Peter Manigault had a Letter of Credit upon him during his visit there in 1753, and became well acquainted with his family."

The lower part of page 8 begins a copy of a "Grant of Pew 20, St. Philip's Church Charles Town to Peter Manigault, 17 August 1724." Page 9 is missing. Page 10 completes the deed of grant of Pew Number 20 and contains a list copied of the (1724) signatures of

Alexander Parris  
W. Blakeway  
Hepworth

F. fr. Nicholson  
A. Gardin  
William Gibbon  
Alexander Parris



Jos. Wragg  
 Elisha Prioleau  
 I (or J.) Hutchinson  
 Wm. Gibbon

Returning to the manuscript: "Said Pew No. 20 Granted to Mr. Peter Manigault in 1724, has been retained in the Manigault family, up to the present time (1866) altho' upon the rebuilding of the present Church (the original building being destroyed by fire in 1835) the number of the Pews in many instances were changed.

From Peter Manigault said Pew passed to his son Gabriel Manigault (the Merchant) who upon his death in 1781 left it by Will to his Grand Son Joseph. In 1866 this Pew belongs to Gabriel and Edward Manigault who purchased it at the division of the Estate of their Father, Joseph Manigault. The other Pew in St. Philip's Church, in 1866, occupied by Charles Manigault was granted to Robert Johnson 5th August 1724 (as Pew No. 3 in the middle Aisle) but now No. 27 and purchased by Gabriel Manigault (Merchant) 12 March 1763. By Will this Pew was left to Gabriel Manigault, the Father of Charles Manigault. Thus one Pew has been 39 years longer in the family than the other. The Original Grant of the Manigault Pew was retained in the Family until 1861 when in December of that year it perished in the ever memorable Conflagration which placed in ruins, so vast a portion of the City of Charleston.

When did the Manigaults reach Carolina?

The two Brothers Pierre Manigault and Gabriel Manigault were in London on the 24th February 1685. This we know from a letter of Introduction presented to them by two Priests of the Roman Catholic Church in London. Said letter was in French and bore the above date, the names of the Priests being Marke Maubery and Jean Dague. The letter introduced them to the Catholics in Carolina, but was never presented. I have preserved no true Copy of the Letter, but perused it carefully in 1854. Since then it no longer exists. The letter itself was of no interest only as proving that the two Manigaults were in London at this exact period, and again it was the only record we possessed, bearing reference to them whilst yet treading European Soil, and prior to their Embarkation for Carolina.

How long the Manigaults remained in England after that, we know not. Gabril [sic] Manigault (Grand Son of Gabriel Manigault the Merchant) to whom we are indebted for nearly our entire family Statistics, informs us that his Great-Grand Father (Pierre Manigault the Huguenot) came to this Country about A.D. 1692. This he notes with his usual care in 1792 informing us also that Mr. Thomas Horry tells him he possesses the spot of Land on Santee River which was settled and inhabited by Pierre Manigault, it is represented thus: {here follows a sketch or plat dated 1692 presumably drawn or copied by the writer of the manuscript showing land of Pierre Manigault on the South Santee River side, adjoining Tidyman lands and lands of Thomas Horry. It would appear that

Tidyman and Horry had established residences on their lands. This is assumed from the presence of miniature houses with smoke blowing from chimneys, marked Tidyman and Thomas Horry on the sketch.]

BEFORE AND AFTER 1685: EARLY LIFE AND LETTERS OF  
FRENCH HUGUENOTS OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

MARILYN V. SCHULER\*

The French Huguenot endowment to the thriving life of present day Charleston, South Carolina, is a diffuse but significant one. It is diffuse in its cultural presence, but unified in the French Huguenot Church on Church Street, which appears, at first glance, to be the unique visible remnant of a sizeable seventeenth-century immigration to this coastal city.

The church is open regularly on weekdays at times designated on a placard affixed to the door. Virtually every tourist to downtown Charleston comes by the church. All walking and carriage tours include the church on their routes. Even independent strollers inevitably pass the church and its cemetery, located in close proximity to historic Dock Street Theatre, which faces it across Church Street. Normally they stop long enough to read the impressive dates on door plaques and tombstones. Occasionally one sees tourists or students making rubbings of some element of historical or esthetic importance, or photographing an angle of the Gothic structure. As they have in the past, historians spend lengthy periods of time studying extant church records, writing accounts which then appear in scholarly journals or books. There is almost no study of the original colonies of the United States that does not include a reference to the French Huguenot Church of Charleston, South Carolina.

Thus, the church is an entity in focus and important to Charleston's attractiveness to tourists in general as well as to scholars and other specialists. For many, it epitomizes the indefinable charm that haunts "the Holy City."

But the French presence in South Carolina, though not continuous, has a history of more than 400 years. Still Catholic or already secretly converted, Coligny as early as 1555 conceived the idea of securing religious toleration for the Huguenots in France by establishing them in colonies in the New World. Following Coligny's plan, settlement in North America was made by Huguenots under Jean Ribaut at Port Royal (modern Parris Island), South Carolina, in 1562. Though Port Royal is found on today's maps, that settlement failed, and the few survivors returned to France. A second expedition, sent out from France in 1564, landed at some distance from the place where the former colony had settled. It is variously attributed to Captain René de Laudonnière, a Protestant from Poitou under whom this expedition was made and who recorded the name, or to Jean Ribaut during his first visit, that the designation "Carolus" (in honor of Charles IX) was bestowed on the region. This second

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effort came to an end in October 1565, when, with only a few escaping, the French colonists and defenders under their erstwhile rescuer Jean Ribaut were slaughtered by the Spaniards.<sup>1</sup>

No further settlements in Carolina were sponsored by the French crown. The important French Huguenot immigration of the last third of the seventeenth century was carried out under the aegis of the English, whose aims in settling the region were commercial. Huguenots, perceived by the English as excellent prospects for their colonization efforts, came to Charleston in three different groups during this period: among the immigrants who came to the temporary site of Albemarle Point (S. C.) in 1670 with the first English Governor, William Sayle; aboard the H.M.S. *Richmond* in 1680, the date of the settlement of the present site of Charleston; in much larger numbers in 1685-6, when French Protestants flocked to Carolina following the Revocation.<sup>2</sup>

It is believed that no complete list of the approximately 500 French immigrants of the seventeenth century has ever been published.<sup>3</sup> There is,

<sup>1</sup> For the history of French Protestantism, consult Janine Garrison, *L'Édit de Nantes et sa révocation. Histoire d'une intolérance* (Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1985). On the origins and development of early South Carolina, see M. Eugene Sizemore, *Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663-1763* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1966), 3-100, and George C. Rogers, Jr., *A South Carolina Chronology 1497-1970* (Columbia, S. C.: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1973). According to Rogers (4), Jean Ribaut gave the region the name "Carolis" in 1562. Stephen B. Wise, "Charlesfort Revisited," in *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, 90 (1985), 52-53, relates continuing efforts to excavate the site of Ribaut's outpost on Parris Island and thus to trace more accurately the history of the area, artifacts of which are on display at the Parris Island Museum. A. H. Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina* (Durham, N. C.: Duke Univ. Press, 1925) is the first scholarly local study of Huguenots. A recent work which concentrates on the refugees of the 1680s (the bulk of the Huguenot emigration to America and to South Carolina) is Jen Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1983). See especially "South Carolina: Refugees in Slavery's Elysium," 91-143. A Huguenot iconography collected by the Museum of London for its 1985 commemorative exhibit is available in the museum catalogue compiled by Tema Murdoch, *The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots 1685-1985* (London: A. H. Jolly, Ltd., 1985).

<sup>2</sup> Sylvester Primer, "The Huguenot Element in Charleston's Pronunciation," in *PMLA*, IV, 2 (1888-1890), 215.

<sup>3</sup> Efforts to reconstruct lists of the Huguenot immigrants are recounted by Martha Bailey Burns, "The *Richmond*," in *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, 85 (1980), 43-50. She reports that a fairly complete list can be gleaned by combining information from several sources: the British Public Record Office, which yields the names of French families who had signified in 1670 their intention of sailing on the *Richmond* as part of the Petit-Guérard Colony; those 63 persons whose names are on the Act of Naturalization of 1696; the "St. Julien List" consisting of "French and Swiss Refugees who wished to be naturalized," prepared at about the same time, which were preserved among the papers of the St. Julien family; and information taken from land warrants of the period which contain French names not on the other lists. According to a letter of Peter Girard written from "Charlestowne in South Carolina the 14th of March 1696/9," French Protestant refugees at that time numbered:

The French Church of Charleston, 195  
 The French Church of Goose Creek, 31  
 The French Protestants of the Eastern Branch of Cooper River, 101  
 The French Church of Santee River, 111  
 Total of the French Protestant to this day in Carolina is 438" (49).

however, a precise account to be found of the circumstances met by these pioneers to the swampy wilds of coastal Carolina in a letter of Judith Giton, who recounts her family's determination to escape religious persecution in France and their secret departure from the Dauphiné. Her older brother's single-minded desire to settle in Carolina — he was influenced no doubt by the persuasive brochures circulated among the French by the English Lords Proprietors — led to a perilous journey to Holland and finally to England. After a three-month wait and very much against her will, Judith Giton set sail from London for Carolina in 1685:

Etant embarqués nous fûmes bien mal; la fièvre pourpreuse se mit dans notre vaisseau, dont il en mourût beaucoup; notre défunte mère en mourût, étant âgée. Nous fûmes neuf mois avant d'arriver en Caroline, nous fûmes à deux ports, un portugais, et une isle appelée Bermoude, appartenant à l'Angleterre pour racommoder notre vaisseau, à cause d'une grande tempête où nous fûmes bien mal traités.<sup>4</sup>

Having endured the loss of all their money occasioned by the imprisonment of the scoundrelly sea-captain and the seizure of their ship, the group with great difficulty procured passage on another vessel and resumed their journey:

Après notre arrivée en Caroline nous avons souffert toutes sortes de maux, notre frère aîné mourût un an et demi après notre arrivée ici d'une fièvre, n'étant pas accoutumé au rude travail où nous étions exposés. Nous sommes vus depuis notre sortie de France en toute sorte d'affliction, en maladie, peste, famine, pauvreté, travailler bien rudement. J'ai bien été dans ce pais six mois sans avoir goûté de pain, et que je travaillois à la terre comme une esclave, et même j'ai bien passé trois ou quatre années avant d'en avoir quand je voulus.

Judith Giton concludes her letter with an invocation which characterizes the mentality of the Huguenot refugees who fled to Charleston:

Dieu nous a fait une belle grace d'avoir pu résister à toutes sortes d'épreuves. Je crois que si je voulois vous faire un détail de toutes nos aventures je n'aurois jamais fait. Il suffit que Dieu a eu pitié de moi, et a changé mon sort à un plus heureux, gloire lui en soit rendue.

This graciously expressed bit of correspondence depicts pioneer life in Carolina for those French Huguenots who, in exchange for passage and land grants, committed themselves to the manufacture of "Silke, wine and oyle" for the British crown. Large fortunes were indeed to be made, but more especially in

<sup>4</sup> Judith Giton Manigault's letter appears in Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, II, 396-97. The present text retains orthographic inconsistencies of Baird's published version.

indigo and rice, the cultivation of which was closely tied to the development of slavery before the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>5</sup> Judith Giton as widow of Noël Boyer, later married Pierre Manigault. Their successors would emerge as extraordinarily influential planters and politicians whose phenomenal wealth placed them in the ranks of the richest eighteenth-century American colonists.<sup>6</sup>

There are few other documents in French to complement Judith Giton's letter. These are wills, contracts, and entries in family Bibles almost exclusively. (The Crottet Manuscripts, a valuable seventeenth-century collection now in the possession of the Charleston Library Society, consist of parish records of Protestant churches of Pons and other French towns.) Everything contributed to the demise of the French language in Charleston and its fate was sealed by the end of the seventeenth century. The Huguenots had been the recipients of generous land grants equal to those given to the English settlers. Their sense of gratitude, which would influence them to become faithful subjects in every respect, was seconded by the knowledge that, possessing only the rights of denization, persons of French birth could not insure the bequeathing of land to their heirs without becoming naturalized citizens, nor could they reasonably expect to vote, hold office, and take their places among the English gentry of comparable wealth.

The recollection of their bitter persecution and their complete isolation from France lessened still further any desire to retain and foster use of the French language. There is no written account of their literature or schools, and tradition contributes nothing to support the belief that there were any French schools (with the exception of private French boarding and day schools for the upper classes). Huguenots brought few books with them and produced nothing of a literary nature after their arrival.

Although Charleston very rapidly attained a "standard of scholarship higher than any other city on the continent," this reputation was made on the basis of numbers of young men sent to England to read law and, to a much lesser degree, literature.<sup>7</sup> The early instruction of children of the landed gentry was usually accomplished by tutors in the home. (Free schools established early by several legacies were designed to provide education to children of the poorer

<sup>5</sup> Butler, 120-26. Based on his examination of inventoried estates, Butler judges the French by 1750 to be as involved in all phases of Carolina plantation economy and local politics as the English colonists, and enthusiastic slave owners. From the seventeenth century Huguenots of both modest and opulent means invested in the slave trade as well as in the ownership of slaves. Huguenots were to be found also among those opposing slavery: Gerda Lerner, *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Rebels against Slavery* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967) describes the pioneering efforts of Angelina and Sarah Grimké, abolitionists from Charleston already active in the 1830s.

<sup>6</sup> Butler, 126. Gabriel, son of Judith Giton and Pierre Manigault, died in 1781 at the age of seventy-seven, one of the wealthiest men on the continent: he owned "400 slaves, much additional property including mansions, houses, and buildings, and 47,332 acres of land."

<sup>7</sup> Primer, 222, cites Hugh S. Legaré here, but provides also statistics (224-25) for 1750-1786 which establish that South Carolina sent a little more than 41% of all the American students reading law in London during that period.



class.) Instruction undertaken by the Church of England and the Presbyterian Church early in the eighteenth century was of course in English. "The continuity of French, broken with the first emigration, could never be resumed again."<sup>8</sup>

All histories of Charleston readily acknowledge the formative influence of the French presence upon the education and manners of the province of Carolina. A general knowledge of the Huguenot mentality would lead to the conclusion that the French were early on active in developing school systems, printing presses, libraries, charitable funds, and in influencing local architecture, horticulture, politics, art, and customs.<sup>9</sup> Each of these areas has, in fact, been the subject of extensive productive research which establishes contributions of each succeeding generation down to the present, notwithstanding the full assimilation of the Huguenots into English colonial Carolina society by 1750.<sup>10</sup>

But what of the influence of the Huguenot element upon the pronunciation of the distinctive English spoken in Charleston? A treatment to be found in the early annals of the *PMLA* argues that the French of the Huguenots, who constituted one quarter of the important cultured faction of colonial Charleston, did impact on the local pronunciation of English.<sup>11</sup> Primer, in 1885, proposed to isolate the Huguenot element in two ways: by comparison of the Huguenot proper names and their current pronunciation with their original pronunciation to detect the mutual influence of the Huguenot and English pronunciations upon each other; and by comparison of the vowel and consonant sounds of the French and English of the early period and an investigation of the historical development of the same to show the mutual influence upon the final pronunciation of Charleston.

To carry out this investigation, Primer uses a list of Huguenot names from around the year 1697, selecting those still in use in the 1880s. For each of approximately 60 family names, arranged alphabetically, he sets up two columns, one headed "approximate early French pronunciation" and the other "present pronunciation." Using Henry Sweet's revised Romic phonetic alphabet, a system of Roman vowels and consonants with diacritical markings, he approximates late seventeenth-century and late nineteenth-century pronunciation of each name; in a fourth column he notes "modifications." Based on this

<sup>8</sup> Primer, 225.

<sup>9</sup> Butler, 91-143 and *passim*. Of special interest for the French influence on architecture is Jane Gaston Mahler, "Our Huguenot Heritage: Homes, Houses of Worship and Public Buildings," in *Transactions of the South Carolina Huguenot Society*, 79, (1974), 1-43, valuable also as a genealogical, historical, and cultural study. On agriculture, see Hirsch, *Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 196-205.

<sup>10</sup> Butler, 92.

<sup>11</sup> Sylvester Primer, "The Huguenot Element in Charleston's Pronunciation," in *PMLA*, IV, 2 (1888-1889), 214.

comparative study, he concludes that "with few exceptions the proper names have retained their French forms" — one infers he is alluding to spelling — and are "to all intents and purposes French."<sup>12</sup> He lists 10 instances of change of tonic accent, nine of which are from the last syllable in the original French to the first in modern Charleston English: Bonnetheau, Collings, De Saussure, Girardeau, Marie, Mellichamp, Prioleau, Poyas, Simons, Trezevant. More significant to Primer are several "transformations": *Couturier* > [Kutrir]; *De Saussure* > [Desosur]; *Doussaint* > [Diu<sup>h</sup>sent], or [Daksent]; *Gourdin* > [Gurdain]; *Huger* > [Judzhi]; *Legare* > [Legri]; *Poyas* > [Paijos] (p. 229). The remainder of Primer's study, ostensibly based on late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century French wills and contracts preserved in the city's archives, is of a learned and theoretical nature necessarily limited to conjecture and to remarks on general historical trends in pronunciation, without empirical reference to the French texts cited.

While Primer had the advantage of conducting his study at a period only two hundred years removed from the arrival of the Huguenots in Charleston, he lacked the means of classifying and recording sounds available to linguists who investigate such questions today. His verifiable observations (e.g., "The proper name *Prioleau* is here commonly pronounced *Prelo*," p. 232) are in reference to proper names or are based on sounds which, he says, both the English and Huguenots brought with them. Primer acknowledges the highly conjectural nature of his study at several points, as when he states: "It is always a difficult question to attempt to trace the mutual influence which two languages may have exerted upon each other, as it is often uncertain just what the native development would have been without the aid of foreign influence" (p. 231). Primer's methodology is not adequate for a contemporary linguistic analysis, but it is interesting in terms of the proximity he had to the modified pronunciations.

And finally, how has the Huguenot religious heritage sustained itself since Judith Giton and her countrymen, seeking religious freedom, came to Charleston in the 17th century? The French Huguenot Church was founded by the French refugees who arrived in 1680 on the *Richmond*; only one other church (St. Philip's Episcopal) can claim as old a foundation in a city noted for its numerous historic houses of worship.<sup>13</sup> The first building to occupy the site was built in 1687. At the period, boats could be moored very near the church. Every Lord's Day, Huguenots living up Cooper River came down on the morning ebb tide, left their boats at the nearby docks, and worshipped most of the day with

<sup>12</sup> Primer, 229. I would like to thank Professor Jana Brill of the University of Louisville for her assistance in interpreting certain linguistic aspects of Primer's article.

<sup>13</sup> The history of the French Huguenot Church of Charleston is from Edward G. Lilly and Clifford L. Legerton, *Historic Churches of Charleston* (Charleston, S. C.: Legerton and Co., 1906), 28-29, and Marguerite Couturier Steelman, *The Huguenot Church of Charleston, South Carolina* (Charleston, S. C.: Nelson's Southern Printing, 1970).

their Charleston co-religionists. When, in 1692, the Council of the Province — in a move designed to inconvenience the Huguenots — ruled that all Charles Town churches must begin morning services at 9:00 A.M. and afternoon services at 2:00 P.M., the Huguenots appealed to the Lords Proprietors. Perhaps anxious not to offend their industrious and productive settlers, those worthies ruled that “for the convenience of such worshippers they begin their Divine worship earlier or later as the tide serves, in which we would not have them molested.”<sup>14</sup> The first two pastors, the Rev. Florent Philippe Trouillard and the Rev. Elias Prioleau, probably served together.

The first structure weathered the fire of 1740, but its earliest records of baptisms, marriages and burials were lost, probably in the home of some council member, during the conflagration. The destructive fire of 1796, which started nearby, raged unchecked for hours, finally necessitating the blowing up of the building and leading to the eventual dispersing of church members who worshipped, by invitation, at the Congregational (Circular) Church, the Presbyterian Church, and St. Michael and St. Philip's Episcopal churches. Since most of those descended from Huguenots no longer spoke French and bilingual ministers of Huguenot descent were virtually impossible to find, the church, though rebuilt in 1800, had no regular minister from 1796 to 1805 and from 1808 to 1815.

Older members still gathered for services in French, but without a sermon. If a discourse in French would scarcely have been understood by most of the congregation, preaching in English seemed unthinkable to those intent on following absolutely the ways and liturgy of their forebears. The few remaining worshippers dwindled. In 1828, the necessity of change was at length recognized, and a committee of three (Elias Horff, George W. Cross, Thomas S. Grimké) produced a translation based on the liturgy used in the Swiss Protestant churches of Neufchâtel and Vallandin in 1737 and 1772. The resulting new Huguenot Prayer Book in English was published in 1835.

The church, closed since 1823, was the last in the U. S. to follow the ancient liturgy. In 1844 the elders and governing body, composed of the descendants of the original members, determined to revive the church and to reassemble a congregation of French Protestant descendants. Using income from rental properties, they tore down the old church in 1844 and opened the present structure in May 1845. The architect, Edward Brickell White (1806-1882), designer of other edifices still standing in Charleston, was a pioneer in the revival of Gothic architecture in this country; the Huguenot Church was the first Charleston building to be constructed in this style, and one of the first in America. In a style different also from Charleston's typical church architecture, it features a groined ceiling with elaborate rosettes, exterior pinnacles and buttresses, lancet windows and interior wooden screens. Before the War Between the States, there were already ten mural tablets in place to commemorate

<sup>14</sup> Steedman, 3.



the early Huguenots and their pastors. At the fall of Charleston in 1865, the Henry Erben tracker organ narrowly escaped the hands of the Union soldiers and is today one of few such instruments in operation. Surviving church records and the Communion silver (gift of Gabriel Manigault), which had been placed in a bank vault for safety, have never been recovered.

Besides being damaged by shellfire during the war, the church, in 1885 having been the site of the inaugural meeting of the Huguenot Society of S. C., was nearly demolished in the earthquake of 1886. A benefactor, Charles Lanier, a Huguenot of New York, provided funds for restoration, but a national financial crisis almost forced the permanent closing of the church in 1899. The seemingly inevitable was averted when this sole remaining Huguenot church in America was declared a national Huguenot shrine. Since 1900, it has been internationally recognized as such. Its memorial plaques provide the visitor a veritable Who's Who of American Huguenots: Elias Boudinot, first Director of the U. S. Mint; Pierre Robert, first minister at the French Santee settlement; Alexander Hamilton, soldier and patriot and descendant of the Faucette family; Francis Marion, South Carolina's famed "Swamp Fox" of the American Revolution; Matthew Fontaine Maury, oceanographer, whose family established the memorial plaques; Henry Laurens, president of the Continental Congress; John Laurens, General Washington's envoy to Louis XVI; Edmund Ravenel, pioneer South Carolina conchologist; George Washington, descended from Gabriel de Mâcon, Virginia Huguenot; Sidney Lanier, Georgia poet and musician, whose Huguenot ancestor Jerome Lanier composed music for the court of Queen Elizabeth I. Among the 150 or so there commemorated are forebears of families which today flourish as the active leaders of the Charleston community: the Ravenels, major political forces in local and state government; the Manigaults, owners and operators of the two city newspapers; the Gaillards, for whom the municipal auditorium is named.

Today the French Huguenot Church is once again constituted as a congregation and continues to use the historic liturgy.<sup>15</sup> For more than 30 years, a service in French has been conducted on or about the anniversary of the Edict of Nantes, promulgated April 13, 1598. Representatives of the Church and of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina are members of the Huguenot Heritage Commemorative Committee of South Carolina, which had organized during 1985 a year-long series of re-enactments, tours, art exhibits, lectures, religious services, and meetings to mark the tricentennial of the Revocation.<sup>16</sup> Delega-

<sup>15</sup> The reopening of the church under the Rev. Robert L. Oliverus occurred on the three hundredth anniversary of its founding and is recorded in *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, 85 (1980), 38-40.

<sup>16</sup> For information about the tricentennial program, I am grateful to the Rev. Philip C. Bryant, pastor of the French Huguenot Church in Charleston. I received indispensable assistance in my research from librarians at the Charleston County Library, the Library Society of Charleston, the College of Charleston Library, and the Library of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina. I am happy to acknowledge the generous and cordial assistance of Mrs. Edmund A. Burns of the last named library.

tions from both groups attended the Huguenot Heritage Commemoration in England September 26-October 2 and the VIIIth International Meeting and Reunion of Huguenot Descendants in Paris October 6-17, to which the French government had issued an invitation to all descendants of the diaspora.

## THE AMIDON FAMILY

ROGER L. AMIDON\*

The entire Amidon family in the United States descends from one common ancestor, Roger Aimedowne. Neither early records nor subsequent data exist for any other line in the U. S., Canada, or Great Britain. The first recorded spelling, Aimedowne, comes from Salem, Massachusetts. From the Town Records of Salem, 1634-1659 Roger Aimedowne received  $\frac{1}{4}$  acre of "the marsh & meadow lands. . ." The date was October 5, 1637.<sup>1</sup>

(1) ROGER AIMEDOWNE b. ? d. Nov. 11, 1673, Rehoboth, MA.

The above spelling is the first recorded and one of many used in his lifetime. Family consensus has settled on three variants: Amadon, Amidon, and Ammidon. "Amidon" is used because this spelling may more nearly correspond to orthographic, historic and phonetic origins than the other two. Quite an array of other possibilities exists as well, such as: Amadou/Amidou, Amiton, Amanton, Amadour among many plausible variants uncovered.

The earliest fact associated with Roger (and there is never variation of the spelling of his first name) is that he was granted that small parcel of land in Salem, Massachusetts, noted above. "At a meeting the 25th of the 10th moneth" in the year 1637.<sup>2</sup>

Tradition has it that Roger Amadowne was a French Huguenot, who, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was compelled to flee from France; that he went to England, where he remained for several years and then emigrated to America. No information has been obtained concerning the date and place of his birth or of his parentage.<sup>3</sup>

Best's genealogy is undoubtedly better than his grasp of history. The Edict of Nantes was promulgated by Henry IV, April 13, 1598; its revocation, October 22, 1685, well after Roger's death.

AMMIDOWN (Amidon) Roger (d. 1673) Huguenot refugee from Rochelle, France, to Eng., thence to Salem, Mass., ca. 1637, at Weymouth, 1640, Boston, 1643, Rehoboth, 1648; freeman, 1657; received land grants 1658, 62, 65; m. Sarah — (d. 1668); m. 2d, 1668, Joanna (1642-1711), dau.

\* Roger L. Amidon is Professor and Chairman of the Department of Health Administration, School of Public Health, University of South Carolina, and a ninth generation descendant of Roger Aimedowne.

<sup>1</sup> Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. IX, Second Series, Vol. 1. Salem, Mass., 1869. Page 102; [microfiche copy — LAC 20507].

<sup>2</sup> Essex Institute, IX, 61, 101-2.

<sup>3</sup> Frank E. Best, *The Amidon Family: A Record of the Descendants of Roger Amadowne of Rehoboth, Mass.* (Chicago: by the author, 1904), p. 2.



