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From the Cape to London

Pierre (Peter) Simond (1691-1785),
elder son of the Drakenstein
pastor, Pierre Simond
of Dauphiné

French speakers at the Cape in the first hundred years of Dutch East India Company rule: The European background

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In memory of Andrea

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Chief Abbreviations

AC	Archives communales
AD	Archives départementales
AdIE	Archives de l'Etat
AE	Archives d'Etat
AMAE	Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères
AN	Archives nationales
ARA	Algemeen Rijksarchief
BMS	Baptêmes; mariages; sépultures
<i>BSEHA</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes historiques, scientifiques et littéraires des Hautes-Alpes</i>
<i>BSHPF</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français</i>
Bibl. mun.	Bibliothèque(s) municipale(s)
Bibl. nat.	Bibliothèque nationale
Bibl. Prot.	Bibliothèque du Protestantisme
Bibl. pub. et univ.	Bibliothèque publique et universitaire
Bibl. wall.	Bibliothèque wallonne
CA	Cape Archives
CBG	Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie
CRO	County Record Office(s)
DO	Deeds Office
dtb	doop; trouw; begrafenissen
EC	Etat civil
EW	Eglise(s) wallonne(s)
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FWK	Fichier, Waalse kerken
GA	Gemeentearchief/archieven
GSSLC	Genealogical Society, Salt Lake City (Branch Genealogical Library, Church of Jesus Christ of

HSL	Latter-day Saints, Johannesburg)
Misc.	Huguenot Society of London
Ms.	Miscellaneous
NGKA	Manuscript(s)
Not. arch.	Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk Archives
PRO	Notarieel archief
<i>Proceedings HSL</i>	Public Record Office
RA	<i>Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London</i>
RPR	Rijksarchief/archieven
SA	Religion prétendue réformée
SAL	Stadsarchief
SHPF	South African Library
TA	Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français
<i>TWK</i>	Transvaal Archives
Unisa	<i>Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns</i>
Univ.	University of South Africa
	Université/University

Introduction

Although French speakers at the Cape of Good Hope in the first hundred years of Dutch East India Company rule occupy a central place in this study, it is not my purpose to give prominence to their history in the early days of settlement in this country. Something of that history is dealt with here, but this book is essentially an exploration of the European background, both in a general sense and with specific reference to those who came to the Cape, permanently or temporarily, as colonists or company men, or who touched at the small township below Table Mountain in the course of longer voyages.

Since the French Calvinist impact upon Cape society plays so significant a part in this history, my study opens with a general survey of the period from the late 16th century in France to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and its aftermath. In these chapters I have attempted to trace the fortunes of the reformed church, to see something of its organization, its strengths and its weaknesses, and to analyse the circumstances of the great dispersal of French Calvinists, with particular reference to the revocation of 1685. This is, admittedly, a path well trodden, but it is hoped that in this instance it will serve to place the emigration to the Cape of Good Hope in perspective and give further recognition to the work of recent scholars in the field, among them Daniel Ligou and the late Samuel Mours.¹

The background of the French-speaking settlers at the Cape is discussed on a regional basis and where new information has come to light, some attention has been paid to their period of residence in the United Provinces before leaving for the distant refreshment station of the Dutch East India Company in southern Africa. Interesting discoveries have been made in the archives of western Europe, but there remain many gaps in our knowledge and some of the hypotheses advanced here

may yet prove to have no firm foundation in fact. This book, and the sources upon which it is based, will perhaps lead others to a closer study of the regions discussed in the pages which follow. For surprisingly little research has hitherto been undertaken on the origins of the Cape Huguenot settlers. The major contributors on the French refugees, C. Graham Botha and J.L.M. Franken,² scarcely looked beyond domestic archival sources and it was not until these last few years that an enthusiast took up the challenge. André M. Hugo's archival discoveries in Champagne represented the first really significant advance in Huguenot studies in South Africa for over forty years, but his tragically early death has deprived us of further contributions from his pen. He left, however, some valuable suggestions for a wider approach³ and it is to his encouragement that the present study owes something of its form and extent.

No history of French contacts with the Cape in the period discussed here would be complete without some mention of that French drive for commercial, political and religious penetration of the Far East which brought so many interesting visitors to the settlement in Table Valley. This section of my penultimate chapter supplements earlier work in this field by R. Raven-Hart and E. Strangman on callers at the Cape. On the activities of the Jesuit scientist-missionaries it reflects important recent research by Joseph Dehergne. My concluding chapter fittingly brings the history of the Simond family to the centenary of the revocation which drove the Cape pastor Pierre Simond into exile. I am greatly indebted to N. Perry in this context for her pioneer researches into the career of the minister's son, Peter, in England.

Documentary sources investigated in the preparation of this study cover a wide range. It is, however, much to be regretted that so little work had been carried out in Europe in earlier years. War, accident and civil commotion have, over the centuries, caused the destruction of many records, some clearly relevant to the Cape emigration. These include the municipal archives of Dieppe, lost in the Anglo-Dutch naval bombardment of 1694, the registers of the reformed church for Paris at Charenton, burned during the Commune insurrection of 1871, the many documents destroyed at Middelburg in 1940 during the German attack on the Netherlands and the reformed church collection at Orleans, lost in the aerial bombardment of that city by the Americans in 1944.

Regional studies and documentary transcripts have also been extensively used to supplement archival material. The bicentenary of the

revocation of the Edict of Nantes in particular led to the publication of a large number of books on the Protestant past in France, while the many contributions over the years to journals of Huguenot history are an invaluable source of information on the local scene. Special acknowledgement is due to the successive editors of the *Bulletin* of the French Protestant History Society and to those under whose expert supervision so many church registers and other documents have been published by the Huguenot Society of London.⁴

A few words on the text will not be out of place. The language of the period presents a number of problems. Quotations from contemporary documents are reproduced in their original form, with occasional elucidations in parenthesis. The most usual form of a surname is given here, either with reference to a signature, or to the spelling most frequently encountered in documents of the period. It is pointed out that Dutch documents at the Cape and in the Netherlands contain several faulty transcriptions of French surnames. These errors have been perpetuated in published works on the Cape Huguenot settlement. With Christian names, however, it was felt that the only way to solve the problem of a great variety of spellings was to use the standard modern form in all cases.

An English spelling is naturally employed for place-names, where one exists. With regard to certain Flemish towns, the French forms, no longer locally acceptable, are often much better known to English speakers than the Dutch equivalents. It has been decided therefore to use such forms as Bruges, Courtrai, Furnes and Malines in preference to Brugge, Kortrijk, Veurne and Mechelen.

Some confusion may perhaps arise over the use of the words 'church' and 'temple' in discussing the reformed congregations of France before 1685. Here, at community level, 'church' is not synonymous with 'temple', the place of worship, but refers to the whole parochial organization, presided over by the minister and the lay members of the consistory.

This study could not have been completed without the help, advice and encouragement of many people. The names of some of them will be found in the last section of the bibliography and of these I should like to add a further word of thanks to Mr François Fouché of Bloemfontein and to Mr C.M. Hughes of London, whose kindness went beyond the documentary assistance acknowledged there. I also take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Mr C.F.A. Marmoy, honorary librarian of the Huguenot Society of London, for his generous help, as

well as to Miss Irene Scouloudi, honorary secretary of that society, and to Dr Walter Mogk of the Historisches Seminar of the University of Munich for the considerable body of information they were good enough to place at my disposal. My obligation to a host of librarians and archivists in South Africa and in Europe will be apparent from the bibliography and my appreciation of their good offices is offered here collectively.

I am also greatly indebted to the University of South Africa both for granting me the necessary study leave in 1975 and 1976 to carry out this project and for providing me with funds which helped to defray the heavy expenses involved in travelling between centres in Europe. The generous financial assistance of the Human Sciences Research Council towards the costs of this research is hereby gratefully acknowledged. My work owes much to the support of this body, but it will be appreciated that the opinions expressed and the conclusions reached in these pages are my own and can in no sense be regarded as a reflection of the opinions and conclusions of the Human Sciences Research Council.

The research upon which this study is based required prolonged absences far from home and immediate family. I am, however, fortunate in having good friends in distant places in whose company I was able to find precious hours of quiet relaxation. It is with great pleasure therefore that I offer here my warmest thanks to my boyhood friend Pierre Faure and his wife Odette of Thimécourt, to Herman and Annelies Reuter of Apeldoorn and to Leonard and Pauline Wilshin of Guildford.

There is one person more for whom I cannot find words enough to express my deep appreciation: my wife Enid. This research was undertaken in the shadow of personal tragedy for us both. Enid's love, her support, her encouragement and her forbearance in sad and difficult circumstances will always be remembered with heartfelt gratitude and sincerest affection.

REFERENCES: INTRODUCTION

1. For the works of authors cited in this introduction see the sources at the end of the volume.

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2. FRANKEN's *Huisgenoot* articles, to which frequent reference is made in this study (see section II of the sources), have been reissued in a selection of his historical work published while my text was in the press: 'Die Hugenote aan die Kaap', *Archives Year Book for South African History*, XLI, 1978. I was, however, able to see the proofs of this new publication. Due acknowledgement of this courtesy is made in section IV, C of the sources.
 3. See his article 'Die Kaapse Hugenote', *Familia*, XI, 1, 1974, pp. 1-7.
 4. For these documentary publications and for articles in the *Bulletin* cited in the text see the list of sources.

France: The religious background before 1629



This study of the background to French contacts with the Cape of Good Hope in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is primarily, although not exclusively, concerned with those who were members of the reformed church in France, the *Eglise prétendue réformée* as it was compelled to call itself before its dissolution in 1685. Not every French speaker, however, who came to these shores after Van Riebeeck's landing was a Calvinist. Some had doubtless left their native land for reasons unconnected with religious persecution; others reached the Cape on expeditions which bore testimony to the French drive to the east for commerce, empire and the dissemination of Catholicism. Among the settlers and servants of the Dutch East India Company too were French speakers from Protestant communities on and beyond the north-eastern borders of France whose first emigration to the United Provinces was perhaps not unconnected with French military penetration into the Spanish Netherlands.

Nevertheless the great majority of those who came to the Cape to settle had been members of the French reformed church who had chosen exile rather than submit to growing constraints and the eventual suppression of the public exercise of their faith. Whatever other aspects of French politics and social life may be fittingly touched upon in this introductory survey, particular emphasis must therefore be placed upon the history of French Calvinism.

The movement for church reform took early root in France – certainly before the close of the fifteenth century – and led to the formation in 1521 of the celebrated Meaux group of reformers under the leadership of the bishop of that town, Guillaume Briçonnet. It included such men as Jacques Lefebvre of Etaples, a fellow Picard from the Amiénois, Gérard Roussel, and Guillaume Farel of noble birth from the Gapençais in Dauphiné. Here were gathered precursors both of the Calvinist reformation and of the Catholic counter-reformation, although the effects of the latter, given impetus by the Council of Trent, were slow to be felt in a France long ravaged by a political and religious struggle for supremacy.¹

Farel established himself at Geneva, where he was joined in 1536 by Jean Calvin from Noyon in Picardy. While there were other influences at work on the spread of Protestant reform in the sixteenth century in France and on her borders – Lutheranism in Alsace and Montbéliard;² Scottish Calvinism at Châtellerauld and Dieppe³ – it was Geneva which ultimately supplanted Strasburg as the focal-point for French reform. The Swiss city supplied the model for the organization of the French reformed church, many of its pastors and a valuable place of refuge in times of trouble.⁴

The encouragement of the Genevan authorities and the undoubted abuses within the Catholic church in France were not the only reasons for the rapid strides made by the reform movement, particularly after 1545. Economic problems, as in Aunis, Saintonge and Gascony, drew the disaffected into the Calvinist camp. German students in such university centres as Bourges and Orleans, and German soldiers in the French service also played a part in the growing anti-Catholic movement. So too did the merchant class with its contacts beyond the French frontiers. The commercial centre of Lyons soon had its Protestant adherents; the clandestine distribution of Bibles and other religious literature promoted the growth of the reformed faith in such towns as Montauban, Poitiers and Saint-Maixent. Scattered groups of worshippers began to form churches on the Genevan model with pastors and

elders and by 1559 it was clear that the measures of repression, and particularly the burnings decreed by the *chambres ardentes*, calculated to arrest the spread of Protestantism, had completely failed. While contemporary estimates of near-parity in population between Protestants and Catholics were certainly exaggerated, it seems likely that at least 15% of the French people had accepted the reformed religion.⁵ The distribution of Calvinism in France, of which more will be said later, remained relatively constant until 1685.⁶

The year 1559 saw the first Calvinist national synod in Paris and the promulgation of the Discipline of the church and its confession of faith.⁷ By this time, however, Calvinism had become a political force as well as an organized religion. The new faith had its supporters in the army and in circles close to the king, and the protracted struggle between Catholics and Huguenots – the name doubtless deriving from the German *Eidgenossen*, or confederates⁸ – was about to begin. It was a contest which could only be solved by compromise, either by religious amalgamation, or by the recognition of two irreconcilable faiths within the state on a legal basis. The first solution was not an impossible dream – there were elements within the Catholic church which would not have been opposed to an independent gallican establishment on the lines of the Anglican settlement in England – but the Valois brothers who reigned from 1559 to 1589, François II, Charles IX and Henri III, were not of the stamp of a Henry VIII or an Elizabeth I across the Channel.⁹ The conciliatory efforts of the queen-mother Catherine de Médicis and her chancellor Michel de l'Hospital which led to the conference of Poissy in 1561 between the contending parties failed to bridge a widening gap and with the massacre of Protestants at Wassy in Champagne in 1562 by the Catholics under François de Guise the struggle for supremacy began in earnest.¹⁰

There followed a series of brutal civil wars in France which went far beyond a contest for religious supremacy. Indeed, neither Catholics nor Protestants could hope for complete victory and the wars were briefly interrupted by attempts to seek the compromise which was ultimately found. The concessions made were wrung from the Catholics; militant Calvinism, where it found itself in a dominant position, was not noted for its generosity to members of the opposing religious group. The roots of a solution which would permit the existence of an armed state within the state are to be found in the Peace of Amboise of 1563 which ended the first civil war after the assassination of François de Guise. This recognition of Huguenot strength was underlined in the Peace of Saint-Germain seven years later, after the Calvinist Gaspard de Coligny had

succeeded in taking control of royal policy and in ending the third war in which the Catholics had been markedly successful and in which the Huguenots had lost the Bourbon leader Louis de Condé, murdered after the battle of Jarnac in 1569.

The second compromise peace was again short-lived. In 1572, during the Huguenot domination of Charles IX, the king's sister Marguerite de Valois was married to the Protestant Henri de Navarre, the son of Antoine de Bourbon and destined twelve years later to become heir to the throne. The Huguenot ascendancy and the threat posed to their interests by this mixed marriage were little to the liking of the powerful Guise faction. With the aid of the Paris mob the Guises took their revenge in the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day in 1572, an orgy of killing which spread to the provinces and in which Coligny lost his life. War was resumed, leading to the Pacification of Beaulieu on the Dordogne in 1576, in which extensive religious and political concessions were accorded the Huguenots by the new king Henri III and his mother Catherine de Médicis.

The ultra-Catholic party regarded this treaty as a capitulation to heresy, the Catholic League was formed with papal and Spanish backing to strengthen the forces of orthodoxy and Henri III became the virtual prisoner of the leaguers. Although he succeeded in 1588 in having François de Guise's sons Henri and Louis, cardinal of Lorraine, assassinated at Blois, the king himself died at the hands of a murderer, the Dominican friar Jacques Clément, in the following year. It was the end of the Valois dynasty and the way was open to the heir to the throne, the successful leader of the Huguenots, Henri de Navarre. The Catholic League, with Spanish help, put up a protracted resistance, but Henri's decision to renounce Calvinism in 1593 gained him massive popular support and he was enabled to ascend the throne as Henri IV. The Catholic League was dissolved and peace with Spain signed at Vervins in 1598.¹¹

There remained the problem of a satisfactory religious accommodation, for although in the later civil wars the issue between the contending faiths had been subordinated to purely political considerations, no effective reconciliation between Catholics and Protestants in France had taken place. Moreover Henri IV's abjuration had not broken the power of the Huguenot party. Although Calvinism had suffered a decline in numbers during the religious wars through abjurations, emigration and extermination, its adherents probably represented about 10% of the population in 1598 and its leaders were still a political and

military force to be reckoned with.¹² Even more a minority cult now in such regions of marginal Calvinism as Burgundy, Brittany and the Ile-de-France,¹³ the Huguenots were dominant in several parts of France, although mainly in those with a lower density of population than the national average.

Calvinism had taken firm root in a wide arc of territory west and south of the *Massif central* from Poitou to southern Dauphiné, with the greatest concentration in the eastern region of Languedoc and the thinnest distribution in Upper Guyenne and the former stronghold of the Catholic League between Toulouse and Montpellier. To the south-west of this arc Calvinism was strong in Béarn on the Spanish border, but north of the Loire, in eastern and north-eastern France and in Provence it was largely a religion of scattered churches, only locally strong as in parts of Picardy and in the Loire valley between Orleans and Blois. Calvinists were however more numerous in Normandy, where churches had been afforded a late breathing-space to recuperate and reorganize after Henri de Navarre had routed the Catholic League at Ivry on the Eure in 1590.¹⁴ Protestantism was particularly vigorous in the coastal Pays cauchois of Normandy, with large congregations in such towns as Dieppe, Honfleur, Bolbec and Le Havre. It was not, however, a majority faith in the region and Calvinists probably did not number more than 15% of the total population there, rural and urban.¹⁵

It was a characteristic of French Calvinism in the seventeenth century, even where it was strongest, that its churches, as Samuel Mours has said, “regroupaient . . . de nombreux petits îlots épars, parfois assez distants les uns des autres . . . Les Eglises réformées étaient donc des Eglises de disséminés”.¹⁶ This lack of cohesion not only inhibited religious life; it also weakened the power to resist attack. Only in parts of western and south-western France can this generalization be qualified.

