

DAVID FRANCIS de MONTMOLLIN

1721 - 1803

A SHORT BIOGRAPHY

by

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## FOREWORD

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

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

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

George C. Marler.

Montreal, March 7th, 1963.

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

Lest unsuitable persons should seek appointments to any ecclesiastical benefice in the Province, the Governor was instructed not to prefer any Protestant Minister "without a certificate from the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of London of his being conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, and of good life and conversation"; and to make sure that any appointee conducted himself in a seemly fashion the Governor was directed - - "if any person hereafter preferred to a Benefice shall appear to you to give Scandal, either by his Doctrine or his Manners" - to use the best means for his removal.

At the time the Governor's instructions reached him in Quebec, there were, according to his own account, but two hundred Protestant subjects in the Province most of whom were "disbanded soldiers of little property and mean capacity" while there were

(1) Cf. Documents relating to The Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791. Vol. I, p. 181.

some eighty thousand of the "new subjects" as the French-speaking Canadians were called (1). In these circumstances it is not hard to understand the difficulties under which the Governor laboured.

By his instructions the Governor was directed to appoint a Council to assist him in the administration of government and to be composed of the Lieutenant Governors of Montreal and Trois-Rivières, the Chief Justice of the Province, the Surveyor General of Customs in America, and eight other persons to be chosen by the Governor, but this did not satisfy many of the inhabitants. The Grand Jury - whose exact status does not appear to have been too clearly defined - at a meeting held on October 16th, 1764, adopted a number of presentments (2), which can only be regarded as criticisms of the actions of the Governor and Council. These presentments ranged over a wide field. The most significant, perhaps, is that which represented that as the Grand Jury "must be considered at present as the only body representative of the Colony, they, as British subjects, have a right to be consulted, before any ordinance that may affect the body that they represent be passed into a law". But it is interesting to note that they also turned their attention to Sunday observance and to the need for a "publick protestant school".

As to the Sabbath the Grand Jury represented:

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

(1) Constitutional Documents, Vol. I, p. 206 note.

(2) " " " " p. 212.

This presentment appears not to have been fully understood by the French-speaking members who, quite obviously shocked to discover what they had signed, soon after averred that though they had heard the reference to Sunday observance they had received no explanation of the proposal to have a minister to preach the Gospel in both languages (1).

It is not clear whether these presentments were formally transmitted to the British government, but it was not long before further representations to it were made by the Quebec traders (2). Their prime purpose was to seek the establishment of some form of government to consist solely of "loyal and well-affected Protestants", of which there were "a number more than sufficient ... to form a competent and respectable House of Assembly". Their petition set forth a number of grounds of complaint against Governor Murray, and among them that of his "discountenancing the Protestant religion by almost a Total Neglect of Attendance upon the Service of the Church, leaving the Protestants to this Day destitute of a place of Worship appropriated to themselves".

The very strained relations between the Governor and the English-speaking traders in the Province led eventually to Murray being recalled on April 1st, 1766. He sailed from Quebec on June 28th, and returned to England, but nonetheless he continued for some time to hold the office of Governor.

On April 7th, only a few days after Murray's recall, Colonel Guy Carleton was commissioned as Lieutenant-Governor, but it was late in September of that year before he reached Quebec.

(1) Constitutional Documents, Vol. I, p. 216.

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

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

de Montmollin was of Swiss origin having been born at Neuchatel in March 1721, very probably, it is said (1), in his father's house on the rue des Moulins. He was the son of Louis de Montmollin, a member of both the Grand Conseil and the Conseil Etroit and also secretary of the town. Louis de Montmollin obviously was an important person, but he did not have the title of "Count" as was believed by some of his sons's descendants (2).

(1) See "Un neuchatelois, premier pasteur de Québec".

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

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

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

It may be inferred that he did not stay very long in Holland but continued on his way to England where he took up residence in London. Various notarial deeds to which he was a party indicated London as his residence, and Masères (1) describes him, in referring to his appointment in 1768, as "a native of Switzerland, that had resided more than twenty years in England". This implies that de Montmollin reached England around 1748 at the age of twenty seven.

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

Two facts are clearly established : first, that on June 2nd, 1762, at the age of forty one, he married an English-woman of the name of Jane Bell at the Church of St. Giles in

(1) Masères : "Several Commissions" p. 149.

Cripplegate which is in Foxe Street, London, not far from St. Paul's Cathedral; and, second, that some six years later at the age of forty seven he was ordained a clerk in holy orders in the Established Church.

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

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



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

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

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

"Tuesday last (i.e. June 14th) arrived here one of the transports, with part of the 8th Regiment on board. Also the Brig... Capt. Montgomery from Glasgow. No person from either of them has yet been ashore, the North East winds blowing so excessive hard. Several people in the Lower Town and St. Roch have been considerable sufferers from the high winds and tides, and it is feared more will share the same fate as the weather does not in the least seem to abate."

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

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

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

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

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

"GEORGE R.

Trusty and Well beloved We greet you well.

We having received a good Report of the Loyalty, Abilities, prudent Conduct, and sober Conversation, of Our Trusty and Well beloved David Francis de Montmollin, Clerk, have thought fit, hereby, to signify our Will and

Pleasure to You, that forthwith, upon Receipt hereof, You do collate and admit the said David Francis de Montmollin, Clerk, to the Church and Parish of Québec, in our Province of Quebec, in America.

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

By His Majesty's Command

HILLSBOROUGH

David Francis de Montmollin, Clerk,  
Minister of the Church of Quebec " (1)

Though the Mandamus clearly granted to de Montmollin the rights, dues, profits and privileges belonging to the Church and Parish of Quebec to be enjoyed by him in as full and ample manner as ministers of churches in any of the Colonies in America have usually enjoyed them, the Governor was quite unwilling to confirm the new rector's right to these perquisites. Francis Masères (2), who was the attorney general, relates that upon receipt of the three mandates, de Montmollin's and two others, the Governor was pleased to order the preparation of a draught of a commission for Mr. de Montmollin for his examination and perusal, and Masères continues:

"But upon more fully considering the peculiar and delicate situation of the province with respect to the article of religion, and some claims of property in the churches, made on behalf of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of those parishes (i.e. Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal), his excellency did not think it expedient to grant these gentlemen commissions of this form under the seal of the province; but in lieu whereof gave them licenses to preach and perform divine service according to the ceremonies of

(1) Public Archives of Canada, Series S. Vol. 13, pp. 84-86.

the Church of England in the respective parishes of Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, under his hand and private seal."

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

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

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

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

"These general and extensive expressions have occasioned no small difficulty already in Civil Matters, and been the cause of many complaints giving authority to claim fees of Office, etc., that are burthensome, but if they are to be

extended to ecclesiastical property, to dispossess the People of their Parish Churches, and their clergy of their Tithes and all Parochial Dues, for our lawyers are clear these words import no less, the Evils must be much worse."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To . . . . . Clerk. Greeting:

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

Given . . . . . 21st July 1768."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Following Dr. Brooke's return to England, de Montmollin sought to obtain the Chaplainship of Quebec. He must have lost little time in doing so, because, despite the length of time which letters then took to reach England, representations were made in June 1769 to Lord Barrington - the Secretary of War - recommending de Montmollin for the appointment. de Montmollin must have had



some influence, too, for one of the recommendations was from none other than the Bishop of London himself. Lord Barrington's reply to the Bishop makes interesting reading.

"My Lord," the Secretary wrote,

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

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

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

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

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

"To The Right Revd. the Lord Bishop of London.

My Lord

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

This Gentleman is now deputy chaplain to one regiment (1) the pay fixed by authority at 3s. ster<sup>d</sup> a day; he may probably have the same advantage from the regiment which will relieve the 10th. It is improbable he would have it from any if the military chaplain were present.

(1) Probably the 8th Regiment.

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

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

The Chaplain therefore, under his Majesty's pleasure, holding his leave of absence from his Excellency the Governor only, and being excus'd by Him from all duty, cannot voluntarily burden himself with a Pension to Mr. Montmoulin, consistently with his obligations to the Governor, or his duty to his family, and trusts that none will be imposed upon him by Power.

He hopes your Lordship will excuse him the mentioning upon this occasion, his twelve years service as a military chaplain, great part of it in a time of war and subject to the hazards and expenses of it; and that for many duties in which he serv'd appointment of authority, and particularly that of chaplain to the Garrison of Quebec 306 (1) days prior to the dates of his commission, and that of protestant parish priest upwards of eight years (2), he has had no consideration from Government whatsoever, tho' the sum due for them as at present allow'd is 902 £ sterling and upwards.