George Harwood, m. Jane \_\_\_\_\_ [Harwood appears to have been the first treasurer of the Massachusetts Bay Company — RLA]<sup>4</sup>

Frederick Adams Virkus, sometime editor of the *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, published another cite, gleaned from previous issues of the *Quarterly*.<sup>5</sup> Holmes Ammidown, a New York merchant and resident of Southbridge, Massachusetts, wrote a monograph based on his own notes and travel (even to Charleston, SC, for a rest cure in 1829!).

So far as ascertained, the name in western France, at Rochelle, Bordeaux, and the departments of Gironde and Charente, is Amidon and *Amadon*; the latter is believed to be the correct French name.<sup>6</sup>

Roger Aimedowne, was a shipwright in Weymouth in 1640 and perhaps Boston. He later farmed in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, from 1645 to his death in 1673. The fact of his name and shipwright profession appears in legal proceedings from Warwick, Rhode Island, in 1651 as well.

"Thomas Pinney of Weymouth in N.E. makes a [Letter] of Attorney to Mr. Richard Garrett of Scituate in New England merchant to [receive 22 shillings] of Roger Ammidowne of Weymouth aforesaid shipwright. Dat. 31 July 1640."<sup>7</sup>

A footnote by Hale following Garrett's name said that "Mr. Garrett was Town-clerk of Scituate. Roger Ammidown was now of Weymouth, but had formerly been a Salem man."<sup>8</sup>

#### ROGER AIMEDOWN

b. ?, d. Nov. 11, 1673 in Rehoboth, MA. m. (1) Sarah ? date ? d. Rehoboth, June 20, 1668; m. (2) Joanna Harwood, b. ?, d. July 1, 1711. Children in the first marriage:

*Ebenezer*. As Best notes, "The date of his birth or death has not been found." Nothing more is known of him. An Eben \_\_\_\_\_ Amidown was advanced money in King Philip's War.<sup>9</sup>

*Sarah*, b. Dec. 6, 1640 at Weymouth; no further record.

*Lydia*, b. Feb. 27, 1643 at Boston; no further record.

<sup>4</sup> Frederick Adams Virkus, *The Compendium of American Genealogy: First Families of America*, Vol. VII, Chicago: The Institute of American Genealogy, 1942, p. 826.

<sup>5</sup> Frederick A. Virkus, *Immigrants to America before 1750*, Vol. 1, Surnames A through Bat (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1985, excerpted from *The Magazine of American Genealogy*), p. 48.

<sup>6</sup> Holmes Ammidown, *Genealogical Memorial and Family Record of the Ammidown Family*, Southbridge, Mass. Published by the author in 1877.

<sup>7</sup> Edward Everett Hale, Jr., Ed. *Note-Book Kept by Thomas Lockford, Esq., Lawyer, from June 27, 1638 to July 29, 1641*, Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, University Press, 1885, pp. 281-82.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Best, p. 5.

*Hannah*, b. Sep. 20, 1652 at Rehoboth and d. there, Sep. 13, 1719; m. Jeremiah Wheaton, of Rehoboth. They had eight children. There is no record of male descent from the first marriage, and a record of only one from the second marriage (Best's numberings are used here):

(6) Philip, b. Jan. 26, 1670, Rehoboth; d. Mar. 15, 1748, Oxford, MA; m. (1st) Mehitable Perrin, May 27, 1698, Rehoboth, b. Apr. 30, 1680, Rehoboth and d. there July 4, 1699; (2nd) Ithamar Warfield Sep. 16, 1700, b. Mar. 28, 1676, d. ?

Children:

First wife

9. Henry, b. Feb. 8, 1699 (first wife).

Second wife

- 10. Roger, b. Feb. 6, 1702.
- 11. Ichabod, b. May, 1704.
- 12. Mary, b. Mar. 30, 1706.
- 13. Philip, b. 1708.
- 14. Ephraim, b. 1710.
- 15. Ithamar, b. Apr. 25, 1712.
- 16. John, b. May 19, 1713.
- 17. Hannah, b. Feb. 2, 1717.

Descendants appear for all of the above, including Henry, thus insuring continuance of the family name. Philip (#6.) moved to Oxford, Mass., in 1717 and died there 30 years later.

Surnames most frequently appearing in *The Amidon Family* are as follows: Allen, Bliss, Brooks, Brown, Carpenter, Clark, Day, Field, Hicks, Keep, Leonard, Lillie, Nichols, Russell, Stockwell, Stone, Thompson, Walker, and Whitney. The largest number of individuals were located in Massachusetts and New York State. As with so many families, they and their descendants went westward in substantial numbers.

Huguenot names were common in the early settlement of Massachusetts, as noted by Baird and Daniels. The families Bernon, Depeux, Germon, Machel, Mallet and du Tuffeau appear at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.<sup>10</sup> With them came the Sigourneys, Shumways, and others. The Oxford Settlement, won from the Native Americans in King Philip's War, was well settled by the time Philip Amidowne arrived. His line continues through Ephraim and his son Philip (#47) who married Eunice Shumway, great-granddaughter of the first Peter Shumway or Pierre Chamois.

Evidence of the Amidon family in France is limited. Current research suggests that the name may well have been spelled Amadine, Amidou or

<sup>10</sup> Charles W. Baird, *The Huguenot Emigration to America*, Two Vols. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1885), V. II, pp. 14-52 *passim*.

Amadou, spellings that persist to the present, as do the spellings Amadon and Amidon. Given the general propensity to spell phonetically, Amidine/Amadine, Amidou/Amadou sound about as much like Amedowne as does Amadon.<sup>11</sup>

In any event, an individual called "Amadon" was granted arms in 1612. The Rietstap citation is:

Amadon LIMOUSIN (An. Mars 1612) D'azur a la fasce D'or surm. de trois coquilles du meme rangees en chef, et acc. p. d'une epee d'arg. pose enfase.<sup>12</sup>

His place of residence was given as Limousin, a department lying in the heart of the "rebellious crescent" in west-central France. The crescent, so-called for the pattern fashioned, extending from Nimes and Montpellier in the southeast in an arc to the northwest, encompassing much of Provence, Languedoc, Guyenne, Vienne, Aunis, Saint Onge, and on into Poitou. The majority of Huguenot refugees came from this region of southwestern France.

About one century later, in the year 1720 a "Mme. Amidon" was listed as being held "dans la citadelle de Montpellier." She is one of hundreds listed in this compendium describing actions taken against French Protestants after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes until the French Revolution.<sup>13</sup> She was more fortunate than many as this record shows. Protestants, and others suspected of heresy, were tortured, killed, condemned for life to the galleys, or hid their beliefs until the Edict of Toleration was proclaimed nearly 70 years later. Roger Amedowne's contemporaries and those who survived them would not have been surprised.

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<sup>12</sup> Jean-Baptiste Rietstap, *Armorial General*. Vol. 1. (Gouda: G. B. Van Goor Zonen, 1884), p. 40.

<sup>13</sup> "Relieve General Des Persecutions." *Bulletin de la Société de L'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, Documents Historiques Inédits et Originaux. XVI, XVII, et VIII Siecles. Paris: Agence Centrale de la Société, (1855), 6-68.



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THE FORNEY (FERNAY) FAMILY  
OF  
FERNAY-VOLTAIRE, FRANCE

by  
MARIANNE BOYD GORE\*

The Forney family of Lincoln County, North Carolina, long illustrious because of its two outstanding members, Revolutionary General Peter Forney and his father, General Jacob Forney, has an interesting history. In 1685 the father of Jacob Forney, Sr., rejected his title of nobility, fled from France, and settled in Alsace on the Rhine River. He died there leaving his son, Jacob, an orphan. Jacob left Alsace and came to Pennsylvania when he was only fourteen years of age. He met his future wife, Maria Bergner, of Berne, Switzerland, on the ship sailing to America. He married Maria in Pennsylvania and then moved to Lincoln County, North Carolina, where they reared three sons, Jacob, Peter, and Abram, and two daughters. His second son, General Peter Forney, married Nancy Abernathy and his sister, Susan Forney, married Nancy's brother, John D. Abernathy. The family name was originally "Ferney" but was changed to Forney in Alsace where the German language was generally spoken.

I have attempted a study of the Forney family by translating some information about the family from the Geneva Registry in Geneva, Switzerland. Since Jacob Forney is my ancestor, I will give my lineage back to his line and then I will give the translations I have made from the Registry starting in 1128 with Huges and Guillaume de Fernay. There is a gap in the lineage after circa 1546. Since there has never been an article written about the Forney family in *Transactions*, perhaps some of the descendants of Jacob Forney in the Huguenot Society can provide some information to fill in this large gap. Please feel free to get in touch with me.

I am the daughter of John Franklin Boyd, Jr. (b. 1913) and Marion Lydia Beneker (b. 1913). John Franklin Boyd, Jr., is the son of John Franklin Boyd (b. 1869, d. 1950) and Florence Maude Porter (b. 1886, d. 1969). John Franklin Boyd was the son of Marcus T. Boyd (b. 1842, d. 1902) and Mary Elizabeth Reinhart (b. 1834, d. 1916). Mary Elizabeth Reinhart was the daughter of Franklin M. Reinhart (b. 1807, d. 1869) and Sarah Smith (b. 1816, d. 1879). Franklin M. Reinhart was the son of Christian Reinhart and Mary Forney. Mary

\* Marianne Boyd Gore, who lives in Southport, N. C., is the wife of Grover A. Gore, and mother of three children. She has taught French in North Carolina for 20 years having graduated from Salem College, Winston-Salem, and has done graduate work at the University of North Carolina, where she was a recipient of two awards from the National Endowment for the Humanities, 1984 and 1985. She has done extensive translating and received a private commission in 1975 for the translation of the 109-page book, *Les Derniers Jours de Saint Pierre* by Maurice Saint-Bémy. Permission for the printing of the translations used in this article was given by Eliane Vogler, Juriste du Registre Foncier, Département de l'Intérieur et de l'Agriculture, Genève, Suisse, through Doctor of Theology, Samuel Leuenberger of 3236 Gampelen, Suisse.

Forney was the daughter of General Peter Forney (b. 1756, d. 1834) and Nancy Abernathy (m. 1783). General Peter Forney, famous in the American Revolution, was the son of General Jacob Forney, Sr. (b. 1721, d. 1806), who married Maria Bergner. Both were French refugees and Huguenots. [Hoyle Genealogy; Rucker, Elizabeth Hoyle; Thompson, 1938]

The following translations cover two pages from the Geneva Registry, Geneva, Switzerland. The first page is entitled I and the second page is entitled II.

#### I Ferney

Feudal home drawing its name from Ferney land in the Land of Gex. In existence since the 12th century, it acquired power three centuries later. To this family belongs John, merchant, received the B. G., the 12th of June 1481, free for 2 coulevrines from the L. 1497; council member 1499; member of municipal council 1501; council member 1502; originator of the branch of the Lords of Bessinge; property which remained owned by his descendants until 1644; his brother, named Michael received B. G. the 11th of Sept., 1495; named deputy by the Duke and Duchess of Savoy and Verceil the same year; father of the named William from the CC 1537, council member, 1547. The son and grandson of this last named person renounced the title of nobility. We must cite also, Louis (1752-1829) founder of a school. . . .

- II Mr. Galiffe, in *Notices Généalogiques* [Genealogical reports] is occupied with this family. I can only use a small amount of his proof [genealogy] because they separate especially at the place where this family, descended or not from the Lords of Lullin, did not remain Savoyard. The *Règeste Genevois* [Geneva Registry] gives us the oldest information on the Fernay family. Hugues and Guillaume [William] of Fernay are fidejussors for the Count of Geneva between 1128 and 1178. Humbert de Fernay, Lord of the Château of Moudon 1233-1240; signed as a witness at Evian; at a treaty of 1244 between the Count of Savoie and the Bishop of Lausanne; — Humbert de Fernay, Knight, signed as a witness to the dowry division for Agnès de Faucigny the 20th of August 1254; — Gérold de Fernay, signed as a witness to an Act of the 20th of April 1236; — Pierre [Peter] de Fernay, one of the knights who took part in the expedition of Flanders and who received a mandate of payment of subsidies to him due the 30th of Sept. 1264; — Jean de Fernay, knight, one of the 3 knights for whom Aymon, Count of Geneva, orders in his will on the 18th of Nov. 1280, the Expedition to the Holy Land. I [the genealogist] found in the *Preuves des Comtes de Lyon* [Proofs of the Counts of Lyon] (Archives of the dept. of Rhône), Guichard de Fernay, Canon and Count in 1269 — Mr. Geoffrey de Fernay, Canon and Count in



1371, replacing Guillaume de Rossillon; what makes me suppose that they were of our family.

Here is in an authentic manner how this family descends:

1. N. N. de Fernay married N. N. who was also the wife of N. N. de Cholay.
2. Born Nicod de Fernay, knight, (son of N. N. de Fernay). The 21st of May 1342 (Archives of Thuyset); in the name of Humbert de Cholay, Lord of Lullin, he had entrusted some property at Habères to Pierre de Pontet. By the will of the 19th of March 1345, Humbert de Cholay, his blood brother, named him direct heir. Nicod became thus proprietor [owner] of the castles, holdings, fiefs, and properties of Lullin (called formerly La Bâtie Saint- Eugende), Monforchier [another château], Pont-Boringe Cholay (formerly called La Bâtie de Soubeyron) and Pressy [another château]. Nicod was invested with these fiefs the 30th day of August 1345, with the Declaration of a cancellation of the rights of male and female heirs to inherit (for the 1st deed [Declaration of property] made to Cholay was for all the fiefs of Faucigny to be subject to "mainmorte" [death-right] in that if there were a break in the continuation of inheritance to male heirs, the fief would revert back to the prince.) After the transport of the Dauphiné in 1349 and the changes in 1354, the Count of Savoy ratified the 14th of February 1356 in favor of Nicod what the Dauphins had done while they were Lords of Faucigny. Nicod was Lord of Allinges Le Vieux for the Dauphin in 1343. By an unknown woman he had a male heir, a legitimate child.
3. Humbert de Cholay (See Cholay) (son of N. N. de Fernay) had as his heir his blood brother.
4. The so named Pierre [Peter] de Fernay, (son of Nicod de Fernay) knight, who as his father did, possessed the above-mentioned fiefs. The 5th of October 1373 (from the inventory of the abbey of Aulps) represented by the named Mermet de Fernay, he passed an agreement with the abbey on the differences existing between them. Unknown alliance. It is certain that he was the father of the four children cited below. The 11th of June 1369 (Archbishop Thuyset), he opposed what power the Lord of the Count of Savoy for Allinges and Thonon had come to exercise over Lullin, which was from the remainder of the château of Chatillon in Faucigny.
5. Humbert de Fernay, Lord of Lullin, brother of Pierre according to Galiffe, 1369. I [the genealogist] find a person of this name who, the 2nd of May 1346 (Archives of Thuyset) ratifies an agreement with Guy and Geoffroy de Pontet concerning the holdings above-mentioned. This date does not seem to me to favor the fact that they might be brothers.
6. Rodolphe — first, (son of Pierre de Fernay).
7. Jean — secondly, son of Pierre De Fernay. Jean possessed successively or

simultaneously but in rank proceeding from the eldest, the fiefs of Lullin, Monforchier, Pont-Boringe, and Cholay. They made an agreement with the abbey of Aulps the 13th of February 1393. Without further proof, I think, however, that it is Jean de Fernay mentioned in the *Preuves des Comtes de Lyon* [Proofs of the Count of Lyon] (Archives of the department of Rhône) as having married Peronette de Rossillon (sister of Henriette, wife of the named Pierre de Chatillon de Michaille), who was the mother of Nicolette mentioned below. (I [the genealogist] find a Jean de Fernay, Lord of Lullin who married, contract of the marriage 17 Sept. 1389 (Archives Menthon) Jeanne, daughter of Robert, Lord of Menthon).

8. François, thirdly, outlived his two brothers. Invested with the aforesaid fiefs and châteaux the 24 February, 1402 (Archives Thuysset). As a result of a transaction the 8th of September 1402 (Fiefs), it happened that Robert and Pierre de Cholay, uncle and nephew, owed him two tributes as Lord of the Bâtie-Cholay. He married, receipts for this dowry the 5th of June 1398 and 12th of November 1403 (Archives Thuysset), Alexie, daughter of Rodolphe de Langin, knight. The 20th of February 1420 (Archives of Cour), the aforementioned couple compromised with Henri de Menthon, curator of Guillemette de Langin, his daughter-in-law, for the inheritance of Rodolph. He died without an heir and his property, fiefs etc. passed on to his sister.
9. Guillemette, fourthly, dau. of Pierre de FERNAY. After the death of François, her brother, she was recognized as the heir for the above mentioned fiefs on the 11th of December 1420 (Archives Thuysset). She married Thomas de Genève before this last date. She had as her sole heir Guillaume de Genève listed below.
10. Nicolette de Fernay (daughter of Jean de Fernay who was son of Pierre de Fernay) who married the named Claude Bourgeois, Lord of Vernay.
11. Guillaume de Genève (son of Guillemette, daughter of Pierre de Fernay) Lord of Lullin, Monforchier, sole heir of his mother before May 16, 1429. The fiscal procurator of Savoy, basing his decisions on direct legitimate masculine succession having signed his allegiance made to Humbert de Cholay, contended that Lullin and the other fiefs conceded formerly to Cholay, had fallen from the regular lines of lineage and should go to the prince. I possess a "vidimus" of the letters of the 16th of May 1429 ("vidimus" June 4, 1438, Archives Thuysset) by which the Count of Savoy having received production of all the evidences (cited in this genealogical piece), stating the evident right of Guillaume to succeed the aforementioned mother herself having succeeded by Rodolphe, Jean and François, his brothers, to Pierre, their father, the latter heir of Nicod and of Humbert de Cholay, his blood brother, who had already obtained the right to dispose without any reserve, his

property, recognized that his fiscal procurator had been badly informed of the full right of the Guillaume de Genève. The next day May 17, Guillaume received the investiture of the above mentioned fiefs.

12. Jacques Bourgeois (son of Nicolette de Fernay, daughter of Jean de Fernay, son of Pierre de Fernay) Lord of Vernay and of Fernay in the land of Gex, married Jeanne de Saccony. His child was Guy Bourgeois.
13. Guy Bourgeois, savoyard, Canon and Count of Lyon was received according to the Proofs (of the Count of Lyon) the 14th of June, 1480 as choir master; the 21st of November as sacristan, July 1, 1485 died; and in January 1511 was buried at St. Jean (Lyon) in front of the chapel of St. Thomas, the apostle, at the tomb of Henri de Sacconay, his paternal uncle. It is probably strongly possible that this family has descendants in the collateral line. Thus Pierre de Fernay sold his rights to Bâtie-Cholay the 6th of January 1546 to Guillaume de Genève, Lord of Lullin. I have already mentioned Nicoline de Fernay, widow of Galvand de Candie in 1548. One will find still more information in Greysier and other places, but I am not sure of their family Fernay-Lullin extraction.

Source of information — Regeste Genevois, Geneva, Switzerland.



## GENERAL MOULTRIE'S FINAL VICTORY\*

The Reverend CANON EDWARD B. GUERRY

The accounts of the Battle of Sullivan's Island, June 28, 1776, provide today inspirational reading for all patriotic Americans. The citizens of the American Colonies possessed a great deal of freedom: *i.e.*, freedom of religion, of assembly, of the press, and of speech. They were, however, very upset by burdensome taxes, taxation without representation, and strict limitations which had been imposed upon them by Parliament in the Declaratory Act.<sup>1</sup>

Some of their prominent leaders did not want separation from England. John Rutledge, the President of the local Provincial South Carolina Congress, later President of South Carolina, felt this way.<sup>2</sup> Henry Laurens, of Mepkin Plantation, wrote to one of his friends in England during his imprisonment in the Tower of London during the Revolutionary War that he wept when the news reached Charleston about the Declaration of Independence. However, "once convinced that independence was necessary for America's best interests, he never wavered in his fidelity to the cause."<sup>3</sup>

When the British government sent a powerful naval armada and troops against Charleston in June 1776, these patriots decided to fight for their independence. General Moultrie, whom we honor today, wholeheartedly declared for independence. His 2nd S. C. Regiment in the palmetto fort, and Colonel Thomson's Regiment at Breach Inlet, on June 28, 1776, won the first decisive victory of that war for America. The news of this successful repulse greatly encouraged those members of the Continental Congress in Philadelphia who had not signed the Declaration of Independence to affix their signatures to this document.

In the summer of 1975, a few days in London before our flight back to America, I visited the famous British Museum and discovered the exhibit of the American Revolution, opened by the Prince of Wales earlier in that year. The exhibit simply said that a naval disaster occurred at Charleston. I wrote Mrs. Wallis, the Director of the exhibit, that she was too hard on the British Navy because Sir Peter Parker and his officers probably had no idea of the fact that palmetto logs do not splinter, especially with ten feet of sand between two walls

\* From an address delivered June 27, 1985, at a wreath-laying ceremony at Fort Moultrie, Sullivan's Island, on the grave of Major General William Moultrie. Edward Brailford Guerry is a direct descendant of General Moultrie.

<sup>1</sup> In 1766 Christopher Gadsden warned "his listeners of the folly of relaxing their opposition to British authority; he drew their attention to the Declaratory Act, passed by Parliament as the Stamp Act was being repealed. In sweeping terms the new Act declared that Parliament could make laws and statutes binding the colonists 'in all cases whatsoever.'" *Nat and Sam Hillborn, Battleground of Freedom* (Columbia, S. C.: Sandlapper Press, 1970), p. 7; *Engl. Brit.*, Vol. 22, 782.

<sup>2</sup> Hillborn, *op. cit.*, p. 35; D. D. Wallace, *The Life of Henry Laurens*, pp. 224, 225.

of these logs. I do not remember what she said about my remark, but she did send to me the speech which the Prince of Wales delivered. In it he said at the opening of the exhibit that the War of the Revolution was primarily a civil war between our people.

I think that the Prince was right. Our forefathers' decision to fight for complete independence meant that this country has since developed into the most powerful free nation in this world. England, America, France and other Allies prevented the domination of the world by Prussianism in World War I. The victory over Nazism and Japanese militarism in World War II keeps alive the hope today of the preservation of freedom from international Marxian Communism. We are grateful for the American victory at Sullivan's Island and to the patriots who fought that battle.

The victory against the British was not the only important battle which General Moultrie won.

In the *News and Courier* of March 28, 1938, an article by John Bennett was published about the humiliation and hardships which General Moultrie faced during the last years of his life, 1794-1805. This article tells how General Moultrie was "consigned to prison as an insolvent debtor." The old jail is still there on Magazine Street in the western part of old Charleston. With the article there was published a picture of the small two-story house on Magazine Street in which the General was allowed to live, as he was not actually confined within the jail. This unfortunate event occurred at the end of his second term as governor, in 1794. John Bennett says:

"Of his personal integrity there was no doubt . . . At the . . . close of the old General's last administration as governor an unexplained discrepancy occurred in his accounts of several thousand dollars. When asked to explain this discrepancy all the old General could say was: 'God knows where it is, gentlemen . . . I never touched it.' Being himself in straitened circumstances, owing to his absent-minded management of his own property and unable to adjust the deficit, he was consigned to prison as an insolvent debtor."

Other writers give their accounts: Robert Molloy in his book, *Charleston, A Gracious Heritage*, states: "It was in this jail that Major General Moultrie was confined for his patriotic incurrence of debt." (p. 143). Richard Barry in his book, *Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina*, says "Imprisonment for debt was commonplace. Gen. Moultrie, who had recently been governor of the State, was seized and lodged in jail because he could not pay the notes he had signed during the Revolution to get food for his soldiers." (p. 359).

This tragic humiliation which the old General suffered could easily have caused him to sink deeper and deeper into a slough of shame, depression, and bitterness during those years from 1794 to his death on

September 27, 1805. He was born November 23, 1730.

Whatever temptations of this kind came to him he successfully fought them off, and with God's help he won another great victory. I am sure he was a Christian, for he was a vestryman of St. John's Parish, Berkeley County, where he owned Northhampton Plantation.

This victory, according to John Bennett, was that, while imprisoned in the little house on Magazine Street, the General prepared from his personal papers his *Memoirs of the American Revolution* (1802) which are described on the title page as "compiled from the most authentic materials" and "the author's personal knowledge of the various events."

Bennett says that "no trustworthy historian may write of those times, places, and events without careful reference to General Moultrie's *Memoirs*. Their place is permanent."

After the General's death, 1805, there was the next day an impressive military funeral in old St. Philip's Church in Charleston. The following day or so, the body was buried in the family graveyard on Windsor Hill Plantation, which in present days is off the Ashley Phosphate Road. No gravestone, so far as we know, was ever installed. It has been suggested that this was done to keep creditors from seizing the body. This seems to me to be unbelievable. Considerable doubt, however, as to the exact site of the grave on Windsor Hill continued all through the years until 1977.

My father, Bishop of South Carolina 1908-1928, was amazed to read in Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel's *Charleston, the Place and People*, that the grave of General Moultrie was not known.

Windsor Hill belonged to the General's only son, William Moultrie, Jr., and his wife, Hannah Ainslie. He died in 1796 and was buried on this plantation, and his grave was marked by a suitable stone.

My father, after his investigations, became absolutely convinced that the General was buried on Windsor Hill, but he could not determine the exact site of the grave. He wrote an article about his efforts, and his conclusion was entitled "The Search for General Moultrie's Grave," originally published in the *Charleston News and Courier* February 21, 1909, and republished 1974 in *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, Number 79.

The end of this search for General Moultrie's grave came to a successful conclusion in 1977, due to the Citadel-Charleston Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution. This was primarily the work of Julian Brandt and his son, Vic. They secured the interest of Governor Edwards and took him to the family graveyard. I went to Windsor Hill with them in February of 1976. The Governor asked me, "What do you think of asking the Institute of Archeology and Anthropology of the University of South Carolina to see what they can find?" I told him that I thought it was a grand idea.



There were delays but, to make a long story short, Stanley South, a capable archeologist of that University, commenced his elaborate, painstaking, and scientific work on March 14, 1977, and completed it June 28, 1977. He wrote an article entitled "The General, The Major, and The Angel — The Discovery of General William Moultrie's Grave."<sup>3</sup> It was published in *Transactions* Number 82, 1977. He found conclusively the General's grave and those of other members of the family. The remains of General Moultrie were placed in a small plastic box and reburied June 28, 1978, at Fort Moultrie with appropriate addresses by Governor Edwards and others.

The 2nd Regiment, South Carolina Line, a patriotic organization, participated in an impressive manner. I conducted an appropriate recommitment service. That same afternoon, I conducted another recommitment service at St. James' Church, Goose Creek, for the remains of other members of the Moultrie family.

<sup>3</sup> The reference to the "Angel" in the title of Stanley South's article comes from the words on the tombstone of Edward Ainslie Bradford at Windsor Hill, and now at St. James', Goose Creek, who died aged only four months and three days. "Rise unchanged and be an angel still."

FRENCH HUGUENOT DESCENDANTS SHARE  
CHILDREN OF PRIDE HERITAGE

(The Girardeau Family in the United States, 1686 to 1865, with a focus on the Family Background of Susannah Hyrne Girardeau, Mother of Reverend Charles Colcock Jones)

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It is little known and was little noted in the recent (October 1985) Savannah celebration that the Reverend Charles Colcock Jones, patriarch of the Jones family in Robert Manson Myers's best-selling *The Children of Pride*, enjoyed interesting connections not only on his father's well-known English side, but on his mother's French Huguenot side as well.