This then was the background to the settlement between Catholics and Protestants arrived at by Henri IV in 1598. The Edict of Nantes consisted of four separate sections: the public edict of 93 articles, probably signed on April 30; the declarations for the registration of 56 secret articles, dating from May 2; and two royal warrants of April 13 and April 30 which were in effect guarantees to the Protestant party.¹⁷ All four sections confirmed and indeed extended earlier concessions to those who practised the *Religion prétendue réformée*; the warrants moreover gave a bite to the legislation sadly lacking in the attempted settlements during the troubled years of conflict. At the same time it must be remembered that these warrants were simply acts of the royal

favour, easily revocable; only the first two sections of the edict had legislative significance and in practice it was usually only the public edict which was registered by the *parlements*. It was the edict as registered by the Paris *parlement* which had the force of law throughout the kingdom.¹⁸ This was effected in February 1599, but not before that body had wrung an important concession from the king which barred Calvinists from holding services in episcopal and archiepiscopal cities, thus removing the exercise of the reformed faith from the major urban centres in France. Registration was not obtained without difficulty in the provincial *parlements*. Henri IV had to issue formal commands by *lettres de jussion* before those of Aix-en-Provence and Rennes complied in 1600; final registration was not obtained from the *parlement* of Rouen until 1609.¹⁹ This lack of enthusiasm for concessions to Huguenots was not surprisingly matched in Catholic church circles, although Daniel Ligou has pointed out that the Assembly of Clergy meeting in May 1598 was not as violently hostile to the religious settlement as has sometimes been averred.²⁰ The Catholics, however, instituted a conversion fund to encourage reformed church members to abjure.²¹

The Edict of Nantes was Henri IV's solution to the problem of peaceful co-existence in the fields of religion and internal politics. He did not, as is evident from the preamble to the main text, lose sight of the possibility of achieving religious unity in the future, and the irrevocability of the legislation must be seen in terms of a situation in which a *modus vivendi* between powerful contenders had to be sought in the public interest.²² Nevertheless it represented, as Viénot has indicated, the first official declaration in a generally intolerant world that "les âmes sont libres de professer la religion qui leur paraît la meilleure".²³

At the same time it must be conceded that the Edict of Nantes did not place Catholics and Protestants on equal terms within the kingdom.²⁴ Catholicism was everywhere re-established and the revenues of which it had been despoiled restored. For the Protestants, religious life was, as it were, "frozen" as it existed in 1598. The edict recognized three categories of Calvinist worship. The first, the *culte de fief*, or seigneurial worship, was permitted without restriction to those members of the nobility who were *seigneurs haut justiciers*, having judicial powers which extended to the punishment of capital offences. Attendance at reformed churches established on the estates of such nobles was open to all. The lesser nobility, however, whose judicial rights were limited to minor cases, could merely hold private worship, at which no more than thirty people outside the family could be present.

The second category of worship was that which took place in localities where it had been publicly celebrated between the beginning of 1596 and the month of August 1597. Such congregations were said to enjoy the right of possession. The third category, the *culte de concession*, derived from legislation of 1577 which permitted worship in one locality in each bailiwick or *sénéchaussée*. Henceforth, in general, two places of worship would be permitted, but services had to be held outside the municipal boundaries.²⁵

The seigneurial rights were, as Ligou has stated, precarious, since they depended upon the continued adherence of the noblemen to Calvinism and the maintenance of estates in Protestant hands.²⁶ Nevertheless the existence of temples in private possession not only gave opportunities for regular worship to many Calvinists in isolated communities, but also provided at a later stage an alternative place of worship during the growing oppression of the reformed faith. Although there were a number of exceptions, the *culte de possession* dominated in the west and south where Calvinism was strongest; the *culte de concession* in regions of marginal Protestantism, particularly in the north, east and central regions of France.²⁷

The selection of places of worship was the work of commissioners, Catholic and Protestant, appointed to apply the terms of the edict. Some of the secret articles were unfavourable to Calvinism, especially with regard to the number of concessionary places of worship in bailiwicks and *sénéchaussées*, but a reasonable attempt was made to provide reformed church members with access to organized congregational life. Where, as in the *sénéchaussée* of Poitiers, only one centre was permitted, the numerous *cultes de fief* in the region served to redress the balance.²⁸ Protestant worship was, however, forbidden, in theory, at court, in Henri IV's Italian possessions "delà les monts", in the army, unless a general was of the reformed faith, and initially at least, within five leagues of Paris.²⁹

Other significant articles in the main edict dealt with the provision and functions of certain *chambres mi-parties*, consisting of equal numbers of Protestants and Catholics, on the model of that which already existed at Castres. These had a judicial function. There was to be no discrimination against Calvinists in public life and no taxes were to be levied on them for purely religious reasons. They were not, however, exempt from the payment of tithes, usually received by the Catholic clergy, were compelled to observe Catholic feast-days and were subject to canon law with regard to marriage, particularly restrictive on the sub-

ject of the permitted degrees of consanguinity. Calvinist literature could only be sold at authorized places of worship.³⁰

The secret articles of the Edict of Nantes largely concerned the organization of the reformed church and its specified places of worship. Church government by local consistory, regional colloquy and synod, provincial and national, was guaranteed, with the proviso that national synods could only be held with royal permission. A later royal warrant dealt further with synodal sessions. On the question of church finances, sums could be levied on members for ecclesiastical purposes. Ministers were bound by the secret of the confessional, interpreted as the deliberations of the consistory, and were exempt from the *taille* and from such other charges as the obligation to house troops. Calvinists could open educational establishments wherever worship was permitted. The warrant of April 13, 1598 provided for an annual subsidy for the payment of ministers and the upkeep of colleges; another in August of that year gave the reformed church the sum of 50 000 *écus* as a reimbursement for Catholic revenues it had been compelled to surrender. Where Protestantism was strong, however, as in large parts of Languedoc, church tithes continued to be paid for the benefit of reformed consistories.³¹

This in substance was the religious side of the settlement of 1598. It undoubtedly provided a new sense of security where the reformed faith was weak, but seen from the Calvinist standpoint, the restoration of the Catholic faith and a large part of its revenues could not be regarded as a victory for reform in regions of dominant Protestantism. The revival of Catholic fortunes in Languedoc for example was not always, in a material sense, to the advantage of the community.³²

There was, however, another important side to the Edict of Nantes. Although the main text suggests that it was Henri IV's intention to break the power of the Calvinists on the political plane, the royal warrant of April 30, 1598 recognized the inescapable fact that the former Huguenot leader had to deal with a united faction enjoying influential leadership among the nobility, strong bourgeois support and possessing an organization to match its church government. Each colloquy sent a delegation of two laymen and a pastor to a provincial assembly, a body which had a permanent executive council to advise an annual general assembly.

The partial silence of the edict on the subject of this political organization and the circumstance that the warrant of April 30, although later renewed, was only issued for a term of eight years indicate a dislike of

this aspect of Huguenot strength, but its existence – and the military power underlying it – could not be ignored. Hence Henri IV's concessions to political Protestantism in the granting of a large number of *places de sûreté*, or places of safety to the Huguenots, the recognition of Huguenot control over other centres, some urban and others *places particulières* in the hands of the nobility, and the acceptance of certain *places de mariage* for Calvinists, usually in the vicinity of the *places de sûreté*. Strongholds in these categories were to be found in various parts of France, but were chiefly concentrated in the west, the south-west and in Dauphiné. Places of safety were in the control of a governor and were either garrisoned, or defended, as at La Rochelle, by a citizen militia. *Places de mariage* were also guarded by detachments of troops. Of the inland strongholds Saumur on the Loire was of special strategic importance. Its garrison of nearly 400 men served under Philippe de Mornay, the great Duplessis-Mornay of Calvinist history. Other Huguenot *places de sûreté* included Loudun, Niort, Bergerac, Châtelleraut, Montpellier, Castres, Nîmes, Die and Embrun. Henri IV's guarantee of Huguenot military autonomy was underwritten by an annual subsidy of 180 000 *écus*, but he kept the right to appoint the governors of the *places de sûreté* on the advice of the Huguenot assemblies.³³

It will be apparent, therefore, that the Huguenots were given power within the state out of all proportion to their numbers and that the religious aspects of the Nantes settlement depended to a large degree upon the preservation of that power. Already, as Lublinskaya has indicated, there were attempts during the reign of Henri IV to encroach upon the political rights of the Calvinist bloc, particularly with regard to its military strength, although the king did not prevent the holding of political assemblies and even synods were emboldened to discuss political affairs.³⁴

The Huguenots indeed represented a "state within the state", possessing considerable autonomy and organs of government ecclesiastical and lay which opposed republican forms to the principles of absolute monarchy. Nevertheless it would be wrong to say that this republicanism in the forms of government always implied republicanism in political thought. Submission to royal authority may have taken a back seat during the years of civil disturbance, but, with the corollary of loyalty to the king's person, it re-emerged after the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes as a powerful force in Calvinist thinking. As early as 1611 Philippe de Mornay took up his pen in defence of the divine right of kings and emperors, and this current of loyalism to a divinely appointed

ruler was to remain strong among pastors and laymen even beyond the revocation of 1685 and the great dispersal.³⁵

The support afforded the Calvinists by Henri IV, despite his reservations about their political power, did much to strengthen the attachment of the reformers to the monarchy and leaders of the Huguenot party like Mornay, Sully and the writer Agrippa d'Aubigné, grandfather of the future royal mistress Madame de Maintenon, remained close to the court. Protestants had little to complain of before the king's assassination at the hands of François Ravaillac in 1610. Indeed, Henri's attempts to please all parties – no easy task for those who pursue a policy of compromise – were by no means unsuccessful, in part because of the existence of a valuable buffer between religious extremes in the *politiques*, the middle-of-the-road party, gallican in religious sympathy and seeing in the continued prosperity of the Calvinist cause a counterpoise to excessive romanism. Henri IV in fact made further attempts to bring about religious reconciliation by sponsoring dialogue at Fontainebleau between Mornay and the bishop of Evreux, Jacques Davy du Perron, a former Protestant. This approach was to be revived, but the spirit of the counter-reformation and the weakening of the Calvinist position were effective barriers to any such rapprochement.³⁶

There is much to be said for Ligou's view that Henri IV derived his success from his policy of balancing concessions. This practice can be seen at various levels. If the nullification of his marriage to Marguerite de Valois and his choice of the Italian Marie de Médicis as a second wife displeased the Protestant nobility, he flouted the Edict of Nantes by permitting his Calvinist sister Catherine to attend reformed services at court. If the return of the Jesuits aroused opposition, it was countered by another breach of the edict in the authorization given for a temple to be built for the Calvinists of Paris at Charenton, within the prescribed limits. Nor was he partial in his attitude to the contending parties. If unseemly disturbances by Catholics in the Orléanais incurred the king's displeasure, so too did Calvinist references to the pope as the Antichrist.³⁷

The decade following the death of Henri IV, the rule of the queen-mother Marie and the eventual assumption of power by the devout Louis XIII saw divisions within the Huguenot ranks which in themselves and in the court reaction to them precipitated a new civil war. This period cannot be seen merely as the exploitation of Huguenot weaknesses in order to undo completely the Nantes settlement, nor was it entirely a question of elements among the Calvinist nobility seeking

to wring further concessions from the court party in their own interest. Despite the clear successes of the counter-reformation in the religious field and the known antipathy in royalist circles for Calvinism, revocation of the religious clauses of the Edict of Nantes was not to be thought of while Protestantism was relatively strong. Marie de Médicis in fact was quick to renew the edict after her husband's death, drawing attention to the fact that her action was scarcely necessary in view of its stated irrevocability.³⁸

Abrogation of the political influence and political power of the Huguenots was, however, much in the minds of the court party. For militant Calvinism posed a very real threat to a country moving towards national unity, yet still striving to complete the integration of what Lublinskaya has called the twin "nationalities", north and south.³⁹ And it was particularly in the south, with its separatist tendencies, that Calvinism was at its strongest numerically, if not always in leadership. Latent separatism of a regional kind was therefore combined with religious separatism having political objectives and reluctantly given legal status. Contemporary fears of Huguenot aims, if over-stressed, were not unfounded: that the nobility, still the major force in the Calvinist hierarchy, sought ultimately to establish a sort of Dutch republic on French soil; that the rich Protestant bourgeoisie, already enjoying in many regions a quasi-independence in free cities, hoped to found a union of republican towns on the Flemish model.⁴⁰

There was, however, no firm alliance between the nobles and the bourgeoisie among the Huguenots and many of the latter were unwilling to jeopardize commercial advantages by playing power-politics for the benefit of the nobility. A growing party of moderation in Huguenot ranks saw the only hope of survival for the Calvinist cause in the devotion to the king's person which Mornay preached. This view had much support among the urban merchant class, among those who worshipped at Charenton, close to Paris and court influences, and among the reformed congregations north of the Loire, where Calvinism was weak. Against this attitude stood a party of more resolute action, with strong support in the south-west and from many of the nobility. It soon came to have a man of decision at its head in the Breton, Henri de Rohan. Between the two came a smaller group which tried to strike a balance between Huguenot extremism and court hostility to the Calvinists. Among their number Mornay was the outstanding figure. This considerable division in Huguenot ranks and leadership was further accentuated by disputes and personal animosities among the Calvinist nobles.⁴¹

Nor was disunity confined to the political arm of French Protestantism. The century had opened with an attack by the Dutchman Arminius on the Calvinist doctrine of predestination as expounded by Théodore de Bèze. It was to lead to the affirmation of orthodoxy and the rejection of Arminianism at the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618–1619, attended by Swiss, English and German delegates, as well as Dutch Calvinists. Louis XIII prevented the attendance of a French delegation, but the Dordrecht decisions were endorsed by the Synod of Alès in 1620.⁴²

Nevertheless, until the events of 1685 and beyond them, there were spiritual currents within the reformed church which diverged from the mainstream of Calvinist orthodoxy, with particular reference to doctrines of grace and election. They flowed from the Scotsman John Cameron, pastor at Bordeaux and professor at Saumur, Montauban and other academies; from his disciple Moïse Amyrault of Saumur; from Claude Pajon, long minister at Orleans. The doctrinal differences are interesting in the evolution of Calvinist thought, but they were far from shaking the orthodoxy of the French reformed church to its foundations. Nevertheless men like Cameron, Amyrault and Pajon had their following and the failure of Calvinism to show a united front in the spiritual field – the tendency indeed to seek an ecumenical basis which would unite all western Christendom, or at least the Protestant part of it – weakened a church in crisis.⁴³

On the Catholic and royal side there was also discord, but the growth of absolutism kept it within bounds as the century progressed. On the political front, the moderates of the first quarter of the century came to lose interest in the Huguenots as a counterweight when they ceased to be a military power; on the spiritual plane, an alliance between gallicanism and reform grew less likely in changed political circumstances. Moreover, this was the golden century of counter-reform in France, owing much to the very presence of a vulnerable minority faith. It is noteworthy that the century should witness a great extension of devotion to the real presence in the eucharistic sacrifice, a doctrine rejected by the Calvinists, and that much Catholic missionary work should be directed at members of reformed church congregations.

The Catholic reformation in France cannot therefore be ignored in any study of the vicissitudes of the reformed church. The seventeenth century was one in which old orders and congregations were rejuvenated and new ones flourished: the Jesuits and Capuchins; the Congregation of Saint-Maur; the Lazarists; the Order of the Visitation. It was the century which opened with the influence of François de Sales and

which saw the activities of great missionary priests: Vincent de Paul, apostle to the poor; Michel le Nobletz of Brittany; Louis Grignon de Montfort in Poitou; Jean-François Régis in the Cévennes; Jean Lejeune, "le Père aveugle", particularly active in the diocese of Limoges. It was a century of clergy reform under the direction of such men as Adrien Bourdoise, Pierre de Bérulle, Jean-Jacques Olier and Jean Eudes. It was an age of great preachers: Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet of Meaux; Esprit Fléchier, bishop of Nîmes; the Jesuit Louis Bourdaloue. It was the century of a more zealous episcopate under such bishops as Nicolas Choart de Buzenval of Beauvais, Louis de Lascaris d'Urfé of Limoges, Jacques Desclaux of Dax, Nicolas Pavillon of Alet and Gabriel-Philippe de Froullai de Tessé of Avranches. The Jansenists of the latter part of the century cannot be left out of the picture, despite the fact that they represented a religious outlook which Louis XIV was at length to find intolerable and which, in its origins, if not in its sense of tradition, had views on the grace of God not dissimilar to the Calvinist position. Such leaders of the movement as the theologians Antoine Arnauld and Pasquier Quesnel, and the writers Blaise Pascal and Pierre Nicole exercised a spiritual influence which was felt from Normandy to the *midi*. Port-Royal-des-Champs, the Jansenist abbey in the Hurepoix, south of Versailles, became an important religious centre and a place of retreat for study and meditation.⁴⁴

This, however, is to anticipate; the Catholic reformation had yet to become a powerful force in the anti-Calvinist drive during the regency of Marie de Médicis between 1610 and 1616. Then, the Calvinists were by no means a powerless minority and in the political and religious fields their policy was to perfect their organization, to gain concessions in the Edict of Nantes and to obtain control of new strategic points. In general, they were unable to improve their position to any marked extent, although Rohan's stand in 1612 at Saint-Jean-d'Angély in Saintonge was a check to the court party.⁴⁵ The incorporation of autonomous Béarn within the provincial synodal framework of the reformed church in 1616 considerably strengthened the Huguenot party in the south-west and gave it potential control of a strategic frontier.⁴⁶ Louis XIII, now king in fact as well as name, reacted the following year by uniting Béarn fully with France and in 1620, profiting from a lull in the Thirty Years' War, undertook the military occupation of Béarn, capturing some Huguenot strongholds in Poitou and Guyenne on the way.⁴⁷

It was this assertion of royal authority which provoked a new civil war between the Huguenots and a king whose power was surely based after his defeat in 1620 of forces supporting the queen-mother against him at

Les Ponts-de-Cé below Angers on the Loire. The Huguenots, meeting at La Rochelle, prepared for war, but their potential was somewhat weakened by defections, leaving only Rohan and his brother Soubise as outstanding leaders. It was a further stage in the decline of the Protestant nobility and, indeed, in the loss of power of the French nobility as a whole. Furthermore, Louis XIII's assertion that he was fighting only rebellion and had no quarrel with Calvinism effectively kept the Huguenots living outside the zones of dense Protestant population out of the conflict.