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

I hope my Lord, when these things are considered that your Lordship will be much more dispos'd to recommend to Government to be recompens'd for past services that I have not been paid for, than to lay any new burden upon me; at least to allow me to possess the full pay of my chaplainship,

- (1) i.e. From appointment on Dec. 27th, 1760 to Commission of 27th Oct. 1761.
- (2) This would appear to fix the date of the letter as being sometime in 1770.

till I have an equivalent for it, at home. Or if I am order'd again to Quebec that it may be not only on terms equal to those of the chaplain at Montreal, but such as bear a due proportion to the superiority of the place, and the greater dignity to be supported in it, and be a mark of regard for the long and I hope not unworthy service, in the perils of the ocean and of war, and in his Majesty's forein Dominions of my Lord.

Your Lordship's most obedient and respectfully

Humble servant

J BROOKE."

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

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

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

promoted to the rank of major-general.

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

" London, Septr. 1st 1773  
Dear General

. . . . .  
. . . . .  
. . . . .

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

. . . . .  
Major Gen<sup>l</sup> Haldimand (Sgd) Tho<sup>s</sup> Gage "

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

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

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

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

de Montmollin's register records the birth and death of two other children, Jane and Lewes, who were born to him and his wife. Of Jane, he wrote "1771, September 5th. At two o'clock in

the morning was born my daughter", and then after inserting his own name and his wife's and daughter's, he added for the 13th: "Buried the above at Port Louis, aged 7 days". About two years later, for July 19th, 1773, another entry of sadness: "Lewes son of David Francis de Montmollin and Jane his wife was born at 2 o'clock in the morning and baptised on the 17th of July and died the 18th about 7 o'clock in the morning and buried on 19th of July".

The de Montmollins had no other children.

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Reverend Sir

.....

I shou'd certainly prove myself unworthy of the Favors you, and the Honourable Society are pleased to confer upon me, was I not in the same time by acknowledging the Reception of your kind letter of the 28th January last, to express my gratitude for them. Permit me then, Sir, to beg of you to present my humble Thanks to the Society for the Books they were pleased to send me, the Fret of which I payd. I shall take care to give them out according to your Directions. If anything will advance the true Knowledge of God, and of our Holy Religion, after Exhortation and Intreaties made from the pulpit, I know none more likely, under the Providence of God, to promote and pave the way to it than religious Books. Ignorance begets Bigotry and Superstition; nothing is better calculated to root them out than pious Books, wrote in a plain style, suitable to the meanest Capacities, which are always most numerous. Things in this Place in regard to Religion remain in the State as before. The Members of the French Church diminish daily. The English Church is rather decreased, occasioned by families that have left the Place. For my Part I do my Endeavours to be vigilant in my Calling, to Kindle as it were, the zeal for Religion very much cool'd and abused (?) in this place, partly owing, as I take it, from the inhabitants themselves .....

.....



selves that come here, after they have run must (? most) the World over and lived in Places for a considerable time without having any Opportunity of attending Divine Service, have by that means contracted an Habit of Neglect, and Indifferency about Religious Worship. This concludes with my warmest Wishes and Prayers for the welfare of the Society in general, and for the Prosperity of every members in particular: These are the continual Prayer of

Reverend Sir  
Your most humble and  
most obedient Servant  
De Montmollin

Quebec the 5th  
Sber 1771."

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

The advertisement gives interesting details; the furniture consisted of:

"Mahogany Bedsteads, Ditto chairs, Ditto tables, black Birch Chairs, Ditto Tables, Mahogany Card Tables, Ditto Tea Tables, Damask, Grograim and Harrateen (1) Window Curtains, three Pieces of rich yellow Grograim and Lace sufficient to make a large Bed, a large Mahogany Wardrobe Chest, Looking Glasses in gilt Frames, Screens, a Piece of fine japan'd Furniture, a Mahogany night chair and Mahogany chest of Drawers, China, Knives and Forks, Books, Pictures and a great quantity of useful Kitchen Furniture."

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

(1) Harrateen: a coarse woollen cloth.

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

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

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

Of the price of ten thousand shillings de Montmollin paid seventy-two hundred shillings by making over to the vendors a draft payable by Peter Fargues on presentation and bearing the same date as the deed of sale (1), and he agreed to pay the balance within a delay of three years, with interest at five per cent. The making of the cash payment by a sight draft suggests that Fargues, a prominent merchant of Quebec, was de Montmollin's banker, and it is also likely that he was a friend too, for in

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

the previous year he had christened his son, giving him the name of Francis (after de Montmollin), and the new rector had performed the ceremony.

Some idea of the disposition of the property and of the use which de Montmollin and his family expected to make of it may be had from the very detailed arrangements which they entered into in the following December (1774) with Louis Fremont. They leased to him for a term of eight years and at an annual rent of six hundred shillings currency the ground floor and lower part of the house, consisting of a store with shelves, a small room behind, a large room in rear with a cupboard, and a kitchen, in which de Montmollin reserved passage for himself and his household. The lease (1) specified that the stairway of the house and the "tambour" (a kind of vestibule) were to be in common, and the tenant was to be permitted to hoist and lower (palanquer) barrels and casks through the trap door of the tambour so as to move them in and out of the cellar on notifying the landlord. The tenant was also to have the use of three small cellars, the fourth being reserved for the landlord. The basement was to be in common and also the shed in the southwest corner of the basement. The toilets were also to be in common, the landlord reserving the buildings and stables near them, with the small garden which he also reserved for himself, but he agreed to provide the tenant "lodging" for a horse or a cow. The gateway of the courtyard leading to Ste. Anne Street was to be in common.

(1) Also completed before Notary d'Artigny, on 7th December 1774.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"For the clearer explanation of these (1) and many other points relative to this Province as well as to settle some private affairs, I wish to go home for a few months ...",

and added:

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

(1) The State of the laws and the Administration of Justice.

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

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

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

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

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

While this agitation for a general Assembly was going on in Quebec, to the South the colonists were reacting more violently to the policies of the British government by such

episodes as the capture and burning by Rhode Islanders of the schooner "Gaspe" and by the better known Boston Tea Party.

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

The new statute also authorized the Crown to make provision out of "the accustomed Dues and Rights" for the encouragement of the Protestant religion and for the maintenance and support of a Protestant clergy.

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

Though the Governor, soon after his return to Quebec, reported (1) to the British authorities that he had had the satisfaction of finding His Majesty's Canadian Subjects "impressed with the strongest sense of The King's great Goodness towards them in the late Act of Regulation for the Government of this Province" and that "All Ranks of People amongst them vied with each other in testifying their Gratitude and Respect", committees of His Majesty's Old Subjects in November 1774 were meeting to prepare a Petition for the repeal of the Act. de Montmollin's two friends, John Renaud and Peter Fargues, were among those who signed the Petition, and Peter Fargues was particularly active in the discussions between the Quebec and Montreal Committees.

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

To the old colonies the news of the passing of the Quebec Act was, as one eminent historian (2) has remarked, "like a charge of electricity". The establishment of the Roman Catholic religion, or popery, as they considered it, and of arbitrary government in the north, revived the terror

(1) His letter of September 23rd, 1774, will be found in Constitutional Documents, Vol. II, p. 583.

(2) A. L. Burt. The Old Province of Quebec, p. 206.



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

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

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

| " | Date            | Father                                      | Mother | Child's Name | Godfathers<br>and Godmothers                                                       |
|---|-----------------|---------------------------------------------|--------|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|   | 1775, Aug. 20th | Guy Carleton<br>Governor of<br>Canada, etc. | Maria  | Christopher  | Thos. Connolly, E.<br>Christopher Carle<br>Lady Louisa Conno<br>Lady Francis Howar |

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

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

However, whatever de Montmollin's feelings may have been with respect to his new commission, he must at least have derived some satisfaction from the fact that the Instructions to the Governor<sup>(1)</sup> declared it to be the Royal Intention that certain annual Salaries and Allowances were to be discharged and paid, and particularly £ 200 per annum each to four Ministers

(1) Constitutional Documents, Vol. II. pp. 594-614

of the Protestant Church.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

An American prisoner relates that Montgomery's body remained in the house of Gobert, the carpenter, on St. Louis Street, for three days, and then during the night of January

4th, 1776, "the coffin covered by a pall, surmounted by transverse swords was borne by men. The regular troops, particularly that fine body of men, the Seventh Regiment, with reversed arms and scarfs on the left elbow, accompanied the corpse to the grave" (1).