Who was the Reverend Jones's mother? Robert Manson Myers, whose primary focus was naturally on the Jones family, noted in his prologue only that "Susannah Hyrne Girardeau, (was) the daughter of John Girardeau of French Huguenot descent . . ." He also described her as ". . . a woman of singular piety and great strength of character."<sup>1</sup>

Susannah Hyrne Girardeau (1777-1810) was born in McIntosh County, Georgia, during the Revolutionary War, the youngest of five children. Her father, John Bohun Girardeau (1731-1784), had apparently moved his family from their home in the Savannah area to his McIntosh County plantation (next to that of his good friend Andrew Maybank)<sup>2</sup> to remove them from the dangers

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Manson Myers, ed., *The Children of Pride* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972 and 1984), pp. 10 and 11.

<sup>2</sup> In his will, written in 1777, John Bohun Girardeau named as an executor "my beloved friend Andrew Maybank of this state" (Will probated 1784, Chatham County Courthouse, Savannah). John Bohun Girardeau (I) married the widow Hannah Maybank (née Splatt), who had been previously married to David Maybank, possibly Andrew Maybank's brother. Andrew Maybank was married to Martha Splatt, Hannah's sister. In April 1772 John Bohun Girardeau had applied for and later received a land grant for 100 acres in McIntosh County, Georgia, next to the plantation of Andrew Maybank. In addition, John Bohun Girardeau's son, John Bohun Girardeau (II), named Andrew Maybank's son, Andrew Maybank (II), to be executor of his will. Finally, John Bohun Girardeau (I)'s daughter Elizabeth married Andrew Maybank (II), her first cousin from her mother's side.

of a British invasion. If this was true, then John B. Girardeau's instincts were on target, because when the British did invade Savannah on December 28, 1778, they landed right on his Savannah River plantation (Brewton Hill),<sup>3</sup> and fought a brief engagement there with a handful of Colonial soldiers before moving two miles upriver to take Savannah.<sup>4</sup>

Susannah's planter-politician father had, like the Jones family, migrated to Savannah from the Charleston area. Before moving to Georgia John B. Girardeau had served as a lieutenant in the South Carolina Regiment of Foot (1758),<sup>5</sup> and in 1761 he was appointed Deputy Surveyor of South Carolina.<sup>6</sup> In 1768 at the age of thirty-seven he married widow Hannah Maybank (née Splatt). However, a short time before their first child was born, John and Hannah migrated to Georgia. There he applied for and later received a 300-acre land grant in Christ Church Parish.<sup>7</sup> He also leased the Brewton Hill Plantation, two miles south of Savannah, where we believe the family stayed for several years.

On the eve of the rebellion against England, John Bohun Girardeau was elected to the Second Provincial Congress as a representative of the Sea Island District (1775-1777). This congress met for its first session in Savannah at Tondee's Long Room on July 4, 1775 (the First Secession Convention).<sup>8</sup> John B. Girardeau was there elected to the Executive Council "in which to lodge the Government of the Province."<sup>9</sup> The congress on July 7 chose five members to attend the Continental Congress then meeting in Philadelphia.

On December 16, 1775, as a member of the Provincial Congress, he was elected to the Council of Safety,<sup>10</sup> which had responsibility for obtaining arms and ammunition, raising militias, and running the government when the congress was not in session. On October 13, 1777, the Continental Congress appointed John B. Girardeau Commissary General of Issues for the state of Georgia.<sup>11</sup>

We do not know John Bohun Girardeau's activities after the British occupied Savannah, although the invasion seriously disrupted Georgia's govern-

<sup>3</sup> Mary Granger, *Savannah River Plantations*. (For location, see Archibald Campbell's 1780 map "Sketch of the Northern Frontiers of Georgia.")

<sup>4</sup> Charles C. Jones, Jr., *The History of Georgia*, Vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1883), p. 315 (C. C. Jones, Jr., was the son of Rev. C. C. Jones and grandson of Susannah Hyrne Girardeau). Also see Walter G. Cooper, *The Story of Georgia*, Vol. 1 (New York: The American Historical Society, December 1938), p. 367.

<sup>5</sup> Probate Court 1758-60, p. 58, Charleston, S. C.

<sup>6</sup> Probate Court, 1750-60, *Miscellaneous Records*, p. 424, Charleston, S. C.

<sup>7</sup> *Index to Headright and Bounty Grants, 1736-1900*, Part I (Vidalia, Ga.: Georgia Genealogical Reprints, 1970), p. 229. Also see *Georgia Colonial Records*, Vol. 12, p. 290.

<sup>8</sup> "Proceedings of the Georgia Provincial Congress," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, Vol. 5, Part 1, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Lucian Lamar Knight, *A Standard History of Georgia and Georgians* (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1917), Vol. 1, p. 270.

<sup>10</sup> Allen D. Candler, *Revolutionary Records of Georgia*, (Atlanta: The Franklin-Turner Company, 1908), Vol. 1, p. 74.

<sup>11</sup> "Proceedings of the Georgia Provincial Congress," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, Vol. 5, Part 1, p. 37.



ment of rebellion. He died in Savannah in 1784 at the age of 53. Sometime after his death, his widow Hannah and her five children moved about thirty miles inland to Liberty County.

It was in Liberty County, nine years later, that Susannah's 22-year-old brother Peter (1771-1793), accompanied a force under Colonel (later General) Daniel Stewart in pursuit of Indians who had carried off twelve Negroes. Peter was killed by the Indians (May 9, 1793) while separated from the main group.<sup>12</sup> He was buried in Midway Cemetery along the southeast wall.

Susannah Girardeau's most distinguished sibling was her eldest brother John Bohun Girardeau (II), (1769-1802). Perhaps it was because the Indians had killed his only brother that John joined the U. S. Dragoons (cavalry) that same year (1793). He spent four years fighting Indians along the Altamaha River (1793-1797), attaining the rank of captain.<sup>13</sup> He resigned his commission in 1797 to follow the vocation of planter. In 1798 he was received into the local militia, the Liberty Independent Troop, which a month later elected him their third commander.<sup>14</sup> He was later elected to represent Liberty County in the State Legislature (1800 and 1802), then located at Louisville, Georgia. Here he served with fellow representative and also former Indian fighter Daniel Stewart. He died there in office in 1802, at only 33 years of age, apparently of stomach cancer or bleeding ulcers. According to General Stewart, he was buried in Louisville with high military honors.<sup>15</sup> His remains were afterwards moved to Midway Cemetery. In his will, he left thousands of acres and much personal property to his wife Elizabeth Mary Ann and his two surviving sisters Elizabeth and Susannah Hyrne Girardeau, and to the children of his deceased sister Mary Ann Girardeau Axson.<sup>16</sup>

Susannah's two elder sisters, like herself, married members of prominent Liberty County families. Maryann (1775-1799) married Dr. Samuel J. Axson (an early relative of Ellen Louise Axson, the first Mrs. Woodrow Wilson), in April 1795,<sup>17</sup> with whom she had two daughters, Amanda (1796-1817), and Maryann (1798-1854). Susannah's eldest sister, Elizabeth, married her first cousin, the wealthy planter Andrew Maybank (February 16, 1794), but the

<sup>12</sup> George White, ed., *Historical Collections of Georgia* (New York: Putney and Russell, 1854), p. 329. Also see James Stacy, *History and Published Records of the Midway Congregational Church, Liberty County, Georgia* (Spartanburg, S. C.: The Reprint Company, Publishers, 1979), p. 141.

<sup>13</sup> *Journal of the House of Representatives*, U. S. Congress, 6th Session, p. 646; also, 5th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 145 (John Bohun Girardeau, Captain of Dragoons, asking for compensation for services as Captain from 1793-1797 against the Indians).

<sup>14</sup> Rev. Charles C. Jones, *Historical Address, Delivered to the Liberty Independent Troop, Upon its Anniversary, February 22, 1855*, printed by the Troop (Savannah: Power Press, John M. Cooper and Company, 1856).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Will of John Bohun Girardeau (II), written Nov. 6, 1800, probated July 11, 1803, Liberty County Courthouse, Hinesville, Georgia. See also, Caroline Price Wilson, *Annals of Georgia* (Vidalia, Georgia: Georgia Genealogical Reprints, 1969), p. 25.

<sup>17</sup> C. P. Wilson, *Annals of Georgia*, p. 6.

couple had no children. Susannah married the widower Captain John Jones, on 4 August 1801. They had two surviving children, Susan Mary (1803-?) and Charles Colcock (1804-1863). Two of the three Girardeau sisters, like their brothers, died quite young, reflecting the shocking mortality rate of Liberty County in those days. Maryann died 20 March 1799 in her twenty-fourth year. Susannah died 1 July 1810 at thirty-three years of age. Elizabeth, the last of her brothers and sisters, died January 27, 1834, at fifty-seven, only a few days after her husband passed away. A large part of the Maybank estate passed via Andrew Maybank's will to Elizabeth's nephew and Susannah's son, the Reverend Charles Colcock Jones.

#### *The French Huguenot Connection.*

Susannah Hyrne Girardeau's great-grandfather Jean Girardeau (ca. 1665-1721), had migrated from France in about 1686 and settled with other Huguenot immigrants in the Charleston vicinity. He had apparently fled his native town of Talnont (Tattemont) in the former province of Poitou shortly after King Louis XIV's 1685 revocation of the Edict of Nantes (which since 1598 had extended limited civil and religious rights to French Protestants).<sup>18</sup> For some years he and the other Huguenot emigrants in Carolina struggled for the same civil and property rights that were enjoyed by the English colonists there.<sup>19</sup> Full citizenship rights were granted in 1696. He married Anna LeSade in about 1705. Over the next eighteen years, as his family increased by five sons, he increased his estate to over 2,600 acres.<sup>20</sup> He died in 1720/21, leaving the lion's share of his estate to his eldest son, Peter. The rest he divided among his four other sons: John, James, Richard, and Isaac.<sup>21</sup> Susannah Hyrne Girardeau was a granddaughter of the eldest son, Peter.

#### *Peter Girardeau, First Son of Jean the Huguenot*

Peter, grandfather of Susannah Hyrne Girardeau, was a planter in Berkeley

<sup>18</sup> Charles W. Baird, D. D., *The History of The Huguenot Emigration to America*, Vol. II, p. 53.

<sup>19</sup> Jean Girardeau's name appears on two lists petitioning for full citizenship rights. The first of these is dated 30 March 1696, and is addressed to Governor John Archdale of South Carolina. The petition states that the undersigned thirty individuals had come to the province via England and desired naturalization in order to gain legal title to lands already taken up (South Carolina Archives, Charleston: *Wills, Inventories, and Miscellaneous* (1694-1704), Vol. 54, p. 57). The longer "Liste des François et Suisses Réfugiés en Caroline," mentioned in Baird's History (note 18 above), contains 154 names and was originally compiled about 1695-96.

<sup>20</sup> Jean Girardeau was granted 640 acres of land in Berkeley County, S. C., on August 2, 1711. (*Warrants for Land in South Carolina, 1692-1711*, A. S. Salley, Jr., p. 242). On August 2, 1714, he received 360 acres by land grant in Colleton County. On October 2, 1714, he received three separate land grants of 500 acres, 300 acres, and 150 acres, all in Colleton County (Nathaniel Edwards, Jr., "South Carolina Landgrants to Huguenots, 1674-1765," *Transactions*, No. 87, 1983).

<sup>21</sup> Will of Jean Girardeau, Courthouse, Charleston. Probated April 28, 1721. Published in *Transactions of the Huguenot Society*, No. 34.

County, South Carolina. He married Elizabeth Bohun<sup>22</sup> 19 December 1730, with whom he had four children: John Bohun Girardeau (Susannah Hyrne Girardeau's father), Peter Bohun Girardeau (1733-ca. 1778), Mary Ann Girardeau (1735-after 1801), and Elizabeth Bohun Girardeau (1737-after 1795).

#### *Children of Peter.*

*Peter Bohun Girardeau* (I), planter and soldier, married Elizabeth Mariann Field sometime after 1767. They had two children, Peter Bohun Girardeau (II), (1774-1824) and John Henry Girardeau (1778-1807).

*Mary Ann Girardeau* married Henry Hyrne (II), (1734-1785), planter, politician, soldier, and tax collector.<sup>23</sup> They had two girls and three boys: Mary Ann (1757-?), Henry (III), (1760-?), Susan Bellinger (1771-1780), Peter Girardeau (1763-1792), and Edmund Massingberd (1765-?).

*Elizabeth Bohun Girardeau* married thrice-widowed James Postell, Esq., planter, politician, soldier, and justice of the peace, in 1766.<sup>24</sup> They had two sons, Girardeau (1767) and Peter Bohun (ca. 1772).

#### *Descendants of Peter Bohun Girardeau (I)*

*Peter Bohun Girardeau* (II), planter and soldier, married Elizabeth Webb Hyrne<sup>25</sup> in 1795. They had no surviving offspring. In 1808, Peter was appointed a colonel in the state militia by Governor John Drayton.<sup>26</sup> Elizabeth died in 1816 and Peter next married Maria Pinckney, daughter of Lieutenant Governor Wm. C. Pinckney and Rebecca D'Oyley Godfrey.<sup>27</sup> They had one child, Elizabeth. When Peter died in 1824, he was the last male descendant of Peter Girardeau's line to carry the Girardeau name.

*John Henry Girardeau*, planter, married Emily Bay, daughter of John Bay and Sarah Hartley Miles. He died in 1807 at only twenty-nine. Names of any children are unknown.

#### *Jean Girardeau's Middle Sons*

Not did Jean Girardeau the Huguenot's middle sons — John, James, and Richard (all planters) — produce enough male descendants for their family name to survive more than a generation or two. Thus, carrying on the Girardeau name in the United States was left to Jean Girardeau's youngest son, Isaac, great uncle of Susannah Hyrne Girardeau (see Isaac, to follow).

<sup>22</sup> *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 13, p. 23; Vol. 15, p. 67. Elizabeth Bohun was the daughter of Nicholas Bohun and Margaret Bellinger, granddaughter of Edmund Bohun, first Chief Justice of South Carolina, and his wife Mary Crampton; and granddaughter of Edmund Bellinger (the first Landgrave) and Sarah Cartwright.

<sup>23</sup> "Hyrne, Henry (II)," *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, Vol. II, 1692-1775 (University of South Carolina Press, 1977), p. 553.

<sup>24</sup> "Postell, James," *Ibid.*, p. 555. James Postell was the son of John (Jean) Postell of Berkeley County and grandson of Jean and Madeleine (Pepin) Postell, Huguenot emigrants who arrived in South Carolina in the late 1600s.

<sup>25</sup> *Marriage Settlements*, Vol. 2, p. 442.

<sup>26</sup> *Executive Journal of Governor John Drayton*.

<sup>27</sup> *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, Vol. IV.



### *A Remarkable Coincidence*

Susannah Hyrne Girardeau's son, the Reverend Charles Colcock Jones, as Robert Manson Myers tells us in *The Children of Pride*, became nationally famous for ministering to and writing about the spiritual needs of Liberty County's slaves, "the cause nearest to his heart."<sup>28</sup> Remarkably, the Reverend Jones's distant cousin, the Reverend John Lafayette Girardeau (1825-1898), followed a quite similar career and also became famous for ministering to the slaves, although in the Charleston area.<sup>29</sup>

In his book *Presbyterians of the South*, Ernest T. Thompson wrote of the Reverend John L. Girardeau:

... one of the most eloquent ministers that the Southern Presbyterian Church has produced. . . . He refused calls to large and important churches repeatedly. . . . He felt obligation to preach the gospel to the numerous slaves dwelling along the South Carolina seaboard (1848-1853). In 1853, the Rev. John L. Girardeau became pastor of Zion Church, Charleston, South Carolina, a Negro congregation. A large new building was erected to allow for the throngs who came to hear him. . . . Zion Church, the largest in the city and one of the largest in the Assembly . . . main floor seating 1,000 Negroes, the balcony about 250 whites.<sup>30</sup>

John L. Girardeau remained at Zion Church until the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861. At that time he became chaplain of the Twenty-Third South Carolina Regiment, C.S.A. Here he served for the duration of the war, experiencing many of the great battles, from the first battle of Bull Run at Manassas, Virginia, to the siege of Petersburg in 1864. He was captured by Federal forces at war's end and spent two months in military prison at Johnson's Island in Pennsylvania.<sup>31</sup> For almost a decade after the war he again served as minister of Zion Church in Charleston. In 1875, he joined Columbia (S. C.) Theological Seminary as a professor of theology, remaining in that position until he retired in 1895.<sup>32</sup>

Did the Reverend Charles C. Jones know of his distant cousin and his work? According to historian Lucian Lamar Knight in his comments on the Reverend Jones,

Like the noted John L. Girardeau, of Columbia, South Carolina, with whom he was afterwards associated, it was his chief delight to preach to the Negroes, though a man of marvelous intellect and power.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Robert Manson Myers, ed., *The Children of Pride*, p. 13.

<sup>29</sup> *Who's Who in America*, Historic Volume, 1607-1898, p. 206.

<sup>30</sup> Ernest T. Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South*, Vol. 1, p. 230 and 442.

<sup>31</sup> D. W. McLaurin, "The Confederate Chaplain," *The Life Work of John L. Girardeau D. D., L.L.D.*, ed. by Gen. A. Blackburn, D. D. (Columbia, S. C.: the State Company, 1916), pp. 107-132.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Lucian Lamar Knight, *Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials, and Legends*, (Atlanta: the Bird Printing Company, 1914), Vol. 2, p. 335-336.

We do not know the extent of their association or if they knew of their common great, great-grandfather. However, since Girardeau was and is a rare name in the United States, and it was the maiden name of C. C. Jones's mother, we think it likely that they were aware.

*Isaac Girardeau and The Girardeau Family of Today.*

All those bearing the Girardeau name today in the United States, except for descendants of slaves, descended through Susannah Hyrne Girardeau's great-uncle Isaac of Liberty County, Georgia. Isaac (ca. 1718-1773) was the youngest son of Susannah's great-grandfather Jean Girardeau, the French Huguenot immigrant. Isaac and family and ten Negroes migrated to Liberty County, Georgia, from Granville County, South Carolina, in 1755, to join with Dorchester, S. C., Puritans at Midway, Georgia.<sup>34</sup> His older brother Richard Girardeau (1712-1766) and family followed Isaac to the Midway area in 1757. The two brothers were among the early signers of the articles of Incorporation of Midway Church.<sup>35</sup>

Isaac and Ann Girardeau had three children who survived to adulthood: William Isaac (1752-1822), John (1756-1837), and Ann (1760-ca. 1792). William and John came of age in time to fight in the Revolutionary War, enlisting in the St. Johns Riflemen (militia) under Colonel John Baker, and subsequently serving under various commands in Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia. John rose to the rank of sergeant and William to lieutenant. Only William afterwards returned to Liberty County, where in 1783 he became executor of his father Isaac's estate. John stayed in the Charleston vicinity as a planter, and one of his grandsons was the famous Presbyterian minister Reverend John Lafayette Girardeau described above. Some of his descendants still live in South Carolina (see "John and his Descendants," below).

*William Isaac Girardeau and his Descendants*

Isaac's eldest son, William Isaac, married Patience Harris<sup>36</sup> of North Carolina in about 1785. They had three children that survived to adulthood, Mary Ann (1793-1854), John (1796-1873), and William Pinckney Girardeau (1798-1874). John never married. Mary Ann married Benjamin Fuller in 1822, with whom she had one daughter, Caroline Elizabeth Fuller (1823-1884).<sup>37</sup>

*William Pinckney Girardeau, the Patriarch*

All of William Isaac Girardeau's descendants bearing the Girardeau name descended through his youngest son, William Pinckney Girardeau. William P. — planter, teacher, postmaster, and judge — was a man of artistic and

<sup>34</sup> Stacy, *History and Published Records of Midway Congregational Church*, p. 19.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229 and p. 5 of Addenda.

<sup>36</sup> Patience Harris was the daughter of Wes and Mary (Turner) Harris of Montgomery County, Virginia, (later of North Carolina) and great granddaughter of Thomas Harris.

<sup>37</sup> Caroline Elizabeth Fuller married Benjamin Washington Allen (1818-1886). One of her granddaughters, Helen Clara Beggs, married (second) Benjamin Grady of Washington, D. C., who did much valuable genealogical work on the Girardeau family.

intellectual talents. He originally intended to study art in Paris, until he met and fell in love with Elizabeth Nelms and married her instead. They had nine children, seven of whom survived to adulthood. All stayed in Liberty County except their first born, William Oglethorpe Girardeau.

*William Oglethorpe Girardeau* (1823-1869), after graduating from Oglethorpe University, migrated to Monticello, Florida, in the late 1840s to follow a teaching career. He served at various times as teacher, principal, and superintendent of Jefferson Academy. He also taught at Waukeenah Academy. In addition, he operated a small plantation some miles out of Monticello. In 1853 he married Harriet Louise Wirt (1819-1887), with whom he had five children: William Montgomery Girardeau (1852-?), John Howard Girardeau (1853-1905), Ashley Girardeau (1856-?), Alexander Brown Girardeau (1858-?), and Agnes Ware (1859-?). At the onset of the Civil War, William Oglethorpe Girardeau served briefly as captain of the Jefferson Rifles (Company H, Third Florida Infantry) but resigned a year later to return to teaching. He also served for a time after the war as editor of Monticello's paper, *The Jefferson Gazette*. He died in 1869 at only forty-six years of age.

William Pinckney Girardeau's second oldest son, *Reverend John Edward Girardeau* (the author's great, great-grandfather), became a teacher, Baptist minister, and a planter in the Northeast area of Liberty County later known as "The Willie Community." He married Jane Lurana Warnell (1833-1922) of Liberty County in 1853. They had six children: Florence Girardeau (1855-?), Samuel Bascomb Girardeau (1856-1941), William Parks Girardeau (1856-1911), Della May Girardeau (1860-1925), John Edward Girardeau, Jr. (1864-1875), and Charles Howard Girardeau (1861-1928). When the Civil War began he joined the Liberty Independent Troop (Company G, First Regiment, Georgia Cavalry) as a private soldier. He was killed on picket duty (scouting) in South Carolina on 2 February 1865, only two months before war's end. His widow Jane was left to raise her six small children. According to her obituary, published in 1922, she did an exemplary job.<sup>98</sup>

*Charles Godfrey Girardeau* (1835-1865), William Pinckney Girardeau's third son, never married. During the war he served first with the Eighth Regiment, Georgia Volunteer Infantry, and was badly wounded at the first battle of Bull Run, Manassas, Virginia (21 July 1861). After recovering, he joined the Liberty Mounted Rangers (Company B, 20th Battalion, Seventh Georgia Regiment). He was captured by the Northern forces at Falls Church, Virginia, on 30 May 1864, two days after his outfit had been badly mauled at the Battle of Haws Shop, Virginia. Charles died of fever at Elmira Military Prison, New York, on 20 February 1865, only 18 days after his older brother John Edward died of wounds in South Carolina.

<sup>98</sup> Jane Warnell Girardeau's obituary in the Claxton paper described the widow's hardships and triumphs in raising six small children on a small farm in Liberty County following her husband's death. Her obituary was also carried in the *Augusta Chronicle* of Nov. 2, 1922, which said, among other things, "She was loved by everyone who knew her."



William Pinckney Girardeau's youngest son, *Isaac Axson Girardeau* (1838-1873), served first as an adjutant with the Twenty-Second Regiment, Georgia Volunteer Infantry, Army of Northern Virginia. He resigned 23 July 1862 and on 16 October 1862 enlisted as a private in the Liberty Independent Troop (with his older brother John Edward). He served with the Troop for the duration of the war, surrendering with its surviving members at Hillsboro, North Carolina, on 26 April 1865. After the war he married Sabina L. Warnell (niece of his sister-in-law Jane Lurana Warnell, see above), of Liberty County in 1865. They had four children: Annie Caroline Girardeau (1867-1896), Charles Edward Girardeau (1868-?), William Peter Girardeau (1869-?) and Maury Axson (1872-?). Isaac Axson Girardeau remained in Liberty County for the remainder of his life, working as a planter and Clerk of the Court. He died in 1873 at only thirty-five years of age.

Ironically, only a few weeks before he lost his two middle sons, Judge William Pinckney Girardeau was shot in the neck and badly wounded during Sherman's (Kilpatrick's Raiders) occupation of Liberty County. According to family sources, he was walking home from Federal Headquarters (probably in Midway Church) where he had complained about the Northern soldiers' treatment of women and children in his community. He later went blind from the wound.

Despite the heartbreak and disaster, William Pinckney Girardeau survived the war and continued to hold the post of "Ordinary" (county judge) of Liberty County for another nine years. His eldest son, William Oglethorpe Girardeau, died at Monticello, Florida, in 1869, and his youngest son, Isaac Axson Girardeau, died in 1873. When William Pinckney Girardeau died in 1874, he had survived all his sons. He left his second wife, Harriet S. Handley (née Law) Girardeau (1805-1877), and three daughters — Mary Elizabeth (1825-1902), Rebecca Ann (1841-1920), and Laura Francis (1847-?).

*Mary Elizabeth Girardeau* (1825-1902) married John Noble Fennell (1826-?) in 1848 and had eight children: Julia Caroline (1849-?), Wm. Edmond (1851-1886), Jane Corinne (1854-1880), Mary Tallulah (1856-?), Laura Theodosia (1859-?), Alice Elizabeth (1862-1875), John Robert (1865-1911), and Edna Rebecca (1869-ca. 1940).<sup>38</sup>

*Rebecca Ann Girardeau* married first Thomas Gibbons (?-1864) who died a Confederate soldier during the Civil War. She married second in 1867 Pierre Napoleon Raynal (1834-?), with whom she had one son, Charles Edward Raynal (1877-1944).<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Mary Elizabeth Girardeau's youngest daughter, Edna Fennell, was an important source of Girardeau genealogical material, according to records left by genealogist (Rev.) Charles E. Raynal (see note 40).

<sup>39</sup> Rev. Charles Edward Raynal, grandson of William Pinckney Girardeau, and a Presbyterian minister in Statesville, N. C., began working on the Girardeau genealogy in about 1920, getting much help from, and corresponding regularly with, Benjamin Grady (note 37) and his first cousin Edna Fennell (note 38). Much of the material, especially many of the names, and birth and death dates used in this article came from Grady and Fennell through the Rev. Charles E. Raynal.

*Laura Francis Girardeau* married Joseph Smallwood (1866-?), with whom she had one daughter, Anna Louise Smallwood (1869-?).

*Descendants of John, Younger son of Isaac.*

John Girardeau (1756-1837), second surviving son of Isaac and Ann Girardeau, was the first Girardeau to be born in Georgia, Liberty County. He was baptized in Midway Church 29 March 1756, and grew up on his father's rice plantation on the south shore of the North Newport River. According to his own account,<sup>41</sup> by age nineteen he was serving with the local militia, guarding against raids by the Indians. At the onset of the Revolutionary War he was drafted with his older brother William into the St. Johns Riflemen (militia) under Colonel John Baker and thereafter served in various commands in Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia. When the war ended in 1783, he stayed in the Charleston vicinity of South Carolina. Here he married Mary Wescoat (1761-1795)<sup>42</sup> in 1783, with whom he had seven children. Mary Wescoat Girardeau died in 1795, and John married second Eleanor Dashwood Williams (1763-1842), in 1797, with whom he had six children — three boys and three girls.