The king, urged by his minister Luynes and by a Catholic bourgeoisie anxious to see the destruction of Huguenot urban privileges, moved to the attack in May 1621, after securing his position on the international stage. Already clashes had begun between Catholics and Calvinists in Poitiers and Tours, as well as in Languedoc, the Vivarais and other parts of the south-west. The advance of the royal troops in 1621 was a triumph and neither Soubise in the west, nor Rohan in the south could do much to halt it. Saumur fell in mid-May and Mornay was deprived of his governorship, and the towns of Poitou submitted with almost indecent haste, thereby considerably weakening Calvinism in the province. Only the Saintonge stronghold of Saint-Jean-d'Angély seriously delayed the advance. As the royal troops moved into the south-west, the same story was repeated, with only brief resistance at Clairac and Nérac. Not until Montauban was reached was Rohan able to compel the king to raise the siege of that city.

La Rochelle talked of peace, but Rohan was determined to continue the fight. The campaigns of 1622 were again largely a royal triumph. Dauphiné was isolated from the Protestant bloc across the Rhône, towns relinquished after the advance of 1621 were retaken and Louis's armies converged on Montpellier in Languedoc. Here, as at Montauban in the previous campaign, he was unable to achieve a quick victory. Moreover, events outside France compelled him to think of peace. A treaty was therefore signed at Montpellier, not, in view of the precarious situation of the Huguenots, a particularly harsh one. Montpellier lost its erstwhile independence and like many other strongholds, was forced to raze its fortifications. Montauban and La Rochelle, however, were unaffected. Rohan was made governor of the Cévennes, the only large region in the country still outside royal control, and was also permitted to govern Nîmes, Castres and Uzès. On the other hand, the Huguenots had lost some eighty places of safety in the west and south-west and much territory had come under royal government. The war too had all but destroyed the Huguenot leadership among the nobility

and it was evident that, Rohan apart, the only successful agents of resistance to the king had been the bourgeoisie of La Rochelle, Montauban and Montpellier. The situation did not augur well for Calvinist separatism as a political force in the future.⁴⁸

After the treaty of 1622 the Huguenots sought outside help – even from Spain – and used delaying tactics to slow down the demilitarization of the south in the hope that Louis would be compelled to withdraw the occupying troops for service in the European war. The royalists in turn interfered in the municipal affairs of Calvinist towns and successfully wooed many more of the Huguenot nobility, securing, with the aid of financial inducements, a significant number of abjurations. Only in the separatist Pyrenean provinces of the south-west did the Calvinist nobility stand firm. Urban commercial classes were lukewarm to the idea of a renewal of civil war, even in La Rochelle, chief bastion of the Huguenot cause. A further check on Calvinist autonomy was introduced by the appointment of a royal commissioner, the Protestant lawyer Auguste Galland, to prevent the national synod of the church at Charenton in 1622 from becoming a political, as well as a religious assembly.⁴⁹

It was evident to Louis XIII and his new minister of 1624, Richelieu, that with royal power firmly established in most parts of south-western France, the retention by the Huguenots of La Rochelle was the only serious obstacle to the unification of the kingdom. Already blockaded by royal forces, its difficult position sparked off a new conflict in 1625.

Soubise, despite early successes which countered the hostility of the city fathers for further fighting, was defeated on the Ile de Ré. No help was forthcoming for the Huguenots from England or the United Provinces and in fact Richelieu was able to obtain vessels from both countries for use against the defenders of the port. A royal naval victory in September 1625 allowed Louis's troops to occupy the Ile d'Oléron.

In the south and south-west Rohan found it difficult to arouse any enthusiasm for the war among the Calvinist municipalities. He was able to retain the Cévennes, while the king's forces suffered several reverses, notably at Sainte-Affrique in Rouergue and Le Mas-d'Azil in the county of Foix. On the other hand a royal "scorched-earth" policy caused widespread hardship in the countryside and in general the result of the campaigns was a stalemate. The Huguenots were exhausted by the beginning of 1626 and a delicate international situation made Richelieu equally anxious for peace. The Treaty of Paris of February 1626 generally restored the *status quo*, although Catholic worship was to be permitted in La Rochelle, the property of that church returned and a

royal commissioner appointed to see that the treaty terms were fulfilled.⁵⁰

La Rochelle had been spared, but not for long. The last war of religion in France began in 1627 with a reaction to aid from England in the shape of Buckingham's abortive expedition. As in the past, the contest was fought in two regions: the west and the south-west. While Richelieu settled down to the long siege of La Rochelle, in which Jean Guiton emerged as the Calvinist hero, Rohan attempted to raise the *midi*. Although the royal troops there achieved no spectacular results, Rohan was effectively prevented from coming to the relief of La Rochelle. The tragic siege dragged on for more than a year, with further ineffective English attempts to come to the aid of the beleaguered Calvinists. Finally, in October 1628, the port capitulated after losing some 20 000 of its inhabitants. Rohan's position in the south became untenable and with Privas and Alès in enemy hands, he was forced to negotiate.⁵¹

The result was the signing of the Peace of Alès in June 1629, followed in the month after by the famous *Edit de Grâce*, drawn up at Nîmes. It was the end of political Calvinism. Although certain fiscal and other privileges remained to the Huguenots of several towns and provinces, the era of *places de sûreté* and political assemblies was over, quasi-independent city republics ceased to exist and the idea of a federal, pluralistic France gave way to the development of the unitary state. The royal subsidies too, a source of revenue already drying up, were no longer available to assist the reformed church.⁵²

On the other hand, the religious settlement made at Nantes in 1598 was again guaranteed. It would, as Ligou has indicated, have been entirely in the spirit of the age if the Edict of Nantes had been abrogated in 1629. Richelieu did not regard the settlement as irrevocable and any decision to annul it would have been enthusiastically endorsed by the ultra-Catholics – Richelieu's *eminence grise*, the Capuchin Father Joseph, for example, or Bérulle.⁵³

Why then did Calvinism survive as a religious faith? One reason was that the unitary state had not yet been fully consolidated. Men like Rohan and Soubise were not merely Huguenot leaders. They also represented powerful forces among the nobility seeking personal advantage without reference to religious persuasion. Richelieu's quarrel was not with sectarianism as such, but with those who might manipulate a minority to oppose his policies. The presence in the country after 1629 of a disaffected group stripped of all its privileges would have been a potential threat to France while unity was still to be achieved.⁵⁴

Again, so drastic an action as revocation might not be necessary. Calvinism had declined numerically and would decline further. It was widely held that within a few years of Alès lack of leadership and a policy of cajolement would reduce its strength to insignificance. And if Calvinism did not die a natural death there was always the possibility that an all-embracing gallicanism would emerge, with Richelieu at its head. This dream of Christian unity had its adherents still, although Catholics failed to realize that Calvinism went much further in its rejection of Catholicism than a mere dissatisfaction with abuses in process of eradication through the Tridentine reformation. Richelieu's agents in the grand scheme, the apostate pastor of Aimargues in Languedoc, Louis du Laurens, and another convert to Catholicism, the lawyer from La Rochelle, Théophile Brachet de la Milletière, made little headway in the later years of the cardinal's career.⁵⁵

Finally, revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1629 would have caused serious difficulties in the field of foreign policy. Richelieu was about to play an active part in the Thirty Years' War and was beginning to look towards Gustaf Adolf of Sweden as a useful ally in his struggle with the imperial and Spanish Hapsburgs. The French statesman needed Protestant help abroad; his involved diplomacy could scarcely be advanced by the persecution of Calvinists at home.⁵⁶

Protestantism in seventeenth-century France entered therefore upon a new phase after 1629. No longer a political and military force, it had lost its only certain means of protection. Defections, particularly among the higher nobility, had considerably weakened its position. Tolerated for the moment, but not liked in court circles, Calvinism was viewed with suspicion by the great majority of Frenchmen, for as D.D. Bien has justly observed, "to French Catholics, Protestantism signified civil war, social disorder, rebellion, treason".⁵⁷ The survival of the reformed church was from this point to depend upon policies decided upon by its adversaries. There would be a relatively quiet interlude of three decades – the "années d'accalmie" of Samuel Mours⁵⁸ – but the stage was already set for the final act which saw the destruction of the organized church in 1685.

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France and the organization of the reformed church, 1629-1661



The administration of France between 1629 and 1661 was in the hands of Richelieu and his successor Mazarin, invested with supreme power by the queen-mother Anne of Austria on the death of Louis XIII in 1643. Although the reformed church was not entirely unmolested in this period, Calvinism was generally accepted and no attempt on anything but a local scale was made to infringe the privileges of the church until Louis XIV assumed personal responsibility for national affairs in 1661.¹

That the reformed church enjoyed so long a period of relative calm can largely be attributed to the problems, internal and external, which faced the government in those years. In France itself, Richelieu still had to build firm foundations for absolute monarchy after 1629, since the power of the nobility, though waning, had not yet been effectively broken. This he sought to achieve in four ways: by force of arms, as in the defeat of Montmorency at Castelnaudary in Languedoc in 1632; by

an efficient system of espionage which, a decade later, smashed the Cinq-Mars conspiracy and incidentally gave Sedan to France; by the creation of provincial intendants in 1637 with overriding financial, judicial and police powers, and responsible to the king and his chief minister alone; and by a steady process of attrition, aided by the sale of offices, which gradually transformed the feudal aristocracy into a *noblesse de cour* lacking real influence and dependent on the monarchy for continued favours.²

In foreign policy, Richelieu turned the Thirty Years' War into a contest between Bourbon and Hapsburg, and with Protestant help gave France a new Rhine frontier. In the struggle with Spain, the king's chief officer of state was able to secure the Pyrenees border and gain a foothold in northern Italy.³

This was Mazarin's inheritance after Richelieu's death in 1642. On the European front, with the aid of the young Condé against the Spaniards at Rocroi and with that of the Protestant Turenne in Germany, he gained for France a leading place in Europe in the years following the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. The war with Spain continued until the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, after France, with Cromwell's support, had successfully invaded the Spanish Netherlands. At this treaty, the Pyrenean border was finally determined and the province of Artois ceded by Spain, thus providing the French with an additional barrier to foreign incursions in the vulnerable north-east.⁴

At home, Mazarin's pressing need to finance an aggressive foreign policy sparked off the series of civil wars from 1648 until 1652 known collectively as the *Fronde*. Beginning with a constitutional protest by the Paris *parlement*, influenced in some measure by parliamentary successes in England, the cause of reform was espoused by the populace of the capital. The weakness of the court party gave the nobility a last chance to oppose the king by taking over the leadership of this challenge to his authority. From Paris the revolt spread to the provinces and Mazarin was twice obliged to leave the country before order was restored.⁵

But in general the *Fronde* was not anti-monarchical in character, a circumstance which had its reflection in the many local insurrections of townspeople and peasantry both before and after the troubles of 1648-1652: "Le Vivarais rebelle demeure prudent, royaliste, et comme souvent au XVII^e siècle, purement antifiscal . . . Les mutins d'Aubenas . . . se bornent à reprendre sous une forme nouvelle le vieux mot d'ordre antifiscal et monarchiste des Carcassonnais de 1655 (Vive le Roi

sans taille et sans gabelle); et ils crient: *Vive le Roy, fy des élus*".⁶ It was this attachment to the monarchy which saved the day for Mazarin and paved the way for the re-entry into Paris of Louis XIV in October 1652.

Where did the Calvinists, so recently in armed opposition to royal authority, stand in relation to uprisings, whether of peasants or of the nobility? There is no indication that Huguenots in general played any active part in the *Fronde* wars, apart from the English-inspired republicanism espoused by some Calvinists in Bordeaux and the temporary disaffection of the military leader Turenne, later to abjure the reformed faith.⁷ That the loyalty of the many did not go unnoticed is evident from the terms of the confirmation of the Edict of Nantes signed by Louis XIV at Saint-Germain-en-Laye in May 1652.⁸

A number of earlier insurrections took place in largely Protestant regions, or in provinces where Calvinists formed a strong minority. However, although the Languedoc intendant Jean Baltazar de Malherbe saw the machinations of the Huguenots in the troubles there in the mid-1640s, there is reason to suppose that they did little more than make common cause with Catholics in the face of poverty and grinding taxation. Nor is there any evidence of a religious motive in the revolt of the peasantry of Saintonge and the Angoumois in 1636, or three years later when the *Nu-pieds* of Normandy presented another challenge to authority.⁹ Porchnev has suggested that revolt in Calvinist communities had much to do with the element of social protest inherent in French Protestantism, but seventeenth-century uprisings were not, a few incidents apart, religious manifestations, but the result of economic hardship.¹⁰ Periodic famine, as in the Blésois in 1662, brought starvation and death to thousands, while low wages, rising prices, exorbitant ground-rents and the growing burden of tithes and gabelle added to the general misery.¹¹

It was also characteristic of French Calvinism at this period that it generally endorsed the theory of a royal power deriving from God and not to be questioned by loyal subjects. This attitude, having its source in the thought of Calvin the founder and manifesting itself as the wars of religion drew to a close, was constantly reiterated by theologians of the seventeenth century.¹² Although Catholics also subscribed to this view, it led among Calvinists to an exaggerated subservience to royal authority, such as that shown by the provincial synod of Languedoc in 1661, whose members described the king as the Lord's anointed and true image of God's power.¹³ Obedience to the monarch was the keynote of opening speeches at such assemblies, as instanced at the provin-

cial synod of Burgundy, held at Gex in September 1656, where obedience to royal authority was taken for granted, "les monarchies estantz l'ouvrage de Dieu".¹⁴ Some years later, when the Calvinists of Orleans wished to bring their complaints of Catholic hostility to the notice of Louis XIV, they could only do so "prosternez aux pieds de vostre sacré magesté soubz la liberté de vos Eedits".¹⁵

Seventeenth-century French Calvinism shows no germ of a democratic tradition in its political outlook and was far removed from the republicanism of which, in an earlier age, it had been accused.¹⁶ It must be said, however, that the excessive devotion shown to the king's majesty was perhaps a natural reaction. It was the Catholics who prided themselves on their loyalty and who looked with suspicion in this regard on the Calvinists in their midst.¹⁷ This suspicion was possibly heightened by the presbyterian and synodal form of reformed church government and Jacques Fromental, historian of Calvinism in Burgundy, has suggested that government of a more authoritarian kind, as with the German Lutherans, or of a hierarchical nature, similar to the Anglicanism of England, might have been better received by the civil power.¹⁸ Such ecclesiastical organization would certainly have accorded better with the theory of the divine right to rule. The French system had obvious dangers and Ligou has seen in the extreme loyalism of its members its greatest weakness.¹⁹

The later period of Richelieu's years in office and the age of Mazarin which succeeded it did not, however, foreshadow the wrath to come, at least until after 1656, when some further prohibitions were placed upon Calvinists in such fields as public preaching and psalm singing.²⁰ Where reform was strong, it largely held its own without difficulty, but under Richelieu constraints were applied to suspend the free exercise of the reformed religion in some localities of weaker Calvinism, among them Sancerre in Berry, Chartres in the Orléanais and Antibes in Provence.²¹ Under Mazarin, little interested in religious controversy, conditions were for long even easier. Moreover, there were influential Protestants in high places, such as the German, Bartholomäus Herwarth, in 1657 controller general of finance.²² The only major setback for Calvinism occurred at the end of Mazarin's life, when in 1660 a quarrel between students at the Monauban college, which Protestants shared with Jesuits, resulted in the military occupation of the town and severe measures taken against reformers, including arrests, executions and the expulsion of the Calvinist academy to the small town of Puylaurens.²³

There existed, however, an ultra-Catholic congregation, the *Compag-*

nie du Saint-Sacrement, a secret society founded in 1627 which placed high on its agenda the extirpation of heresy, although much of its energy was directed into less controversial channels such as help for the sick and needy, the promotion of foreign missions, clergy reform and the encouragement of higher standards of social morality. The company's efforts to combat Calvinism and to win over its adherents took various forms: missionary activity, the creation of funds for the conversion of members of the reformed church, particularly among the poor, the lobbying of *parlements*, especially in the south, and attempts to curtail Calvinist civil liberties, either by preventing non-Catholics from following certain professions, or by trying to boycott the employment of Calvinists by Catholic masters and of Catholic workmen by Protestants. The *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement* had affiliations throughout France and was particularly strong in Paris and the *midi*; it enjoyed the support of many of the higher clergy, of court officials and of some of the most influential members of the Paris *parlement*. It had moreover a doctrine with regard to Calvinism: that the Edict of Nantes had been promulgated in order to allow the king to bring his strayed sheep back into the Catholic fold. The legislation of 1598 was not therefore to be regarded in terms of a reprieve for Calvinism, but as a means of glorifying Catholicism.²⁴

The efforts of the company were not conspicuously successful in the years of its greatest activity under Mazarin and the rulings of the king-in-council were frequently in conflict with its aims. It fell into disrepute after 1660 and disappeared within a few years, having, in Ligou's view, made enemies by its moralistic puritanism, its ultramontanist and its underground activities. Molière's *Tartuffe* was to lampoon the excessive piety with which it became associated.²⁵ The company, however, is not without importance in the subsequent history of the reformed church. Its interpretation of the Edict of Nantes was endorsed by Louis XIV, as may be seen in his declaration at La Fère in 1656,²⁶ and its methods were to be resuscitated in the later anti-Calvinist campaign.