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

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

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

In these circumstances it is not surprising that

(1) P. G. Roy, "Les cimetières de Québec", p. 255.

de Montmollin was jealous of any possible intrusion upon his position as Rector of Quebec. This is the only inference that may be drawn from his relations with the Rev. Lewis Guerry.

Rev. Guerry, having been admitted to Holy Orders, had been recommended to Lord Dartmouth, the Secretary of State, early in March 1775 by the Bishop of London, who had promised to give him a license when the government in London was ready to appoint him. The government acted very promptly, and on April 2nd, 1775, Lord Dartmouth issued a warrant instructing Governor Carleton to admit Mr. Guerry to "such church and parish within the Province of Quebec in America not already having a Protestant Minister"(1).

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

As the Earl of Plymouth said some years later, when he wrote to the Secretary of State on Guerry's behalf on February 6th, 1783, this left him "nothing to do but to assist of his own goodwill the present Rector of Quebec who, it is well known at that place, seemed far from wishing for assistance, and declared that he wanted it not" (2).

de Montmollin must have realized that if he allowed Guerry to play any sort of part in the activities of the church

(1) P.A.C. - S. Vol. 15, p. 113.

(2) P.A.C. - Q21, pp. 64-66.

at Quebec, his own position could easily be jeopardized by someone possessing complete familiarity with the English language. However, whatever cause for concern de Montmollin felt soon disappeared, for, after the siege of Quebec had been raised, the Governor, Sir Guy Carleton, granted Guerry leave to return to England for twelve months. It may be noted, in passing, that back in England Guerry had no difficulty in obtaining yearly renewals of his leave, which enabled him without doing any service in Canada to continue to receive his annual stipend of £ 200. Influential friends, such as the Earl of Plymouth, no doubt facilitated the arrangement which continued until 1784, when Guerry was allowed to exchange his "benefice" in Canada with the Rev. Philip Toosey.

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

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

Haldimand who was opposed to the continued absence of chaplains, he had sailed for England in October 1781.

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

Upon his return to the old country, Doty was asked by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to report on conditions in Canada; and on January 15th, 1783, he wrote what he entitled "Minutes of the State of the Church in Canada" (1) which reads as follows :

1. The Canadian papists (which are very numerous) are in general a well disposed people; attached indeed to their own religion, yet inclined to think well of Serious Protestants; and in many respects open to conviction.

2. The French Protestants in Canada are, at this time about 10 or 12 in number and probably never exceeded 20; while, on the contrary, the English Protestants immediately after the conquest of the country amounted to more than 10 times as many; and are now estimated at no less than 6000 beside the troops.

3. To the former of these, three French clergymen were sent out by government soon after the peace of 1763, appointed to their respective parishes (viz. Quebec, Trois Rivières and Montreal) by a Royal Mandate, with a stipend of £ 200 sterling per annum, paid to each of them out of the Revenues of the Province, besides which one of them is Chaplain to the garrison where he resides (2).

4. Two of these gentlemen (natives of Switzerland and doubtless of ability in their own language) perform, as well as they can, in English; but there is not one English clergyman settled in all the Province (excepting an independent Minister (3), who has a small congregation at

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

(2) Rev. D. C. De Lisle at Montreal.

(3) Rev. George Henry at St. Andrew's Church.



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

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

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

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

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

It is not known what was the reaction of the church authorities in London to this report. The conditions it portrayed were certainly far from encouraging, and bore little resemblance to the facts originally represented to the government that had led it to appoint French-speaking clerics to the parishes of Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal. But the Society itself could do very little to improve the situation, and even the Bishop of London could do little more than make representations to the government in London, which up to that time had shown a much less active interest in the advancement of Protestantism in Canada than in promoting harmonious relations with the French-speaking population.

Despite the discouraging conditions reported by Doty, the Society asked him to return to the Province and to serve as its missionary at Sorel, and authorized the payment to him of a salary of £ 50 per annum which must indeed have seemed to him very small compared to the £ 200 per annum which the government was paying to each of the three French-speaking clergymen. Doty accordingly returned to Canada and having received the permission of Governor Haldimand proceeded to Sorel which he reached at the end of June 1784.

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

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

Mongan, writing from a London address on February 1st, 1786 (1), referred to his having spent a year in Canada at the request of the late Bishop of London, and explained that the

(1) P.A.C., Q.26, pp. 20-21.

Bishop's death had prevented :

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

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

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

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

The Memorial (1) dated 1st November 1785 and labelled "The Present State of the Church of England and its clergy in Canada" reads as follows :

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

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

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

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

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

At the direction of Lord Sydney, Mongan's letter and its enclosure were sent to Sir Frederick Haldimand who having retired as Governor-in-Chief of Canada had returned to live in England. Sir Frederick's reply on March 8th, 1785 (1) was that though he believed that "some parts of it are consistent with truth" he was satisfied that it was highly exaggerated. The former Governor evidently was under the impression that the government or someone intended to blame him for the sorry state of the Church in Quebec. This is clear from his letter and from the entry of the same date in his diary (2). There he wrote (in French) :

".... that I had left things in the country as I had found them and that my feeling was that it would be suitable to send it (the memorial) to Brigadier Hope (3) for clarification, etc.

I am much surprised that having been here for more than a year during which nothing has been communicated to me they should wish to consult me now, no doubt in order to throw on

- (1) Haldimand Papers, MG 21, B. 58.
- (2) Haldimand Papers, MG 21, B. 231.
- (3) Then Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec (1785-89).

me the responsibility for all the changes it is proposed to make. Besides I think that this memorial was done by the Minister Dauté (Doty) with the advice and assistance of Hamilton (1) and Caldwell (2)."

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

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

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

What was the practical effect of these representations by the Rev. Mr. Mongan on the one hand, and the S.P.G. on the other? Of their timeliness there can be little doubt, for it seems clear that the government in London was known to be giving active consideration to making changes in the administration of affairs in

- (1) Previously Lt. Governor of Quebec, 1784-85, who having been dismissed was replaced by Hope.
- (2) Colonel Henry Caldwell, a Legislative Councillor.

Canada. Sir Frederick Haldimand who had been back in England for more than a year had not yet been replaced as Governor; Henry Hamilton who had been in charge of affairs at Quebec since Haldimand's departure had been dismissed; and Brigadier Hope had been appointed to succeed him as Lieutenant-Governor. Rumours must have been current that Sir Guy Carleton was to be re-appointed as Governor and Commander-in-Chief. Indeed in Haldimand's personal diary the entry which next follows that in which he noted his feelings as to Lord Sydney's inquiry about church affairs in Canada records the fact that on Thursday, March 9th, 1786, Brigadier MacLean (who dined with him that day) had shown him an article which had appeared on the previous day on the subject of the Governor-Generalship proposed for Carleton in which very valid reasons were given why the proposal was most ill-conceived. But, Haldimand noted, "it would pass nonetheless".

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

The instructions to the new Governor, to be delivered to him with his new commission, contained directions on ecclesiastical matters which were almost identical in terms with those that had

been given to Carleton after the adoption of the Quebec Act in 1775. The only significant change which they embodied in relation to church affairs was the inclusion in the Salary List of the above mentioned provision for the two missionaries. Curiously enough they are referred to in this list as "Ministers of the Church of England settled at Sorel and Cataragui", whereas the others are referred to as "Ministers of the Protestant Church".

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

This seems a convenient point at which to return to Quebec and to de Montmollin himself.

As has been noted earlier, de Montmollin in October 1774 had bought the property on de Buade Street and some time after had leased the ground floor to Louis Fremont. By his deed of purchase he had undertaken to pay the balance of 2800 shillings in the course of the three years following, with interest at five per cent. The Fremont lease provided only 600 shillings annually, so that it

obviously was necessary for de Montmollin himself to provide a good part of the principal and no doubt it was necessary for him to do so out of his annual stipend.

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

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



on them. Then, on the roofs is written the name of the owner or the designation of the building itself. This plan shows that de Montmollin's property was the most important in the block between du Trésor and desJardins Streets, and looked over the market square and the church which is now the Basilica.