John spent the remainder of his life as a planter in the parishes of St. John's, St. Paul's, and St. Andrew's, South Carolina. He died at James Island, S. C., on 14 April 1837, at age eighty-one. Eleanor Dashwood Williams Girardeau died 18 December 1842 at James Island.

Of John Girardeau's thirteen children, only two daughters from his first marriage survived to adulthood, Ann Baker Girardeau (1789-1835), Elizabeth Girardeau (1791-1838), and two sons from his second marriage, John Bohun Girardeau, III (1798-1852), and Isaac William (1801-1865).

*Ann Baker Girardeau*, fourth child of John Girardeau and Mary Wescoat, married John Limbaker and had issue, one daughter and three sons. Her younger sister Elizabeth never married.

*John Bohun Girardeau* (III), planter and justice of the peace, was the second child of John Girardeau and Eleanor Dashwood Williams. He was born in 1798 at Toogoodoo, St. Pauls Parish, Colleton County, South Carolina. He married Claudia Hyrne Freer<sup>43</sup> in 1824. They had six children, four boys and two girls. Claudia died in 1833. In 1834, John married Mary Fisher Hughes,<sup>44</sup> with whom he had another six children — also four boys and two girls.

In July 1833, John was serving as Justice of Peace for the Charleston District, St. Andrew's Parish. He died 16 January 1852 at Beech Island, Edgefield

<sup>41</sup> The facts concerning John Girardeau's Revolutionary War experiences were taken from a declaration he made in 1832 (at age seventy-six) when he applied for a pension for his war services. Strangely, he does not mention his older brother William in the declaration, possibly because of some long-time misunderstanding.

<sup>42</sup> Mary Wescoat was the daughter of Thomas and Mary Iren Wescoat.

<sup>43</sup> Claudia was the daughter of Edward and Margaret Hearne Freer of James Island, S. C.

<sup>44</sup> Mary was the daughter of John and Beulah Hughes of James Island, S. C.

District, at the age of fifty-three. Cause of death — influenza combined with typhoid fever.<sup>45</sup>

*Children of John Bohun Girardeau (III):*

1. John Lafayette Girardeau (1825-1898). Famous Presbyterian minister (see above).
2. Emily Margaret Girardeau (1826-1868), married Francis Legaré Wilkinson and had issue.
3. Thomas Jefferson Girardeau (1828-1886).
4. Edward Freer Girardeau (1829-1830).
5. Claudia Mary Girardeau (1831-1908), married James Legaré and had issue. Second marriage:
6. Edward Freer Girardeau (II) (1832-1853).
7. William Hughes Girardeau (1835-1879).
8. John Bohun Girardeau, Jr. (1838-1852).
9. Isaac William Girardeau (II) (1839-1867).

*Isaac Williams Girardeau (I):*

*Isaac Williams Girardeau* (1801-1865), planter, third child of John Girardeau and his second wife, Eleanor Dashwood Williams, was born 5 April 1801 in Toogoodoo, St. Paul's Parish, Colleton County, South Carolina. He married Margaret Tomatine Cox. They had one child, Thomas Campbell Girardeau. Isaac Williams Girardeau died 20 December 1865.

*Thomas Campbell Girardeau*

Thomas Campbell Girardeau (1829-1881), son of Isaac Williams Girardeau and Tomatine Cox and grandson of John Girardeau and Eleanor Dashwood Williams, was born 1829 in Charleston, South Carolina. He was apparently raised and educated in Charleston, where he attended the College of Charleston.

He attended the Medical College of the State of South Carolina (now the Medical University of South Carolina) during 1849-50 and 1850-51. He graduated in 1851. His graduate thesis was entitled "Delirium Tremens."

He married Adelaide Victoria Perry in 1853, with whom he had two children, Adelaide Bowena Girardeau (1856-?) and Thomas Campbell Girardeau (II), (1858-1936).

During the Civil War, Dr. Girardeau served as assistant surgeon in the Twenty-Sixth South Carolina Volunteers. However, we know little of his career after the war. According to his great-grandson, Jesse Temple Girardeau of Savannah, he was a man of considerable wealth before the Civil War, having a large plantation in the Charleston vicinity. He died 4 September 1881 and was

<sup>45</sup> Birth, marriage, and death dates for John Girardeau's descendants were taken from the family Bible of John Bohun Girardeau's eldest son, the celebrated Rev. John Lafayette Girardeau of Charleston and Columbia, S. C.



buried next to his mother at St. Philips Episcopal Church in Charleston. She had died only five days before (31 August 1881).

#### *Girardeaus Today*

Today, Susannah Hyrne Girardeau's relatively few remote descendants who still bear the Girardeau name have followed the national trend and scattered to all corners of the United States — from Florida to Oregon,<sup>46</sup> from New York to California. The largest concentration, however, still resides in the Southeast. About thirty Girardeau descendants attended the April 1985 annual meeting at the historic Midway Congregational Church in old Liberty County, Georgia. Most are aware and quite proud of the little noted yet crucial part their ancestor Susannah Hyrne Girardeau played in Robert Manson Myers's great work, *The Children of Pride*. At least two representatives of the Girardeau family, Vareta (Mrs. Jesse Temple) Girardeau of Savannah, and Betty Girardeau Crowe of Birmingham, Alabama, attended the Savannah celebration of the book in October 1985 and the plays that Myers adapted from the book.

One common trait appears to characterize the Girardeaus of today, no matter who they are or what their station. This trait is well described by the title of Myers's book, *The Children of Pride*. Remarkably, they all seem to share a great pride in their family name and their Huguenot heritage. This legacy of pride has almost for a certainty been a living gift passed down through the years from French Huguenot Jean Girardeau to his descendants.

<sup>46</sup> Marvin Denham Girardeau, Jr., of Eugene, Oregon, a descendant of William Oglethorpe Girardeau, heads the Department of Physics at the University of Oregon. A nuclear physicist of international reputation, he won the Von Humboldt prize for 1984-85, which has enabled him to conduct research at the Max Planck Institute for Radiation Chemistry at Mulheim, West Germany. He is the second Girardeau descendant carrying the family name to earn a place in the *Who's Who of America*. The first was the Presbyterian minister Reverend John Lafayette Girardeau of Charleston.

THE MOUZON FAMILY  
FROM LEWIS AND WILLIAM HENRY

GEORGE TIMOTHY MOUZON<sup>1</sup>

The Mouzon family name is well known in South Carolina history. I am writing this paper to document some of the family history and to help others understand where the Mouzon name fits into history. It includes but a small sampling of collected stories and a partial family tree.

The name Mouzon has been traced to a small town in the north of France called Ville de Mouzon. The name was derived from two Latin words Mos and Magos, approximately 2000 years ago.<sup>2</sup> Mos was the original name of la Meuse (a river in the north of France). Magos was a market or meeting place. The name Moso Magos eventually evolved to Mouzon through several transitions:

MOSO MAGOS — Gaulois (200 BC)  
MOSOM (AG)UM — Gallo Roman (200 AD)  
MOSOMO — Epoque Franque  
MOSOM — Moyen Age  
MOUSOM — 1500  
MOUSON — 1800  
MOUZON — Today

**Lewis Mouzon I**

Louis de Mouzon came to South Carolina with his two brothers before 1702.<sup>3</sup> At this time, he changed his name to Lewis Mouzon. Lewis Mouzon is the forefather of the Mouzon family of South Carolina. The Mouzon name was listed among the prominent families of Goose Creek about 1702.<sup>4</sup> Records show that Lewis was the only Mouzon in South Carolina prior to 1713, and that all Mouzons after that time were his descendants.

Lewis was a planter in Berkeley County, South Carolina, and between 1705 and 1708 he received land grants of 1,195 acres.<sup>5</sup> Lewis returned to France several times after he came to South Carolina. He married and had all three children with his wife Elizabeth,<sup>6</sup> while in France.

<sup>1</sup> George Timothy Mouzon, of Springfield, Ohio, is a member of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, and a direct descendant of Lewis Mouzon.

<sup>2</sup> Villa de Mouzon Museum, France.

<sup>3</sup> Family Stories.

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Henry Hirsch, Ph.D., *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1928), pp. 23, 27.

<sup>5</sup> A. S. Salley, Jr., *Warrants For Land in S. C.*

<sup>6</sup> The Mouzon Family Bible. The only mention of the wife of Lewis Mouzon is that her name was Elizabeth with a questioned "Videux" as a last name.

Lewis Mouzon, II — born before 1712; died before July 15, 1748 (36 yrs.).

William Henry Mouzon, I — born before 1713; died, 1749 (36 yrs.).  
Martha Esther Mouzon — born before 1715; died after 1757.

Lewis eventually moved his family to South Carolina, but his sons returned to France for their schooling. Lewis survived both his sons. It is not known when Lewis was born; but he died before January 16, 1756, leaving his land to the male children of his late sons. His house was left to William Henry Mouzon, II, who was about fifteen at the time and head of the household.<sup>7</sup>

#### William Henry Mouzon I

William Henry Mouzon I left France through England in 1736 and became a planter in Berkeley County. His sweetheart, Ann Cordes Videau,<sup>8</sup> remained in England until he could provide a living in the New World. When Henry left England, Ann gave him a heavily embossed wide gold band ring as a parting gift. A year later Ann followed Henry to South Carolina where they were married. Henry could not purchase a ring there, so they were married with the ring that Ann had given him as a parting gift.<sup>9</sup> The issue of this marriage were:<sup>10</sup>

Ann Mouzon; born — September 19, 1737, died — January 6, 1791 (54 yrs.).

Esther Mouzon; born — November 20, 1739.

William Henry Mouzon, II; born — May 18, 1741, died — August 25, 1807 (66 yrs.).

Sarah Jane Mouzon; born — January 11, 1744.

Susanna Elizabeth Mouzon; born — September 21, 1746.

Mary Ann Mouzon; born — September 11, 1748.

Susannah Mary Mouzon; born — February 20, 1750.

Ann Mouzon had a son named Edward Taylor born April 8, 1765, and died June 23, 1788 (23 yrs.).<sup>10</sup>

Sarah Jane Mouzon married John DuBois November 16, 1758.

Mary Ann Mouzon married Thomas Saunders May 16, 1764.

#### William Henry Mouzon II

William Henry Mouzon, II, son of William Henry Mouzon, I, holds a prominent place in early South Carolina history. He was educated in France and spoke the language fluently. While in school one of Henry's closest friends

<sup>7</sup> Will of Lewis Mouzon, dated November 14, 1749.

<sup>8</sup> Notes of Christine Frierson; Ms. Frierson is a descendant of Lewis Mouzon.

<sup>9</sup> Mary Palmer Mouzon Darby, "Notes," dated October 5, 1908.

<sup>10</sup> The Family Table of Henry and Ann Mouzon. A little brown book owned by Mary Palmer Gordon Mouzon which includes the family of William Henry Mouzon, I, & II, and Samuel Ruffin Mouzon, I.



was Banastre Tarleton, an Englishman.<sup>11</sup> Banastre Tarleton was to play an important part in Henry's life during the Revolutionary War.

William Henry Mouzon, II, was a surveyor and Civil Engineer of the first rank. He made the first map of North and South Carolina from individual surveys and maps he gathered from a variety of sources. His first cousin, Henry Mouzon,<sup>12</sup> provided most of the surveys and maps. This map of North and South Carolina made by William Henry Mouzon, II, is discussed in *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, No. 69.<sup>13</sup>

On January 10, 1769, William Henry Mouzon, II, married Susannah Taylor, the daughter of Samuel and Ann Plowden Taylor of Virginia who came to this Province in 1750.<sup>14</sup> Henry, the only son of Henry I, married Susannah using the ring with which Henry I had married Ann. The children of Henry and Susannah were<sup>15</sup>

Ann Mouzon; born — October 8, 1769, died — November 16, 1859 (90 yrs.).

Peter Mouzon; born — February 20, 1772, died — 1843 (71 yrs.).

William Henry Mouzon, III; born — November 20, 1773.

Samuel Ruffin Mouzon, I; born — November 20, 1775, died — May 25, 1842 (67 yrs.).

Susannah Videau Mouzon; born — August 29, 1779, died — September 18, 1817 (38 yrs.).

Sarah Elizabeth Mouzon; born — April 20, 1782.

Mary Mouzon; born — October 2, 1784.

Henry Videau Mouzon; born — September 30, 1786.

Edward Mouzon; born — October 22, 1788, died — November 11, 1788 (20 days).

James Mouzon; born — June 13, 1791, died — June 21, 1791 (8 days).

Henry Mouzon was Captain of the Williamsburg Militia and served with General Francis Marion (the Swamp Fox). Henry was one of the Big Four of Marion's Brigade and one of the leading spirits and competent champions of the American ideal.

Henry's school friend, Banastre Tarleton, was a Lieutenant Colonel for the English Army. Colonel Tarleton was a valiant officer and was known to be courteous and highly respectful of women. He was, however, notorious for his callous and bloodthirsty manner of conducting war. Colonel Tarleton had a hatred for the French as a result of the past wars between England and France. This hatred was also fueled by the aid the colonists were receiving from the French during the Revolution.

<sup>11</sup> Ann Mouzon, *From Days of Yore; or Shadows of the Past, Part II* by the Ancient Lady Author of *Our Forefathers, Their Homes and Their Churches*. (Charleston, S. C.: Edward Perry, Printer & Stationer, 149 Meeting Street, 1870), pp. 39-44.

<sup>12</sup> Henry Mouzon is the son of Lewis Mouzon, II.

<sup>13</sup> *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, No. 69, (1964), pp. 46-50.

Colonel Tarleton knew that Henry was of French descent and hated the English with a passion. Well aware of Henry's ability as a soldier, Tarleton was leery of having to fight in his usual fiery manner in the Carolina swamps so familiar to Henry and his men. On August 6, 1780, Colonel Tarleton pitched camp at Kingstree. When Tarleton learned that a Battalion with an advanced guard of riflemen, lead by Major James, was approaching, he immediately broke camp and proceeded toward Camden in the dark of the night.<sup>14</sup> As the dawn was breaking, Tarleton and his men reached the mansion house of Henry Mouzon. Henry had just enough time to escape into the swamp. Colonel Tarleton reported to Mrs. Mouzon that her husband had turned against King George III of England. He then ordered the mansion house and other houses of the plantation burned to the ground. This was the first brutal act of the Revolutionary War by the British to occur in Williamsburg County.<sup>15</sup>

Captain Henry Mouzon met with General Francis Marion the afternoon of September 28, 1780, at Port's Ferry. He reported that the British Colonel Ball and his troops were at Dollard's Inn at Shepherd's Ferry. Marion led his sixty men toward Black Mingo in the blackness of night hoping to surprise the Tory Colonel and his troops, who outnumbered Marion's men. A sentinel in Ball's camp heard the horses' hooves on the loose bridge planks through the still swamp and fired a warning. At the shot, Marion led his men at a full gallop toward the Red House tavern (part of Dollard's Inn). When he reached the post road, Marion ordered his men to dismount, reasoning that an attack on foot would be more effective against a fortified tavern. He had Major Hugh Horry and Captain Mouzon take their men to the right flank of the tavern. He ordered the other men to the other sides of the tavern with Marion and kept a few men in reserve to render aid.

Colonel Ball was no fool. At the sound of the alarm, he roused his men and directed them into an old field near the swamp, west of the tavern. Ball's men were standing in formation. They grew nervous and restless as they heard the sounds of Marion's men in the darkness, preparing for battle.

When Horry's and Mouzon's men charged through the broom sedge, Ball waited till they were within thirty yards before he ordered his men to fire. Muskets flashed and thundered, shattering the night like a storm. Buckshot whistled everywhere. Captain Mouzon fell, badly riddled by buckshot. Captain John James steadied and led the patriots, forcing Ball's men to flee into the Black Mingo Swamp. Ball's men didn't stop until they had the Santee river between them and the patriots. Mouzon and the other wounded men were left in the Dollard's Inn until they could be moved. Captain Mouzon retired to his home in Pudding Swamp where he spent the remainder of the war.

In 1798 William Henry Mouzon, II, and his eldest son Peter were appointed Commissioners of Roads on the north side of the Black River. They were

<sup>14</sup>W. W. Boddie, *History of Williamsburg*.

responsible for cleaning and repairing the roads leading from Mouzon's Landing, located at Pudding Swamp on the Black River, to all the communities north of the Black River. Henry built a bridge at Mouzon's Landing and was authorized to charge a toll for a period of seven years starting from 1805.<sup>14</sup>

Henry was the owner of the Mouzon Plantation, run by all members of the family. William Henry Mouzon, II, died August 25, 1807 leaving no will. He is buried in the Mouzon Cemetery. A monument in his honor was erected by the Kingtree Chapter of Daughters of the American Revolution.

Ann Mouzon, daughter of William Henry Mouzon, II, was born October 8, 1769, in the Mouzon Plantation House (before it burned in 1780). Ann experienced a thrilling life that deserves more than passing comment. One of her favorite sayings about herself was that she first saw the light the same year as Napoleon I. She had a natural love and sprightliness of life and her ability to communicate these traits made her an object of attraction to all who knew her. Ann was brought up to understand the lessons of religion and it was natural for her to treasure the traditions that were a part of her life.

Ann always remembered the day that the British burned the Mouzon Plantation House. She was eleven years old and was on top of the smoke house at the time, helping to spread the bacon in the sun. Ann was the first to see the British coming and sounded an alarm to the rest of the family. She had a very accurate memory of the times during the Revolution, and many details that would have otherwise been lost forever were gathered in the last few years of her life.

Ann was very ill during the last ten years of her life, but she always enjoyed the prayer meetings that were conducted in her brother's home where she lived. She would attend the meetings by reclining on the sofa in the parlor. Ann was never married. She lived with the family of her brother, Samuel Ruffin Mouzon, I, in the rebuilt Mouzon Plantation House until her death, November 16, 1859.<sup>15</sup>

Mary Mouzon, daughter of William Henry Mouzon, II, married James McGill.

#### Peter Mouzon

Peter Mouzon was born February 20, 1772. Peter worked the plantation with his father. He and his father were commissioners on the north side of the Black River. Peter was the second sheriff of Williamsburg County.<sup>14</sup> He was elected to serve in the 3rd South Carolina General Assembly from Williamsburg County.<sup>15</sup>

Peter married Elizabeth White and they had the following children<sup>16</sup>

Thomas Murrill Mouzon; born — 1826, died — 1867 (41 yrs.)

Peter Bonneau Mouzon; died — 1871.

<sup>14</sup> South Carolina Archives.

<sup>16</sup> Mary Reid.



William E. Mouzon; born — 1827.

James G. Mouzon; born — 1829, died — 1861 (32 yrs.).

Rebecca Mouzon; born — 1824.

Mary Elizabeth Mouzon; born — 1832, died — 1900+.

Peter died March 1, 1843, and is buried next to his wife in the Mouzon Cemetery, however his last name is spelled MOWZON.

Thomas Murrith Mouzon graduated from the South Carolina Medical College in the spring of 1847. He opened a drug store in Kingstree where he practiced medicine.<sup>17</sup> Dr. Mouzon married Emma J. Lesne of Charleston and had the following children<sup>18</sup>

Peter Bonneau Mouzon, I; born — 1850.

Margret Ella Mouzon; born — September 4, 1851, died — January 3, 1853 (18 mo.).

Ida Mouzon; born — 1852.

John R. Mouzon; born — 1854.

Rosa Mouzon; born — 1855.

Thomas died in 1867 and is buried in the Williamsburg Presbyterian Cemetery next to his wife and a daughter.

Peter Bonneau Mouzon I, the son of Thomas Murrith Mouzon, married Sara Moncrief Brailsford and then had the following children<sup>18</sup>

Peter Bonneau Mouzon, II.

Theodore Murrith Mouzon.

Peter Bonneau Mouzon, II, the grandson of Thomas Murrith Mouzon, married Julia Sprott with the following children<sup>18</sup>

Sara Louise Mouzon; born — November 17, 1913, died — April 15, 1984 (71 yrs.).

Annie Claire Mouzon; born — December 13, 1915.

Annie Claire Mouzon married Sherrill Blocker with the following children<sup>18</sup>

Julia Anne Blocker.

Sherrill Bonneau Blocker.

Thomas Mouzon Blocker.

Dianne Claire Blocker.

Sara Lou Blocker.

William Sprott Blocker.

Peter Bonneau Mouzon, son of Peter Mouzon, never married. Peter and his

<sup>17</sup> *Narrative of Reminiscences in Williamsburg County*, Samuel McGill, M.D., (1952).

<sup>18</sup> Annie Claire Blocker, a direct descendant of Lewis Mouzon.

partner, with the Honorable Joseph R. Fulmore, owned the first general store in Kingstree. This store, the firm of Fulmore & Mouzon, was known for the enjoyment of everyday life as well as the gathering place for the most notable characters of the county. The store was credited with having the first imported stove in the county.

Peter was a good businessman. He helped the people of the county, who in turn would repay him for his kindness. Peter was very close to his brother Dr. Thomas Mouzon, and was left with the care of Thomas' children after their father's death in 1867.<sup>17</sup> Peter died in 1871.<sup>18</sup>

#### Samuel Ruffin Mouzon

Samuel Ruffin Mouzon, I, son of William Henry Mouzon, II, was a man of intelligence, wealth, and pleasing manner. Samuel was the first sheriff of Williamsburg County,<sup>17</sup> to be followed by his older brother, Peter. Samuel ran the Mouzon Bridge as a toll bridge for seven years starting in 1818. He was elected to the 24th South Carolina General Assembly for Williamsburg County.

Samuel married Mary Simons, daughter of Shadrack Simons of Black Mingo, on March 29, 1804, with the same ring that his father married his mother.<sup>9</sup> The children of this marriage were<sup>18</sup>

Henry Mouzon; born — February 8, 1805, died — August 15, 1808 (3 yrs.)

Samuel Simons Mouzon; born — June 6, 1807, died — October 14, 1808 (16 mos.)

Mary Simons Mouzon died April 22, 1809 at the age of 23 years, and her funeral was held at 46 Church St., Charleston.<sup>14</sup>

Samuel rebuilt the Plantation House in 1830-1840 on the same site on Pudding Swamp as the original plantation house that the British burned during the Revolutionary War had stood. The rebuilt house still stands, about 10 miles outside of Kingstree in the community called Mouzon. The house is surrounded by huge live oaks, dogwoods and other beautiful trees and flowers that give it the air of an old southern plantation.

The Mouzon Cemetery is located near the Plantation House. A number of the Mouzons are buried there, including William Henry Mouzon, II. Close to the Mouzon Cemetery is the Mouzon Slave Cemetery. Samuel proclaimed that the Mouzon Slave Cemetery was dedicated to the memory of the black slaves who served the Mouzon family and that it would always remain intact. However, the Mouzon Slave Cemetery was destroyed and single family homes are now located on the land.<sup>8</sup>

Samuel subsequently married Susannah Agnes Nelson, daughter of William and Agnes Nelson, in 1813 with the same ring that he married Mary Simons. The children of this marriage were<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The Mouzon Family Bible.

Mary Simons Mouzon; born — November 23, 1814, died — September 14, 1821 (6 yrs.).

James Laurens Mouzon; born — August 17, 1816, died — December 9, 1855, (39 yrs.).

Martha Ann Nelson Mouzon; born — August 5, 1818, died — June 24, 1819 (11 mos.).

William Covert Mouzon; born — March 23, 1820, died — 1820.

Samuel Henry Mouzon; born — May 31, 1822, died — July 22, 1838 (16 yrs.).

Leonard White Mouzon; born — October 11, 1824.

Susannah died in 1824. Samuel then married Martha Fowler Pressley, daughter of John Pressley and Mary Barr Brockinton, in 1826. The children of this marriage were <sup>19</sup>

John Pressley Mouzon; born — December 28, 1835, died — May 22, 1906 (70 yrs.).

Dunkin King Mouzon; born — December 21, 1837, died — June 19, 1911 (73 yrs.).

Samuel Ruffin Mouzon, II; born — October 28, 1842, died — August 1, 1926 (83 yrs.).

Samuel died May 25, 1842 at the age of 66 years, before his last son was born. Samuel is buried in the Mouzon Cemetery.

James Laurens Mouzon married Eliza Adams December 12, 1850, with the ring that Samuel Ruffin Mouzon, I, married Susannah Agnes Nelson.\* James and Eliza had one son, Samuel Henry Mouzon; born — September 30, 1851, died — February 2, 1882 (30 yrs.). A monument in the Williamsburg Presbyterian Cemetery records his burial there, but he is actually buried in the Mouzon Cemetery.

Samuel Henry Mouzon married Ella Palmer Linson daughter of George Linson and Mary Mouzon, using the same ring which his father married his mother. Ella is a direct descendant of Lewis Mouzon, I.<sup>20</sup> Samuel Henry Mouzon went by the name of Henry. Henry was a successful turpentine manufacturer. Henry and Ella enjoyed people and held socials and dances for the members of the community. It was as a result of one of these dances that Ella developed pneumonia by becoming overheated from dancing so much and died.<sup>21</sup> The children of this marriage were<sup>22</sup>

Laurens Martin Mouzon; born — January 2, 1875, died — January 4, 1911 (36 yrs.).

Lila Mouzon.

<sup>19</sup> *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, No. 70, (1965), pp. 45-55.

<sup>21</sup> Betty Ann Darby, A direct descendant of Lewis Mouzon.



Henry Alwyn Mouzon; born — December 1882, died — 1907 (24 yrs.).  
Louis White Mouzon.

Samuel Henry Mouzon died February 2, 1882, at the age of 30 years and is buried in the Mouzon Cemetery.

Laurens Martin Mouzon, son of Samuel Henry Mouzon, married Esther Gordon, daughter of David Erwin Gordon and Mary Hughson Nettles, April 25, 1895, with the same ring that his father had married his mother. Laurens did not like his middle name and had it removed from his name. He frequently went by the name of "Laurie." The children of Laurens and Esther Mouzon were<sup>8</sup>

Mary Palmer Gordon Mouzon; born — April 3, 1896, died — January 1984 (87 yrs.).

Twins — Ann Laurens Mouzon, born — May 12, \_\_\_\_\_, died — February 24, 1968.

Elizabeth Erwin Mouzon, born — May 12, \_\_\_\_\_, died — June 14, 1962.

Isabelle Gordon Mouzon, born — April 4, 1908.

Laurens died January 4, 1911 (36 years) and is buried in the Williamsburg Presbyterian Cemetery. Laurens had no sons to pass the ring to. After the death of Laurens Mouzon's wife, Esther Gordon Mouzon, the ring was passed to their daughter Ann Laurens Mouzon. Ann also had no sons to inherit it, so after her death, the ring was given to her sister, Mary Palmer Gordon Mouzon.

Knowing the history and all the happy marriages through the many long years that the ring represented, Mary wore the ring around her neck on a slender gold chain. The ring, which started as a heavily ornamental wide gold band, had worn down to only a thread of gold that was too frail to be worn.