In general then, the French reformed church exercised its functions without serious constraint before 1661.²⁷ At the highest level, it met in national synod, although no longer at three-yearly intervals as had been the case from 1598 until 1626. It assembled at Charenton in 1631, at Alençon in Normandy in 1637, at Charenton again in 1644 and at Loudun in Poitou in 1659 – always in localities where Protestantism was a minority cult; always too in the presence of a royal commissioner and with royal permission, obtained through the good offices of deputy generals appointed as intermediaries between the king and the Calvinist

rank-and-file.²⁸ The earliest holders of this office after 1629 were Isaac Bazin, who died in 1631, and Henri de Clermont-Gallerande, who was succeeded in 1644 by the Dauphinois, Alexandre de Perrinet d'Arzeliers. He in turn gave place to the Ruvignys, father and son, who held office in succession until the revocation.²⁹ Never a political figure, the deputy general undertook a task which became progressively more onerous during the personal rule of Louis XIV. The elder Ruvigny's career before his resignation in 1678 is an illustration of the difficulties experienced by so many Calvinists in adopting too royalist a pose.³⁰

Legislative body, court of appeal and link between scattered churches, strong and weak, in Calvinist France, the national synod met for a period of several weeks under the control of a moderator. Its two daily sessions were attended by pastors and elders nominated by the synodal provinces of the church – two of each for the fourteen larger provinces and half that number from Brittany and Provence. This representative national assembly depended upon the royal favour for its continued existence and at Loudun the royal commissioner Madeleine let it be known that for the future the synod would no longer be held automatically at the request of the church, but only when the king judged such an assembly to be necessary.³¹ It was, in fact, the last to be authorized and the unity of the Calvinist church suffered in consequence a serious setback. Nevertheless, if Louis XIV intended the suppression of national synods as a means of destroying the corporate organization of the church, his action was insufficient.

For at provincial and local levels unity was preserved to the eve of the revocation and contact between the provinces did not cease. At provincial level, synods consisting of the pastors and elders of each church met annually, and subsequently biennially, with royal permission and under the watchful eye of a commissioner responsible to the king, assisted in later years by an additional Catholic commissioner. Their deliberations, clearly of a more regional nature, concerned the affairs of the various churches, problems of finance, education and the administration of the sacraments, and the appointment and dismissal of ministers. Discussions ranged from matters of general importance to the consideration of specific local issues.

Synodal provinces – whose boundaries were not necessarily those of geographical provinces – were further divided into colloquies, although this delimitation was never clearly defined in the Vivarais, a region of relatively strong Protestantism, nor was it ever introduced in Brittany and Provence, where the reformed church was weak.³² The authority of

the colloquy was subordinate to that of the provincial synod, but it was not, by membership, a direct link in the chain of church government. Its meetings coincided with those of the provincial synods, and were similarly attended by the royal commissioner and by the pastor and an elder of each church in the district, together with a lay representative of the town in which its deliberations took place. Its duties were to transmit to the provincial synod the decisions taken at local level and to settle differences between churches and to keep a watch upon the religious life of the district.

The separate churches within each synodal province and colloquy, forming the Protestant parishes, each with its place of worship, the temple, were the core of active Calvinism in seventeenth-century France. Differing widely in wealth and numbers, they enjoyed equality of status and considerable autonomy. The binding cement was the confession of faith, the Discipline and the dictates of the higher organs of authority of the Calvinist faith. The administrative body regulating the life of the local church was the consistory, a lay assembly which met at fairly regular intervals, often but not exclusively on Sundays, under the chairmanship of the minister.³³ Its members – usually men, although women are known to have been chosen in Burgundy – were co-opted, not elected, and were representative of the various localities served by the church and sometimes of adjoining congregations where regular worship had ceased.³⁴ This twofold mission can be seen in the organization of the consistory for Is-sur-Tille in Burgundy.³⁵ Members were chosen for varying periods and it was usual for continuity to be maintained by stipulating that a proportion of the consistory should stand down at a given time. Membership could, however, be extended for further terms. The landowner in a seigneurial church sat in an *ex-officio* capacity and from 1684 a Catholic official had to be present at meetings.

The size of the consistory depended upon the importance of the church, rather than upon the size of the congregation. Solange Bertheau has given the membership at Niort in Poitou for 1630 as eighteen for a parish of some 6 000 Protestants;³⁶ the consistory of the church at Nanteuil-lès-Meaux, east of Paris, numbered seventeen members on the eve of the revocation for approximately 3 000 parishioners;³⁷ that at Mens-en-Trièves in Dauphiné varied between fifteen and twenty for about 1 500 worshippers between 1652 and 1683.³⁸ An example of a smaller consistory for a parish of fewer than 400 worshippers comes from La Ferté-au-Col – today La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, east of Meaux. The members there in January 1685 numbered only seven.³⁹ Chizé, a small congregation in southern Poitou, with a chapel of ease attached to

the larger church of Aulnay, had a consistory of eight or nine members before its suppression in 1663.⁴⁰

Consistorial records suggest that members were selected not only for their moral worth, but also largely for their social and intellectual standing in the community. This made the consistories somewhat less than democratic, but added weight to their deliberations, increased their prestige and, a not unimportant consideration, gave representation to those elements of Calvinist society best able to contribute to the financial stability of the congregations. The seigneurial class was frequently well represented, as were merchants, the bourgeoisie and the professional classes.⁴¹ At Embrun in Dauphiné for example, all these groups from the upper and middle echelons of society were represented before the revocation.⁴² It is also evident that there was something of a "closed shop" in co-optation to consistories and perhaps a degree of nepotism in the frequency with which members of the same family served the needs of the parish.⁴³

On the other hand, there were congregations of generally lower social standing. Nicolas Payen, chosen by royal command to attend meetings of consistories in the Brie region on the confines of the Ile-de-France and Champagne in the last months before the revocation, found that at Nanteuil all the members were "gens fort grossiers" and that the real power in the deliberative body was the pastor, Jean Jamet. More than half the members, representing Meaux, Nanteuil and neighbouring localities on both banks of the Marne, were vine-dressers. The others were agriculturalists and artisans, of whom perhaps Jean Volcé, master pastry-cook of Meaux, stood highest in his trade.⁴⁴ Another comment on the social deficiencies of consistories comes from Dauphiné, where it was alleged that services were sometimes conducted by "ceux qu'ils nomment anciens, gens sans caractere et la pluspart plebée au grand scandale du public".⁴⁵ In Poitou, and doubtless elsewhere, consistories chose parishioners living in outlying villages and hamlets as *anciens de campagne*, responsible to, but apparently not members of the governing body. These would probably generally be tradesmen or husbandmen.⁴⁶

It is interesting to note that members of a consistory were all designated elders in provinces as far apart as Dauphiné and Poitou. The deacons were simply elders deputed to undertake special duties associated with the diaconate. In Burgundy at least it would seem to have been usual to appoint a single deacon. In 1614, for example, the consistory of the church at Beaune chose the elder Sébastien Lavizé "diacre pour manier les deniers de l'église, payer le pasteur, et fournir (*sic*) à tous les frais

qu'il conviendra". The designation "treasurer" would seem appropriate.⁴⁷ The office of deacon was therefore one of the several church duties which fell to the lot of the appointed elder, who would sometimes hold several posts at one and the same time. The elder Jean Desouliès of Mens-en-Trièves, for instance, was for more than twenty years deacon, reader, precentor, secretary and schoolmaster.⁴⁸ It was, however, usual in some parishes to appoint salaried officers to undertake some of these duties. In order to facilitate the smooth running of the parish, it was the custom to divide it into districts, or *quartiers*, each under the control of one or more elders.⁴⁹ In Poitou, consistorial districts far from the church were often administered by the heads of Calvinist families.⁵⁰

The finances of the church were of the greatest importance and the work of the elders in this field was often onerous. In some churches congregations were assessed according to their means for general expenses, including the payment of the minister's salary, while the regular collections in the temple were destined for the poor. On occasion, special collections were taken up, usually for the support of less wealthy churches, while congregations also benefited from testamentary bequests. Money was sometimes scarce and there were instances of churches falling into arrears with their payments to pastors. Usually the collections taken at the quarterly communion services – often held on two successive Sundays on each occasion – were considerably larger than those taken at ordinary services.⁵¹

Elders had a number of duties in connection with the services. If no salaried official had been appointed as reader and precentor, one of the elders would read the scriptural passages which preceded the sermon and direct the singing of the psalms which was so notable a feature of Calvinist worship and, indeed, while permitted, of social life. On communion Sundays it was the elders who saw that the communion table was properly prepared, who supplied the bread and wine, and who collected the *méreaux*, the metal tokens issued to those whose fitness to take communion had been verified in advance.⁵²

In Scotland in the following century, it was the minister who distributed these tokens, "a species of priestly power, and sometimes . . . abused", in the view of Dr Johnson's biographer, James Boswell.⁵³ This was perhaps the practice in some parts of France in the seventeenth century, but it was a task usually delegated to the elders. Here we touch upon a vital part of the work of the consistory, its moral action in the community. This intensely Calvinistic activity was not without its dangers.

As Pierre Bolle has indicated, too great an interference in the lives, public and private, of members of congregations could lead to a spirit of rebellion and at worst, cause real spiritual values to wither in an excess of sterile moralism.⁵⁴ It has also been alleged that the strictness of Calvinist morality was not in keeping with the French character and militated against the wider acceptance of the reformed church.⁵⁵ On the other hand, the close hold of the church upon its members helped to sustain it, particularly in regions where it was a minority faith.

Perhaps 20% of the consistory's time was occupied in discussing sins of the spirit and of the flesh. In the first category may be included family disputes, quarrels between master and servant, disagreements involving neighbours and the frequent and interminable squabbles over precedence in the temple and the possession of private seats, leading sometimes to the exchange of blows. In an age which had an unreasoning fear of the supernatural, there were also cases of parishioners frequenting sorcerers and witches. The excesses of youth had to be curbed; so too had debauchery, licentiousness, blasphemy and drunkenness.⁵⁶ Unexplained absence from services was censured and elders fought an unrelenting battle with innkeepers. Drinking on Sundays was frowned upon severely and was strictly forbidden during hours of worship. The elders of Mens-en-Trièves whose duty it was to patrol this largely Protestant town at such times kept a close eye upon the taverns.⁵⁷ In everyday social life, dancing and the playing of cards and dice were considered particularly reprehensible and in regions where Catholicism was strong, careful attention was paid to contacts with the ceremonies and teachings of the Catholic church, with the preaching of visiting missionaries and in general with all influences who might lead the faithful into what were considered the superstitious practices of Rome.

What were the strictures available to the minister and his consistory? In simple cases, a visit from the *ancien du quartier* took place, followed by an apology before the consistory. In graver matters, or with failings already known to the community at large, public reparation before the whole congregation after service was expected. Exclusion from the communion table was a common method of punishment. The sentence could be delivered privately by the consistory, or publicly from the pulpit. At Mens-en-Trièves in the last years of active Protestantism before the revocation, public condemnation was restricted to cases of illegitimate birth.⁵⁸ Parents too, even of children who had attained their majority, could be deprived of the sacraments for the sins of their offspring. The final sanction, full excommunication, seems rarely to have been invoked, perhaps for fear of driving erring Calvinists into the

arms of the Catholic church. The English philosopher John Locke, visiting France before the revocation, says that excommunication meant in practice merely the banishment of a member from the communion table.⁵⁹

The church played an important part in the lives of the congregation and the censure of the consistory was generally accepted. Few were bold enough to make a stand against the weight of public opinion its members claimed to represent. There were, however, exceptions, and here the social position or professional standing of the accused seem sometimes to have strengthened the will to resist. It took sixteen years to persuade the surgeon of Dangeau in the Pays chartrain, Maximilien Séguret, to mend his irreligious ways,⁶⁰ when the sisters Madeleine and Marie Clot, mistresses of the nobleman Alexandre le Blanc du Percy, were suspended from communion, the Calvinist father of their ten illegitimate children described the members of the Mens-en-Trièves consistory as “des jean-foutre”.⁶¹

The consistory could obviously do no more than put a brake upon anti-social behaviour. Illegitimacy, then a great social scandal, was doubtless more frequent than the expressive entries “né(e) en paillardise” in the registers would suggest. Dancing may have been considered an invitation to lasciviousness by the reformed church, but it formed part of every young nobleman’s education and was certainly accepted at that social level. Locke’s references to this form of entertainment in Languedoc suggest that any opposition to it was probably often disregarded.⁶² Drinking and card playing were also too popular to be stamped out entirely. At Mens in 1676, Geneviève, daughter of the pastor Jacques Borel, was discovered one Sunday evening at the house of an elder of the congregation, César-Marie du Maretz, playing cards with a number of friends, among them the Catholic priest Paul Curty. This did not prevent her from being similarly surprised a few years later.⁶³

There is no reason to suppose that Calvinists lived better lives than their Catholic neighbours. One of the Montpellier pastors, René Bertheau, later exiled to England, told John Locke in 1676 “that there was very little piety or religion among their people and that the lives of the Reformed was (*sic*) no better than that of the Papists”.⁶⁴ It must always have been difficult to prevent contacts between Calvinists and Catholics. Mixed marriages, while still legally permitted in France, were common in some regions – Poitou, for example – but were frowned upon by the reformed church.⁶⁵ Members of congregations sometimes expressed contrition for marrying outside the Calvinist faith, as at

Imécourt in Champagne in 1667, where Paul Cholard repented of his "horrible faute".⁶⁶

In addition to its task as keeper of the public morals, the consistory had an important charitable duty, both as collector of moneys for the sick and indigent and, under the eye of the minister, of disbursing of the funds collected. This was done on a regular basis, often quarterly, after due investigation of the circumstances, while special payments were made as necessary in cases of occasional sickness, unemployment or accident. Assistance was also afforded necessitous travellers, as at Fontenay-le-Comte in Poitou, where a few months before the revocation a young theological student from Languedoc, "en grande nécessité", was given financial help.⁶⁷ There are many indications that there was a not inconsiderable itinerant population in seventeenth-century France.

A vital aspect of Calvinist social action was the provision of educational facilities. The Discipline of the reformed church lay great stress upon schools⁶⁸ and the pastor Isaac d'Huisseau described the youth of the parishes as "la pépinière de l'église".⁶⁹ It was not just a question of literacy for its own sake, or as a tool for occupational advancement, but also, for a church which laid stress upon a personal knowledge of the Bible, a means of strengthening the faithful in their religious life. The church school – *la petite école* – taught reading, writing and the rudiments of arithmetic, and sometimes, before a royal decree of 1670 prohibited the further extension of elementary education in reformed church schools, a little Latin as well. These institutions were day schools, although the schoolmaster occasionally gave lodging to pupils coming from a distance.