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

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

Haldimand was also a contemporary of de Montmollin having been born on August 11th, 1718, at Yverdun in the canton of

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

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

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The records of the notaries who practised in the City of Quebec during the years of de Montmollin's ministry, and later during the years of his retirement afford some interesting information about him. If the deeds relating to the de Buade Street property are excepted, the first deeds to which he was a party are those executed before Notary Berthelot d'Artigny, in 1781. In May of that year, de Montmollin entered into two transactions. The first was a mortgage loan of £ 100 which he made to Marie

Magdelaine de Gaudin de la Potterie, widow of François Clesse, a carpenter, the interest on it being payable at six per cent; while the second was the purchase from Robert Willcocks of a parcel of vacant land 146.5 feet in width on St. Louis Street.

Unfortunately the latter deed is not to be found in the notary's records, so that it is not known what price de Montmollin paid or undertook to pay for it.

A year later de Montmollin made another loan, this time to Noel Vezina, who undertook to reimburse £ 25 currency of the Province, the equivalent of "dix huit Guinées et deux portugaises, comptées, nombrées et réellement délivrées, à sue et en présence des notaires". The value of the guinea appears to have varied; the "portugaises" were probably the Johannes of Portugal which had a value each of £ 4, Canada currency.

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In each of the three transactions noted above, de Montmollin was paying out money; either as a lender or as a buyer, and it may be inferred that the aggregate amount involved was not very large. It is, therefore, somewhat surprising to find him as the borrower of rather substantial amounts in the transactions which next followed. In June 1783, de Montmollin borrowed £ 300 from John Saul, a master baker (1), giving as security a first hypothec (or mortgage) on his de Buade Street property, and obliging himself to repay it in three years "in gold or in silver only notwithstanding any change of money whatever". Then just a few months later, he borrowed a further £ 300 from William Brown,

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

a printer, promising to repay it less than a year later and mortgaging as security both the de Buade Street property and the vacant land on St. Louis Street, which latter property was free of all encumbrances except the "lods et ventes" - a mutation fee - on the purchase price. In the second transaction, Mrs. de Montmollin obliged herself jointly and severally with her husband for the repayment of the loan, and the deed contains their declaration that the money was to be used for "their particular affairs".

What was the purpose for which these loans were effected? It can only be assumed that de Montmollin and his wife undertook these obligations in order to establish in business their two sons, Frederick and Samuel, who at this time must have been about 20 and 18 years of age respectively. Though it is not certain that the young men had engaged in business as early as the end of 1783, it is a fact that less than four years later they were parties to a contract before Nicolas Pinguet, the Notary, (on April 2nd, 1787) under which Pierre Edouard Debarats, a merchant of Quebec, acting for himself and his father who lived in Three Rivers, acknowledged to owe to Samuel and Frederick de Montmollin, described as "traders", £ 714 14 5½, the value of goods supplied by them.

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

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

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

Later, in September, Governor Haldimand was advised by the Rev. Lewis Guerry that he had obtained from the King permission to exchange his benefice in Canada with the Reverend Philip Toosey whom the King had had the goodness to name in his place (1). Toosey was not able to come at once, and wrote in June to the Governor saying that he could not sail for Quebec till the following spring, and asking if a church would be built (2).

These letters from Guerry and Toosey reached the Governor towards the middle of September - that from Guerry written from Stoke Prior in England on April 24th is endorsed "Recd 16 sep." -

(1) P.A.C. - Haldimand B75-2, p. 82.

(2) P.A.C. - Haldimand B75-2, p. 114.

and not long before Haldimand's impending departure for England. There is no record of any action taken by Haldimand, and it may be assumed that, having become accustomed to the absence from Canada of Mr. Guerry and other holders of appointments within the gift of the Crown, he did not consider it necessary to determine what Mr. Toosey would do when and if he arrived, or where he would do it. Nor is it possible to ascertain whether de Montmollin became aware of the exchange of benefices and the possibility that Mr. Toosey would come to Quebec.

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

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

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

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

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

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

We have the Honor to be, sincerely and respectfully,

SIR,

Your obedient and most humble servants,

To the Hon. Thomas Dunn, Esq.,  
Quebec."

This letter, published in the Quebec Gazette of June 23rd, 1785, was signed by 135 persons, including de Montmollin, John Renaud, and John Frederic de Montmollin, their signatures being grouped together. The signature of John Samuel de Montmollin does not appear, probably because he had not attained 21 years of age.

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In July of the same year, de Montmollin visited "Mal Bay" and St. Paul's Bay in order to baptize three children. The first baptism was performed on July 14th, 1785, at Mal Bay where de Montmollin christened the natural daughter of John Nairne, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 53rd Regiment (1), the god-parents being Malcolm Fraser, Captain of the 84th Regiment, and Magdalene Nairne, the sister of the child.

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

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(1) John Nairne had participated in the siege and capture of Quebec under Wolfe.

At the end of July, the Rev. Philip Toosey and his family arrived at Quebec, from London, on the ship "Charlotte" after a voyage of fifty-five days. According to the Rev. H. C. Stuart (1) :

"As Mr. Doty had been appointed to Sorel, and there were no vacancies in any of the parishes, and no new ones ready to be established, it was arranged that Mr. Toosey should take up some English work at Quebec. We have no means of knowing whether Mr. de Montmollin still declined to receive assistance from English clergymen; but we do not find Mr. Toosey's name in the Quebec parish register until 1789." (2)

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

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

Up to this time, the Crown, as the Supreme Head of the Church on earth within the British Dominions, had reserved to

- (1) Author of "The Church of England in Canada, 1759-1793".
- (2) Indeed the first entry in Toosey's Register is a baptism performed on July 10th, 1789.



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

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

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

Following the receipt of these instructions, and presumably in response to a request for information, Lord Dorchester reported fully on October 24th, 1787. His letter (1) to Lord Sydney, Secretary of State for the Home Department, reads as follows :

"Quebec 24th October 1787

My Lord -

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

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

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

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

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

(1) This letter will be found in the Public Archives of Canada, Q. 28, pp. 161-4.

Besides these, there are two Persons in the Province, who profess themselves Clergymen of the Episcopal Church, one a Mr. Scott who formerly Acted as Deputy Chaplain to the 34th Regiment, and now officiates to a small number of persons at William Henry late Sorel, who support him by private subscriptions; the other a Mr. Lucas, said to be son to the late Mr. Lucas of the living of Newry in Ireland, who came into the Province this Summer without any introduction, or fixed design, and is, as far as I know not resident at any particular place.

Neither of these have Allowances from Governments, and are both represented to me in a manner to remove all idea of placing them, though there have been several Applications from the New Settlements for Clergymen of the Church of England - It has been particularly said of Mr. Scott that he is of a turbulent unprincipled character, and causes much uneasiness and dissention in the settlement, where he resides.

As I am on this subject I cannot pass in silence the exemplary manners, discretion, and abilities of Mr. Toosey, whom I therefore recommend as deserving Your Lordship's Notice (1).

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

I am with much respect and Esteem

Your Lordship's Most obedient, and Most humble servant

DORCHESTER

The Right Honble.  
Lord Sydney

Endorsed -

Quebec 24th Oct. 1787.

LORD DORCHESTER

No. 42 (one enclosure)

- (1) The clear implication of the words "whom I recommend as deserving Your Lordship's Notice" is that Toosey had not been appointed to any particular benefice, which was something that the Governor did not desire to do himself.

Toosey was well known to the Governor, as for a time he acted as tutor to Lord Dorchester's children.

A List of the Protestant Clergy in Canada.

| <u>Episcopal.</u>                                                                                                                       | <u>Salary per Annum.</u> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. The Revd. D. Charbrand De Lisle at Montreal                                                                                          | £ 200 - - -              |
| 2. D. Francis de Montmollin at Quebec                                                                                                   | 200 - - -                |
| 3. J. B. Leger Veyssier at Three Rivers                                                                                                 | 200 - - -                |
| 4. Phillip Toosey                                                                                                                       | 200 - - -                |
| 5. John Doty at Sorel now Wm. Henry                                                                                                     | 100 - - -                |
| 6. John Stuart at Cataraqui now Kingston                                                                                                | 100 - - -                |
| 7. Bryan at New Johnstown now Cornwall                                                                                                  | 50 - - -                 |
| 8. John Langhorne 2d or 3d Township near<br>Cataraqui, Missionary with a Salary of £ 50<br>from the Society for Propagating the Gospel. |                          |
| <br><u>Church of Scotland.</u>                                                                                                          |                          |
| 9. The Revd. Mr. Henry                                                                                                                  | } at Quebec -            |
| 10. - - Mr. Keith                                                                                                                       |                          |
| 11. - - Mr. Sparks                                                                                                                      |                          |
| 12. Mr. Bethune at New Oswegatchie                                                                                                      | £ 50 - - -               |
|                                                                                                                                         | <hr/> £ 1100 - - - <hr/> |

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

conducive to promote religion in the Province of Quebec.