The ring was lost about 1975, suspected to have been thrown out by accident. One thing is very clear, Mary felt the loss of that ring deeply. She had valued it more than any other item in her possession.<sup>9</sup>

Mary Palmer Gordon Mouzon married William Henry Darby May 30, 1917, at St. John's Episcopal Church. The children of this marriage were<sup>9</sup>

Lydia Gordon Darby; born — July 2, 1918, died — February 1, 1920 (19 mos.).

Betty Ann Darby; born — August 27, 1925.

Four of Samuel Ruffin Mouzon I's sons served with the Wee Nee Volunteers during the Civil War: Leonard White, John Pressley, Dunkin King and Samuel Ruffin, II. The Wee Nee Volunteers (Co 1, 4 S. C. Cavalry, C.S.A.), was a select group of volunteers from Williamsburg County at the start of the Civil War. The Wee Nee volunteers served at Hastings, Runnymede, Blannockburn, Black

Mingo, Camden, Cowpens and Yorktown.<sup>22</sup>

Leonard White Mouzon married Margianna Akin Mouzon<sup>23</sup> November 16, 1858. The ceremony was performed by William Pledger Mouzon, her brother. For further details of the Reverend William Pledger Mouzon, see *Transactions*, Number 70, pp. 45-55; and *Transactions*, Number 89, p. 152.

John Pressley Mouzon, son of Samuel Ruffin Mouzon, I and Martha Fowler Pressley, was a civil engineer and became Commissioner of Roads in 1863. As a Wee Nee Volunteer during the Civil War, he was wounded at the battle of Haw's Shop which resulted in the loss of a leg. After losing his leg, John became a farmer on his share of his father's land (about 500 acres). He was also the Probate Judge for Williamsburg County. The people of Kingstree knew John by the sound of his wooden leg. He was a highly respected gentleman and loved by all who knew him. John married Susannah Orr Bagnal, December 18, 1856, at Williamsburg Presbyterian Church, with the following children.<sup>24</sup>

Isaac Pressley Mouzon; born — 1858, died — 1910 (52 yrs.).

Samuel Ruffin Mouzon; born — 1861, died — 1912 (51 yrs.).

John B. Mouzon; born — 1862, died — 1910 (48 yrs.).

Ashby Orr Mouzon; born — January 15, 1864, died — December 7, 1899 (35 yrs.).

John died in 1906 (71 yrs.) and is buried in the Mouzon Cemetery.<sup>25</sup>

Dunkin King Mouzon, son of Samuel Ruffin Mouzon and Martha Fowler Pressley, was both a farmer<sup>6</sup> and a school teacher.<sup>17</sup> Dunkin married Emma Jane Burgess Smith with the following children<sup>8</sup>

Mary Pressley Mouzon; born — 1855.

Martha Mouzon; born — 1857.

Eliza F. Mouzon; born — 1858.

Ellen Mouzon; born — 1861.

J. Willie Mouzon; born — 1863.

Samuel King Mouzon; born — October 12, 1866, died — January 17, 1946 (79 yrs.).

James L. Mouzon; born — 1869.

Susan E. Mouzon; born — 1871.

Sarah G. Mouzon; born — November 1872.

Robert Wheelles Mouzon; born — March 16, 1873, died — February 15, 1937 (63 yrs.).

Benjamin B. Mouzon; born — October 14, 1875, died — February 15, 1944 (68 yrs.).

<sup>22</sup> *South Carolina Colonial Soldiers and Patriots, The Society Daughters of Colonial Wars in the State of South Carolina.*

<sup>23</sup> Margianna Akin Mouzon is a direct descendant of Lewis Mouzon.

<sup>24</sup> 1870 census.

<sup>25</sup> Mouzon Cemetery headstones.

Charles Covert Mouzon; born — October 19, 1877, died — March 29, 1940 (62 yrs.).

Margret E. Mouzon; born — 1880.

Dunkin King Mouzon died June 19, 1911 (73 yrs.) in his own home, and is buried in the Mouzon Cemetery next to his wife.<sup>25</sup>

Samuel Ruffin Mouzon, II, son of Samuel Ruffin Mouzon, I, and Martha Fowler Pressley, was a farmer. He lived in the Mouzon Plantation house after the death of his mother.<sup>9</sup>

Samuel did not start the Civil War with his brothers. During the initial examination, the surgeons found that he had a problem with his lungs and was pronounced unfit for service. Samuel joined the cavalry and went to Virginia with his brothers in the Wee Nee Volunteers. While serving with the Wee Nee Volunteers, Samuel was captured at Trevillion Station June 1864 and spent the rest of the war in the Federal Military Prison at Elmira in New York.<sup>15</sup> Because he was not able to stay with his brother John, who had lost a leg in battle, Samuel left a slave named Pete to care for him during the rest of the war.<sup>17</sup>

Samuel married Caroline Austen Montgomery in 1878 and had the following children<sup>8</sup>

Samuel Edward Mouzon; born — October 15, 1879; died — March 20, 1946 (67 yrs.).

Martha Caroline Mouzon; born — March 8, 1881; died — before 1900.

John Henry Videau Mouzon; born — February 1882; died — 1947 (65 yrs.).

Elizabeth Lucilla Mouzon; born — September 1883; died — 1918 (25 yrs.).

Warren Robinson Mouzon; born — January 16, 1886; died — September 8, 1902 (16 yrs.).

Martha Frances Austen Mouzon; born — January 1887; died — 1976 (89 yrs.).

Pressley Barron Mouzon; born — July 13, 1889; died — July 18, 1933 (44 yrs.).

Adelaide Louise Mouzon; born — May 1891; died — 1966 (75 yrs.).

Samuel and his wife Caroline were both school teachers between 1881 and 1891. Samuel died August 1, 1926, and is buried in the Mouzon Cemetery.



### HAINAULT ORIGIN OF LEROY

This is a previously unpublished history by the late Lansing Burrows LeRoy, Sr., of Tignall, Georgia, submitted by Mary Upshaw Pike of Atlanta, Georgia. It supplements *The LeRoy Genealogy* published in *Transactions* No. 49, pp. 32-42.

This work sheds new light on the LeRoy ancestry and tends to prove that Philip LeRoy, formerly thought to be the progenitor of the LeRoy family in this part of the country, now appears to have been accompanied by his father, Pierre Michael LeRoy, from France to South Carolina. Mary Anne LeRoy, presumably Philip's sister, came at the same time.

Thanks to descendant John J. Parker of Baltimore, Maryland, we now have the full names and birthdates of the two children. These were obtained from records in the city of St. Python in the Province of Hainault in France. They are Pierre Philippe LeRoy, born October 19, 1754, and Marie Anne Joseph LeRoy, born July 31, 1756.

Philip LeRoy, the Huguenot, came to South Carolina in Colonial days, and later served in the Revolutionary War. This we know by tradition. Records of the people of whom he was one were more complete possibly than of most early settlers in America. There were educators and pastors among them. The land was surveyed even before it was occupied. Many libraries now have books giving their history, and many volumes carry lists of the individuals. The service they did in the Revolution is well known in history. Notwithstanding all this, in the year 1939 the name of Philip LeRoy was absent from all records of immigrants who came to South Carolina, and neither the State nor the Federal Government carried the name in the list of soldiers of the Revolution.

Believing it possible to establish his war record, the task was undertaken. Many records were examined without results. It was known that the LeRoy ancestors used the name King, and research disclosed that a Philip King of South Carolina enlisted in the Continental Army as a member of the 3rd South Carolina regiment. Could we prove that he was the same man as Philip LeRoy? It was shown by publications of the Huguenot Society of America and the Huguenot Society of South Carolina that the LeRoy settlers at New Bordeaux belonged to a people known as Huguenots; that many of said people changed or anglicized their names; and that the name LeRoy was anglicized to King in England, Holland, and certain parts of America.

Affidavits were produced to show the tradition that the LeRoy ancestors of New Bordeaux did so anglicize the name to King; that many of Philip LeRoy's descendants, some even to the third generation, were known by the name King; that students of French language and history knew that literally the French words "Le Roi" mean "The King," and that in anglicizing such names many variations were permissible.

Photostatic copies of a plat and a map made during the lifetime of Philip LeRoy were presented showing that he had land deeded to him as Philip King and that his plantation was listed on a county map in the year 1820 as "King's." Then it was shown by the 1790 U. S. Census that the only Philip King then in South Carolina was the one in Abbeville county. Three living persons made affidavit regarding the tradition that Philip LeRoy served in the Revolution, two giving the account of his sensational escape from a British ship at sea after he was captured at Charleston, South Carolina. Finally, it was shown by McCrady's history that the 3rd South Carolina regiment, in which the name Philip King was listed, did service at Charleston, South Carolina, and had 259 of its number captured there by the British. Thirty-four pages of affidavits, maps, plats, courthouse records, etc., were furnished. The War Department unhesitatingly accepted the proof, and a splendid marble headstone supplied by the government has been erected at the grave.

Having completed the task of proving that Philip LeRoy was so widely known as Philip King, the thought occurred that a record of his arrival in America might be found under that name. Again, an extensive search of all known records was made without results. However, at the office of the Secretary of State, Columbia, South Carolina, where all land grant and plat records herein mentioned are kept, it was found that one Peter Michael King received a land grant at New Bordeaux September 12, 1768, and it was immediately known almost beyond doubt that he was the same person as the Pierre Michael LeRoy mentioned in our 1940 LeRoy history. We have a certificate by a professor of French language, stating that "Peter" is one anglicized form of the French name "Pierre."

Failing to find any record of a land grant to Philip LeRoy or Philip King, the implication was clear that he came as a minor, for adult males always asked for a land grant. The next step then was to search for the record of some LeRoy or King who came bringing one or more minors. At New Bordeaux single adults received 100 acres, and heads of families 100 acres, plus 50 acres for the wife and 50 acres for each child above 2 years of age. For proof of this rule, see an article by Mr. Salley in *Transactions* No. 42 of the Huguenot Society, Charleston, South Carolina. Also, compare the family lists recorded in *Transactions* No. 5 of the said society with other records showing the acres actually received.

The only LeRoy land grant at New Bordeaux was one to René François LeRoy for 100 acres March 5, 1770. He, then, had no dependents. Under the name King, of course, we have the one mentioned to Peter Michael King, and it was for 200 acres. This proves that he was the head of a family, with two dependents. In connection with this name, however, something very uncommon was found. Many of these settlers received in addition to grants of land, half-acre town lots and 4-acre vineyard lots, and in the plat records it was found that a plat was made January 3, 1769, for town and vineyard lot for Peter Michael LeRoy. Since no land grant was ever made under the name last

mentioned, we have here strong evidence that this is the same man as Peter Michael King, for he certainly would have claimed the land due him.

Also, in a section no more heavily populated than was New Bordeaux, it is extremely improbable that there would be an individual whose first, middle and last names, when anglicized, would be identical with those of another person living there. If such a coincidence should actually occur, it would not also happen that these two individuals arrived at New Bordeaux within three months of the same time and would come forward and one ask a land grant, without town lot to which he was also entitled, the other asking for town lot, but without requesting land grant which he had the right to claim. The conclusion is impelling, therefore, that these records refer to the same man, especially considering the history we have that the LeRoys did actually use the name King. Since we may consider that Peter Michael LeRoy received under two names, land, town and vineyard lots, there being 200 acres of land, we readily see that he had a family of two dependents. Land grant records do not give the names of dependents, so let us examine other evidence.

A speech made by Mr. W. C. Moragne at New Bordeaux, South Carolina, November 15, 1854, upon which occasion the 90th anniversary of the founding of the colony was celebrated, was published in book form. The book was published by "The Citizens of the Neighborhood," confirming the correctness of the statements contained therein. The following is copied verbatim from that book:

"Mr. LeRoy in the year 1750, living near St. Python, in the province of Hainault, and persisting in the reading of the Protestant Bible, was bitterly persecuted by the Catholics who entered his house in his absence, abused his wife, dragging her by the hair of her head, and threatening them all with death. Deeming it no longer prudent to remain, he fled by night, to French Flanders, from whence he took refuge in England, and finally after the death of his wife, came to New Bordeaux."

At the time of this speech there lived in the vicinity of New Bordeaux many descended from Philip LeRoy and many from Mary Anne LeRoy, none from any other LeRoy. Two of Philip's sons, John and Philip, Jr., each of whom had an adult son, still lived there. Philip's son Isaac had died only 6 years previously, whose widow, the former Susan Langel Britt, with her twin sons, men nearly 30 years of age, still resided at the old home place.

There were numerous descendants of Mary Anne in the community, including many members of the Bouchillon and Covin families, she having been twice married. Mary Anne had died only 15 years previously, while Philip had been dead no longer than the space of 25 years. No doubt there were many LeRoy descendants in Mr. Moragne's audience, and they all knew to whom he referred when he said "Mr. LeRoy," otherwise the full name would have been



given; and if the Mr. LeRoy had not been the ancestor of those herein enumerated the speaker would have so stated.

The Moragne speech shows, therefore, that some LeRoy of a generation prior to Philip and Mary Anne came to New Bordeaux, for he had a wife in the year 1750, and they were not born until the years 1754 and 1756, respectively. Also, the circumstances indicate strongly that he was the ancestor of the many LeRoy descendants at New Bordeaux in 1854, which would of necessity make him the father of Philip, and most probably of Mary Anne.

We have now records showing that a Mr. LeRoy fled to Flanders about 1750, later to England, and after he death of his wife, came to New Bordeaux; that one Peter Michael LeRoy arrived at New Bordeaux in the year 1768 and brought two dependents. We know that two young people named Philip and Mary Anne came, and in the case of Philip we have in our 1940 history strong evidence that he came later than the main colony of 1764. These things indicate then that Peter Michael brought with him in the year 1768 a son and a daughter named Philip and Mary Anne. We as reasonable people, however, do not form definite conclusions without specific evidence, so let us proceed a step further.

Mary Anne's second husband was a Covin, and through the kindness of a descendant, Miss Virginia Majette, we have the following record, copied verbatim from the Bible of James Louis Covin, who lived at Mt. Carmel, South Carolina:

"Mary La Brun was born in France, Marianne Leroy daughter of the above was born at St. Python in the province of Hainault in French Flanders on the 1st August 1756, and died Nov. 6th 1839."

The name of Mary Anne's mother is easily recognized as the maiden name, Mary being the given name and La Brun (French for "The Brown") being the family name. Here then is a definite link: Mr. LeRoy lived near St. Python, Hainault, in 1750; he had a wife; Mary Anne was born at St. Python, Hainault, in 1756. He came on to New Bordeaux; so did Mary Anne. He came in the year 1768. In what year did Mary Anne come? It is a long, but important chapter.

Some descendants of Mary Anne have placed it in their records that she came at 8 years of age. Also, there is a tradition which dates back at least thirty or forty years, that she was 8 years of age when she crossed the Atlantic. Why these records and traditions? Quite evidently they are all based on the supposition that she came with the main colony in 1764. Having a record that she was born in 1756, the conclusion is easily reached that she came at 8 years of age. But the tradition existed among those who had no record of her birth date. It most likely occurred in the following manner. She lived to be 83, and is said to have been the last to go of the New Bordeaux immigrants. In any community such a person's age is always known, and is emphasized at the time of death. Also, of course, the year the main colony came was generally known, most persons in the community having descended from some member of said colony. Knowing that

at the time of Mary Anne's death in 1839 it had been exactly 75 years since the colony came, it was easy to surmise that if she was 83, she came at 8 years of age. These calculations evidently overlooked the possibility that she might have come a few years later than 1764.

Now let us consider an article written in the year 1895 by Mr. John Altheus Johnson, himself a descendant of Mary Anne, and published in *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina* No. 5. He states that Mary Anne was 12 years of age when she crossed the Atlantic. True, he states it was in 1764, but we now know she could not have crossed in 1764 if she was 12 years of age, for she was born in 1756. So let us examine the article closely. It clearly indicates that Mr. Johnson had within recent years made a visit to his old home around Willington and Bourdeaux, where he was born and reared. L. L. LeRoy now recalls that he made such visits. Mr. Johnson relates many things which were evidently told him by those of the older generation. Without calling him by name, he refers to Elijah LeRoy (father of John Andrew LeRoy) and states by error that he still lived, evidently not having learned of his death as he approached his 74th birthday. At any rate, it is evident that he had talked with Elijah LeRoy, for he refers to his gentle traits, and that he had seen James Louis Covin, Philip Augustus Covin, Benjamin E. Gibert, and others. Now by the ages of those people as given in the article, taken in conjunction with the date of Mary Anne's death, also given, we find that they all knew Mary Anne personally. Elijah LeRoy, himself a grandson of Philip, was 17 years of age at Mary Anne's death, while Benjamin Gibert was 28. It seems very likely indeed that they had told Mr. Johnson about his great, great grandmother Mary Anne, how she crossed the Atlantic at 12 years of age, and about her black eyes, which he mentions. This, evidently, is a true account of her age when she arrived. Now why is Mary Anne's age so important? It is this: if she came at 12 years of age, she came in the year 1768, and evidently came as the daughter of Peter Michael LeRoy, who we know came that year, and who we are sure, beyond reasonable doubt, received under the name Peter Michael King, land for himself and two dependents. Here we have a further definite link: Mary Anne came without doubt as the daughter of the Mr. LeRoy who fled to Flanders, and now the said Mr. LeRoy was quite evidently Peter Michael LeRoy, who arrived in 1768, bringing two dependents, one of whom was Mary Anne.

Who was the other dependent brought along with Mary Anne? Since we have been able to identify the Mr. LeRoy who fled to Flanders, we know that Peter Michael's wife had died. There are many things then which point to Philip as the other dependent. Among them is the evidence that Philip and Mary Anne might be brother and sister, given in our 1940 history. To this we are now able to add the following names of Mary Anne's children by her Covin marriage: Elizabeth, Susan, Mary Anne and Louix. Compare these with the names of Philip's children and see if it does not constitute additional evidence. Since discovering the name of Mary Anne's father, Peter, and her mother,



Mary, the names of Philip's children become greatly significant. His first-born was named Peter. We may reasonably assume that Philip's wife was permitted to name the first girl and find that the next was named Mary — not Mary Anne — just Mary. We do not believe that Philip would have named these children for the father and mother of Mary Anne to the exclusion of his own parents, hence, the father and mother of Mary Anne were also his father and mother.

Next, we have a combination of physical and traditional evidence. Miss Ada Howard Johnson, whose present address is The Dresden, Washington, D. C., and who is a daughter of the late John Altheus Johnson, has very kindly advised us that she now has a small money trunk which, according to tradition, was brought across the Atlantic when Mary Anne came. Bearing upon this subject, the writer talked recently with Mrs. Mary Lou Porter McBride of Willington, South Carolina, regarding her LeRoy ancestor, and she relates that he had a considerable quantity of gold when he crossed the ocean. The said Mrs. McBride was reared by her grandmother, Mrs. Susan Langel Britt LeRoy, who became the daughter-in-law of Philip five years before his death. The tradition is, therefore, direct and from a substantial source. Now a money trunk and gold are uncommon things to be brought across the Atlantic by refugees. It is not likely that Mary Anne, whether she was eight years of age or twelve, would have in her own right been the possessor of a money trunk, nor that Philip, young that he was, would have had much gold. So what is the real meaning of these two separate traditions, supported by the physical evidence of the money trunk? Most likely this: Peter Michael LeRoy, when he brought Philip and Mary Anne across the Atlantic, had some gold in a small money trunk.

To summarize then, we have the following with regard to Philip which connects him almost unmistakably as the son of Peter Michael LeRoy. Peter Michael came to New Bordeaux four years after the arrival of the main colony, using the name King. Philip came some few years later than the main colony; he enlisted in the army under the name King, land was deeded to him as Philip King, and his plantation was shown on a map as "King's"; many of his descendants, even unto the third generation, were known alternately by the names LeRoy and King. The Moragne speech indicates strongly that the Mr. LeRoy, later shown to be Peter Michael, was the ancestor of the LeRoys at New Bordeaux in the year 1854, all of whom were descended from Philip. Two of Philip's children were named Peter and Mary, which indicates that they were grandchildren of Peter Michael and his wife Mary. The traditions of the money trunk and gold indicate that Philip and Mary Anne crossed the Atlantic together as brother and sister, the children of Peter Michael.

The evidence already listed is believed to be conclusive, but if there remains a possibility of a doubt, we now propose to eliminate that possibility by our last item of proof. Being so extraordinary in its nature is what makes it so convincing. We have a certificate signed before a Notary Public August 13, 1941, by Rev. Joseph E. LeRoy, from which the following is extracted:



"I have the impression that my great grandfather Philip LeRoy came to this country several years after the main colony of Huguenots who settled at New Bordeaux, S. C., and had no connection with, and knew nothing of the colony before he came; that the coming of said Philip LeRoy to Bordeaux was either accidental or Providential. That my impression in this matter came to me, to the best of my recollection, as traditional information passed from one generation to another, and was thus brought down to me."

In the interest of giving all the facts, the writer feels sure he will be pardoned for making the following reference to his own uncle. The said J. E. LeRoy now living in Lincoln County, Georgia, is in his 82nd year. He was educated at Stetson University in Florida, and for more than fifty years has been an ordained Baptist Minister, active and retired. With regard to both accuracy and veracity, there lives in America no man whose word would be considered more trustworthy. That Philip came to New Bordeaux without prearranged plans, however, seemed so remote a possibility that it was thought the tradition had been confused by some of the preceding generations. Though having learned of the tradition, we did not print it in our 1940 history. Now we have made the amazing discovery of a government record which not only proves that Peter Michael King was Peter Michael LeRoy, but that he arrived in South Carolina as a result of something which might be called an accident; which, however, will be regarded by many as Providential; which in contracts and our courts is often referred to as an Act of God. The copy of the record, which follows immediately, proves finally and definitely, that Philip was the other dependent who came with Peter Michael LeRoy, and that they came shortly before March 9, 1768.

In Colonial days the South Carolina provincial authorities at Charleston kept what was called a "Council Journal," which was a minute book of the meetings of the Council. These original records are now in the office of the Historical Commission, Columbia, South Carolina. The following is copied verbatim, except that, for purposes of comparison, the order in which the names are listed has been changed.

"Wednesday the 9th March 1768"

"His Excellency the Governor informed the Board that Monsieur Dumese De St. Pierre a French Gentleman having presented to him a Memorial to him setting forth that he sailed from Great Britain with an intention of going to Halifax with a number of Protestant Colonists but they have been drove into this port by distress of weather he had determined to remain here and settle in this province which Memorial His Excellency had referred to the Commons House of Assembly who had thereupon resolved to allow to them the Bounty given by the Act of the General Assembly to protestants coming from Europe to settle in this province and the said

persons attending and having taken the oaths of allegiance His Excellency was pleased to direct that the Public Treasurer should out of any money in his hands belonging to the public pay to the aid Dumesne De St. Pierre the sum of One Thousand One Hundred and Ninety Seven Pounds currency the sum resolved by the Assembly to be granted to them by the said resolution. The following petitions for Warrants of Survey on the Bounty were then presented and read VIZ

	Acres		Acres
James Sezor Boulonge	100	Laurens Revere	100
John Due Depre	100	Robert Rogers	100
Jacob Dilli Chaux	250	John James Steifel	100
Hendrick Dryer	200	Thomas Goguett	100
John Duvall	100	Robert Castle	150
Johannes Gerlegh Flick	250	Elizabeth Forrester	100
Henrick Gasper	100	Ann Hughes	100
Francis Hellet	100	Magdeline Le Que	150
Archibald Heynard	100	Adam De Martile	100
Peter Michl. King	200	Jean Louis Demesne De St. Pierre	150
Francis La Lande	100	Ann Dorothea Elizabeth Yeason	100
Abraham Paw	150		

*Editorial Note:*

Land to be in Hillsborough Township or on Savannah river. In most instances Hillsborough Township is specified. Re Archibald Heynard: Grant actually issued in name Abraham Benard. Re Thomas Goguett: Grant never issued in such a name, but one issued for 100 acres about this time to Henry Marque, who probably came using Thomas Goguett as an assumed name.

*"Friday the 8th July 1768"*

"The following petitions on the Bounty for Town and Vineyard Lotts in Hillsborough Township were presented and read VIZ

Four acres for a Vineyard Lott in  
Hillsborough Township and half an  
acre in New Bordeaux for a Town Lott.

Cezar Boulonge	Abram Ranald
John Ledue Duprez	Peter Michl. LeRoy
Jacob Delacheau	Francis Delalande
Henry Drayer	Abraham Paux
John Duval	Laurens Revierre
John George Flick	Robert Rogers
Henry Gasperd	John James Stiffell
Francis Heller	Henry Marque"

**Editorial Note:**

Those in the record of July 8th are easily recognized to be a group from the De St. Pierre company of March 9th, now asking for their town lots, clearly indicating that Peter Michl. LeRoy is the same man listed March 9th as Peter Michl. King.

Now let us reconstruct our findings. Pierre Michael LeRoy and his wife, the former Mary La Brun, were living in the year 1750 near St. Python, in the province of Hainault, evidently then a part of France. There seems to be no such province in France at the present time, and it probably is the province shown as *Hainaut*, presently incorporated in Belgium, adjoining Flanders, and just across the line from France. Apparently Philip, as well as Mary Anne, was born at St. Python, for we have a Bible record showing that he was born in the year 1754, and the records just reviewed show that the parents lived there at least from 1750 until 1756. Here at St. Python the LeRois were bitterly persecuted on account of their Protestant Christian religion, the persecutors finally entering the home during the husband's absence, dragging the wife by the hair of her head, and threatening the family with death. Pierre then took his family and by night fled into French Flanders, where, it seems, they lived for a number of years, for they did not reach America until early in the year 1768, unless possibly they may have arrived about the end of the preceding year.

It does not require a very imaginative mind to theorize that they lived in Flanders under some assumed name, probably the name King. Nor do we need any records to convince us that they kept a close watch on the turn of political events in their nation. Finally, with no sign of any improvement in conditions, they decided to forsake their native land. They made their way to England. The absence of any tradition regarding this stay in England leads to the belief that they did not live there very long. There in England the wife died. The writer is confident that his great, great, great-grandmother was hastened prematurely to her grave by the acts of the persecutor. At the time of her death she likely had barely reached middle age, and certainly had not passed it, for the child Mary Anne was only about ten or eleven years of age.

After the death of his wife, Pierre LeRoy decided to try for a home in what was then widely known as the New World. Accordingly, he made arrangements to travel with the De St. Pierre company. What gold he had been able to get for his earthly belongings was carefully placed in a small money trunk, and with the children, Philip and Mary Anne, who were now fast becoming a young man and young lady, he boarded the ship, which was bound for Halifax. A storm at sea, apparently, is the only reason we descendants are not today citizens of Nova Scotia.

When driven into port at Charleston, South Carolina, Pierre LeRoy and the children, as a precaution against the vengeance of the French government, were sailing under the name King. They had to make special application for land grant privileges, which if refused might necessitate their taking to the high



seas again, so the name King was still used. After four months in America, and finding that many Frenchmen had come under assumed names, Pierre undertook to satisfy his natural desire for a return to his real name by asking for his town and vineyard lots under the name LeRoy. Resumption of the real name was not so easily accomplished, however, for the writer has affidavits and other papers showing that some one or more members of each of four succeeding generations were known from time to time by the assumed interpretation.