Samuel Mours claims that the standard of literacy among Calvinists was vastly higher than that among Catholics, taking the country as a whole; that this was so in many regions is evident from an examination of signatures in church registers.⁷⁰ There were, however, considerable variations. Urban churches had generally more literate congregations than rural ones; the level of literacy north of the Loire was considerably higher than was the case in the *midi*, and Provence in particular lagged. Nevertheless the reformed church could take pride in its achievements in the elementary field and it was not until later in the seventeenth century that the Catholic church began to make up this leeway, although mention should be made of the outstanding efforts of the Jansenists of Port-Royal. It is interesting to note that in the immediate post-revocation period, when thousands of Calvinists had fled the coun-

try, the literacy levels for France were approximately 30% for men and 14% for women. The Calvinist levels would seem to have been higher than this.⁷¹

More advanced education, except where provided privately, was organized within the framework of each synodal province. The college, or high school, was attached to the academy, a university institution with faculties of arts and theology.⁷² College education emphasized the study of Latin and Greek, the reformed catechism and the confession of faith. From the college, students graduated to the faculty of arts of the academy, following a two-year course in logic, moral philosophy, physical science and metaphysics which terminated in the award of a master's degree.⁷³ Those who then proposed to train as ministers of religion entered the faculty of theology to become the élite of the academy. On the completion of a three-year course, the successful student was given testimonials to present to the synod of his province. Synod would then examine him and hear him preach and, if satisfied, receive him as a pastor.⁷⁴

Many future pastors, however, studied at Geneva, and several in the United Provinces. While some academies flourished in mid-century – Saumur, Montauban-Puylaurens, Nîmes, Die and Sedan, the last, on the borders of Champagne, outside the synodal provinces – other collegiate institutions languished. Provence, for example, failed to make a success of its college at Le Luc.⁷⁵ The efforts of the reformed church in this field could not compare with those of the Jesuits.⁷⁶

Nevertheless, in the formation of an educated pastorate in seventeenth-century France the reformed church had the ascendancy over the Catholic church, which lacked enough seminaries to train the large numbers of priests needed to fill its parishes. The secular clergy varied considerably in ability and some were crassly ignorant.⁷⁷ Country priests too came in general from a lower social background than those who ministered to Protestant congregations. This is not to say that there were not many able men of high intellect in the ranks of the Catholic ecclesiastical establishment; moreover, there was a superabundance of clergy in many dioceses: as many as six priests to every 600 communicants in one parish in the diocese of Limoges, for example. “Le contact avec le clergé”, as Lestocquoy has said of the *ancien régime*, “était de tous les instants”;⁷⁸ some were obviously of outstanding merit. But the French Protestant pastorate is best compared with the Catholic episcopate and in point of training, ability and intellect was in no way inferior. Drawn mainly from the bourgeoisie and the lesser nobility, pastors were often

in easy circumstances, and although their salaries, except in Paris and a few of the larger provincial centres, were not high, they enjoyed free accommodation and other privileges.⁷⁹

The minister was responsible for catechetical instruction and, through the consistory, for the pastoral care of the faithful, with particular emphasis upon the sick and the aged. Many pastors too devoted much of their leisure time to writing: books of controversy in the earlier part of the century; sermons and other devotional works at all times. The pastorate was then essentially, as it is today, a ministry of the Word, and preaching played the most important part in the duties of every minister.⁸⁰ The general level of excellence in the pulpit would seem to have been high, if perhaps lacking in popular appeal, and Louis XIV said of Pierre du Bosc, pastor at Caen in Normandy, that he had no equal in the kingdom as an orator.⁸¹

There were, inevitably, failures, apostates and dissolutes among the pastors of the reformed church in the seventeenth century; others too who were lax in their duty or uninspiring from the pulpit. They were, however, clearly a small minority and most ministers provided in full measure the spiritual and moral leadership required to guide the congregations entrusted to them.⁸² For the minister was expected to be a model to his flock in his spiritual life, his everyday behaviour and even in the sobriety of his dress. He occupied a position of importance within the Calvinist community and, indeed, often in society in general. The sense of calling was a strong one and there are many instances of successive generations of ministers within the same family. Léonard's latter-day echo of Claude Brousson's criticism of pastors before the revocation seems somewhat harsh.⁸³

With the pastors we come to the very heart of the worship of the reformed church in the temple, centre of a local community which raised the money to build it and sometimes carried out the work of construction itself. Whether large, as at Charenton, Dieppe or La Rochelle, each capable of seating several thousand people on the ground floor and in the galleries, or just a small rural chapel of ease, the simplicity of the temple distinguished it from the Catholic church. Its plain plastered interior walls had few decorations: the decalogue, perhaps, or the Lord's Prayer on wooden tablets. The temple was not only a place of worship, but also a meeting place for friends and relatives who not infrequently came from a considerable distance and were a source of news, national, local and domestic. Larger temples often had

a separate consistory building attached to them, sometimes housing a library.⁸⁴

A bell summoned the faithful to the temple. In addition to the regular Sunday services and the quarterly communion, there were occasional special services on fast days set aside to mark disasters – persecution, as at Lusignan, Poitou, in 1666; famine, such as that which afflicted the Orléanais four years earlier. Home devotions were strongly encouraged, but there were also prayer meetings in the temple on weekdays, often presided over by an elder.⁸⁵

The parish registers took the place of the modern *état civil*. Baptism, the acceptance of the child into the body of the church, was a solemn occasion, usually taking place in the temple towards the close of a service. Godparents were not obligatory, but were customary. Christian names were frequently chosen from the Old Testament and among the bourgeoisie and the nobility there was a predilection for names associated with classical antiquity.⁸⁶

Impending marriages were announced in the temple on three successive Sundays and in terms of the Discipline weddings were celebrated publicly before the congregation. John Locke attended a reformed church marriage ceremony in January 1676 at Montpellier, “the bride and bride groome standing under the pulpit and the minister in the pulpit joyned them according to their liturgie, just before the psalme that precedes his extemporary prayer”.⁸⁷ Minors had to have parental permission to marry and the age of majority for men was thirty.⁸⁸ At Mens-en-Trièves, contracts of marriage in legal form were demanded by the consistory after 1668, in order to avoid opposition when the banns were called.⁸⁹ Country customs at weddings, always lively and sometimes violent, were strongly discouraged, but a wedding was the occasion of family reunions and banqueting which might continue for several days.⁹⁰

Entries in the registers relating to burials were usually brief. The reason, as Pierre Bolle has pointed out, had a theological base. Calvinism rejected the idea of purgatory and prayers for the dead were inadmissible.⁹¹ In some localities, as at Loriol in Dauphiné, it was the custom to bury the dead immediately after services, but Calvinist funerals were not church ceremonies. The cortège did not halt at the temple, nor was it necessary for the minister to attend what was a simple family affair.⁹² Cemeteries sometimes adjoined the temple grounds, but were often walled enclosures purchased by the church in another part of the town or village. Scattered localities within a parish

often had their own cemeteries, as with those who worshipped at Nogentel in Brie. There, the Calvinists of the hamlet of Montcourt buried their dead in the Petits-Prés; those of Château-Thierry at the Prailons cemetery.⁹³ Burials also took place on the estates of the nobility and other landowners.⁹⁴

There was little ostentation in a Calvinist cemetery. Tombstones were few and more imposing sepulchres, such as that in the Paris cemetery at Charenton to Jean de Grassion, Protestant marshal of France, were rarer still.⁹⁵ Distinctions of class, however, existed in death as in life. The Calvinists of Saumur in the last months of active church activity there before the revocation complained to the king of outrages to the dead in the sepulchre adjoining the temple wall. This had originally been set aside for the Mornay family, but other notables, including some German princes, had also been buried there. However, when flooding prevented interments in the ordinary cemetery, “on esté (*sic*) obligé d’y enterrer des particuliers”.⁹⁶ In north-eastern France the Catholic bishop of Noyon, François de Clermont-Tonnerre, was outraged in 1680 to find inscriptions on some Calvinist tombs at Saint-Quentin, a pretentious display, “à la honte aussi bien qu’au scandale des fideles qui seuls peuvent et doivent jouir apres leur mort de cette honorable et publique preuve d’une sainte Communion pendant leur vie”.⁹⁷ His comment is a further illustration of the gulf between Calvinism and Catholicism.

The numerical strength of this Calvinism of the mid-seventeenth century has been the subject of much speculation and there can probably be no finality on the precise figure. The most acceptable conclusions would seem to be those offered by Samuel Mours, who gives a total of 856 000 for the sixteen synodal provinces of France, including 5 000 from the churches of independent Orange, attached to the synodal province of Dauphiné, but excluding the reformed churches of Alsace, Sedan and Metz, outside the synodal system.⁹⁸ Metz was much the strongest of these, but the total number of Calvinists in all three cannot have exceeded 25 000. Territorial gains by Louis XIII and Louis XIV – Franche-Comté, Roussillon, Artois and Flanders – were not subject to the Edict of Nantes. The total population of France at this period is also uncertain, but was evidently in the region of 19 million people.⁹⁹ Calvinists therefore represented about 5% of the whole, a proportion reflected in figures for a single diocese of France, that of Rouen in Normandy, which is perhaps a part of France most representative of the national average.¹⁰⁰

The geographical distribution was much as it had been at the beginning of the century, with the great area of strength lying in the west, and particularly the south-west, in southern Dauphiné and in coastal Normandy. Although the Calvinism of Paris contained influential elements, its adherents there formed a numerically insignificant section in a population approaching half a million.¹⁰¹

Mours gives three synodal provinces with Calvinist populations of 90 000 or more: Lower Guyenne, with 100 000 church members in four colloquies, having large congregations in Bordeaux, Bergerac, Clairac and Nérac; the province of Saintonge-Aunis-Angoumois, with a Protestant population of 98 000 in five colloquies and its major urban centre at La Rochelle; and finally Poitou, divided into three colloquies and having some 90 000 church members, many in rural areas, but with sizable congregations in towns such as Poitiers, Châtellerault, Niort and Fontenay-le-Comte.¹⁰²

Three more synodal provinces had Calvinist populations exceeding 75 000: Lower Languedoc, with 88 000 worshippers in three colloquies, where many localities, including the city of Nîmes, had a majority of Protestants; the province of the Cévennes, also with three colloquies and a population of 82 000 Calvinist worshippers, far in excess of the Catholic population of the region; and Upper Languedoc and Upper Guyenne with seven colloquies, 80 000 Calvinists and the town of Montauban, where Catholics were in a minority.

Four synodal provinces had more than 45 000 Protestants: Dauphiné, where the Calvinist population of some 72 000 was distributed in eight colloquies, with a large church at Die, where 85% of the citizens were of the reformed religion; Normandy, with six colloquies and some 59 000 Calvinists, particularly strong at Dieppe, Rouen and Caen; the large province of the Ile-de-France-Champagne-Picardy, containing four colloquies and 48 000 church members, a quarter of them in Paris; and the Vivarais in the strongly Calvinist *midi*, also with a reformed church population of about 48 000.

Of the remaining six synodal provinces, that of Béarn on the Spanish border was the largest, with a Protestant population of some 30 000, unevenly distributed in six colloquies, of which those of Orthez and Sauveterre had the largest number. Three other synodal provinces had populations of between 10 000 and 20 000 Calvinists: Burgundy, with 17 000 in four colloquies, the province for the Orléanais and Berry, whose two colloquies contained about 15 000 church members together, with a strong nucleus in the Blésois, and the synodal province of

Anjou-Touraine-Maine, with 13 500 Calvinists in three colloquies, who largely depended, outside the towns of Tours, Saumur and Loudun, upon the support of the rural lesser nobility of the reformed faith. Finally were the two synodal provinces of marginal Calvinism at opposite extremities of the country: Provence and Brittany. In the former, more than half of the 9 000 members of the reformed church lived in the villages of the Durance valley; Brittany had some 6 000 church members, with the main centres at Rennes and Vitré.

This distribution indicates that something like 70% of all French Calvinists lived in the west and south-west – approximately south of the Loire and west of the Rhône. If the south-eastern provinces are included – Burgundy, Dauphiné and Provence – the figure approaches 85%. Placed in slightly different context, with Burgundy, Poitou, Saintonge and Aunis rightly forming part of the northern “half” of the kingdom, some 60% of all French Calvinists lived in the southern region of the *langue d’oc*, a part of France less thickly populated, with fewer large urban centres and generally poorer than the rest of the country.¹⁰³

There is no doubt that Calvinism had declined in numbers during the first half of the seventeenth century, and that this decline would be accelerated in the two and a half decades before the revocation of 1685. There were, it is true, abjurations from Catholicism, as, for example, in the records of the church of Mens-en-Trièves, where in August 1658 the consistory of La Mure asked Mens for a contribution towards the education of a young man “quy est sorty des mains de nos adversaire(s)”.¹⁰⁴ Five years later the Catholic François Boucher of Mens promised to abjure “la messe et les abus d’icelle”.¹⁰⁵ Abjurations of more doubtful sincerity were also made to circumvent local regulations forbidding the settlement of Calvinists in towns to which they had previously had free access. Complaints were made at La Rochelle in 1642 about members of the reformed church who temporarily changed their religious allegiance in order to enter the town.¹⁰⁶ Abjurations were also made in cases where marriages would otherwise have taken place between partners of different beliefs, but this was a two-way trade.¹⁰⁷

Conversions to Catholicism would seem to have been more frequent. A surviving register containing the names of those in the Caen district of Normandy in mid-century who, “quictant, detestant, et abiurant l’heresie, Reviennent au Giron de l’église Catholique, Apostolique, et Romaine, sans la quelle personne ne peult estre sauvé”, shows a steady stream of converts. Among them was Jean Viel de Rondemare, whose abjuration of 1644 ends with an exhortation which Catholics were later

to forget in the struggle for religious unity: "Ne Faictes à autruy sinon ce que vous voudriez vous estre Faict".¹⁰⁸

The defection of the higher nobility continued during the seventeenth century and Ligou has devoted an interesting and penetrating section to the causes in his study of early French Protestantism.¹⁰⁹ This desertion stemmed in part from the transformation of a feudal nobility into a *noblesse de cour* and the monarchy was astute enough to see that withholding favours to Protestant nobles would encourage conversions. Financial pressures also played a part. Noble revenues were reduced during the economic decline of the period and the acceptance of remunerative service under the crown helped to balance budgets. Again, the appeal to national unity was strong among the upper classes. Attachment to the king had replaced the old feudal independence and to be of the king's party presupposed adherence to his religious views. With the disappearance of militant Calvinism it was the bourgeoisie and the *noblesse de province* which began to dominate reformed church affairs.

There was some decline too in the support of the provincial nobility for the Calvinist church, particularly where, as in Languedoc, this class had played a significant political rôle. Nevertheless many of the lesser gentry retained a strong loyalty to the cause of reform and greatly assisted the church in its struggle with the crown. In regions of marginal Calvinism, especially in northern and western France, the right to hold services was retained or taken up by numerous Protestant landowners and a number of churches originally established for bailiwicks became seigneurial churches. These *églises de fief*, however, were isolated and vulnerable, and many disappeared after 1669, when the sale of an estate, even to another Calvinist, caused the *droit d'exercice* to lapse.¹¹⁰

It was the bourgeoisie which emerged from the wars of religion as the leading group in church affairs in urban centres. Ligou has pointed out the dominance at Charenton of the directors of state enterprises: bankers, businessmen, architects, industrialists, together with prominent figures in the world of literature and the arts. It was a society in which such men as Gédéon Tallemant des Réaux the memoirist, Abraham Bosse the engraver and Valentin Conrart, first permanent secretary of the *Académie française*, shared the honours with financiers like the Herwarths and Samuel Bernard.¹¹¹

On a smaller scale, the urban churches of the provinces also frequently reflected the importance of a rising merchant class, often with Calvinist connections abroad, and that of the professions, members of both sharing power in the consistories with the landed gentry. The silk

manufacturers of Languedoc were mainly Calvinists; so too were many of the merchants of Picardy. Shipbuilding and the export trade in such ports as Nantes, Bordeaux, La Rochelle and Dieppe were often in Protestant hands and Solange Bertheau has noted the numerous medical men – doctors, apothecaries and surgeons – in the consistories of mid-Poitou. These “*métiers de la santé*”, easy of access, frequently attracted Calvinists.¹¹² Another influential reformed church group were the lawyers, much in demand as members of consistories for their skill in defending the right of worship in contests with the civil authority.¹¹³

Whatever view is taken of the connection between capitalism and Calvinism, there is no doubt that, as Ligou has observed, Calvin brought sanctity out of the cloisters and into the everyday world of affairs. That Calvinism was well represented in the mercantile and commercial life of seventeenth-century France is incontestable, but it should be remembered that even before the constraints under which Protestants were ultimately placed, commercial and professional advancement gave Calvinists an opportunity to achieve a status outside the social order – “*l’Eglise, l’épée et la robe*” – from which they were largely excluded.¹¹⁴

The great majority of reformed church members were not, however, part of the aristocracy of wealth or birth. Ligou has suggested that probably 60% of them were of peasant stock, many no more than semi-literate.¹¹⁵ To these must be added a not inconsiderable number of town dwellers of the labouring class. While in some rural areas, like the country districts of Languedoc, where the reformed faith was strong, Calvinism lost relatively few adherents, the decline in the size of the Protestant population in regions of marginal Calvinism was marked, even before systematic efforts to crush it. There were signs too of a diminishing zeal among congregations for the upkeep of ministers, as at Imécourt in 1675.¹¹⁶ This was an economic, as well as a social manifestation. Economic conditions also led to a decline in popular Calvinism, both relative and actual, in such urban centres as Nîmes, Montauban, Tours, Metz and Sedan. There were several causes. At Tours, where Protestants were a small minority, apathy seems to have led to an abandonment of the reformed faith, while in some towns in the south an influx of Catholics from the countryside diminished the Calvinist preponderance.¹¹⁷ Henri Tribout de Morembert has attributed the considerable drop in the proportion of reformed church members to Catholics in Metz – from 50% in 1620 to 5% at the revocation – to a number of causes: persecution, a falling birth-rate, a reduced flow of Protestant

immigrants and – although this must have affected all sections – the plague of 1635.¹¹⁸

Calvinists, just as Catholics, were to be found at all levels of society and relations between the two groups were often friendly enough, as was noted by John Locke at Montpellier.¹¹⁹ Certainly, in intellectual circles, as in Paris and at Caen, close contacts took little account of religious differences.¹²⁰ There were, however, indications of hostility to reform throughout France, especially where Calvinism was marginal: the refusal of burial, for example, in the neighbourhood of Ablon-sur-Seine in 1603¹²¹ and the obstructive tactics of Catholics at Houdan in the Ile-de-France when the temple caught fire in 1681.¹²² Catholic missionary activity sometimes led, as at Blois, to antagonism between the creeds where none had existed before.¹²³

In some parts of the kingdom, particularly in the south and west, the acceptance of the reformed faith had resulted by the seventeenth century in a considerable transformation of traditional customs. In the Cévennes, the psalms of Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze had driven out the popular songs of an earlier age and Calvinism had so profoundly influenced the social pattern that the revocation of 1685 was, as Le Roy Ladurie has indicated, a traumatic experience, “une véritable déculturation”, from which the Camisard revolt of the early eighteenth century cannot be divorced.¹²⁴ Elsewhere, Calvinists must often have been regarded by their more numerous neighbours as a group standing on the fringes of traditional society, rejecting not only rites deeply rooted in medieval life, but also many of the secular activities which had their origins in a distant past.¹²⁵

The quiet years from 1629 to 1661 have enabled us to see something of the organization of the reformed church in France during the seventeenth century and to place it in social perspective. The major opposition Calvinism had to face in these decades on a national scale came from the French clergy meeting in assembly, but it was not until 1656 that Mazarin decided to investigate complaints from Catholic sources by sending commissioners of both religions into the provinces. The decision, however, was not implemented during his lifetime.¹²⁶ Mazarin died at Vincennes on March 9, 1661 and Louis XIV assumed personal control of French government. This end of a long period of delegated power marked a significant turning-point in the history of Calvinism in seventeenth-century France.