Communications between Halifax and Quebec were very difficult and letters took a long time by land express to reach their destination. Thus on February 22nd, 1788, the Bishop acknowledged the receipt of the Governor's letter written on November 3rd, 1787; on April 5th, 1788, the receipt of a letter written on January 9th, 1788; and on May 20th, 1788, a letter of March 27th.

From the exchange of letters it appears that it had been expected that Mr. Mongan would go to Quebec in the spring of 1788, but instead he went to Ireland. Accordingly in his letter of April 5th, the Bishop again asked the Governor "to suggest the name of a clergyman to be Rector and Commissary of Quebec in place of Mr. Mongan".

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

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

"Lord Dorchester in a letter dated July 28th, informs me that Mr. Tunstall, a young clergyman, is arrived at Quebec, with an appointment from the Society - that the Society had suggested to his L'p whether Mr. Tunstall might not be employed at Montreal, in the stead of Mr. De Lisle, and Mr. Toosey at Quebec in the place of Mr. de Montmollin; and whether they might not have some allowance from the present incumbents; and his L'p referred the adjustment of these matters to me (1)."

The Bishop's reply (2) to the Governor, written on September 18th, 1788, expresses pleasure that "Mr. Toosey's character is so respectable", and adds that he will have no objection to appointing him his Commissary, but before doing so will await meeting the Governor and consulting the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The rest of the Bishop's letter is interesting. He describes the introduction of foreign clergymen into Quebec as an "ill-judged measure" which had had "a very unhappy effect on our Church"; and he continues:

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

It is not easy at this distance to form a clear judgment of every minute circumstance that may occur in arrangements

(1) P.A.C. - Correspondence of Charles Inglis - Vol. I, p. 100.

(2) Same. Vol. I, p. 23.

of this kind. I shall take the liberty to mention what appears to be the most adviseable; submitting the whole however to your Lordship's better judgment and information.

Mr. Montmollin's advanced age calls for some respite from the fatigue of parochial duties; for this and other "causes which render him incompetent for the satisfactory performance of his duty", as the Society observes I apprehend therefore that Mr. Toosey should take on him the charge of the congregation in the City of Quebec, and succeed Mr. Montmollin. It is reasonable that the latter should make some allowance out of his salary for Mr. Toosey, who is to do the whole duty; yet what part of his salary should be allowed, I am not competent to judge, being unacquainted with circumstances which should determine the proportion. The sum of 50 pounds a year seems reasonable, if Mr. Montmollin's circumstances will admit of it.

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

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

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

"I candidly told his L'p that I had received no communications on the subject - that the plan appeared to be a very proper one, and was intended to obviate the objections to Mr. De Lisle and Mr. Montmollin on account of their bad pronunciation of our language, to say nothing of their advanced age which called for some respite from the labours of their profession. That if Mr. Toosey and Mr. Tunstall did the whole parochial duty for these gentlemen, it was reasonable the latter should make some allowance to them; but that I could not decide what the sum should be, as it depended on circumstances with which I was not acquainted. That if this scheme were adopted, it would be best, notwithstanding, to let Mr. De Lisle continue his ministrations in French to a number of Hessians, who after called on him for that purpose. That I referred the business to his L'p, as the Society had done, for this among other reasons, that he only had authority to assign any part of these clergymen's salaries for the proposed purpose, and knew best what proportion should be assigned, and that if his L'p would be pleased to signify to me his determination, I would readily concur, and do whatever he thought would be proper on the occasion." (1)

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

"Your L'p would also oblige me by letting me know your sentiments about fixing Mr. Toosey at Quebec, and Mr. Tunstall at Montreal; and of the allowance that should be made to them by the present incumbents of these places, when these gentlemen do the whole of the clerical duty. I am so little acquainted with the state of persons and things there, that I am afraid of taking a step, which may be wrong; and doing nothing is better than doing amiss. Besides, an attempt to exert authority, would without power to support this attempt be rather awkward. For these reasons I wish to have your Lp's opinion, and then I can proceed on sure ground. I shall

(1) P.A.C. - Charles Inglis Correspondence, Vol. I, pp. 107 - 108.



readily conform to whatever you think is best, and write accordingly to all parties. The delicacy which your L<sup>p</sup> shows about interfering, serves only to make me rely more on your judgment, and to raise you still higher if possible in my estimation." (1)

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

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

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

"Tuesday afternoon arrived from Halifax, last from the Island of St. John (2), his Majesty's Frigate Dido, Charles Sandys, Esq., Commander. In her came the Right Reverend Father-in-God CHARLES, Bishop of Nova Scotia. Yesterday forenoon the Bishop left the Dido, accompanied by Captain Sandys, under a salute of eleven guns, and was received on shore by Colonel Davies, Commander of the Garrison, and several other officers, the Reverend Mr. de Montmollin, Rector, and the Reverend Mr. Toosey, Minister of the Church in this city, and several respectable citizens."

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

"Waited on Lord Dorchester and had much conversation with him. He invited Cap<sup>t</sup> Sandys and me to dine with him next day in the Country. Looked out for lodgings. Several appeared bad, and at last fixed at Mr. Frank's (3). Even these lodgings appeared very indifferent. Agreed for them at 8 dollars per month. Dined with Col. Davis."

- (1) P.A.C. - Correspondence of Charles Inglis, Vol. I, p. 128.
- (2) The name by which Prince Edward Island was then known.
- (3) Probably at No. 2 de Buade Street where Franks had his tavern and only a few doors away from de Montmollin's house.

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

Of the Sunday, the Bishop's Diary records :

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

". . . . We had some warm altercations which, however ended amicably. His disposition is generous and his principles liberal; these perhaps are carried to excess so as to make too little distinction between the National Church and other denominations . . . . The Chief Justice (1) is a Presbyterian, and being confidential with his Lordship, and his prime minister, as it were, hence a predilection in favour of Dissenters . . . .

We differed most about a Church in Quebec. Church people have the use of the Recollect Church in the Forenoon, upon sufferance; and they can have the entire use of a small Chapel in the Bishop's Palace (2), which is rented by the Crown, but the Courts of Justice sit in the Chapel. His Lordship affirmed from hence that Church people had two Churches; whereas I denied that they had any, and declared my opinion that the Church could never flourish here, unless there was a decent place of worship appropriated to divine service, which the national credit also seemed to require. The chapel in the palace is too small for the congregation, and the people can have no pews in the Recollect Church. Their books, seats, chairs, etc., must all be brought after mass is over and removed again when the Sermon is ended. Hence confusion is unavoidable and the people are put to much trouble. These circumstances are very unfavourable to devotion and order. Should the Church people conclude to build a Church, his Lordship promised to give any lot of ground that belonged to the King, and also any timber that could be spared from public use . . . "

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

- (1) William Smith, mentioned earlier as having accompanied the Governor to Quebec.
- (2) At the top of Mountain Hill leading to the uppertown of Quebec.

The Recollects as well as Lord Dorchester, according to the Bishop, were averse to it being used in the afternoon, so the Bishop directed that divine service be performed in the Bishop's Chapel, in the afternoon, and to continue so thereafter. Mr. Toosey preached.

During the next two days the Bishop again met the gentlemen who had wished him to present the request to the Governor and informed them of his answer. They agreed to request him to grant a vacant piece of land opposite the old prison, and after the Bishop had examined it, he mentioned it at dinner the following evening to his Lordship.