The next records we have regarding Pierre LeRoy are mentioned in our 1940 history. According to the book named in said history, he served in 1773 to Pastor Gibert the mushrooms which it was supposed were the poisonous kind gathered by mistake, causing the pastor's sudden death, which, following a violent illness, occurred on the same night. The Will which Pierre witnessed in 1776 is on record at Charleston, South Carolina. The body of this staunch Protestant evidently lies buried in an unknown grave somewhere near what is now Bordeaux, South Carolina. We have photostatic copies of the plat recordings of the town and vineyard lots, which were given the numbers 96 and 61 respectively. We have also a copy of the land grant, showing all the boundaries of the 200-acre tract, and believe it may be possible to locate the land where his grave might conceivably be found.

René François LeRoy evidently entered South Carolina shortly before September 6, 1769, for on that date the plat for his land grant was certified. We have copies of both the plat and the land grant. The land was laid out in the form of a square near Hillsborough Township on the Southwestern bank of Long Cane creek, at a point where the creek forks immediately below and becomes deep, dead water, about 120 feet wide, being at other places only about 10 feet wide. With this description it may be possible to locate the tract even today. We have been told informally by one familiar with land grant records that René was one of those authorized to sign land grants. This authority probably carried certain powers as a judge in land disputes, etc. All this indicates that he was a man of some education. He made a practice of adding after his signature the French words "Du Cerqueil," which in English means "From the Cerqueil," evidently his home in France. So far we have been unable to locate such a place, but hope to do so at some future time. Due to this method of signing his name, the record of his service as a South Carolina Militiaman in the Revolution is entered wrong. The writer saw at the office of the Historical Commission, Columbia, South Carolina, the original stub from which he was paid for military service. The first letter in his name is not clear, but the name evidently was René LeRoy. With a different ink someone added "Ducerqueil," and his service is listed under the name "Fene Leroy Ducerqueil." He was still present when the 1790 U. S. Census was made, he and Philip being the only LeRois named in the list. It would seem that he was the brother of Philip who came and taught school, later returning to France. The fact that he came the next year after the other LeRois, was a man of some education, and was still present in

1790, only a few years before John LeRoy reached school age, all indicate it. He might have left only a few years after John became his pupil, giving rise to the tradition that he was in America only a few years. The Edict of Toleration, issued in 1787, probably influenced his return to France. While the circumstances indicate that he was the brother of Philip who came, taught school, and later returned, it may never be known positively. It is said that the brother who left was never heard from, and of course might never have reached France.

As stated in our 1940 history, the LeRoy family of New Bordeaux, South Carolina, is listed as having come from the French province of Guienne. Along with the list, published by the Huguenot Society of America, is an explanation that it was compiled from a paper by a Prof. Muench as published in the Charleston, South Carolina, *News and Courier* for April 10, 1898. It now seems evident that an error was made in thus listing the LeRoys; that they did not come from Guienne, but from the province of Hainault.

McCrary's History of South Carolina, Vol. 2, page 370, gives the name of Moses LeRoy as one of the New Bordeaux settlers. In the complete absence of any other record pertaining to such a person, it is believed that the historian, finding the names of Peter Michael, René François and Philip, referred to them collectively as "Messrs. LeRoy" in his original manuscript, which was misprinted to read Moses LeRoy.

The Media Research Bureau, Washington, D. C., has completed an interesting history on "The Name and Family of Le Roy." The period covered goes back more than 400 years, and in their list of the Noble Family of Le Roy the Lords and Counts appear repeatedly bearing the names Pierre, François, Renée, Charles, and others.

## JAUDON OF CAROLINA

ROBERT E. H. PEEPLES  
and  
SARAH NICHOLS PINCKNEY

*Continued from Transactions Number 89 (1984):*

### 30.

*JAMES JOSIAH JAUDON* (Daniel<sup>1</sup>, Elias<sup>2</sup>, Elias<sup>3</sup>, Elias G.<sup>17</sup>), born c. 1814 son of Elias Gabriel and Sarah (Chovin) Jaudon, married c. 1835 Mary Eliza Rushing. He was a planter of St. Peter's Parish where their two children were born:

62. 1. James Josiah Jaudon, Jr., born c. 1836.

63. 2. Henry Ulysses Jaudon, born 10 Nov 1838.

James Josiah Jaudon died c. 1840. In the S. C. Archives is a Marriage Settlement dated 24 Feb 1841 between his widow, Mary E. (Rushing) Jaudon and James C. Brown, "Cotton Gin Wright". They had one son, Milton B. Brown, born 1843. James C. Brown died before 1860 when Mrs. M. Eliza Brown was residing in Brighton, St. Peter's Parish, with her sons James J. Jaudon, Henry U. Jaudon and Milton B. Brown, then a student. On 15 Apr 1868 in Springfield, Ga., Mrs. Mary Eliza (Rushing) Jaudon Brown became the sixth wife of Charles Jaudon (1799-1884). She died there aged 65 on 13 Oct 1879.<sup>120</sup>

### 31.

*MARTHA ANN JAUDON* (Daniel<sup>1</sup>, Elias<sup>2</sup>, Elias<sup>3</sup>, Elias G.<sup>17</sup>), born c. 1820, died 9 Dec 1895, daughter of Elias Gabriel and Sarah (Chovin) Jaudon, married 1 June 1836 Benjamin William Jenkins (4 Jan 1813-18 Jan 1862), son of Benjamin William and Mary Elizabeth (Milliken) Jenkins. He was educated at Brown University, Providence, R.I., and taught school in Barnwell Co., S.C., for many years. In 1837 he bought 800 acres from Angus Patterson which became the nucleus of his Jenkins Hill Plantation where their 10 children were born:<sup>121</sup>

1. William Kirk Jenkins, born 30 Sep 1837, married Julia Connelly. He served as Pvt., Co. F, 3rd S. C. Regt., C.S.A., became a prisoner of war at Fort Delaware where he died in 1865. He left no children.

64. 2. Thomas Willingham Jenkins (11 May 1839-17 Jan 1887).

65. 3. James Albert Jenkins, born 4 May 1841.

<sup>120</sup> *Marriage Settlements*, S.C. Archives, Vol. 15, p. 41, 24 Feb 1841. U.S. Census, 1860, Beaufort Co., S.C., p. 70. 1880 Georgia Mortality Schedule.

<sup>121</sup> Kaufmann Papers.



4. Martha Sarah Jenkins (15 Apr 1843-28 Apr 1906), married Henry Starling Myrick; no children.
66. 5. Benjamin Walter Jenkins, born 8 Mar 1845.
67. 6. Basil Manly Jenkins, born 24 Mar 1847.
68. 7. Mary Elizabeth Jenkins, born 2 Nov 1849.
69. 8. Henry Elias Jenkins, born 26 Apr 1852.
70. 9. Anna Isabella Jenkins, born 13 Mar 1854.
71. 10. Susan Cornelia Jenkins, born 12 Feb 1856.

## 32.

**MARY HYRNE JAUDON** (Daniel<sup>1</sup>, Elias<sup>2</sup>, Elias<sup>3</sup>, Elias G.<sup>17</sup>), born 30 Dec 1823, youngest child of Elias Gabriel and Sarah (Chovin) Jaudon, her mother dying in giving birth to her. She was reared in Robertville where she married 2 Feb 1848 Edward Perry (2 Mar 1817-21 Apr 1896), engineer and millwright of Gillisonville, S.C.<sup>122</sup> Their children:

72. 1. Susan Elizabeth Perry, born 27 Oct 1848.
2. Edward H. Perry, born c. 1850.
3. Grace Nelson Perry, born 12 Mar 1852, married 28 Dec 1871 Howell Wall; 7 children:
  - a. Elizabeth Wall, born 7 Nov 1872.
  - b. Eugene Wall, born 17 May 1874.
  - c. Martha Wall, born 2 Nov 1875.
  - d. Lillian Wall, born 29 Oct 1877.
  - e. Susan Eliza Wall, born 24 Mar 1879.
  - f. Coralie Wall, born 18 Jun 1882.
  - g. Bruce Wall, born 27 Oct 1886.
4. Sarah Chovin Perry (21 Dec 1853-27 Feb 1932), married 30 Mar 1869 John Brooker Malphrus (4 May 1846-3 Mar 1925).
5. Jane Catherine Perry, born 23 Sep 1855.
73. 6. Charles Edward Perry, born 15 Jan 1862.
7. Frances Adelaide Perry, born 18 Jan 1864, married 2 Jan 1884 Rollin Albert Davidson; their daughter Edith Alberta Davidson was born 31 Jul 1890.

## 33.

**THOMAS TURNER JAUDON** (Daniel<sup>1</sup>, Elias<sup>2</sup>, Elias<sup>3</sup>, Thomas D.<sup>18</sup>), was born c. 1806 in St. Peter's Parish, son of Dr. Thomas Dixon and Mary Sarah (Myrick) Jaudon. The 1840 Census places him in St. Paul's Parish, Colleton Co., with his wife. Their son, Thomas Jaudon was born 1846. By 1850 they had returned to St.

<sup>122</sup> *Marriage Settlements*, S.C. Archives, Vol. 17, p. 10. U.S. Census, 1850, Beaufort Co., p. 40-A; 1860 Beaufort Co., p. 31-A.

Peter's Parish where he was manager of two farms. Thomas T. Jaudon died intestate in Chatham Co., Ga., 27 Feb 1859 and his widow married (2) William Fox.<sup>123</sup>

## 34.

*JAMES E. JAUDON* (Daniel<sup>1</sup>, Elias<sup>2</sup>, Elias<sup>3</sup>, Thomas D.<sup>18</sup>), was born c. 1808 in St. Peter's Parish, son of Dr. Thomas Dixon and Mary Sarah (Myrick) Jaudon. He married (1) c. 1836 Sarah (surname not found) and their son, Thomas M. Jaudon was born c. 1838; he died 20 Aug 1858 at the age of twenty of yellow fever and was buried in Laurel Grove Cemetery, Savannah. The 1850 Census shows James E. Jaudon teaching school in Baker Co., Ga.; in 1860 he was teaching school in Grahamville, S. C. His first wife, Sarah, died in Baker Co., Ga., 28 Jul 1851. He married (2) in 1853 Lydia Box Davis; she died 24 Mar 1887.<sup>124</sup>

## 35.

*BENJAMIN JAMES JAUDON* (Daniel<sup>1</sup>, Elias<sup>2</sup>, James Elias<sup>3</sup>, Peter<sup>20</sup>), born 1819 in St. Peter's Parish, son of Peter and Mary Meller (Singleton) Jaudon of Robertville. In late 1840 he married Martha Jane Lawton (1811-17 Sep 1868), daughter of Benjamin T. D. and Jane (Mosse) Lawton, and prospered as a Lawtonville merchant. From 1851 to 1860 he represented Pipe Creek Church at Association Meetings and Martha was a member of the Female Missionary Society. Benjamin James Jaudon made his will and died 13 Jul 1864; Martha Jane made her will and died 17 Sep 1868, both wills filed in Hampton Court House. Martha Jane's will names James T. Jaudon as their eldest child and appoints Rosa Meller Jaudon Guardian of the three youngest children: Robert T., Martha M. and Benjamin E. W., until 1884 when Benjamin would be 21. It states that David Wigton, then deceased, is entitled to 1/3 of the estates of his two deceased wives, both of whom were daughters of Martha Jane. A plat by J. A. Davis 29 Nov 1866 notes that "summons to Brunson, S. C. will reach all of the heirs." In 1874 Benjamin Lawton Brisbane was Administrator of the estate of David Wigton. The children of Benjamin James and Martha Jane (Lawton) Jaudon were:<sup>125</sup>

74. 1. James T. Jaudon, born 1842, Lawtonville, S.C.
2. Rosa Meller Jaudon, born 1844 in Georgia. In 1874 she was one of fifteen signers of the Church Covenant and Rules of Church Decorum

<sup>123</sup> Chatham Co., Ga., Wills Nos. 101 and 102.

<sup>124</sup> U.S. Census, 1850, Baker Co., Ga., p. 38. *Southern Christian Index*, 15 Aug 1851. *Savannah Morning News*, 21 Aug 1858. *Marriage Settlements*, S. C. Archives, Vol. 18, p. 222; Hampton Co., S.C. Wills.

<sup>125</sup> Johnston, *Op. Cit.*, p. 147. U.S. Census, 1850, Beaufort Co., p. 61-B, 1860, Beaufort Co., p. 60.

- of Pipe Creek Church of Regular Baptists at Lawtonville. On 3 Aug. 1885 in Lake City, Columbia Co., Fla., she gave her Power of Attorney to James T. Jaudon with Robert T. Jaudon, witness. She never married.
3. Harriet C. Jaudon, born 1847, married David Wigton and died before her mother made her 1868 will. No children.
  4. Winborn Joseph Lawton Jaudon, born 1849, was named in his mother's 1868 will. He does not appear in 1880 Hampton Co. Census.
  5. Lewis Montague Ayer Jaudon (Sep 1853-7 Oct 1855).<sup>126</sup>
  6. Mary N. Jaudon, born 1856, she apparently died before her mother's 1868 will.
  7. Robert T. Jaudon, born 1858, named in his mother's will, appeared in 1880 Hampton Co. Census. He witnessed his sister's Power of Attorney 3 Aug. 1885 in Lake City, Columbia Co., Florida.
  8. Martha Mildred Jaudon, born 1860, named in her mother's 1868 will, appears in 1880 Census Hampton Co., S.C.
  9. Benjamin E. W. Jaudon, born 1863 as stated in his mother's 1868 will, appears in Hampton Co. 1880 Census.

## 36.

SARAH NORROWAY JAUDON (Daniel<sup>1</sup>, Elias<sup>5</sup>, James Elias<sup>6</sup>, Benjamin<sup>21</sup>), born 11 Mar 1827, daughter of Benjamin and Sarah Thirza (Polhill) Jaudon of Pineland Plantation, Robertville, was married 26 Apr 1849 by Rev. Thomas Rambaut to Rev. John Miner Ashburn (17 Oct 1820-8 Sep 1896) of Kentucky. Shortly thereafter they passed through Savannah, visited briefly in Virginia and travelled on to the Indian Mission Station in Wisconsin where he was Missionary to the Putawatomy Indians. After the birth of their first child, they returned to Robertville in August 1850. They emigrated to Kansas City, Missouri in 1857 with her father and his family.<sup>127</sup> Their seven children were:<sup>128</sup>

1. Sarah Ellen Ashburn, born 13 Jul 1850.
2. Effie Ann Ashburn (17 Mar 1853-1891), married 13 Feb 1884 John Ralph Ellinwood; 3 children:
  - a. Caroline Ellinwood, born 24 Jan 1885.
  - b. J. Ralph Ellinwood, Jr., born 14 Jan 1887.
  - c. Edgar Ellinwood, born 1 Aug 1888.
3. John Benjamin Ashburn, born 13 Mar 1855, married 27 Oct 1887 Adeline Brashears; 7 children:
  - a. Beulah Ruth Ashburn, born 27 Aug 1888.
  - b. Martha Norroway Ashburn, born 21 Apr 1891.

<sup>126</sup> Holcomb, *Op. Cit.*, Baptist newspapers, p. 56.

<sup>127</sup> Holcomb, *Op. Cit.*, Baptist newspapers, p. 18. Stafford, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 470-472. Johnston, *Op. Cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>128</sup> Kaufmann Papers. U.S. Census, 1860 Kansas City, Mo., p. 130.



- c. Sarah Thirza Ashburn, born 19 Dec 1892.
- d. Benjamin Ashburn, born 2 Sep 1894.
- e. George Edgar Ashburn, born 24 Dec 1896.
- f. Thomas William Ashburn, born 12 Jan 1899.
- g. Mary Adeline Ashburn, born 13 Mar 1901.
- 4. George Kempton Ashburn, born 7 Jul 1857, married 30 Sep 1880 Victoria Bell; 6 children:
  - a. Alice Norroway Ashburn, born 4 May 1883.
  - b. Lillie Ellen Ashburn, born 26 Apr 1885.
  - c. Annie Sarah Ashburn, born 25 Mar 1887.
  - d. George Luther Ashburn, born 18 Dec 1888.
  - e. Irene Bell Ashburn, born 15 Oct 1891.
  - f. Ralph Miner Ashburn, born 14 Dec 1898.
- 5. Edgar Dulin Ashburn, born 5 Jan 1860 in Missouri, married 12 Nov 1896 Emily Featherstone; 1 child:
  - a. George Moxley Ashburn, born 20 Nov 1899.
- 6. Benjamin Lee Ashburn (14 Sep 1862-12 Dec 1865).
- 7. Addie Luella Ashburn, born 24 Oct 1864, married 20 Mar 1891 Stephen A. Cobb; 6 children:
  - a. Effie Cobb, born 7 Jan 1892.
  - b. Eleanor Cobb, born 22 Oct 1893.
  - c. Jessie Cobb, born 7 Mar 1895.
  - d. Stephen A. Cobb, Jr., born 15 Feb 1898.
  - e. Brantly Cobb, born 10 Nov 1899.
  - f. John Cobb, born 30 Oct. 1901.

## 37.

MARY ELLEN JAUDON (Daniel<sup>1</sup>, Elias<sup>2</sup>, James Elias<sup>3</sup>, Benjamin<sup>21</sup>), born 30 Oct 1828, daughter of Benjamin and Sarah Thirza (Polhill) Jaudon of Pineland Plantation, Robertville, married 13 Sep 1849 in Robertville William John Stafford (19 Jun 1825-25 Nov 1869), planter of Staffords Cross Roads, St. Peter's Parish, son of James Spicer and Ann (Riley) Stafford of the Hermitage Plantation.<sup>108</sup> They emigrated in 1868 to Kansas City, Missouri, where most of her father's family had settled in 1857. Their children, all born at the Hermitage Plantation, Staffords Cross Roads, were:<sup>109</sup>

- 1. Sarah Ann Stafford, born 13 Jul 1850.
- 2. Benjamin Spicer Stafford, born 21 Dec. 1853.
- 3. William John Stafford, born 22 Dec 1855.
- 4. Herbert Winfield Stafford, born 22 Oct 1857, died 5 Aug 1936 in Kansas City, Mo.

<sup>108</sup> Holcomb, *Op. Cit.*, Baptist newspapers, p. 20.

<sup>109</sup> Stafford, *Op. Cit.*, p. 15. U.S. Census, 1860 Beaufort Dist., p. 58-A.

5. Mary Ellen Stafford, born 26 Dec 1859, died 22 Mar 1961 in Kansas City, Mo., unmarried.
6. Susan Jane Stafford, born 19 Sep 1861.
7. Frances Adelaide Stafford, born 3 June 1863.
8. Thomas Polhill Stafford, born 17 Feb 1866, was ordained a Baptist minister; he married (2) Grace Utley and died in Kansas City 23 Jan 1942.
9. Gulielma Norrway Stafford, born 13 Oct 1867, married O. B. Smith of Waco, Texas.

## 38.

*BENJAMIN ANDERSON JAUDON* (Daniel<sup>1</sup>, Elias<sup>2</sup>, James Elias<sup>3</sup>, Benjamin<sup>21</sup>), born 11 Jun 1832, son of Benjamin and Sarah Thirza (Polhill) Jaudon of Pineland Plantation, Robertville, became a physician and was practicing medicine in Kansas City by 1860. He moved to Palmyra, Mo., where he married 31 May 1867 Frances Elizabeth Yeager, born 1841 in Kentucky. Their children were:<sup>101</sup>

1. Anna Jaudon, born Apr 1868, died unmarried.
2. Benjamin J. Jaudon, born Mar 1874, also a physician.

## 39.

*THOMAS POLHILL JAUDON* (Daniel<sup>1</sup>, Elias<sup>2</sup>, James Elias<sup>3</sup>, Benjamin<sup>21</sup>), born 29 Jun 1835, son of Benjamin and Sarah Thirza (Polhill) Jaudon of Pineland Plantation, Robertville, married 18 Oct 1866 in Palmyra, Mo., Eva N. Williams. He was a grocer in Palmyra in 1880 and a hardware dealer in 1900, dying there 21 Jun 1913. Their children were:<sup>102</sup>

1. Thomas Polhill Jaudon, Jr. (31 Aug 1867-19 Feb 1917), a school teacher.
2. William Winston Jaudon, born and died 17 Aug 1869.
3. Mildred Adelaide Jaudon, born 13 Aug 1870, a school teacher, unmarried.
4. George Mueller Jaudon (13 Oct 1872-18 Mar 1935), married 17 Jan 1895 Louisa Everingham. He was cashier for a Life Insurance Company. Their daughter, Mildred Jaudon, was born Nov 1898.<sup>103</sup>
5. Sarah Eva Jaudon (22 Jul 1874-22 Jul 1875).
6. Benjamin Thomas Jaudon, born 4 Nov 1876, married Virginia Lewis.
7. Robert Fuller Jaudon, born 14 May 1879, was ordained a Baptist minister; he married Ella Gibbs.

<sup>101</sup> U.S. Census, 1880 Marion Co., Missouri, p. 335-B; 1900 Marion Co., Mo., p. 42-B; 1900 St. Louis, Mo., p. 301-B.

<sup>102</sup> Kaufmann Papers, Stafford, *Op. Cit.*, p. 469; U.S. Census, 1900 Kansas City, Mo., p. 101-A.

<sup>103</sup> U.S. Census, 1900 Kansas City, Mo., p. 199-A.

8. Virgil Hardin Jaudon (5 May 1881-18 Jan 1935), married Jessie T. Howard.
9. Eunice Jaudon, born 2 Dec 1883, married Lester J. Wett.
10. Ruby Mary Jaudon, born 10 Feb 1888, married Mr. Miller.

## 40.

*JAMES ADONIRAM JAUDON* (Daniel<sup>1</sup>, Elias<sup>2</sup>, James Elias<sup>3</sup>, Benjamin<sup>21</sup>), born 15 Oct 1839, son of Benjamin and Sarah Thirza (Polhill) Jaudon of Pineland Plantation, Robertville, married 21 Oct 1869 in Miami, Missouri, Lucy Harrison Garnett, born c. 1842 in Virginia. In 1880 he was a farmer in Cass Co., Missouri. Their children were:<sup>184</sup>

1. Ann Lucy Jaudon, born 12 Nov 1870.
2. Laura Ellen Jaudon, born 13 Feb 1872, married E. J. Scott.
3. James Garnett Jaudon, (8 Dec. 1873-3 Feb 1897).
4. Sarah Alice Jaudon, born 19 Jan 1877.
5. Florence Herndon Jaudon, born 6 June 1878, married R. J. Scott.
6. Luther Jaudon (19 Nov 1879-13 Feb 1897).
7. Edmonia Jaudon, born 2 Jun 1883.

(To be Continued)

<sup>184</sup> Kaufmann Papers. U.S. Census, 1880 Cass Co., Mo., p. 16-B.



## HISTORY OF THE CUTTINO FAMILY: *ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA*

G. P. CUTTINO\*

When I published this book in 1982, I remarked in the Preface, "As with almost all family histories, records are often incomplete, and this record is no exception." This article makes the record more complete, for it incorporates all the additions and corrections family members have sent to me in the last four years. Page numbers refer to those in the *History*, and they are here printed in italics.

*p. 11* Add after paragraph beginning "Pierre had three children . . .":

Peter Cuttino's daughter Elizabeth, presumably an only child, married John DUNNAM. Their children were

C/D I. John Peter, b. 11 Jan 1740 in SC, d. Oct 1815; m. 3 Feb 1770 Elizabeth McCants, dau. \_\_\_\_\_ and Rachel (Commander) McCants, b. 12 Dec 1749, d. Oct 1815.

C/D II. Ebenezer.

C/D III. Jacob, b. 1750, d. 9 Jan 1799.

### *Grandchildren*

C/D I. John Peter Dunnam m. Elizabeth McCants:

A. John, b. 3 Nov 1772; m. (1) 22 Mar 1797 Sara Giles, m. (2) 24 Dec 1808 Charity McKenzie.

B. Elizabeth, b. 22 May 1774, d. 1800.

C. Ebenezer McCants, b. 10 Jan 1776 in SC, d. 18 Jun 1841 in Greene Co., MS; m. Elizabeth Strickland (?).

D. William, b. 14 Feb 1778; d. 1817 in SC; m. Judith \_\_\_\_\_.

E. Joseph, b. 26 Mar 1780.

F. Sarah, b. 18 Oct 1782.

G. Mary, b. 19 Sept 1785, d. 18 Oct 1785.

H. Peter, b. 11 Jul 1787.

I. Rachel, b. 22 Feb 1790.

### *Great Grandchildren*

C/D I.A. John Dunnam m. (2) Charity McKenzie:

1. Mary, b. 1811 in SC, d. 1872 in TX.

2. Jeshurun, b. 29 Nov 1813.

3. Lorinzo, b. 14 Oct 1816; m. Libra Powers.

4. Elizabeth, b. 15 Feb 1819.

5. James Peter, b. 29 Mar 1821.

6. Frances Annferraby, b. 25 Jan 1825, d. 15 Oct 1825.

\* Dr. George P. Cuttino, Emory University, Atlanta, whose generous gift in 1985 of approximately three hundred copies of *History of the Cuttino Family* for the financial benefit of our Society through sale of the books will be remembered.

7. Benjamin Griffin, b. 29 Aug 1827.
  8. Robert McKenzie, b. 6 Jul 1830, d. 1 Nov 1833.
- C/D I.C. Ebenezer McCants Dunnam m. Elizabeth Strickland (?):
1. Robert C[uttino], b. 22 Apr 1814 in SC, d. 20 May 1870 near Meridian, MS; m. 19 Dec 1837 Catherine Griffin, b. 13 Jan 1819, d. 23 Jul 1901 in Whynot, MS.
  2. Rhoda N., b. 23 Oct 1816, d. 11 Apr 1882; m. ca. 1845 and div. Alex AVERA, b. 1814.
  3. Lenorah, b. 19 Oct 1818 in GA, d. 10 Mar 1899 in Greene Co., MS; m. Samuel Jones SMITH, s. Clayton and Frances (Jones) Smith of Marion Dist., SC.
  4. Elizabeth Ann, b. 1821 in GA, d. ca. 1877 in Greene Co., MS; m. John Len PRINE.
  5. William S[cribner], b. 31 Dec 1822 in GA, d. 18 Apr 1900 in Greene Co., MS; m. Elizabeth A. (*alias* Irene or Leanne) Prine, b. 8 Mar 1826, d. 18 Sept 1899.
  6. Rachel, b. 13 Jan 1824 in AL, d. 17 Apr 1874 in Greene Co., MS; m. John SMITH, brother of Samuel Jones Smith (*supra*, 3.).
  7. Ebenezer McCants, Jr., b. 20 Sept 1829 in AL, d. 17 Jul 1920 in Greene Co., MS; m. ca. 1852-53 Jane Henderson, b. 24 Apr 1834, d. 28 Dec 1914 in Greene Co., MS, dau. William Isaac and Elizabeth (Strickland) Henderson.
  8. Nathaniel Alexander, b. 9 Jul 1833 in AL, d. 1908 in Greene Co., MS; m. Martha McLain, b. 22 Jan 1835, d. 12 Dec 1914. He served in Steed's Battery, CSA.
  9. H. Arvline "Arvy", b. 4 Jul 1834 in MS, d. 24 Sept 1914 near Pleasant Hill, MS; m. Malachi "Malley" BYRD, b. 3 Apr 1827, d. 5 Nov 1889 near Pleasant Hill, MS.
  10. A. Melissa "Massa", b. 26 Mar 1838 in Greene Co., MS; m. Ed. W. BYRD, b. ca. 1845.
- C/D I.D. William Dunnam m. Judith \_\_\_\_\_:
1. Elizabeth Mary.
  2. Joseph Commander.