REFERENCES: CHAPTER TWO

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2. WAKEMAN, *Ascendancy of France*, pp. 148-154; C.J. FRIEDRICH, *The Age of the baroque 1610-1660*, pp. 217-221; 231.
3. WAKEMAN, *Ascendancy of France*, pp. 106-118.
4. FRIEDRICH, *Age of the baroque*, pp. 233-235; 242-244.
5. On this period see E.-H. KOSSMANN, *La Fronde*, and the interesting discussion on general political revolution in the seventeenth century in LUBLINSKAYA, *French absolutism*, pp. 82-102.
6. LADURIE, *Paysans de Languedoc*, I, p. 609.
7. LEONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 383; WAKEMAN, *Ascendancy of France*, p. 161; LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, p. 105.
8. See HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, X, appendix LXXXIV, pp. 355-356.
9. B. PORCHNEV, *Les Soulèvements populaires en France de 1623 à 1648*, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sorbonne, VI^e section, Oeuvres étrangères, IV, pp. 243-245; 280; 324; and especially appendix 57, p. 641: Baltazar to Pierre Séguier, Montpellier, Dec. 21, 1644 (original in Public State Library Saltykov-Chtedrine, Leningrad).
10. *Soulèvements populaires*, p. 280.
11. See G. MONGRÉDIEN, *La Vie quotidienne sous Louis XIV*, pp. 227-229. "Une large couche de la population en France était économiquement si faible que la moindre aggravation de sa situation menaçait son existence" (PORCHNEV, *Soulèvements populaires*, p. 268).
12. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 170-177.
13. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 46.
14. J. FROMENTAL, *La Réforme en Bourgogne aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, Publications de l'Université de Dijon, XLI, pp. 134-135.
15. TT 261, V, Affaires et biens des religionnaires fugitifs, Orléans: Plainte c. 1680 contre les violences des Catholiques, p. 50 (AN).
16. "On ne peut pas accepter pour ce XVII^e siècle, la thèse de la tradition démocratique du protestantisme français" (LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, p. 177).
17. TT 256B, VI, Montpellier: Raisons des habitants Catholiques de la Ville de Montpellier, opposans au mi-partim^t du Consulat de lad. Ville, c. 1656 (AN).
18. *Réforme en Bourgogne*, p. 132.
19. *Protestantisme*, p. 170.
20. See HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, X, appendix LXXXVIII, p. 368.

21. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, p. 104.
22. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 44.
23. BAIRD, *Huguenots and the revocation*, I, pp. 408-411; Ligou, *Protestantisme*, pp. 114-115.
24. On the *Compagnie* see R. ALLIER, *La Cabale des dévots, 1627-1666*, and LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 106-111.
25. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, p. 111.
26. On the La Fère declaration see HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, X, appendix LXXXV, pp. 356-357.
27. The most comprehensive work on the organization and life of the reformed church is that by P. DE FÉLICE, *Les Protestants d'autrefois; vie intérieure des églises, moeurs et usages* (4 vols). Modern general studies include S. MOURS, *La Vie protestante d'autrefois* and the relevant sections of the same author's *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 58-136, M. RICHARD, *La Vie quotidienne des Protestants sous l'Ancien Régime*, especially pp. 27-61, LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 120-140; 162-169, and LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, pp. 359-371; 394-402. See also the concise account in MOUSNIER, *Institutions de la France sous la monarchie absolue*, I, pp. 300-303.
28. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 46.
29. BAIRD, *Huguenots and the revocation*, I, p. 273.
30. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, p. 176: "Chez Ruvigny . . . on sent le désir de ne pas opposer Dieu a César". On the Ruvignys see also S. DEYON, *Du loyalisme au refus; les Protestants français et leur député général entre la Fronde et la révocation*, Publications de l'Univ. de Lille, III.
31. LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 413. For the deliberations of this and earlier synods see J. AYMON, *Tous les synodes nationaux des églises réformées de France*, 2 vols.
32. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 65; 79-81.
33. At Beaune the consistory met monthly on the first Thursday (FROMENTAL, *Réforme en Bourgogne*, p. 104).
34. On co-optation and election see S. BERTHEAU, 'Le Consistoire dans les églises réformées du Moyen-Poitou au XVII^e siècle', *Bulletin, Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français* (henceforth BSHPF), CXVI, July-Sept. 1970, p. 340. On women see FROMENTAL, *Réforme en Bourgogne*, p. 159.
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36. 'Le Consistoire', BSHPF, CXVI, July-Sept. 1970, p. 341.
37. Ms. 122, Nicolas Payen, ancien lieutenant général au bailliage de Meaux (1665-1687), Recueil, II: Procès verbal, registered Dec. 2, 1684, f.9v. (Bibl. mun. Meaux). See also M. MOUSSEAU (ed.), 'Documents', BSHPF, CVIII, Oct.-Dec. 1962, p. 223. For the size of this congregation see MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 62.
38. P. BOLLE, 'Une Paroisse réformée du Dauphiné à la veille de la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes; Mens-en-Trièves (1650-1685)', BSHPF, CXI, July-Sept. 1965, pp. 213-214.

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41. BERTHEAU, 'Consistoire', *BSHPF*, CXVI, July-Sept. 1970, pp. 345-347.
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43. BERTHEAU, 'Consistoire', *BSHPF*, CXVI, July-Sept. 1970, pp. 349-350.
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45. TT 243, IV, Dauphiné: Parlement de Genoble, n.d. (AN).
46. BERTHEAU, 'Consistoire', *BSHPF*, CXVI, July-Sept. 1970, pp. 351-352.
47. FROMENTAL, *Réforme en Bourgogne*, p. 106. Note the *syndic* at Embrun in Dauphiné, both treasurer and public relations officer (BRÈS, 'Protestants d'Embrun', *BSEHA*, 1972, p. 58).
48. BOLLE, 'Paroisse réformée', *BSHPF*, CXI, July-Sept. 1965, p. 215.
49. M. NAERT, 'Les Huguenots du Calaisis au XVII^e siècle', *BSHPF*, LXIV, Jan.-April 1915, p. 440 and n.
50. BERTHEAU, 'Consistoire', *BSHPF*, CXVI, July-Sept. 1970, p. 352.
51. RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, pp. 23-25; MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 98-100.
52. The elders may perhaps have distributed the wine at communion, although this would have been contrary to the Discipline (See LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, p. 137; BOLLE, 'Paroisse réformée', *BSHPF*, CXI, July-Sept. 1965, p. 226).
53. *The Journal of a tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson LL.D.*, Everyman's Library, 387, p. 100n.
54. 'Paroisse réformée', *BSHPF*, CXI, Oct.-Dec. 1965, p. 330.
55. RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, p. 60.
56. See RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, pp. 62-67.
57. BOLLE, 'Paroisse réformée', *BSHPF*, CXI, July-Sept. 1965, pp. 224-226.
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60. FÉLICE, *Protestants d'autrefois*, III, p. 63; RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, p. 62.
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72. See P.-D. BOURCHENIN, *Etude sur les académies protestantes*. Among works on institutions are M. NICOLAS, *Histoire de l'ancienne académie protestante de Montauban (1598-1659) et de Puylaurens (1660-1685)* and F. MOREIL, 'Le Collège et l'académie réformée de Nîmes', *BSHPF*, CXXII, Jan.-March 1976, pp. 77-86.
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74. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 100-101; 120-123.
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76. See PRÉCLIN and JARRY, *Luttes politiques et doctrinales*, II, pp. 680-681n; 683-684. The Collège Louis le Grand in Paris had 3 000 students in 1710 (G. SNYDERS, *La Pédagogie en France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, p. 31).
77. PRÉCLIN and JARRY, *Luttes politiques et doctrinales*, I, p. 277.
78. *Vie religieuse*, p. 177.
79. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 101-102; LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 166-167. RICHARD (*Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, p. 55) says that the Paris pastors were "les mieux payés et les plus cossus".
80. RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, pp. 51-53; LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 165-166; MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 90-91.
81. HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, IX, pp. 377-378: Pierre Thomines

- (Pierre du Bosc). This followed a personal audience on Calvinist grievances. See also A.-R. VINET, *Histoire de la prédication parmi les réformés de France au dix-septième siècle*, pp. 2-3; 6; 119. LÉONARD (*History of Protestantism*, II, p. 401) is severe in his condemnation of "oratorical mediocrity".
82. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 104-106; RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, pp. 53-55; LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 167-169.
 83. *History of Protestantism*, II, pp. 398-399. The author does, however, qualify this view (pp. 399-400).
 84. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 88-89; RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, pp. 31-34.
 85. RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, pp. 38-40; MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 89-96.
 86. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, p. 138; RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, pp. 40-41.
 87. LOUGH (ed.), *Locke's travels*, p. 21: Sunday, Jan. 26, 1676.
 88. RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, p. 42.
 89. BOLLE, 'Paroisse réformée', *BSHPF*, CXI, July-Sept. 1965, p. 232.
 90. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, p. 138; C. LANDRIN (ed.), *Un Voyage à Calais, Guines, Ardes et St-Omer en 1682; extrait du journal de White Kennet*, p. 21: Oct. 16.
 91. 'Paroisse réformée', *BSHPF*, CXI, July-Sept. 1965, p. 233.
 92. RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, p. 43; MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 97.
 93. E. BRIET, *Le Protestantisme en Brie et Basse Champagne du XVI^e siècle à nos jours; vallées de la Marne et du Grand-Morin d'après des documents inédits*, appendix II, p. 237.
 94. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, p. 138.
 95. RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, pp. 44-45. The town cemetery for Paris was in the rue des Saints-Pères, near the present library of the Society of French Protestant history.
 96. TT 266, I-XII: *Mémoire*, n.d., p. 440.
 97. TT 271, XXI: Saint-Quentin, 1680-1714: to Intendant, April 9, 1680 (AN).
 98. *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 86n.
 99. E. ESMONIN, *Etudes sur la France des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines, 32, discusses the French population question in his period in pp. 241-328.
 100. Locke, in his journal entry for May 1, 1676, says: "The Protestants of France are thought to be 1/16 part" (LOUGH (ed.), *Locke's travels*, p. 89).
 101. MONGRÉDIEN's estimate, based upon a housing return for 1684 (*Vie quotidienne sous Louis XIV*, p. 29).
 102. Figures and other details for the synodal provinces are from two studies by SAMUEL MOURS: *Essai sommaire de géographie du Protestantisme*

- réformé français au XVII^e siècle* and *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 58-86: Géographie du Protestantisme réformé.
103. LIGOU (*Protestantisme*, p. 126) gives a slightly different division between north and south to indicate the southern preponderance.
 104. 5 E 227/2, Registre du consistoire, Mens-en-Trièves, 1650-1665: Aug. 15, 1658, p. 33v. (AD Isère).
 105. 5 E 227/2, Oct. 4, 1663, p. 41.
 106. See Ms. 150, Documents XVI^e – XVIII^e siècles: Extrait de plusieurs personnes de la (religion) pretendue Reformée qui contre les ordres de sa Magesté se sont establies en la Ville de La Rochelle de puis la reduction dicelle a son Obeissance, 1642, f. 70 (Bibl. mun. La Rochelle).
 107. On mixed marriages in mid-Poitou see BERTHEAU, 'Consistoire', *BSHPF*, CXVI, Oct.-Dec., 1970, pp. 521-526.
 108. Ms. 150 (In-f^o 103), Registre, 1637-1675: see especially p. 9v. (Bibl. mun. Caen).
 109. *Protestantisme*, pp. 193-194. Locke gives an example of pressure quietly imposed which was to lead to a conversion in the case of the soldier Guy-Henri de Bourbon, marquis of Malauze (LOUGH (ed.), *Locke's travels*, p. 113: Oct. 20, 1676).
 110. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 195-197; 205-206.
 111. *Protestantisme*, pp. 197-198.
 112. 'Consistoire' *BSHPF*, CXVI, July-Sept. 1970, p. 349n.
 113. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 197-200; 204-205; LADURIE, *Paysans de Languedoc*, I, pp. 441-442; LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, pp. 363-364.
 114. See LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 198; 201-203.
 115. *Protestantisme*, p. 205.
 116. A 206, Consistoires, Imécourt (copy): July 9, 1675.
 117. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 206-207.
 118. *La Réforme à Metz*, II, *Le Calvinisme 1553-1685*, Annales de l'Est, Mémoires, 41, p. 304.
 119. LOUGH (ed.), *Locke's travels*, pp. 27-28: Feb. 5, 1676. "The Protestants ... and the papist laity live together (*sic*) friendly enough in these parts". SOLANGE BERTHEAU says the same of mid-Poitou ('Les Consistoires', *BSHPF*, CXVI, Oct.-Dec., 1970, p. 521).
 120. LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, pp. 383-386.
 121. J. JACQUART, *La Crise rurale en Ile-de-France 1550-1670*, Publications de la Sorbonne, N.S. Recherches, 10, p. 583.
 122. 564¹, Collection Auzière, Ile-de-France, Eglises, A-K: March 30, 1681, p. 146 and v. (Bibl. Prot., SHPF).
 123. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 139-140, quoting Elie Benoist.
 124. *Paysans de Languedoc*, I, p. 614. See also p. 613.
 125. See J. ESTÈBE, 'The Rites of violence; religious riot in sixteenth-century France: a comment', *Past and Present*, 67, May 1975, p. 130.
 126. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 110-111.

CHAPTER THREE

Towards a final solution



The years from 1661 to 1685 were characterized by a series of attacks on the reformed church in France, interspersed by periods of relative inactivity.¹ This suggests that the events leading up to the revocation

Edict of Fontainebleau in October 1685 were not manifestations of a predetermined policy, but were rather dictated by the desire to contain Calvinism, by the hope that its adherents would come to realize that religious unity was an integral part of national unity and by the needs of the moment, either national or political.