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

" . . . Informed Mr. Montmollin that it was the Society's wish that he should have a respite, at his advanced age (1), from the labours of his function, and have the English congregation of Quebec committed to an English Clergyman. That he might still officiate in French, if there was a necessity as was originally designed; or he might retire whenever he chose, and enjoy his salary, if there was no occasion for preaching in French. That no disrespect or injury was intended for him, but that his Grace of Canterbury had intimated the step to Lord Dorchester. Mr. Montmollin seemed to acquiesce with some reluctance, and I desired him to reflect on the business till I returned from Montreal; for which place I set out at 2 o'clock, P.M. . . . "

The Bishop's Diary gives an interesting account of his trip to Montreal, and an excellent idea of the means of communication between Quebec and Montreal. He was absent from Quebec for more than three weeks, and had the opportunity of hearing Mr. Veyssiere. Of him the Bishop wrote: "Mr. Veyssiere read prayers but I could scarcely understand him". On the following Sunday, he listened to

(1) He was then 68 years of age.

Mr. De Lisle read prayers and preach, and noted in his Diary :  
 "I could scarcely understand him, though he speaks and reads English much better than Messrs. Montmollin or Veysiere, and his character is more respectable".

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

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

" . . . .Afterwards (1) I met several gentlemen of the Church of England about building a Church. Much backwardness appeared. They represented it as the unanimous desire of the Congregation that an English Minister should be fixed here. One said he would not subscribe to a Church if Mr. Montmollin was continued. Another said it was a punishment to him to hear Mr. Montmollin, etc., etc. Agreed finally to have a subscription opened for a Church, and that notice be given next Sunday for the Congregation to meet in the Chapel at 11 o'clock, the following Tuesday to chuse (sic) parish Officers to serve till next Easter. My servant, Thomas Robertson, misbehaved, got drunk and absented himself this day. Dined with the Baron Club."

The Bishop waited on the Governor later in the same week and discussed the question of the Church at Montreal. They

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

also talked of de Montmollin. The Diary relates:

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

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

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

On the morrow, the Bishop met both de Montmollin and Toosey to acquaint them, when together, that the English congregation would be committed to Toosey, and exhorted them to "mutual peace and brotherly love".

On Tuesday of the following week the meeting to "chuse" the churchwardens and vestrymen was held - the first in the parish - and £ 150 was subscribed for building a church.

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

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

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

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

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

"On the other hand the English were few in number, had no church appropriated to their worship. Divine Service was solemnized in the forenoon only at the church belonging to

the Recollects; when the Roman Catholics had performed their devotions there, the English had their pews, benches and seats to set up, for all these were movable, and actually were removed the moment that Divine Service is ended; their books also were to be distributed. It is needless to say that all this must be attended with great inconvenience and confusion, not to mention the degrading situation of the Congregation thus circumstanced. The officiating Clergyman, Mr. Montmollin, who has been stationed here upwards of 20 years, was a foreigner, spoke very bad English - could scarcely be understood; and although not deficient in abilities, nor chargeable with any immorality, yet his address and manners disqualified him for the station, and he seemed utterly unacquainted with the constitution, usages and regulations of our Church. No churchwardens or vestry had been ever chose. The English were a number of detached individuals, wholly unorganized, and without any form of order or Government.

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

As there are no church wardens or vestry, and consequently no fixed and ostensible body to consult, I called the principal gentlemen of the congregation, many of whom were respectable for their rank, abilities and property; that I might have their advice how to proceed, the utmost caution being necessary on my part. They met, I desired them to speak their sentiments freely, fully and candidly, and not confine themselves to obscure hints, which I found was too much the case hitherto, and that I would do the utmost of my power to second their reasonable wishes. This had the desired effect; they appeared sensible of their wretched situation; expressed their dislike of Mr. Montmollin, and wished for an English preacher. They finally requested me to wait on Lord Dorchester in their name, to know whether some agreement could not be made with the few Recollects (only three) so



that the English might have the exclusive right of their Church, or some other church that was large enough for the Congregation. I accordingly stated the matter to L'd Dorchester. The purport of his answer was - that if the Church had been demanded just after the conquest, it would have been given up without murmuring; but after 30 years possession, it would be deemed an act of violence to take it from them. That even now they would acquiesce were he to issue an order for the purpose, the order would be obeyed; but as the Roman Catholics claimed that Church, which was built by the public, and alleged they wanted it, it would be improper to use coercive measures.

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

I immediately called the gentlemen of the congregation together and reported L. D's answer. I told them there appeared no prospect at present of obtaining a church; and therefore it only remained for them to try their strength in building one. They alleged their utter inability. This indeed was too evident but I judged it best to push the matter to an issue, and when it failed, some other ground must be taken. They finally agreed to make the attempt; a vacant spot (the only one remaining in the City) was pitched on, and surveyed the next day. Even this scheme, hopeless at it was, spread a gleam of joy over every English countenance; and I left the matter to work its way for the present.

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

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

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

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

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

Much of the Bishop's letter to the Archbishop adds little to what was recorded in his Diary, but one phrase confirms the impression that de Montmollin refused assistance from others :  
 "Mr. Toosey seldom officiated, for Mr. Montmollin considered him as an intruder, and wished to do everything himself".

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

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

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

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In considering de Montmollin's temporal affairs, the transactions he had entered into, presumably for the benefit of his two sons, were referred to. On June 11th, 1788, he undertook to make further efforts both for himself and his three sons. Describing himself as "Rector of the English Church in Quebec and Acting Deputy Chaplain to the Garrison", de Montmollin addressed a Memorial to the Governor. Nearly the whole of the first page is taken up by large copper-plate lettering giving the titles of the Governor, and the second sets forth that de Montmollin had served the Garrison for above Nineteen years past, having a numerous family and begged his Lordship to grant him (on the North side of the Grand River above the Long Sault adjoining the intended grant to be made to the Emigrants) 500 acres for himself, 200 for John Frederick de Montmollin, 200 for John Samuel de Montmollin and 200 for Francis Gaudet de Montmollin. This Memorial was referred to the Land Committee by order of His Excellency. By this time

Francis would have been in his 19th year; the others would have been between 21 and 25.

Nothing appears to have come from this Memorial.

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

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

|                                                   |          |
|---------------------------------------------------|----------|
| "A brown and white cow, 5 years old               | £ 72 0 0 |
| A large mirror 3 feet x 2½ feet - with gold frame | 36 0 0   |
| A mirror one foot square with gold frame          | 8 0 0    |
| Four wooden tables of pine                        | 24 0 0   |
| A small desk with four drawers                    | 9 12 0   |

|                                          |          |
|------------------------------------------|----------|
| A small bureau with four drawers in pine | £ 6 0 0  |
| Six straw chairs                         | 7 4 0    |
| Two pair of iron wheels for a carriage   | 72 0 0 " |

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

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

Early in January 1790, another contract, received by Charles Stewart - the only English speaking notary then practising in Quebec - gives a better idea of the situation. The parties to it, the Rector, Samuel de Montmollin, described as one of the partners of the firm of Samuel and Frederick de Montmollin, and John Young, one of the partners of Fraser and Young, declared that the partnership of Samuel and Frederick owed to Fraser and Young "under the guarantee of the said Reverend David Francis de Montmollin for sundry Goods, Wares, and Merchandise sold and delivered to them a certain sum ascertained to be £ 1555 19 shillings and three pence currency, which they declared was at present inconvenient for them the said House or Firm of Samuel and Frederick de Montmollin to discharge. As security the Rector and his two sons mortgaged all of their property, and the Rector more particularly his

properties on de Buade and St. Louis Streets, which were declared to be free of all encumbrances excepting those created on December 18th and 30th, 1788 mentioned earlier. Frederick did not sign the deed being represented by his brother, and it may be inferred that he was still absent.

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

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

After noting that de Montmollin had been a resident of the Province for twenty-five years and upwards as Minister of the Protestant English Church in the City and Parish of Quebec and after referring to the proclamation of February 7th, 1792, the Petition - dated September 24th, 1792 - represented that two of the Petitioner's sons "by their connections in trade" had a facility in procuring settlers to go on the lands applied for "in a reasonable delay", and pointed out that lands lying to the Eastward of the Township laid out for Jenkin Williams, Esq. (1), on the River Becancour were available. The Petition concludes with a final paragraph - which seems most surprising having regard to the fact that de Montmollin was then over 70 years of age - that :

"Your Petitioners are desirous to cultivate each of them Twelve hundred acres, or six Farms, Lots to be granted to them severally and their respective heirs and assigns for ever in free and common soccage (2)."

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

The reference to the associates is explained by the fact that immediately prior to the making of this application de Montmollin had entered into an agreement with George Allsopp by

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

(2) A freehold tenure of land.