#### *II Great Grandchildren*

- C/D I.C.1. Robert [Cuttino] Dunnam m. Catherine Griffin:
- a. Collin Woodberry, b. 30 Sept 1838 in MS, d. 1924; m. (1) Melissa Raley; m. (2) Melinda Helton. He served in Co. M MS Inf CSA. He had six children by his first wife and three by his second.
  - b. Jane, b. 2 Apr 1840; m. (1) 23 Feb 1860 James WALLER; m. (2) Jeff RALEY, s. Rev. James Raley.
  - c. John, b. 15 May 1842.
  - d. Elizabeth, b. 11 May 1843.
  - e. James Wesley, b. 29 Jul 1845 in MS, d. ? in TX; m. 23 Sept 1871 Mrs. Nancy Elizabeth (Bragg) Roberts in Meridian, MS; m. (2) Viola J.

- Denham. He served in Co. 37 MS Inf CSA. He had 13 children.
- f. Griffin, b. 27 Aug 1848 in MS; m. 4 Jan 1872 Laura Britt in Choctaw Co., AL.
  - g. Samuel Ellis, b. 19 Jun 1850, d. 5 Apr 1872; m. 5 Jan 1871 Elizabeth "Lizzie" Mason in Lauderdale Co., MS. They had one child, Samuel Ellis, Jr.
  - h. Martin L., b. 3 Apr 1852 in MS; m. Mattie Dougherty.
  - i. Thomas Jefferson, b. 30 May 1854, d. 13 Aug 1935 in Clarke Co., MS; m. Susie Still, b. 22 Jun 1858, d. 15 May 1916 in Clarke Co., MS. They had nine children.
  - j. Eli William, b. 14 Apr 1856, d. 1914; m. 4 Dec 1881 Margaret Shirley. They had seven children.
  - k. Nancy Catherine, b. 12 Dec 1858; m. James N. SHIRLEY. They had four children.
- C/B I.C. 2. Rhoda N. Dunnam m. Alex AVERA:
- a. John, b. 12 Jun 1842.
  - b. Ebenezer, b. Nov. 1843.
  - c. Mary, b. 30 Apr 1845.
- C/D I.C. 3. Lenorah Dunnam m. Samuel Jones SMITH:
- a. Frances E.
  - b. Mary C.
  - c. Jehu S.
  - d. Manerva.
  - e. George W.
  - f. Hugh N.
  - g. Julia B.
  - h. Charles P.
  - i. Alice L.
  - j. Joseph F.
- C/D I.C. 4. Elizabeth Ann Dunnam m. John Len PRINE:
- a. Isabella.
  - b. Adaline.
  - c. Eliza.
  - d. Elizabeth.
  - e. Mary.
  - f. John M.
  - g. William W.
- C/D I.C. 5. William S[criboer] Dunnam m. Elizabeth Prine:
- a. Mary E. "Bess", b. 1846; m. \_\_\_\_\_ BYRD.
  - b. Joanna, b. 1848; m. \_\_\_\_\_ TAYLOR.
  - c. William Frank, b. 16 Mar. 1850, d. 11 Oct 1921; m. Jehisia Biggs, b. 1848, d. 5 May 1916.
  - d. Thomas, b. 1853; m. Louvatia \_\_\_\_\_.
  - e. Wiley "Wild" M., b. 1855; m. 29 Feb 1878 Jane Davis.
  - f. Emmanuel "Man", b. 5 May 1856, d. Apr 1925; m. 15 Oct 1878 Elizabeth Stevens.
  - g. Ebenezer "Eb" m. Lucinda \_\_\_\_\_.
  - h. Andrew Dulaney, b. 30 Jul 1867, d. 21 Dec 1956, m. 5 Jul 1890 Louisa Meadows.
  - i. Catherine "Cass", b. 1870; m. \_\_\_\_\_ PATRICK.



## C/D I.C. 6. Rachel Dunnam m. John SMITH:

- |               |             |
|---------------|-------------|
| a. Ransom D.  | f. Clety.   |
| b. Elizabeth. | g. Effie.   |
| c. John A.    | h. Jerutha. |
| d. Zechariah. | i. Mary.    |
| e. Claresy.   | j. Henry C. |
|               | k. Hillard. |

## C/D I.C. 7. Ebenezer McCants Dunnam m. Jane Henderson:

- a. George Taylor, b. 5 May 1854 in Greene Co., MS, d. 8 Sept 1931 in Avera, MS; m. 11 Apr 1883 Jincey Emeline Printess.
- b. James Nathaniel, b. 7 Sept 1855 and d. 25 Aug 1928 in Greene Co., MS; M. (1) ca. 1880 Eary Ann Kittrell, b. 11 May 1860, d. 19 Jun 1897; m. (2) 2 Mar 1899 Mary Elizabeth Dunn, b. 20 Mar 1872, d. 20 Sept 1935.
- c. Elizabeth, b. ca. 1857; m. 19 Apr 1901 Charlie O. BACKSTROM.
- d. Caroline "Cal", b. 11 Jan 1859, d. 14 Jan 1941 in Greene Co., MS; m. Harbard HOLDER, b. 14 Jan 1859, d. 16 Oct 1946 in Greene Co., MS.
- e. Elsie, b. ca. 1859; m. ca. 1877 D.P. "Plez" LANKFORD.
- f. Ebenezer McKance III, b. 8 Jan 1863, d. 14 Jan 1941; m. (1) Mary Jane Cochran; m. (2) Ella Rivers.
- g. William Lorinzo, b. 13 Jul 1868, d. 16 Jun 1918 in Greene Co., MS; m. 23 Mar 1890 Mary Ellender Kittrell.
- h. Mary Frozen, b. 30 May 1869, d. 12 Jul 1911 in childbirth; m. Alex McDONALD.
- i. Thomas Sherwood, b. 9 Mar 1871, d. 6 Jan 1929; m. Claudia Tisdale, d. 1925.
- j. Dorcas L., b. 29 Mar 1874, d. 15 Aug 1957 in Greene Co., MS; m. Rance ROBERTSON.

## C/D I.C. 8. Nathaniel Alexander Dunnam m. Martha McLain:

- |                    |                      |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| a. Maranda.        | e. Charles H.        |
| b. Jane Margaret.  | f. Mary B.           |
| c. Cornelius Neal. | g. Leander.          |
| d. Rufus.          | h. William Lawrence. |
|                    | i. Melinda.          |

## C/D I.C. 9. H. Arvline Dunnam m. Malachi BYRD:

- |                |               |
|----------------|---------------|
| a. Mary Ellen. | g. Columbus.  |
| b. William F.  | h. Helen.     |
| c. Nancy J.    | i. Margarete. |
| d. Caroline.   | j. Octavia.   |
| e. R.M.        | k. Alice.     |
| f. Saphronia.  | l. Annie L.   |

## C/D I.C. 10. A. Melissa Dunnam m. Ed. W. BYRD:

- |             |                 |
|-------------|-----------------|
| a. Emaline. | b. Elizabeth M. |
|             | c. J.C. "Jim".  |

*III Great Grandchildren*

C/D I.C. 7. a. George Taylor Dunnam m. Jincey Emeline Printess:

- |                    |                   |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| (1) Coleman Field. | (3) Burley Alan.  |
| (2) Kattie Noland. | (4) Alevia Ozark. |
| (5) Eleanor Ethel. |                   |

C/D I.C. 7. b. James Nathaniel Dunnam m. (1) Mary Ann Kittrell:

- (1) Nancy Almeda, b. 30 Dec 1881; m. 8 Mar 1899 Alfred J. SMITH.
- (2) Ada W., b. 7 Mar 1884, d. 20 Sept 1885.
- (3) Viola, b. 5 Sept 1886; m. 12 Feb 1911 Thomas R. BYRD.
- (4) Walter E., b. 22 Apr 1890, d. 4 Nov 1907.
- (5) Erastus Waldon, Ph.D., b. 29 Dec 1892; m. Odie McLain.
- (6) Flora Idus, b. 6 Feb 1894, d. 15 Jan 1978; m. 10 Oct 1918 Willis WADE.

C/D I.C. 7. b. James Nathaniel Dunnam m. (2) Mary Elizabeth Dunn:

- (7) Collie Elmo, b. 23 Dec 1899, d. 19 Nov 1972; m. 12 Mar 1926 Freda Lewis, b. 21 Aug 1899.
- (8) William McGillery, b. 11 Oct 1901, d. Nov 1960 in Greene Co., MS; m. 27 Jan 1927 Eva Lee Kittrell, b. 9 Jun 1901, d. 1 Jan 1986 in Greene Co., MS.
- (9) Naomi Esther, b. 30 May 1903; m. Camp P. GEIGER.
- (10) Jennie Elizabeth "Bettye", b. 17 Feb 1905; m. 1982 Hugh Lee WILSON.
- (11) Ione Estelle, b. 7 Mar 1907, d. 26 Nov 1909.
- (12) Myrtle Mozilla, b. 8 Jan 1911; m. Caudis Lee DENTON.

C/D I.C. 7. d. Caroline Dunnam m. Harbard HOLDER:

- |                |                      |
|----------------|----------------------|
| (1) Joab.      | (4) Emeline.         |
| (2) William M. | (5) Annie Elizabeth. |
| (3) Abigail.   | (6) Nancy Jane.      |

C/D I.C. 7. e. Elsie Dunnam m. D.P. LANKFORD:

- |              |                |
|--------------|----------------|
| (1) Delbert. | (2) Mary Jane. |
|--------------|----------------|

C/D I.C. 7. f. Ebenezer Mc Kance Dunnam III m. (1) Mary J. Cochran; m. (2) Ella Rivers:

- |                         |                        |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| (1) John Mitchell.      | (6) Ezra Homer.        |
| (2) Florence Elizabeth. | (7) Hadley Wilson.     |
| (3) Sarah "Sally".      | (8) Mary Gertrude.     |
| (4) Ebenezer Watson.    | (9) Charles Carlton.   |
| (5) Naomi.              | (10) Franklin McKance. |

(11) William Warren.

C/D I.C. 7. g. William Lorinzo Dunnam m. Mary Ellender Kittrell:

- |                     |                        |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| (1) Ida Ruth.       | (6) Mary Elizabeth.    |
| (2) Absalom Gaines. | (7) Elmer Ezekiel.     |
| (3) Marthe Emma.    | (8) Laverne Eleanor.   |
| (4) Yancey McCance. | (9) Lois Genevieve.    |
| (5) William Isaiah. | (10) Walter Carrodine. |

## C/D I.C. 7. i. Thomas Sherwood Dunnam m. Claudia Tisdale:

- |                     |                     |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| (1) Milton Edgard.  | (4) Leahman Albion. |
| (2) Herman Hayden.  | (5) Cullen Alton.   |
| (3) Blanton Eldred. | (6) Iva Laree.      |

## C/D I.C. 7. j. Dorcas Dunnam m. Rance ROBERTSON:

- |             |                      |
|-------------|----------------------|
| (1) Jennie. | (4) Rance, Jr. "Bud" |
| (2) Mamie.  | (5) John.            |
| (3) Emma.   | (6) Julie.           |

*IV Great Grandchildren*

## C/D I.C. 7. b. (1) Nancy Almeda Dunnam m. Alfred J. SMITH:

- |              |                |
|--------------|----------------|
| (a) Lamar.   | (e) Stance.    |
| (b) La Roy.  | (f) Vernon.    |
| (c) La Otis. | (g) Erney Rae. |
| (d) Ava.     | (h) Gustava.   |

## C/D I.C. 7. b. (5) Erastus Walton Dunnam m. Odie McLain:

- (a) Barbara m. Devoe POWERS.  
 (b) James Waldon b. 20 Mar 1927; m. Margaret Addlyn Irving.

## C/D I.C. 7. b. (6) Flora Idus Dunnam m. Willis WADE:

- |               |                 |
|---------------|-----------------|
| (a) Clifton.  | (c) Jimmie.     |
| (b) Margaret. | (d) Willis Ann. |

## C/D I.C. 7. b. (7) Collie Elmo Dunnam m. Freda Lewis:

- (a) Mary Catherine, b. 3 Mar 1929.  
 (b) Bennie Carolyn, b. 27 Jul 1930; m. 9 Mar 1950 Gaston CORLEY.  
 (c) Frea Elizabeth, b. 21 Sept 1931; m. 26 Jul 1953 Ace McVAY.

## C/D I.C. 7. b. (8) William McGillery Dunnam m. Eva Lee Kittrell:

- (a) June Elaine, b. 2 Jun 1928; m. & div. Patrick EVERITT.  
 (b) Rev. James Terrell, b. 2 Jul 1929 in Greene Co., MS; m. 3 Mar 1961 Betty Sue Holt, b. in Eudora, Ar, dau. Marion E. and Bertha Mae (Drehr) Holt.  
 (c) Joan Hale, b. 18 Jan 1936.  
 (d) Monetha Kay, b. 28 Jun 1937.  
 (e) William McGillery, Jr., b. 24 Jan 1944; m. (1) Sharon Turner; m. (2) Rebecca Reeves.  
 (f) Jayne Lee, b. 18 Nov 1945.

## C/D I.C. 7. b. (9) Naomi Esther Dunnam m. Camp P. GEIGER:

- |                |                |
|----------------|----------------|
| (a) Elizabeth. | (c) Valentine. |
| (b) Gail.      | (d) Phyllis.   |

## C/D I.C. 7. b. (12) Myrtle Mozilla Dunnam m. Caudis Lee DENTON:

- (a) Donald.  
 (b) Daniel.  
 (c) Betty Ann m. James E. FORREST.



*V Great Grandchildren*

C/D I.C.7.b. (5) (b) James Waldon Dunnam m. Margaret Addlyn Irving:

- [1] Marion Jamel, b. 13 Feb 1960.
- [2] Margaret Jennett, b. 13 Feb 1960.

C/D I.C. 7. b. (8) (a) June Elaine Dunnam m. Patrick EVERITT:

- [1] Sherry Elaine, b. 15 Nov. 1952; m. Steven LARRIMORE.

C/D I.C. 7. b. (8) (b) James Terrell Dunnam m. Betty Sue Holt:

- [1] Susan Carol, b. 26 Jan 1963.
- [2] Jamie Sue, b. 2 Feb 1968.
- [3] James Terrell, Jr., b. 4 Mar 1973.

Elizabeth Cuttino and John Dunnam had at least 255 descendants: three children, nine grandchildren, 19 great grandchildren, 85 II great grandchildren, 103 III great grandchildren (44 of whom are not listed by name), 30 IV great grandchildren, and six V great grandchildren.

p. 17 Delete the last paragraph and substitute:

Thanks to the careful and indefatigable research of Barbara Jean Dezier (Mrs. L.D.) Spurgin, III. A. 12. b. (1), it is now established that William and Elizabeth (Coon) Cuttino had twelve children. They were

William Jr., b. ca. 1770, d. ca. 1805-06, m. ca. 1790-1800 Elizabeth DuPré, b. 15 Dec 1770, bap. 24 Mar 1771 at St. James Santee, d. 12 Oct 1813 and is buried in Welsh Neck Cemetery in Society Hill, Darlington, SC, dau. Samuel and Elizabeth Mary DuPré. They had two children, neither of whom ever married: William III, b. ca. 1794-1800, d. ca. 1810-13, probably the William, grandson of William and Elizabeth, buried in the Old Baptist Cemetery in Georgetown; Samuel DuPré, b. ca. 1805, d. 21 Jul 1826 in Georgetown, who resided with his Uncle Peter from age 10 until his death.

Ann Judith, b. ca. 1772, d. ante 1800.

Elizabeth, No. I on p. 19.

Mary, No. II on p. 19.

Thomas, b. ca. 1775-80, d. ante 1790.

Jeremiah, b. 1775-80, d. 1807-09; m. post 1800 Mary Elizabeth DuPré, b. ca. 1785, d. 30 Jan 1823, cousin of William Jr.'s wife. He is listed as a member of the Winyah Indigo Society in 1807. They may have had a son who died in infancy.

Sarah, b. 1775-85, d. ante 1790.

Peter, No. III on p. 19.

David William, No. IV on p. 19.

Thomas, b. ca. 1791-92, d. ante 1800.

Henry, b. 1774, d. 27 Jan 1856. His epitaph in the Old Baptist Cemetery reads: "Long a Member and a Deacon of the Baptist Church in this place, He adorned the doctrine of God Our Saviour, by a well ordered life and a Godly conversation. His end was Peace." His will, printed as

Appendix No. 7, is the only Cuttino will extant in Georgetown prior to the Civil War.

Benjamin Thomas, No. V on p. 19.

- p. 19 III. m. 12 Mar 1807 by Rev. Philip Mathews.  
 IV. m. (1) 1814 Ann Parnice Parks; m. (2) 5 Nov 1816 Susan S. Park in Columbia, SC.  
 V. m. 20 Aug 1827 by Rev. Dr. Gano.
- p. 20 Add before III.A.: Elizabeth Ann, eldest dau. of Peter Cuttino, b. 18 Feb 1808, d. 4 Oct 1815 in Georgetown, SC.  
 Add after III.A.: Sarah, b. ca. 1812, d. Oct 1819 in Georgetown, SC.  
 III.D. m. 5 Mar 1840 in Georgetown, SC by Rev. Mr. Forster.  
 Add after III.D.: Henry Benjamin, only s. of Capt. Peter Cuttino, b. 1823, drowned 4 Oct 1830.  
 IV.B. Wells, b. Oct 1832 or 1833, dau. Henry Haynsworth and Ann E. (Michau) Wells.
- p. 21 V.A. m. (1) 14 Aug 1847 in Georgetown, SC, by Rev. Archer Smith.  
 V. D. d. 6 Aug 1857; m. 16 Apr 1857 in Trinity Church, Georgetown, SC, by Rev. J.W. Miller Caroline Victoria Miller, dau. John C. Miller.  
 V.E. m. (3) Emma Carr.
- p. 24 III.A.12. m. (2), b. in Springfield, VT.
- p. 25 III.B.1. b. 15 Oct 1835.  
 III.B.7. b. 14 Jan 1845.  
 III.B.11. b. 7 Jul 1853.
- p. 26 III.C.7. Marvin, d. 5 Jul 1936. . DURHAM, b. 16 May 1835, d. 21 Nov 1909.
- p. 27 IV.B.3. Lynum, dau. Charles H. and Sarah Lois (Kelley) Lynum.  
 IV.B.5. Mary Ellen Walsh.  
 IV.B.7. b. 13 Sept 1854.  
 IV.B.9. Clare Alice.  
 IV.B.10. PARLER, s. John Quincy and Barbara J. Parler.  
 IV.B.11. Annie Elizabeth, d. 1956; . . James Arnold PARLER, b. 2 Jun 1864 in Little Rock, AR, s. William Daniel and Mary Amarantha (Snider) Parler.  
 IV.B.13. Mary Lee, b. 1874, d. 1945 in Beaufort, SC.
- p. 31 I.J.1.a. 1873, d. 30 Sept 1935. . 1875, d. 5 Mar 1967.
- p. 32 I.J.7.a. b. 29 Apr 1899, d. 20 Jan 1969; m. (1) 11 Jul 1933 Sallye Brooks Vance. . ; m. (2) 28 Dec 1946 Martha Benn Oliver, d. 14 Jun 1930, widow of I.J.1.a.(1).
- p. 35 IV.A.12.b. *read Boyd for Byrd*.  
 IV.A.12.d. Olson. . , d. 6 Dec 1985 in Antioch, CA.
- p. 36 III.B.2.g. b. in Fernandina Beach, FL., d. 19 Apr 1947 in Jacksonville, FL.
- p. 37 III.C.7.b. , d. 9 Mar, 1950.

- III.C.7.c. b. 30 Apr 1871, d. 27 Nov 1954.  
 III.C.7.d. *read Boulwase for Baulwase.*  
 III.C.7.f. d. in Claxton, GA; m. in Claxton, GA. . . Easterling, b. 5 Jul 1893  
 in Tattnall Co., GA.
- p. 38 III.C.8.b. , d. 1962.  
 III.C.8.c. d. Aug 1953 in Milwaukee, WI.
- p. 39 IV.B.1.a. Mary (Minnie) L., b. 1864.  
 IV.B.1.e. Julia A., b. 1876;  
 IV.B.1.g. , b. 1879;
- p. 40 IV.B.5. Mary Ellen Walsh;  
 IV.B.5.c. Ellen Walsh, b. 4 Mar 1878 in Sumter, SC, d. 9 Apr 1965 in  
 Lexington, SC; m. 11 Apr 1900 in Sumter, SC, Joseph Haynsworth  
 DARR, b. 18 Aug 1871 and d. 26 May 1930 in Sumter, SC.  
 IV.B.5.d. , d. 10 Sept 1965; m. 30 Jan 1905 Ronald Bennett BEATSON,  
 Jr.
- p. 41 IV.B.11.b. ; m. (1) . . ; m. (2) Clarence E. COPE.  
 IV.B.11.c. d. 5 Nov 1983; m. . . O.K. McCUTCHEON.  
 IV.B.11.d. m. in Irvington, NJ. . . b. 11 May 1880 in Boston, MA, s. Daniel  
 M. and Dora (Donohoe) Allen.  
 IV.B.11.f. , b. 28 Jun 1906, d. 17 Nov 1983;  
 IV.B.12.c. m. (1) . . , d. 22 Apr 1981; m. (2) 23 Apr 1983 Mrs. Mary Alma  
 Chavers Patton.
- p. 42 V.F.4.a. d. 26 Jan 1986 in Bloomington, IN;  
 V.F.4.c. d. 4 Jan 1986 in Bellville, TX;
- p. 46 I.J.1.a.(1) 1899, d. 26 Nov 1939. . . 1902, d. 14 Jun 1970 in Georgetown,  
 SC.
- p. 47 III.A.3.d.(3) Jean Adele. . . m. 23 Dec 1923 in Carmel, CA. . . , d. 22 Nov  
 1980 in Oakland, CA.
- p. 48 III.A.5.c.(4) Wanzer, d. 28 Oct 1980 in Sacramento, CA; m. (2) 1 Aug  
 1981 Mrs. Marjel Edwards in Sacramento, CA.
- p. 50 III.A.12.b.(1) *read Lawrence for Laurence; read South Pasadena for*  
*Pasadena; read Margaret Pearl for Margaret.*  
 III.A.12.d.(2) Ph.D. . . d. 2 Dec 1979 in Davis, CA.
- p. 53 III.C.7.d. *read Boulwase for Baulwase.*  
 III.C.7.d.(1) ; m. 24 Dec 1933 Helen Elizabeth Riley of Swansea, SC, b.  
 24 Mar 1910.  
 III.C.7.d.(2) *read Lawrence for Larry.*  
 III.C.7.d.(4) ; m. 2 Apr 1938 George W. GRAHAM, b. 10 Apr 1906.  
 III.C.7.e.(1) ; m. 1 Nov 1945 in New York, NY, Elizabeth Ryan, b. 30 Apr  
 1916 in New York, NY.
- p. 58 IV.B.3.b.(1) , d. 6 Sept 1984 in Sumter, SC;  
 IV.B.3.f.(4) *read SC for NC.*  
 IV.B.4.a.(2) ; m. 23 Nov 1943. . . b. 29 Dec 1920.