The pressures were not always applied at national level, but often in the provinces, and in a wider sense, Calvinism was not the only stumbling-block to religious unity. Jansenism also represented a doctrinal threat to the corporate church,² while in the quarrel between the advocates of a separate gallican church and the ultramontanes, Louis XIV had to pick a careful path. The issue came to the fore over the *régale* question, the

right of the king to the revenues of vacant bishoprics, and gallicanism reached its apogee with the publication of the Four Articles, anti-papal in tone, in 1682. The breach was healed, but after the revocation and in the years which preceded the settlement with Innocent XII in 1693, Louis had to contend with a strongly gallican clergy which met in assembly once in each five years to grant him a "free gift". Here was a politico-religious force which required tactful handling.³

There is no doubt that Louis XIV wished to see an end to the division between Calvinists and Catholics within the kingdom and did not lose hope that it could be accomplished by missionary endeavour, helped where necessary by judicious bribes, or by some kind of accommodation. In 1661, however, he had no immediate plans for the abrogation of the edict of 1598. He was not then an exemplary Catholic and had some understanding of the fact that reform was at least in part a reaction to abuses within the structure of Catholicism, even if he was unaware of the wide doctrinal gulf separating the two branches of Christendom.⁴ Moreover he had inherited a foreign policy which, despite the treaty with Spain in 1659, still saw Hapsburg power as the major threat to France and regarded alliances with Protestant powers as a bulwark of defence for the kingdom. Within ten years Louis XIV was to advance in Flanders in the War of Devolution, acquiring Lille and other frontier towns in the Spanish Netherlands before peace was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668.⁵

On the other hand, Louis was king by divine right and pledged to support the Catholic church in its fight to bring back the strayed Calvinist sheep into the universal fold. The Edict of Nantes had been wrung from a royal government unable to set about the task of achieving national unity without making concessions. National unity was still the goal and Louis XIV was to move towards it on every front, even the linguistic.⁶ But a religious settlement was not, in 1661, a priority. Much still had to be done to improve conditions at home in the overhaul of finances and the stimulation of trade, departments entrusted to Colbert; administration required drastic reconstruction; territorial expansion and frontier defence led to further military campaigns by the armies in the control of Louvois. A reversal of the Edict of Nantes in 1661 was not to be thought of and Louis then regarded it as his duty to maintain the existing settlement, to interpret its provisions in the narrowest way and to encourage all efforts to win over the Calvinists to Catholicism by peaceful means. This much is clear from his memoirs of 1671.⁷

Throughout these years, therefore, alongside a policy of restraints and ultimately of open attack, went attempts to end religious schism by persuasion. Reunion, Richelieu's dream, was taken up again. The Sedan professor Louis le Blanc de Beaulieu tried to bridge the gap between his standpoint and that of the Catholics soon after Louis XIV had assumed full powers; Bossuet and the Metz pastor Paul Ferry discussed the possibility of accommodation in 1666, with Lutheranism as a *via media*; Turenne, both as Protestant and Catholic, took a leading part in trying to heal the breach; Alexandre d'Ize, pastor and professor at Die, published a scheme of reunion in 1677 which irritated his co-religionists and displeased the Catholics; the intendant of Languedoc, Henri d'Aguesseau, gained the support of a number of pastors for the cause of reunion, among them Jean du Bourdieu of Montpellier, who addressed a letter to the Assembly of Clergy in 1685, supporting a communion between the churches which would be something more than a mere abjuration of heresy on the part of the Calvinists.⁸

It was also a new age of controversy, in which each side sought to clarify its position: Bossuet face to face with pastor Jean Claude of Charenton; Claude again and Pierre Jurieu of Sedan against the Jansenists with their proofs of the historicity of Catholic dogma; Pierre Bayle from his Rotterdam haven, standing on the edge of a new scepticism;⁹ and across the Rhine, Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz working on his *Systema theologicum* and "holding fast to the conviction that the spirit of concord is the truth and the life".¹⁰

These intellectual efforts to seek common ground went hand in hand with more practical steps to win over the Calvinists. The missionary zeal of the Catholic church, and particularly of the Jesuits, Capuchins and Oratorians, not only aimed to strengthen the faith, but also to gain converts. The Oratorian Jean Eudes has left a record of the methods of persuasion he employed, but his gains were few and he came to the conclusion that only the authority of the king could effectively overcome heresy.¹¹ It is difficult to measure the degree of success obtained by the missionary drive. Perhaps those who followed the example of the great Jesuit missionary in the Cévennes and the Vivarais, Jean-François Régis, by countering Calvinist dogmatics and controversy with a simple approach to the Christian life, made the greatest impact.¹² Certainly those who adopted the methods of the Charenton priest François Véron, harassing preachers inside and outside the temples, accusing them of irreverence, fraud and doctrinal irregularities, obtained little success.¹³ Some of these missions were conducted by laymen ill-quali-

fied to engage in theological controversy, but well able to rouse ugly sectarian passions.¹⁴

There remained the method of bribery. Funds for the support of the converted had long been used by the clergy. Good results were obtained by Etienne le Camus, bishop of Grenoble, among the poorer Vaudois of the Alpine regions after his appointment to the see in 1669.¹⁵ With assets made available to the king from the income of certain abbeys, Cluny and Saint-Germain-des-Prés among them, a national fund, the *Caisse des Conversions*, was established. Its direction was entrusted in 1676 to a former Calvinist from Béziers in Languedoc, Paul Pellisson. He achieved a certain success – about 10 000 conversions by the close of 1679, according to his own figures – but the method was slow, some of the conversions were suspect and the small sums offered tempted only the impoverished masses in a period of widespread economic depression.¹⁶ Gaining converts from the reformed church was a heavy drain on financial resources and by 1681 more energetic means were being employed to speed the process, although gentle persuasion and cash inducements continued, even after the revocation. Pastors who abjured were pensioned and Catholic parishioners were invited to pay subscriptions to the *Société chrétienne et royale* to help abolish heresy “par la douceur et les bien-faits”, as a contemporary appeal put it. For, “en cette vie, peut on avoir une plus grande gloire, que d’estre d’une société avec le plus grand Roy du monde, et qui a si bien commencé et reussi”?¹⁷

Louis XIV’s personal reign began with a strict interpretation of the terms of the Edict of Nantes based on the results of enquiries made throughout France by the commissioners agreed to by Mazarin in 1656, but only appointed after his death. These commissions became a permanent feature of religious administration until the revocation. Although they were representative of both reformed and Catholic churches, the Catholic commissioner was usually the intendant and frequently overshadowed his Calvinist colleague. Moreover they were accompanied by a clergy representative whose task was an accusatory one. That the operations of the commissioners were regarded as a threat to the reformed church is indicated in the upsurge in Calvinist emigration after 1661, particularly in frontier zones.¹⁸ Clergy hostility to the reformed church was widespread and although the *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement* was in decline after Mazarin’s death, its ideals were reflected in such other proselytizing congregations as the *Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi* which established in various centres the *Maisons de Nouveaux* and *de Nouvelles Catholiques* to welcome and attract

converts and, after 1685, to serve as places of detention for the recalcitrant.¹⁹

Even before the appointment of the commissioners on April 15, 1661, royal decrees had foreshadowed the repressive trend which was to mark Louis XIV's approach to the Edict of Nantes. In September 1660 Catholic officers of the judiciary at Nîmes were accorded precedence over their Calvinist counterparts. On January 25, 1661 it was decreed that ministers of the *Religion prétendue réformée* could only bring consolation to prisoners in jails if they spoke in a low voice. On March 17 psalm singing was restricted to the temples and ministers were forbidden to make pastoral visits in a body.²⁰ It should, however, be remembered that there was then and later a wide gulf between the law and its execution. Disobedience frequently tempered the absolutism of seventeenth-century France; moreover, where Calvinism was locally strong, it is doubtful whether all the repressive measures were put into effect, at least until they were backed up by shows of force.²¹ Some decrees, as with those concerning the singing of psalms, had to be promulgated more than once.²²

There were two periods, the second of which was very brief, when it can be said that the pace of persecution of French Calvinists was slowed down. The first was from 1669 until 1679. On April 2, 1666 Louis XIV assented to a long list of grievances submitted to him by the Assembly of the Clergy in October of the previous year. This confirmed all decrees promulgated since 1656 with regard to the Calvinists and added certain new impediments.²³ Although the next two years saw no great increase in anti-Calvinist measures, apart from the strengthening of Catholic control in municipal government,²⁴ the legislation of 1666 effectively curtailed the freedom of action of the reformed church.

On February 1, 1669, however, Louis issued what has been described as a second Edict of Nantes, rescinding many of the measures taken before and guaranteeing again the legal status of the reformed church.²⁵ For the next ten years, while decrees hostile to Calvinism continued to be published, there was no concerted attempt to resume an all-out attack upon the Protestants. The explanation would seem to lie in Louis's new priorities in the field of foreign policy. The secret Treaty of Dover with Charles II of England in 1670 prepared the way for the Dutch War of 1672, when, as in 1667, French advances in the Spanish Netherlands posed a threat to the peoples living beyond the north-eastern borders, among them scattered pockets of Calvinists. Not until the signing of the Treaty of Nijmegen in 1678 and the subsidiary peace

settlements of the following year did the old question of religious unity in France again come to the fore.²⁶ Thereafter the pace of persecution was accelerated, with a short interlude in 1684, when the further consolidation of French expansion at Spanish expense, confirmed at Ratisbon in August of that year, momentarily turned Louis XIV's attention from the problem of the reformed church.²⁷

These respites represented no complete change in policy, nor were they applicable in the same measure in every part of the kingdom. In discussing the legal constraints under which French Calvinism laboured until the revocation they may therefore be disregarded. The most striking demonstration of hostility towards the reformed church was the great increase in the numbers of temples closed for worship or demolished. Many church members were compelled to travel long distances to attend service, or for baptisms and weddings. At Le Mans, capital of Maine, the pastor Pierre Pezé des Galinières, later to take refuge in England, held communion services every Sunday to provide for hundreds of Calvinists deprived of the quarterly communion in their own parishes. The Paris temple of Charenton, widely considered to be inviolate in this period of repression, saw a great increase in worshippers, many of whom had moved permanently to the capital as a measure of safety. Elsewhere simple services and prayer-meetings were held in private houses and even on the sites of former temples.²⁸ Protestant landowners did what they could to soften the blow by taking up their right under the Edict of Nantes to provide services on their estates, although the help they could offer was sometimes curtailed by legislation precluding them from admitting those living outside their jurisdiction and, after February 1685, those who were newcomers to their lands.²⁹ Attempts to evade the restrictions were reported. In 1682 Jacques Nompar de Caumont, the duke of La Force, was prohibited from extending his rights by allowing services to be conducted on his estate, "sous une remise de carrosse".³⁰ Attendance at temples outside the bailiwick of residence was ultimately disallowed, but at Nanteuil near Meaux worshippers from a distance went as far as the law would permit by clustering round the doors and windows of the temple during service.³¹ Finally, on the eve of the revocation, all Calvinists in Paris and its suburbs who had not been resident there for at least a year were compelled to leave the city.³²

After August 1662 churches had to show written title to the right of exercise granted them in terms of the Edict of Nantes, a stipulation which hit many of the smaller rural churches hard, since the necessary documents had often been lost, destroyed or submitted at an earlier

stage for verification and not returned.³³ At Landouzy in the Thiérache, for example, the church papers had been burned in a Spanish invasion from the southern Netherlands. There, as in so many places in France, the commissioners were not in agreement over the destinies of the church and the matter was submitted to the royal council for arbitration. Royal decisions were frequently hostile to Calvinism and Landouzy was one of several churches in Picardy placed under interdict in September 1664.³⁴

Many temples were either demolished or walled up between 1661 and 1666 following similar decisions, but the severity of the measures taken varied from province to province. The *midi*, Normandy, Poitou and the Pays de Gex in Burgundy were particularly unfortunate. The Pays de Gex suffered greatly because of its close proximity to Geneva and a special justification for the closure of so many of its temples was found in the contention that the region was not subject to the Edict of Nantes.³⁵ The tenor of the complaints put forward by Catholics for investigation by the commissioners is illustrated at Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives in Normandy, where it was alleged that "L'Eglise de la R.P.R. dudict Bourg n'est pas seulement Pretenduë Reformée mais encor qu'elle n'est que Pretenduë Eglise et non pas veritable, puis que lesd' de la R.P.R. n'en peuvent faire valoir l'establisement dans les formes spécifiées".³⁶

As the revocation approached new pretexts were found to prohibit worship. Chapels of ease were closed as being superfluous, services were disallowed on all Catholic church lands and from 1682, were brought to an end in all localities where Protestants did not exceed ten families, a heavy blow to seigneurial churches. Worship was also prohibited in all towns taken by force during the wars of religion, thus abolishing Calvinist services in most of the old *places de sûreté*. Temples were demolished on many pretexts: that mixed marriages had been celebrated; seditious sermons preached; insults offered to the local parish priest; or that Catholics and especially converts from Calvinism had been encouraged to attend services.³⁷ Official Catholic representatives were, however, nominated to keep a watchful eye on the conduct of Calvinist services from specially designated pews.³⁸ Demolition of the temple at Saint-Pargoire in Languedoc was ordered in 1684 because a royalist occupation in 1629 had brought about so many conversions to Catholicism that Calvinist worship had not been restored until 1652.³⁹ At Saint-Lô in Normandy demolition of the temple in June 1685 followed accusations that new, and presumably

reluctant converts to Catholicism were seducing Catholics born from their allegiance.⁴⁰

Not surprisingly the destruction of temples caused much discontent. At the Dauphiné village of Sainte-Croix in 1664 women took a leading part in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the demolition of the temple, while a hostile crowd used similar tactics, again without success, at Exoudun in Poitou in 1665. Six years later the provincial synod of Lower Guyenne proposed offensive action against demolition squads, but was persuaded to take a more moderate line.⁴¹ When the temple at Saumur was demolished in February 1685 guards were posted in the neighbourhood "pour enpescher la canaille de faire du desordre".⁴²

Attacks on churches went hand in hand with the persecution of ministers, as at Saint-Lô, one of whose pastors, Pierre Darthenay, died in prison in January 1685 after being accused of anti-Catholic attitudes.⁴³ From 1661 onwards, pastors were subjected to an increasing number of disabilities: any description of their calling had to include a reference to the *Religion prétendue réformée*; they could preach only in their own temples; restrictions were placed upon the wearing of the cloth, upon contacts outside their synodal provinces and upon any actions of an anti-Catholic nature; restraints were applied to the ministers of seigneurial churches; pastors were forbidden to live in localities where the exercise of the reformed faith had been abolished; they could not serve congregations for more than three years; and after January 1685 were no longer exempt from tithes.⁴⁴

Where Calvinist worship was still permitted, it was subjected to a growing list of restrictions. All conversions to Calvinism were prohibited by 1683, even of Jews, Moslems and other non-Christians; due reverence had to be paid to all Catholic ceremonies; consistorial finances were steadily weakened, leading in 1684 to the outright confiscation of their accumulated funds, which were given to local hospitals; a limit was placed upon the number of mourners at funerals, and the guests at weddings and baptisms; burials could only take place at daybreak and dusk; cemeteries had to be outside the boundaries of towns and villages and at a suitable distance from Catholic churches; by 1685 no places of burial were permitted where the Calvinist religion was no longer practised. Legislation passed on the eve of the revocation suggests that at that date the final step had not yet been decided upon. A decree of September 15, 1685 permitted intendants to appoint a minister in places where the reformed church had been abolished. His

task was to celebrate baptisms and marriages and to register deaths among the Calvinist population, but without ceremonial and preaching.

Reformed church life was also inhibited by other restrictions. Calvinists were compelled to support the Catholic church financially from 1684; their hospitals were closed and they were forbidden to live in certain towns: Privas in the Vivarais from 1664; the Burgundian centres of Dijon in 1682 and Autun in 1683; La Rochelle in 1661, for all families who had come to the port since 1629. In the educational sphere, the colleges were systematically turned over to Catholic orders, the great academies closed and elementary schools restricted in number and to the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic. Even so exclusive an establishment as Salomon de Foubert's academy for the sons of noblemen in the Faubourg Saint-Germain in Paris had to close its doors in 1679, its proprietor taking refuge in England.⁴⁵

The rights of parents over their offspring were also infringed upon: the age of consent for a change of religion was fixed in 1663 at fourteen for boys and twelve for girls. Although this right by minors to make personal decisions of this nature was abrogated in 1669, it was restored in 1681 for children of seven and upwards. In 1681 too parents were forbidden to send their children or apprentices in their charge abroad for their upbringing in the reformed faith. Mixed marriages were prohibited in 1680 and the products of such unions considered both as illegitimate and Catholic. All foundlings and bastards had been treated as Catholics since 1662. Even the death chamber was no refuge from the anti-Calvinist drive. By 1681 the right of Catholic priests to seek conversions among the terminally sick of Calvinist belief had been fully accepted. The courts established under the Edict of Nantes, which offered a measure of legal protection to Calvinists, were suppressed at Paris and Rouen in 1669 and at Toulouse, Grenoble and Bordeaux ten years later.

There were other disabilities under which French Protestants suffered in their daily lives. These were sometimes of a local nature, gradually extended on a national scale, and involved the collection of debts, exclusion from municipal office, from colonial trade and from a number of other trades and professions. Several legal offices were closed to Calvinists after 1664, including those of registrar and notary in 1681. That these prohibitions were difficult to enforce is suggested by the fact that certain of the relevant statutes had to be re-introduced later. Other trades and professions theoretically barred to members of the reformed church were those of seamstress (1665), midwife (1680), medical doc-

tor, surgeon and apothecary (1685) and in the same year, printer and bookseller. In some regions, as with goldsmiths at Rouen in 1665 and all skilled workers in Languedoc two years later, restrictions were placed upon guild membership to prevent Calvinist dominance in trade.⁴⁶ In 1664 it was decreed that *lettres de maîtrise* attesting trade competence had to refer specifically to the R.C.A.R. (*Religion catholique, apostolique et romaine*). Further measures in 1685 prevented Calvinists from employing Catholic servants and deprived widows of Protestant officers who had served in royal and princely households of all privileges previously enjoyed.

Some of these prohibitions were probably more effective in regions of marginal Calvinism than in those where the reformed church was strong. The effects are sometimes indicated in church records, as at Le Mans, where François Ripot's designation changes from *greffier*, or registrar, in 1680 to bourgeois two years later, in line with the appropriate decree.⁴⁷ Le Mans was certainly in a region of marginal Calvinism.