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

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

Though the Petition gives an interesting sidelight on de Montmollin's willingness at his advanced age to embark upon such an ambitious project, it is more interesting as a positive indication that in September 1792, all of his sons had apparently left Quebec. By that time - as the Petition stated - all of them were of the age of majority, Francis, the youngest son having been born in Quebec on December 9th, 1769, and the others having been born in England. Francis appears to have disappeared into the mist, for none of the deeds that have been found in the records of the notaries in Quebec at this time mentions him, nor is there any



other indication that he later returned to Quebec. The de Montmollin family tree, which gives the names of the descendants of John Frederic and John Samuel, shows no issue of Francis.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Even though Quebec had now its own Bishop and a new rector, it was still without a Protestant church, and had no prospect of securing one. At least there seemed to be no such prospect until the afternoon of September 9th, 1796, when the

Chapel and Monastery of the Recollets caught fire and was totally destroyed. The few remaining monks were rendered homeless and dispersed; and the government at long last came into possession of the Recollet property. Hopes must then have risen, and a few years later commissioners were appointed to erect on it a Metropolitan Church. The first stone was laid on August 11th, 1800 by the Lieutenant-Governor, and four years later the church was consecrated as the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity - a fine example of Georgian architecture that is one of the principal points of interest in Quebec City today.

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It would seem that the departure of his three sons and the financial difficulties of John Frederic and John Samuel subsequently made it necessary for de Montmollin to dispose of the de Buade Street property. It seems obvious that with his sons absent, the property would have been far too large for de Montmollin, his wife, and their three servants (1), but it may reasonably be inferred that the dominant factor in his decision to sell was the liability of himself and his two sons to Messrs. Fraser and Young.

Though the formal deed of sale was only completed on November 28th, 1794, an agreement before witnesses had been signed by de Montmollin and his wife some three weeks earlier, on November 6th, by which they undertook to sell the property to

(1) The Census made on July 30th, 1792, of the Roman Catholic Parish of Quebec, shows that the Roman Catholic parishioners at 10 de Buade Street were three in number, all of them "communicants".

Treadway Thomas Odber, a trader of Quebec, acting for himself and for Christopher Crysal Hall of London and for James Woolrich of Montreal. And on the signature of that agreement Odber had made a cash payment of £ 600 on account of the agreed price of £ 1224. It was obviously no coincidence that two days later a final discharge was granted by Messrs. Fraser and Young of the guarantee and mortgage given them by de Montmollin. Though the discharge does not give an indication that de Montmollin had provided the funds to pay off the liability of his two sons, the closeness of the two dates is significant.

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

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

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Though John Samuel de Montmollin had left Quebec sometime between the early part of 1790 and September 1792 he returned to Quebec sometime in 1795, and in December of that year applied for a grant of the whole Township of Wentworth, situated on the North side of the River Ottawa. The Petition, dated December 4th, 1795, which he, on behalf of himself and his associates, addressed to the Right Honorable Guy, Lord Dorchester, represented that he had been concerned in an application for a township on the South side of the River Becancour - which he understood had since been recommended to be granted to others, he, owing to his absence from the Province, not having come forward in due time with his associates, and prayed for the grant to him and his associates of the Township of Wentworth. Early in the following year the Land Committee, noting that this township "being open from the neglect of Obadiah Blake", and in order to prevent "any persons disaffected to His Majesty's government from becoming settlers in this Province", recommended that the Petitioner be directed to furnish before May 1st, 1796, "a list of his associates and the places of their abode together with such proofs of their character and principles as he or they may be able to adduce", before any Warrant was granted for surveying the tract applied for.

It would appear that this list of associates was not immediately produced, and it is more than possible that by the time the Land Committee had made this recommendation John Samuel had again left Quebec in the pursuit of his other activities. He was back again in the city, however, late in July 1796, and on the 28th of that month, before Notary Lelièvre, he entered into what

can only be regarded as a most unusual contract. By it he acknowledged that he had entrusted Marguerite, his natural daughter aged two years to Joseph Derome dit Decareau, master butcher, and Dame Marguerite Bro, the latter's wife, until she attained the age of 21 years or married. The Decareaus, husband and wife, were to feed, shelter and maintain Marguerite according to her status and to instruct her in the principles of religion, to send her to school (having regard to her religion) when she was able to speak, and to take every possible care of her, and to treat her humanely. "To indemnify and to encourage" the Decareaus, as the contract reads, John Samuel - described as "Samuel de Montmollin residing in this city of Quebec" - made them a "gratuitous present" ! of the sum of Fifteen Spanish dollars, "once and for all".

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

By the time John Samuel returned to Quebec in July 1796, his parents had sold the de Buade property and had moved to St.

Stanislas Street (1), of which they occupied a part, with two servants, and some other person - perhaps Mme Renaud who lived with them. They were both well advanced in years; de Montmollin was 75 or 76, and in failing health, and his wife was 68. Under these conditions they were scarcely able to undertake the upbringing of a child of two and half years old, even if they had been willing to do so, which quite possibly they were not.

The choice of Decareau and his wife may perhaps be explained by the fact that they then lived on Ste. Anne Street, on which the de Buade property owned by de Montmollin had fronted, and consequently were well known to Marguerite's father. They appear not to have been fervent Roman Catholics for in the Parish Census of June 5th, 1795, it is noted that the husband was "éloigné des Sacrements".

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

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Though de Montmollin himself was advancing in years and his health declining he continued to participate to a modest extent in public activities and to occupy himself with his own affairs. When His Royal Highness, Prince Edward of Kent, left Quebec in February 1794, de Montmollin was among the citizens who had

(1) The Parish Census made on June 5th, 1795, shows that de Montmollin's household at 1 St. Stanislas St. consisted of two parishicners, both communicants, and three Protestants.

presented and signed an Address, and he continued to be a contributor to the Quebec Fire Society, to which he regularly gave five shillings (1). He no longer preached charity sermons for the relief of the sick poor as he had done prior to the visitation of Bishop Inglis; indeed his duties as French reader and Preacher to the Canadian Protestants at Quebec were only nominal though he continued to receive his annual stipend of £ 200. But nonetheless he occasionally officiated at baptisms, marriages and burials, and continued to do so until July 1803.

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

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

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

So far as his worldly affairs were concerned, it is quite obvious that until Odber had paid the second instalment of the balance of price he owed, de Montmollin was in no position to enter upon a financial transaction of any significance. As mentioned earlier it was only in November 1796, following the receipt of £ 208 from Odber, that he made a loan of £ 111 to the merchants Louis and Charles Fremont, which later was to be the source of much concern and trouble to Mrs. de Montmollin. In the following year, he made another loan of £ 100 sterling equal to £ 111 2 2½ currency, on

(1) Quebec Gazette of June 18, 1796; June 29, 1797, etc.



this occasion to Captain John Robertson of the 2nd Battalion of His Majesty's 60th (or Royal American) Regiment, for whom John Lynd agreed to be surety.

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

Despite his limited means, de Montmollin, when in 1799 an appeal was made for Voluntary subscriptions in support of the War (1), made a contribution of £ 10 0 0, which was acknowledged in the Quebec Gazette of August 15th, 1799.

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

Three years later, almost to the day, de Montmollin renewed his application for the Township of Wentworth. The Petition

(1) Between England and France.

- which certainly is a tribute to his perseverance and persistence - was addressed to Robert Shore Milnes, the Lieutenant-Governor, in Council. It represented that the petitioner had been an early applicant for a grant of part of the waste lands of the Crown and had obtained a Warrant of survey for the Township of Sommerset (so-spelled) but had relinquished his pretensions thereto upon his son John Samuel's petitioning for the Township of Wentworth. Then it noted that his son had explored that township at considerable expense, "the amount of which it is not at present in the power of the petitioner to state for want of vouchers, his son being absent from the Province", and expressed the hope that he would not be deemed presumptuous to plead his long services, since the year 1768 as Clerk of the Protestant Church of Quebec, in support of his petition, particularly as the government had been pleased to "consider the late Rev'd Dr. De Lisle of Montreal in the Dispensation of His Majesty's Bounty (1)". It concluded with the prayer that the Council would direct that a warrant of survey and subdivision issue in his favour for the Township of Wentworth, and that such associates as he might be permitted to bring forward with himself may respectively have 1200 acres thereon "upon the old fees". Because no doubt, of the state of de Montmollin's ill health, the Petition was signed by Mr. L. Phillips as attorney for the Petitioner; and was afterwards supplemented by the certificate dated 19 November 1801 and signed by Benjamin Ecuyer - one of the witnesses of de Montmollin's will - that at the request of Samuel de Montmollin he had explored the Township of Wentworth in the winter of 1796.