- p. 59 IV.B.4.a.(4) , b. 9 Mar 1929.  
 IV.B.5.c. Ellen Walsh Cuttino m. Joseph Haynsworth DARR:  
 (1) Joseph Haynsworth, Jr., b. 25 May 1906 in Sumter, SC, d. 10 Dec 1978 in Charleston, SC; m. 12 Jun 1925 in Sumter, SC, Ruby Blanche Passailaigue, b. 24 Nov 1927 in Sumter, SC.  
 (2) Ellen Natalie, b. 5 Oct 1913 in Sumter, SC; m. 12 Jun 1940 in Sumter, SC, Rev. William Tracy CHEWNING, b. 3 Mar 1913 in Manning, SC.
- IV.B.5.d. Anna Coleman Cuttino m. Ronald Bennett BEATSON, Jr.:  
 (1) Ronald Benjamin, b. 25 Jan 1906, d. 3 Oct 1971; m. 15 Jul 1928 Ruth Kyser.  
 (2) Lois Noreene, b. 10 Nov 1909; m. Hugh Swinton McGILLIVARY, Jr.  
 (3) Zola Rebecca, b. 8 Aug 1911; m. 31 Jan 1931 William Shafter JACKSON.  
 (4) Gordon Elwood, b. 19 Jul 1914, d. 1970; m. Margaret Ethel Geddings.  
 (5) Halvor Cuttino, b. 12 Mar 1916, d. 1969; m. Tressie Barkley.  
 (6) Mary Sue, b. 21 May 1918; m. Frank G. WELLS, b. 9 Dec 1916, d. 16 Oct 1984.  
 (7) Earl LeRoy, b. 4 Oct 1922; m. Dorothy Leona Barfield.
- p. 60 IV.B.5.i.(5) SC, d. 14 Apr 1982 in Savannah, GA;  
 IV.B.11.d. Grace Parler m. John Joseph ALLAN:  
 (1) Joseph James, b. 10 Jun 1931 in Westfield, NJ; m. 12 Jun 1954 in Oak Ridge, TN, Mary Catherine Beamish, b. 19 Dec 1932 in Philadelphia, PA, dau. Richard Joseph and Mary Katherine (Cameron) Beamish, Jr.
- p. 67 I.J.1.a.(1)(b) 26 Jun 1933; m. 20 Jun 1956 Roddey Cobb BELL in Prince George Parish, Winyah, Georgetown, SC, by The Revs. Curtis Bell and A. Nelson Daunt.
- p. 68 III.A.5.c.(4)(a) 1930 and d. 1 Jan 1982.
- p. 70 III.A.12.b.(2)(c) 1963. . . , d. 21 May 1983 in South Laguna, CA.  
 III.A.12.c.(2)(a) 1977 and div.; m. (2) 7 Sept 1984 Karl V. SECKEL.
- p. 71 read III.B.10.b.(2) for III.B.10.a.(2)  
 read III.B.10.b.(3) for III.B.10.a.(3)
- p. 73 III.C.7.d.(1) John Woodward Durham, Jr., m. Helen Elizabeth Riley:  
 (a) Corinne Angele, b. 18 Apr 1936.  
 (b) John Woodward, III, b. 29 Mar 1940.  
 (c) Elizabeth Ann, b. 29 Nov 1943.
- III.C.7.d.(2) Mary McMaster Durham m. Lawrence B. SORENSEN:  
 (a) Lawrence B., Jr., b. 24 Jul 1940 in Washington, DC.
- III.C.7.d.(3) William S. Durham, II, m. Lois Christine Thomas:

- (a) Lois Christine, b. 18 Oct 1933; m. 23 Mar 1958 Paul Leo BEIDERWELL.
- (b) William Strother, b. 29 Nov 1937.
- (c) Cynthia Anne, b. 23 Feb 1943.
- III.C.7.d.(4) Marvin McNulty Durham m. George W. GRAHAM:
- (a) Marvin Littlefield, b. 25 Jun 1940.
- (b) George Winston, b. 17 Jun 1945.
- III.C.7.e.(1) Alexis McNulty Durham, Jr., m. Elizabeth Ryan:
- (a) Alexis McNulty, III, b. 13 Aug 1950.
- (b) Philip, b. 21 Jun 1954.
- p. 75 IV.B.1.c.(5)(a) ; m. 26 May 1942 John Meyer HENDLEY, b. 2 Dec 1921 in Charleston, SC, s. Coyt Taylor and Ruth Lois (Denaro) Hendley.
- IV.B.1.c.(5)(b) ; m. 2 Mar 1957 in Sumter, SC, Mary Ann Chandler, b. 3 Dec 1927 in Sumter, SC.
- p. 76 IV.B.3.a.(3)(a) M.D. . . . , d. 7 Nov 1982 in Denver, CO;
- p. 78 IV.B.e.f.(4)(a) ; m. 3 Aug 1974.
- IV.B.4.a.(2)(a) Egan, b. 7 May 1949.
- IV.B.4.a.(2)(b) Campbell . . . , b. 13 Nov 1949.
- IV.B.4.a.(3)(a) Campbell . . . , b. 26 Aug 1953.
- IV.B.5.c.(1) Joseph Haynsworth Darr, Jr., m. Ruby Blanche Passailaigue:
- (a) Blanche Ellen, b. 25 Dec 1926 in Sumter, SC; m. 16 Dec 1950 in Clinton, SC, William Wannamaker SMITH, b. 20 Apr 1928 in Conway, SC.
- (b) Ruby Jo, b. 24 Dec 1932 in Sumter, SC; m. 9 Jul 1955 in Clinton, SC, James Paul HAHN, b. 27 Aug 1933 in Ashville, NC.
- (c) Mary Susan, b. 9 Mar 1935 in Sumter, SC; m. 10 Jun 1955 in Clinton, SC, Richard Parks LOVELAND, b. 31 Jan 1933 in Bridgeton, NJ.
- IV.B.5.c.(2) Ellen Natalie Barr m. William Tracy CHEWNING:
- (a) William Tracy, Jr., b. 25 Oct 1944 in Chester, SC, d. 3 Mar 1964 in Augusta, GA.
- p. 79 IV.B.5.d.(1) Ronald Benjamin Beatson m. Ruth Kyser:
- (a) Mary Ann, b. 9 Nov 1931; m. and div. 1970 Walter BJARNESEN.
- (b) Helen Ruth, b. Jun 1933, d. 28 May 1964.
- IV.B.5.d.(2) Lois Noreene Beatson m. Hugh Swinton MCGILLIVARY, Jr.:
- (a) Hugh Swinton, III, b. 12 Mar 1933; m. 10 Jun 1955 and div. Shirley Burns.
- (b) Lois Beatson, b. 5 Jun 1934; m. 30 Aug 1958 Noel Arthur BLACKWELL, and adopted Leslie Noreene.
- (c) Mary Bonneau, b. 19 Aug 1935; m. 19 Jun 1980 and div. James Stanley KEATING.
- IV.B.5.d.(3) Zola Rebecca Beatson m. William Shafter JACKSON:

- (a) William Shafter, Jr., b. 3 Nov 1931; m. 10 Jul 1959 Cecelia Lamar Kolb.
- (b) Nina Beatson, b. 28 Mar 1939; m. 9 Jun 1961 Warren Hamilton STRANGE.
- (c) Lila Rebecca, b. 12 Apr 1948; m. 26 Dec 1976 James Edward WALTON, Jr.
- IV.B.5.d.(4) Gordon Elwood Beatson m. Margaret Ethel Geddings:
- (a) Robert Gordon, b. 13 Jul 1939; m. Mary Alice Smith.
- (b) Thel Mana, b. 22 May 1941; m. Arthur DURANT.
- IV.B.5.d.(5) Halvor Cuttino Beatson m. Tressie Barkeley:
- (a) Ronald Bruce, b. 25 Jan 1945; m. 21 Dec 1970 Betty Lou Monshow.
- (b) Sara Nell, b. 4 Sept 1949; m. 1 Nov 1969 Thomas Graham HALL.
- IV.B.5.d.(6) Mary Sue Beatson m. Frank A. WELLS:
- (a) Frank Bennett, b. 8 Jan 1937, d. 15 Oct 1948.
- (b) John Brogdon, b. 2 Apr 1939; m. 26 Aug 1961 Mary Pearce.
- (c) Ronald Millard, b. 8 Jun 1945; m. (1) and div. Denise Lindsey; m. (2) Brenda S. Bair.
- (d) Susan Anna, b. 25 Apr 1946; m. 27 Dec 1969 David Earl YOUNT.
- (e) David Patrick, b. 22 Mar 1954; m. René Anderson.
- IV.B.5.d.(7) Earl LeRoy Beatson m. Dorothy Leona Barfield:
- (a) Carol Elaine, b. 1 Jan 1943; m. 22 Nov 1961 Fingal Gordon BLACK.
- (b) Earl LeRoy, Jr., b. 25 Aug 1948; m. 3 Jun 1972 Carolyn Lucille Hall.
- (c) Paul Richard, b. 11 Mar 1953.
- p. 80 read IV.B.6.b.(2) for IV.B.6.b.(1)
- IV.B.11.b.(1)(a), b. 7 Apr 1949 on Parris Island, SC; m. 26 May 1984 in Charleston, SC, Karen Camille Whitener, b. 21 Nov 1955 in Hickory, NC, dau. William Lonnie and Marjorie (Henderson) Whitener.
- IV.B.11.b.(3)(a) read Warner for Garner
- IV.B.11.d.(1) Joseph James Allan m. Mary Catherine Beamish:
- (a) Kathleen Mary, b. 7 May 1955 in Miami Beach, FL; m. 17 Oct 1975 in Hyattsville, MD, Charles Clifford JONES, s. Raymond Madison and Dorothy (Jilson) Jones.
- (b) Joseph James, Jr., b. 27 Jun 1956 in Miami Beach, FL.
- (c) Theresa Amator, b. 19 Jun 1957 in Miami Beach, FL; m. 12 Mar 1983 in North Miami Beach, FL, Keith Scott ANDERSON, b. 13 Mar 1954 in Wichita, KS, s. Harland Keith and Barbara Jane (Lincicome) Anderson.
- (d) Jean Marie, b. 18 Jul 1958 in Oak Ridge, TN; m. ?
- (e) Patrick John Joseph, b. 4 Sept 1960 in Woodbury, NJ.
- (f) Rosemary, b. 21 May 1963 in Ogden, VT.



(g) Mary Francine, b. 16 Aug 1964 in Melbourne, FL.

p. 82 V.F.3.a.(1)(a) ; m. 30 Jun 1984 in Johnson City, TN, Angela Gayle Darden, b. 26 Sept 1961 in Camden, AR, dau. Mearl and Paula (Garner) Darden.

p. 85 I.J.1.a.(1)(b) Ruth Benn Oliver m. Roddey Cobb BELL:-

[1] Martha Louise, b. 28 Jul 1959; m. 14 Jun 1986 in Georgetown, SC, Thornton Sidney SMITH, b. 20 Nov 1951 in Hartsville, SC.

[2] Mary Ruth, b. 3 Aug 1962 in Greenville, SC; m. 11 Jul 1985 Timothy Allen WALL, b. 17 Jun 1959 in Georgetown, SC.

p. 86 III.A.12.b.(2)(a) Kenneth Robert Drew m. Lisa Kathryn Schisler:

[1] Peter Wayne, b. 10 Apr 1980 in Montclair, CA.

[2] Samuel Henry, b. 30 Sept 1982 in Pomona, CA.

p. 87 *read III.B.10.b.(2)(b) for III.B.10.a.(2)(b)*

*read III.B.10.b.(3)(b) for III.B.10.a.(3)(b)*

p. 88 III.C.2.e.(3)(a)[1] in Okinawa; m. 16 Jun 1984 Walter Burns BEAVER, Jr., M.D., b. 27 Dec 1952 in Charlotte, NC, s. Walter Burns and Mary Jane (Womack) Beaver.

*read III.D.6.b.(2)(b) for III.B.6.b.(2)(b)*

IV.B.1.c.(5)(a) Augusta Louise Nance m. John Meyer HENDLEY:

[1] Anne Louise, b. 2 Oct 1948; m. 14 Jun 1975 Robert W. KEARNS.

[2] Susan Taylor, b. 27 Feb 1950; m. 20 Jun 1971 James B. KEY.

[3] John Scott, b. 30 Aug 1953.

[4] Martha Nance, b. 25 May 1957.

IV.B.1.c.(5)(b) Robert Fleming Nance m. Mary Ann Chandler:

[1] Robert Fleming, Jr., b. 14 Dec 1957 in Sumter, SC.

[2] Betty Ann, b. 11 Oct 1959 in Sumter, SC.

[3] David Chandler, b. 10 Oct 1965 in Sumter, SC; m. 15 Feb 1985 Cheryl Melisse Christmas in Sumter, SC.

p. 89 IV.B.3.a.(3)(d)[1] ; m. 2 May 1971.

IV.B.3.a.(3)(d)[2] m. (1) 19 Jun 1970 and div. Feb. 1981 Craig WOOD

... ; m. (2) 18 Sept 1981 William Walden BARR, b. 6 Jan 1944.

IV.B.3.a.(3)(d)[4] ; m. 13 Mar 1976.

p. 90 IV.B.3.a.(3)(d)[5] ; m. 21 Jun 1980 Steven Gaines, Ph.D., b. 9 Mar 1955.

IV.B.3.a.(6)(e)[2] William Cuttino, b. 25 Jul 1980.

[3] David Franklin, b. 27 Jul 1982.

p. 91 *read IV.B.3.f.(4)(a) for IV.B.3.f.(4)(g).*

IV.B.3.f.(4)(a)[3] Virginia Lynn, b. 6 Sept 1984.

*read IV.B.3.f.(4)(b) for IV.B.3.f.(4)(h)*

IV.B.3.f.(4)(b)[2] b. 8 Mar 1981.

IV.B.5.c.(1)(a) Blanche Ellen Darr m. William Wannamaker SMITH:

[1] Ellen Gwendolyn, b. 20 Oct 1953 in Charleston, SC; m. 4 Jun 1977 in Charleston, SC, Dr. Thomas Wray McKEE, b. 29 Dec 1951 in Charleston, SC.

- [2] Mary Jo, b. 19 Nov 1957 in Charleston, SC; m. 29 Nov 1980 in Charleston, SC, Stephen Bradford SPENCE, b. 7 Oct 1957.
- [3] William Darr, b. 14 Jun 1968 in Charleston, SC.
- IV.B.5.c.(1)(b) Ruby Jo Darr m. James Paul HAHN:
- [1] James Paul, Jr., b. 12 Nov 1962 in Lakeland, FL; m. 10 May 1986 in Birmingham, Al Fran Duggan.
- IV.B.5.c.(1)(c) Mary Susan Darr m. Richard Parks LOVELAND:
- [1] Darrey Ann, b. 22 Oct 1956 in Bridgeton, NJ.
- [2] Richard Parks, Jr., b. 29 Jun 1960 in Bridgeton, NJ.
- IV.B.5.d.(1)(a) Mary Ann Beatson m. Walter BJARNESEN:
- [1] Jennifer Ann.
- [2] Debra Lynn, twin of
- [3] Richard Lee, d. infancy.
- IV.B.5.d.(2)(a) Hugh Swinton McGillivary, III m. Shirley Burns:
- [1] John Michael.
- [2] Steven Alexander.
- [3] Hugh Swinton, IV.
- [4] Mark Anthony.
- IV.B.5.d.(2)(c) Mary Bonneau McGillivary m. James Stanley KEATING:
- [1] Julia Ann.
- [2] Kevin James.
- IV.B.5.d.(3)(a) William Shafter Jackson, Jr., m. Cecelia Lamar Kolb:
- [1] William Shafter, III.
- [2] Wendy Cecelia.
- IV.B.5.d.(3)(b) Nina Beatson Jackson m. Warren Hamilton STRANGE:
- [1] Warren Hamilton, Jr.
- [2] Christopher Todd.
- [3] Catherine Elizabeth.
- IV.B.5.d.(3)(c) Lila Rebecca Jackson m. James Edward WALTON, Jr.:
- [1] James Edward, III.
- [2] Molly Rebecca.
- IV.B.5.d.(4)(a) Robert Gordon Beatson m. Mary Alice Smith:
- [1] Robin Renee.
- [2] Kimberly Ann.
- [3] Robert Gordon, Jr.
- [4] Ronald David.
- IV.B.5.d.(5)(a) Ronald Bruce Beatson m. Betty Lou Monshow:
- [1] Bryan Christopher.
- [2] Scott William.
- IV.B.5.d.(5)(b) Sara Nell Beatson m. Thomas Graham HALL:
- [1] Tracy Michael.
- [2] Thomas Graham, Jr.
- IV.B.5.d.(6)(b) John Brigdon Wells m. Mary Pearce:

- [1] John Brigdon, Jr., b. 22 Sept 1963.  
 [2] James Bennett, b. 6 Aug 1969.
- IV.B.5.d.(6)(c) Ronald Millard Wells m. (1) Denise Lindsey:  
 [1] Dana Lynn.  
 [2] Michael Lindsey.
- IV.B.5.d.(6)(d) Susan Anna Wells m. David Earl YOUNT:  
 [1] Kevin David.  
 [2] Mary Joanna.
- IV.B.5.d.(7)(a) Carol Elaine Beatson m. Fingal Gordon BLACK:  
 [1] Vicki Lynn, b. 11 Feb 1964.
- IV.B.5.d.(7)(b) Earl LeRoy Beatson, Jr., m. Carolyn Lucille Hall:  
 [1] Kristen Joy.  
 [2] Joanne Grace.  
 [3] Scott Earl.
- p. 92 IV.B.11.b.(1)(a) John Thomas Hilton, Jr., m. Karen Camille Whitener:  
 [1] Anna Grey, b. 22 Aug 1985 in Charleston, SC.
- IV.B.11.b.(3)(a) James Parler Collier, Jr., m. (1) Linda Gillis:  
 [1] Susan Catherine, b. 6 Oct 1966.
- IV.B.11.b.(3)(a) James Parler Collier, Jr. m. (2) Linda Warner:  
 [2] James Harry, b. 30 Apr 1969.  
 [3] Carl Keith, b. 15 Aug 1970.
- IV.B.11.b.(3)(b) Katherine Sue Collier m. Christopher Francis SAPP:  
 [1] Katherine Ann, b. 10 Apr 1968.  
 [2] Valerie Ellen, b. 5 Jan 1972.  
 [3] Christopher Robert, b. 1 May 1974.
- IV.B.11.d.(1)(a) Kathleen Mary Allan m. Charles Clifford JONES:  
 [1] Christopher Raymond, b. 19 Feb 1976 in Washington, DC.
- IV.B.11.d.(1)(c) Theresa Amator Allan m. Keith Scott ANDERSON:  
 [1] Joseph Lealand, b. 8 Mar 1984 in North Miami Beach, FL.
- IV.B.11.d.(1)(d) Jean Marie Allan m. ?:  
 [1] Bridget Marie, b. 3 Jun 1976 in Washington, DC.
- p. 93 III.B.4.a.(2)(b)[1][c] Ryan Alexander, b. 5 Sept 1984.
- III.B.4.a.(2)(b)[3][b] Harriet Meleese, b. 5 Oct 1982.
- IV.B.1.c.(5)(a)[1] Anne Louise Hendley m. Robert W. KEARNS:  
 [a] Anna Fleming, b. 25 May 1979 in Hartsville, SC.  
 [b] Robert Hendley, b. 25 Mar 1982 in Hartsville, SC.  
 [c] John Taylor, b. 9 Nov 1983 in Hartsville, SC.
- IV.B.1.c.(5)(a)[2] Susan Taylor Hendley m. James B. KEY:  
 [a] Martha Suzanne, b. 14 Jan 1974 in Charleston, SC.  
 [b] Kathleen Bartlette, b. 25 Sept 1979 in Myrtle Beach, SC.  
 [c] Sarah Elizabeth, b. 11 Jan 1986 in Greer, SC.
- p. 94 IV.B.3.a.(3)(c)[3][d] Sarah Marie, b. 12 Apr 1983.
- IV.B.3.a.(3)(d)[1][b] Duncan Nicholas, b. 4 Jun 1981 in Corvallis, OR.



- IV.B.3.d.(3)(d)[2] m. (1)  
 IV.B.3.d.(3)(a)[2] Nancy Marie Lubchenco m. (2) William Walden Barr:  
 [a] William David, b. 28 Jan 1983 in Aurora, CO.  
 IV.B.3.a.(6)(c)[2][d] Lewis Haughton, b. 30 Jan 1981.  
 IV.B.3.a.(6)(c)[3] Lois Anne Alexander m. Donald Lee MARTIN, Jr.:  
 [a] John Elliott, b. 30 Aug 1981.  
 [b] Thomas Jordan, b. 10 Nov 1983.  
 IV.B.3.a.(6)(c)[4] Ralph Lewis Alexander, Jr. m. Denise Darcel Daniels:  
 [a] Lewis Cuttino, b. 10 Dec 1983.  
 IV.B.5.c.(1)(a)[1] Ellen Gwendolyn Smith m. Dr. Thomas Wray McKEE:  
 [a] Mary Ellen Darr, b. 5 Jan 1981 in Little Rock, AR.  
 [b] Thomas Wray, Jr., b. 29 Sept 1983 in Savannah, GA.  
 IV.B.5.c.(1)(a)[2] Mary Jo Smith m. Stephen Bradford SPENCE:  
 [a] Mary Margaret, b. 22 Nov 1982 in Houston, TX.  
 [b] Paige Elise, b. 13 Mar 1985 in Houston, TX.

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The number of direct blood descendants of William and Elizabeth (Coon) Cuttino now stands at 1,883: 12 children, 30 grandchildren, 151 great grandchildren, 309 II great grandchildren, 460 III great grandchildren, 514 IV great grandchildren, 331 V great grandchildren, 76 VI great grandchildren.

THE PROGENY AND PEDIGREE OF  
MARY MITTIE DuPRÉ  
and JOHN FRANKLIN TOWNSEND

W. W. WANNAMAKER, III

Additions and Corrections:

Pages 85 and 86 *Transactions* Number 90 (1985):

Beverly Townsend Peterson and first husband, Paul E. Britton, had no issue. Beverly married secondly Ahmed Elkashef, M.D. (born 1 November 1954), a native of Egypt, on 10 March 1984; they live in Columbia, SC.

Daniel McLeod (Buster) Peterson, III was born 16 December 1945 and first married Marianne Wright; their only child Lisa Ann Peterson was born 21 April 1971 and she lives in Kilgore, TX. Buster married secondly Rhonda Hope Argoe on 8 June 1984. He is a veteran of Viet Nam and lives at Isle of Palms, SC.

David Worthington Peterson married 17 March 1985 Paula Kim Timmer; they live in San Antonio, TX.

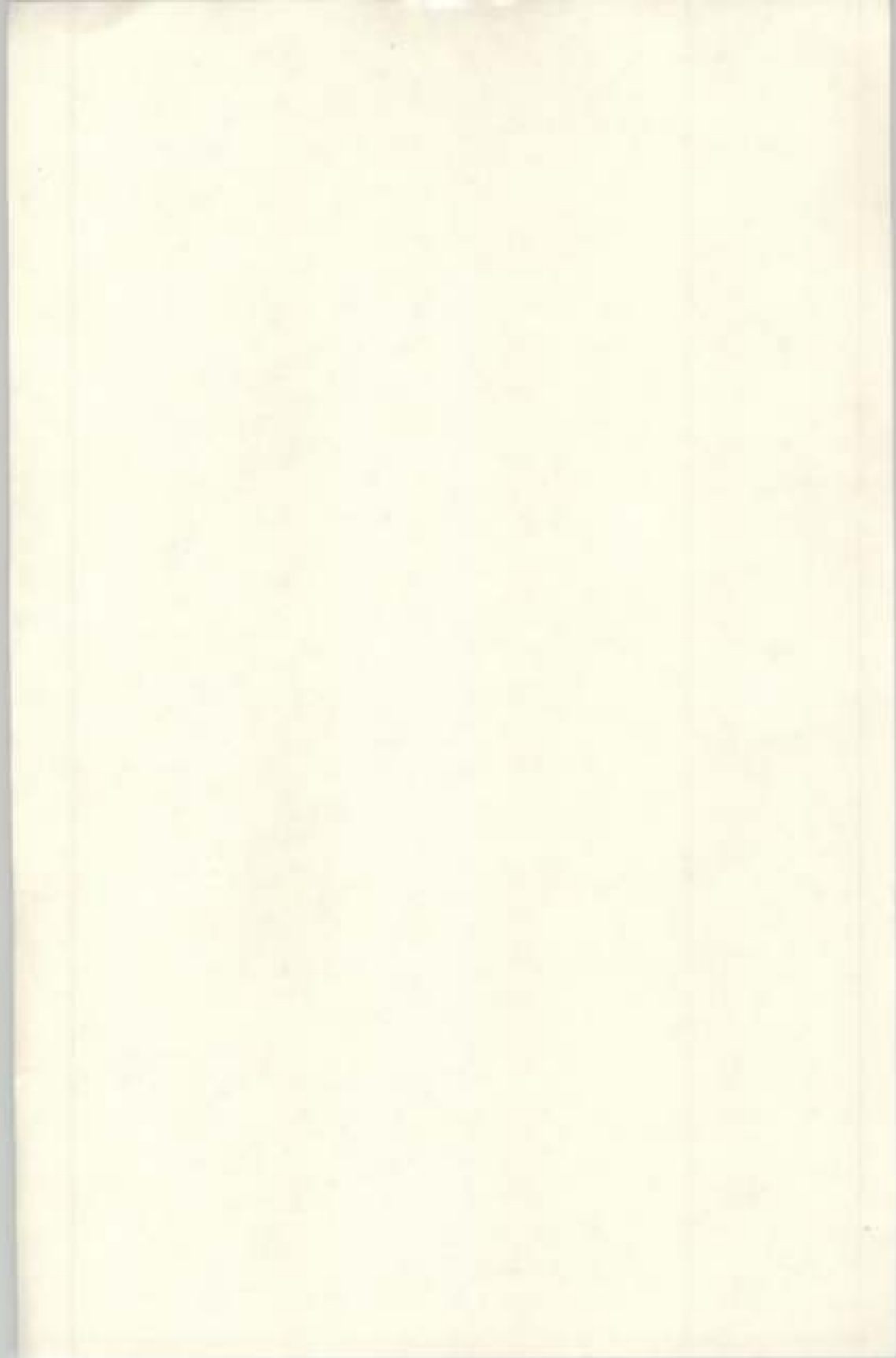
Maria Gabrielle (Gabby) Peterson married Gregory Allen Porter (born 27 January 1953); their child Charles Gregory Townsend Porter was born 5 December 1984 and they live in Columbia, SC.

Dominick (Nicky) Martin Peterson lives in New Jersey. Christina (Tina) Marie Peterson lives in Aiken, SC.

John Clarence (JC) Townsend, Jr., married secondly Gladys (Vani) Van Nimon.

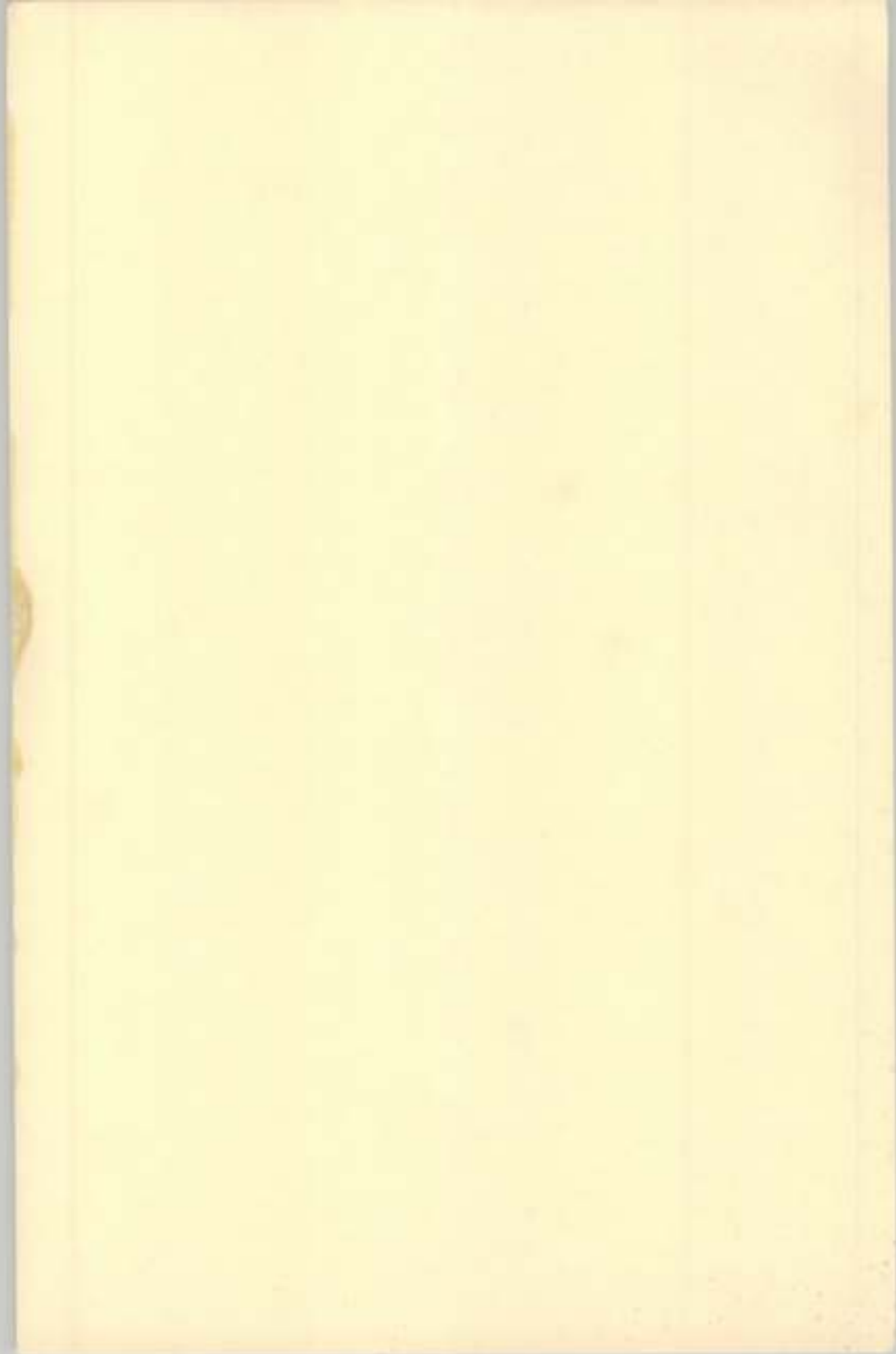












THE R. L. BRYAN COMPANY  
COLUMBIA, S. C.