(1) Many years before the Rev'd Dr. De Lisle had been granted 5000 acres of land.

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

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

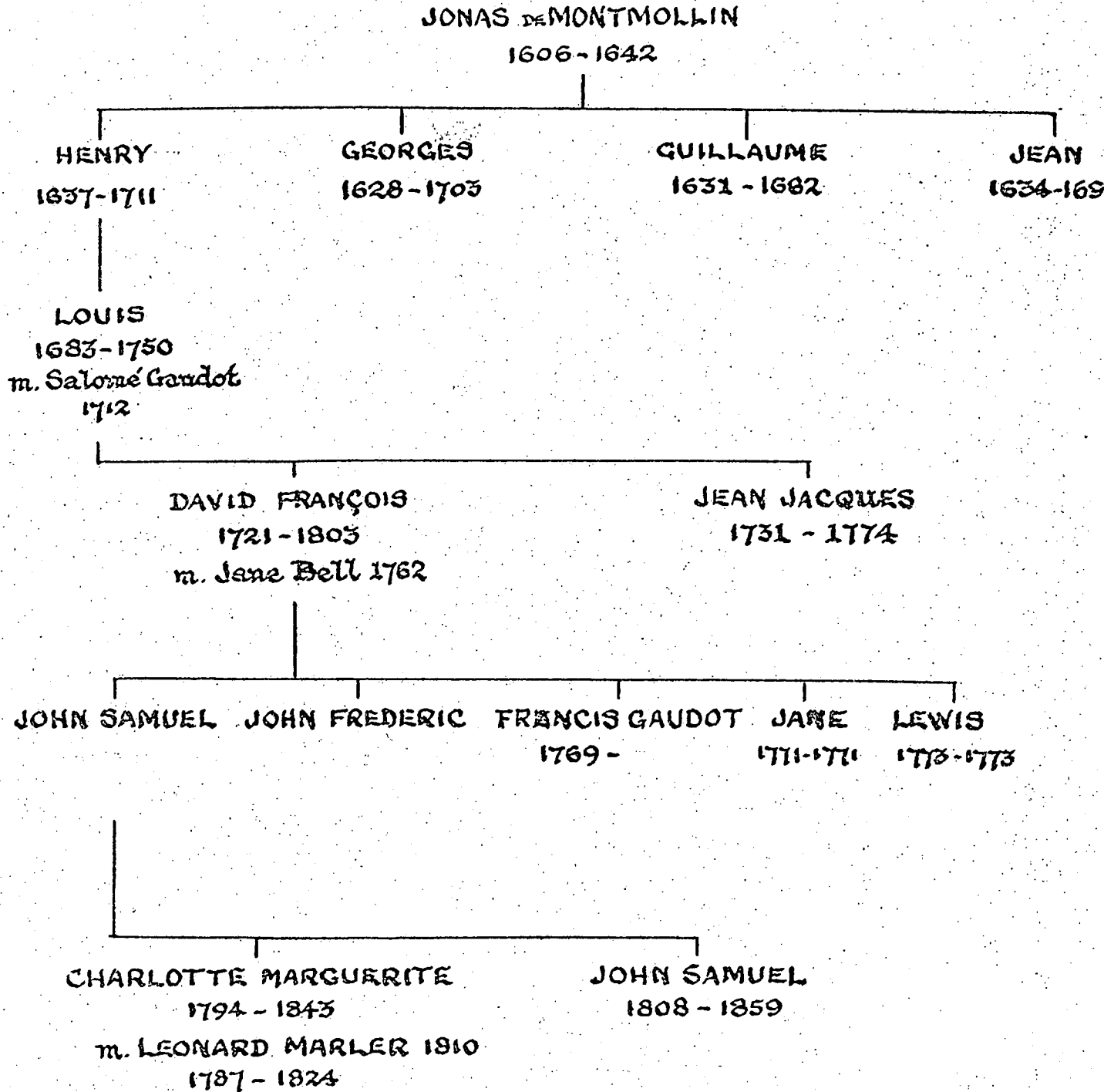
The register of the Metropolitan Church records his death on that date, and his burial on December 20th, by Salter Jehosaphat Mountain, the new Rector of the English Church at Quebec, in the presence of two friends, George Allsopp and George Longmore.

It cannot be said that de Montmollin's ministry was a success or that it achieved the objectives that those who sought the appointment of a French speaking clergymen had had in mind. But that there were extenuating circumstances is beyond dispute. The complete indifference of the government at Quebec and of successive Governors to the need of a church for the exclusive use of the English Protestant population partly explains the lack of progress of the church; and de Montmollin's imperfect pronunciation of

English undoubtedly marred the effect of his ministrations. But it is quite clear that he did not merit the severe criticism which Doty had expressed to the S.P.G. nor the strictures of Bishop Inglis. The Rev. Ernest Hawkins had a kinder view of de Montmollin, of whom he wrote in 1849 (1) : "Mr. de Montmollin lived till the commencement of the present century and is still remembered by some as a respectable, well informed clever old man, with his old-fashioned clerical dress, and a great white wig".

(1) "Annals of the Diocese of Quebec", by Ernest Hawkins, D.D.,  
Published in London, England, in 1849.

de MONTMOLLIN FAMILY TREE.



# Former Liberal chief Marler called 'defender of freedom'

By HARVEY SHEPHERD  
of The Gazette

Former Quebec Liberal leader George C. Marler was remembered yesterday as "a fearless spokesman and defender of the highest ideals of freedom, decency and integrity."

Conducting a funeral service yesterday before about 600 family and friends in the downtown St. George's Anglican Church, Rev. Kenneth Cleator also gave thanks for Marler's work in "making the community of men a better and happier place to live."

Marler, 79, died Friday night of a heart attack.

Cleator's prayerful tribute to Marler's service to "the Lord, the community and the world" were virtually the only references to Marler's intimate connection with some of the crucial political issues of a quarter-century. There were, for example, no honorary pallbearers.

Marler, born in 1901 to a family that had been established in Canada for a century and a half, had a political career on Montreal city council and in the provincial and federal legislatures that lasted from 1940 to the mid-1960s.

Marler, who began his political career as vice-president of the City of Montreal executive committee from 1940 to 1947, sat as a member of the Quebec legislature from 1942 to 1954, leading a small band of provincial Liberals in opposition between 1948 and 1953.

It was the heyday of the late Union Nationale Premier Maurice Duplessis and Marler — known for his cultivated French although English was his first language — led what often seemed a virtual one-man opposition against "Le Chef."

## In federal cabinet

Marler was transport minister in Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent's federal Liberal cabinet between 1954 and 1957.

He was appointed government leader in the Legislative Council, the now-defunct upper house of the Quebec legislature, and minister without portfolio in the government of Liberal Premier Jean Lesage in 1960. He remained in the cabinet until 1965.



Gazette, George Bird

## George Marler's widow, Phyllis, and son Dr. Eric Marler

Although Lesage was his own finance minister, Marler, a notary, took a leading role in financial matters. Opponents often criticized him as an "eminence grise" — a supposed envoy of the financial barons of Montreal's St. James St.

Prophetically, one of Marler's last activities in public life — in 1966, when he had left the Lesage cabinet but was still Liberal leader in the upper house — was a western Canada speaking tour aimed at fostering better mutual understanding of the regional aspirations of Quebec and the west.

Although he left active politics in the middle sixties, he maintained a keen interest in public life.

Among his last public statements was a commentary printed in *The Gazette* in 1977 on the then-

pending language legislation of the Parti Quebecois government.

"What is so difficult to understand in the circumstances is the desire to relegate the English language to a footing of inferiority," he wrote.

He said that, although English had been an official language for more than 200 years and the only official language in Quebec for half that time, and despite the heavy English influence of the surrounding continent, "French is not just as strong as ever, it is stronger than ever and better than ever."

"Surely," he wrote, "it is time for the PQ to recall the promises on which it was elected: to give the province good government and to seek independence only after a referendum shows that is what Quebecers really want."