The various measures taken against Calvinists before 1681 undoubtedly made considerable inroads into the strength and numbers of the reformed church. They were, however, insufficient to destroy the faith, except when regarded as part of a long-term policy. There remained a more rapid road to conversion: the use of force. This method of coercion, involving the quartering of troops upon disaffected sections of the population, was not a new one, nor was it restricted to religious dissidents. In the Calvinist context it had been employed early in the century, as Ligou has pointed out, by François de Sales in the Chablais region of Savoy⁴⁸ and the *mission bottée* had proved its effectiveness during the last years of the French wars of religion and later at Montauban in 1660 and Privas in 1664. The peasants of Catholic Brittany suffered under the soldiery in 1675 and the technique of the dragonnade had been used in 1680 by the Béarn intendant Nicolas-Joseph Foucault against the ultramontanists of Pamiers.⁴⁹

It was another *intendant de province*, René de Marillac of Poitou, who suggested the idea to Louvois in May 1681 of using military force to stamp out a Calvinism in his region which had survived more conventional methods of coercion. Louvois, with idle troops on his hands after the Dutch War, endorsed the proposal and Marillac took the field in person.⁵⁰ The dragonnade, which lasted until August and extended over a large part of Poitou, also found an echo at the new port of Rochefort on the Saintonge coast, where the intendant Honoré-Lucas de Muin,

Locke's "very civill and obleiging person",⁵¹ took active anti-Calvinist action.⁵²

In its brutality the dragonnade was a conspicuous success, gaining more than 30 000 unwilling converts to the Catholic faith. It is said that Louis XIV was at first opposed to the scheme, but came to appreciate the possible value of a show of force, without realizing how savage the means employed really were. However, although disinclined to accept the remonstrances of the younger Ruvigny in Paris, of the reformers of Châtellerault and of the Poitevin gentry, he paid closer attention to reports from abroad. Refugees brought the sad tale to England, the United Provinces and Protestant Germany, where feeling ran high. In Catholic circles outside France such methods were also unpopular. Pope Innocent XI deplored the violence and his vicar apostolic in the United Provinces, Johannes de Neercassel, feared for Catholicism there in the backlash of public opinion. The Jansenist Antoine Arnauld, then in exile, expressed his detestation of means calculated to bring the Catholic church into disrepute.⁵³

The dragonnade was called off and its local instigators censured. The immediate result was a disavowal of many conversions secured under duress and a corresponding hardening of Catholic attitudes in Poitou which led to imprisonments and the destruction of temples. But the significance of the Marillac dragonnade was that it showed the government that force, or even perhaps the threat of force, could effectively break Calvinist resistance.⁵⁴

Marillac's dragonnade was followed by a clerical approach to Calvinists. The Assembly of the Clergy which met in 1682 to draw up the Four Articles of gallicanism also issued a pastoral notice to members of the reformed church, a document not unconnected with the contemporary divisions within the Catholic ranks. In its uncompromising orthodoxy it gave a clear indication to Rome that independent-minded dissidents could be expected to adhere to the tenets of the faith, but it also demonstrated an ecumenical attitude to the religious problem within the kingdom. The king gave this clerical admonition his wholehearted support and it was brought to the attention of Calvinist churches without delay. The notice was read to most consistories by a Catholic ecclesiastic, who was accompanied by a government official, in some centres the intendant himself. Its tone was courteous, but it made no concessions, threatening woes greater than had hitherto been experienced if the reformed church continued in schism and revolt against the universal church.⁵⁵ It was received politely, if coldly, as is evidenced at

Is-sur-Tille in Burgundy, where on October 24, 1683, Jacques de Cluny, lieutenant general of the Dijon bailiwick, accompanied Benoist Boulrier for the bishopric of Langres to the temple to read the *avertissement pastoral* to the minister Prudent Gauthier and his consistory.⁵⁶

The Poitou dragonnade and the pastoral circular, coupled with continuing attacks on churches and the closure of temples, were signs of a greater wrath to come and Calvinists were well aware of the danger. Some had already sought refuge abroad; those who remained were swayed by diverging currents of opinion on how best to act in the difficult circumstances of the time. There were those who counselled caution and continued loyalty to the king, an attitude which was seen in retrospect as a direct cause of the revocation. Others adopted a more positive approach. In 1681 measures were taken in Languedoc, the Cévennes, the Vivarais and Dauphiné to establish clandestine links between synodal provinces and to set up an extra-ecclesiastical organization which, it was hoped, would enable the reformed church to function, even under interdict. These tentative steps, in which the aged pastor of Soyons in the Vivarais, Isaac Homel, took an active part, prefigured the post-revocation *Eglise du Désert* which helped to keep Calvinism alive in France through the long years of its illegality.⁵⁷

In May 1683 resistance took a more spirited form under the leadership of the lawyer Claude Brousson, when a meeting was held in the essentially Catholic city of Toulouse, attended by representatives of churches in the major Calvinist provinces of the west and south: Dauphiné, the Vivarais, the Cévennes, Languedoc, Guyenne, Saintonge and Poitou. A plan was adopted to memorialize the king and to set in motion a campaign of passive resistance which involved holding services in parishes where the practice of the reformed religion had been prohibited. The movement, however, failed to gain general acceptance; several church provinces, Poitou, Guyenne and Saintonge among them, withdrew support. Bourgeois elements too showed a marked reluctance to take part and the younger Ruvigny as deputy general poured cold water on the scheme, considering that it could only provide Louis XIV with a legitimate excuse for further repressive measures. A number of services were held, however, in the summer of 1683, often on the ruins of demolished temples in Languedoc, the Vivarais and Dauphiné, beginning with a large assembly at Saint-Hippolyte-du-Fort north-west of Nîmes on July 11 of that year.

The movement assumed a more threatening form with the establishment of encampments of armed Calvinists, the *Camps de l'Eternel*, to

resist attempts to break the spirit of resistance. These were set up in Dauphiné, the Vivarais and the Cévennes. Promises of amnesty from the moderate Pierre-Scipion Grimoard de Beauvoir, the count Du Roure, who was one of the lieutenant governors of Languedoc, made some of the less ardent confederates hesitate. Resistance was completely broken by troops dispatched by Louvois which ravaged Dauphiné, the Vivarais, Lower Languedoc and the Cévennes, chief centres of militant Calvinism. Some of the leaders fled to Switzerland, among them Claude Brousson; others were executed, including Homel, broken on the wheel at Tournon on the Rhône. The brief interlude of armed struggle was a faint echo of the civil wars of then distant memory, but it did not represent any movement to re-establish legal rights and civil equality for Huguenots, but was simply an affirmation of the principle of religious freedom in the face of arbitrary attack.⁵⁸

Following the Treaty of Ratisbon of August 1684, a considerable army under Louis-François de Boufflers was massed on the Spanish frontier in Béarn. The intendant Foucault, no stranger to the *mission bottée*, obtained the support of Louvois for the use of these troops in stamping out Calvinism in the province. The dragonnade began in May 1685 and by July Foucault, who possibly exceeded his powers, was able to claim that only a few hundred members of the reformed church still clung to their faith. The familiar method of quartering soldiers on Calvinist families and subjecting them to gross indignities in order to force them to abjure was practised. At Pau, birthplace of Henri IV, some discretion was exercised by the military; elsewhere the severity of the measures adopted frightened communities not yet affected and resulted in mass abjurations in advance of the arrival of the troops. In a period which still entertained hopes of religious accommodation, the bishop of Oloron, François-Charles de Salettes, dangled the carrot of a watered-down Catholicism before the Protestants: the Mass in French; no obligation to venerate the saints or to believe in purgatory; even a freedom to interpret the meaning of the eucharist in Calvinistic terms.⁵⁹ Small wonder that the pastor Pierre Goulard of Oloron was able to abjure without too great a strain on his conscience, since, as he said, "la religion catholique n'était pas bien différente de la réformée".⁶⁰ The concessions offered, however, never took effect.

The Béarn dragonnade set in motion a further great exodus of Calvinists, some escaping by way of Spain like the pastor of Garlin, Pierre de la Forcade, who had first worked with apparent sincerity among the newly converted. La Forcade made his way to the United Provinces.⁶¹ The emigration was soon to assume larger proportions, for

Foucault's success speedily led to military activity on a massive scale which engulfed the regions of strongest Calvinism from Poitou to Dauphiné between August and October 1685.

An alliance between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, supported by the presence of swift-moving troops, achieved spectacular results; greater efficiency was also ensured by a reshuffling of intendants. The moderate Henri d'Aguesseau was replaced by Nicolas de Lamoignon de Basville in Languedoc and the successful Foucault was transferred to Basville's former headquarters in Poitiers. The usual method of approach was to convene the notables of the chief towns, often after the locality had been treated to a taste of military methods of barbarism, and to secure their adherence to the Catholic faith as a preliminary to the mass abjuration of those Calvinists who had not already fled before the *mission bottée* had reached them. That great weakness of seventeenth-century French Calvinism, excessive loyalty to the king's commands, undoubtedly led to the conversion of many who accepted the specious argument that resistance to the royal will represented a dereliction of religious duty. There were examples of unexpected generosity towards those persecuted from Catholics among both the civil population and the soldiery; Louvois too was prepared to spare women and the gentry the use of force. Nevertheless fear dictated the lack of resistance of most Calvinists and, as in Béarn, the Protestants of several localities, among them Sauve and Anduze in Languedoc, abjured before the dragoons could reach them.

The great centres of Calvinism succumbed one by one; resistance in the rural areas was even easier to break. Montauban in Quercy fell in August; so too did Loudun in Poitou. In September it was the turn of Saint-Jean-d'Angély in Saintonge and Milhau in Rouergue. At the end of that month resistance to Catholicism ceased in Montpellier, opening up to forcible conversion the remainder of Lower Languedoc. September and October saw the abjuration of thousands in the Vivarais and Dauphiné. La Rochelle in Aunis held out until October 12, when the town was given over to military occupation. In five days there was not a Calvinist family left upon which to quarter troops. Abjurations were made *en masse* and it has been estimated that they numbered more than 300 000 in the west and south. It is clear that by the time of the revocation Calvinism in France – at least on paper – was virtually dead in the regions of its greatest strength.⁶² But as Nicolas Payen, lieutenant general of the Meaux bailiwick, was later to say when the temple at Nanteuil was demolished: "S'il étoit aussi aisé de détruire l'erreur dans le coeur des protestans!"⁶³

The Edict of Fontainebleau which revoked that of Nantes was registered by the *parlements* in October 22, 1685. Louis XIV was able to announce, with a backward glance at a time of trouble not yet quite a matter of past history, that the abjuration of the majority of members of the *Religion prétendue réformée* made it possible for him to blot out the memory of all the evils which a false religion had brought to the nation.⁶⁴ There remained, however, the Calvinists of the northern, eastern and south-eastern parts of the kingdom. The dragonnades therefore continued until the end of November in Normandy, where some resistance was encountered, in Anjou and Touraine, in communities on the northern circumference of the *massif central*, in Picardy, Champagne and the Ile-de-France, in Burgundy, Provence and even at Orange, whose independence was disregarded, although, as in Béarn, the bishop Jean-Jacques d'Obheil promised concessions in religious practice to accommodate converts. At Metz, where worship ended with the revocation, force was not used to procure conversions until the latter part of 1686. The "official" dragonnades ended with this campaign, but quartering of troops suspected of heresy was resorted to on later occasions south of the Loire, even well into the eighteenth century.⁶⁵

Nor did the borderlands escape. Although Alsace was, by the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, exempted from anti-Protestant measures such as the edict of revocation, there were sporadic attacks on both Calvinists and members of the majority Lutheran faith. The same tactics were followed in Montbéliard, recently attached to Franche-Comté. In Savoy, little more than a tributary state, the terms of the revocation and similar methods of dealing with recalcitrant Calvinists as had been used in France were put into effect on January 31, 1686.⁶⁶

How much of the brutality of the *mission bottées* came to the ears of Louis XIV is uncertain and there is reason to believe that he did not encourage it. He was not, as the English divine Gilbert Burnet put it, "naturally bloody".⁶⁷ Nevertheless he cannot have been unaware of the methods employed and was perhaps inclined to disregard the worst aspects of them in view of their apparent success. Moreover any disavowal of the dragonnades might have led to a recantation on the part of many converts from Calvinism.⁶⁸

The dragonnades of May to October 1685 clearly paved the way for the Edict of Fontainebleau and gave the king the opportunity he needed to allege that the reformed faith was the religion of an insignificant minority. Louis XIV had a long tradition of legal opinion on his side in

considering the Edict of Nantes only applicable in a federal state; its perpetuation since 1629 was simply the result of the failure of various coercive measures to effect a marked reduction in the size of the religious minority, at least until after 1679. Until that date other considerations, particularly on the international front, had delayed the "final solution". Ratisbon in August 1684 had, as Orcibal has said, given Louis "complete freedom to act".⁶⁹

It is possible that the king paid greater attention to his spiritual welfare after the death of his mistress Marie-Angélique de Fontanges in 1681; he certainly drew closer to his wife Maria Teresa and after her death in 1683 and his subsequent secret marriage to Madame de Maintenon, the old licence of the court was a thing of the past.⁷⁰ This deeper Catholicity may perhaps have influenced him to take a firmer line with the Calvinists, an attitude possibly strengthened by his hostility to the United Provinces.⁷¹ Louis's state of health too has been suggested as a possible explanation for his harsh treatment of his Protestant subjects. These, however, cannot be fundamental reasons for the revocation and a more telling one concerns the burden placed upon Catholics by Louis's earlier decision to exempt newly converted Calvinists from taxation. The only alternative was for the royal finances to shoulder the burden, a measure unlikely to commend itself to the king. Revocation would obviate the need for special concessions to encourage conversions.⁷²

Louis must certainly have been influenced by the widespread dislike and distrust of Calvinism in France in both lay and ecclesiastical circles suspicious of its exclusiveness and jealous in many localities of its dominance in the commercial sphere. The arguments of those around him doubtless played some part in the final decision. Madame de Maintenon's significance in the overthrow of the reformed church has doubtless been greatly exaggerated;⁷³ Louis XIV's confessor, the Jesuit François d'Aix de la Chaize, was, in Ligou's words, no more than an amiable courtier, "médioce, peu scrupuleux, point fanatique", and therefore unlikely to have played any significant rôle.⁷⁴ Orcibal minimizes the influence of the archbishop of Paris, François de Harlay de Champvallon, who was more interested in a gallican solution to religious problems, embracing concessions to Calvinists.⁷⁵ The strained relations with Rome might have led to a policy of accommodation, favoured by the Jesuits, but on the other hand a break between Louis XIV and the papacy could equally have resulted in an affirmation of orthodoxy by a separatist French church, so that Louis might "proclaim himself more Catholic than the Pope".⁷⁶ This second interpretation of

events is in keeping with the political implications of the revocation edict.

In general we may take Ligou's view that although the higher clergy in assembly may perhaps have been more concerned with the gallican church problem of the day and did not therefore play a decisive rôle in the final decisions which preceded the Edict of Fontainebleau, Catholic ecclesiastical opinion as a whole was anxious to see an end of the reformed church.⁷⁷ The ecumenical possibilities in the establishment of an independent gallican church were not lost sight of, but the attitude of many bishops during the dragonnades suggests that they were not opposed to the eradication of reform. Moreover the church was represented on a specially convened Council of Conscience, which in 1684 declared that there was no legal impediment to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and that the king should therefore take this final step.⁷⁸

Those closer to the world of diplomacy probably had a greater influence on Louis XIV, particularly Michel le Tellier, the devout chancellor, and his son Louvois, less given to religious fervour, but anxious to keep in favour.⁷⁹ The king's advisers were not, however, unanimous on the propriety of revoking the Edict of Nantes: Colbert's son Seignelay, the naval chief, for example, was unenthusiastic; so too was the Grand Dauphin Louis.⁸⁰ European politics, however, made 1685 a propitious year for the revocation. The accession to the thrones of England and Scotland of the Catholic James II and VII early in that year suggested a measure of sympathy from across the Channel, although the new monarch's position was to grow increasingly precarious and he would be unable to prevent England from becoming host to a flood of Protestant refugees from France.⁸¹ Louis XIV had no further need of alliance with Protestant powers and the United Provinces remained the chief adversary against which France would soon move again. Another argument on the international scene in favour of the revocation may be seen in the successful repulse of the Turks outside Vienna by the emperor Leopold I. Here was a major triumph against the infidel by imperial armies representative of Germany, Catholic and Protestant, with Polish support. Louis XIV had declined to take part and the revocation can be regarded as an attempt to regain prestige as a champion of the Catholic cause in Europe and perhaps to forge new Catholic alliances to compensate for the movement of German princes away from Louis towards Leopold as a result of the victory over the Ottoman forces.⁸²

But perhaps in the final analysis the revocation must be regarded in terms of a desired national unity at all levels. Louis saw religious

separatism in the light in which the French monarchy had always seen it: as a weakening of the state. His pride dictated that it should be his triumph to bring unity to the kingdom and the reports submitted to him of the massive abjurations in the west and south suggested that the reformed church, although not completely crushed, no longer had an appeal to vast numbers of its former adherents.

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3. On the *régale* see PRÉCLIN and JARRY, *Luttes politiques et doctrinales*, I, pp. 153-164.
4. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 209-210.
5. See F.L. NUSSBAUM, *The Triumph of science and reason 1660-1685*, pp. 156-160.
6. Note Louis's edicts of 1685 and 1700 in favour of French in regions of Flemish, German and Catalan speech (G. KURTH, *La Frontière linguistique en Belgique et dans le nord de la France*, II, pp. 78-80).
7. Quoted by LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, pp. 409-410.
8. See MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 143-149; LIGOU *Protestantisme*, pp. 180-184.
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 21. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, p. 218. On this limitation on French absolutism under Louis XIV see also H.G. PAYNE, 'Elite versus popular mentality in the eighteenth century', *Historical Reflections*, II, 2, Winter 1975, p. 191.
 22. See the decrees regarding psalms of Dec. 16, 1661 and Feb. 26, 1663 (HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, X, appendix LXXXVIII, p. 369).
 23. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, p. 217. See also HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, X, appendix LXXXVIII, p. 369.
 24. HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, appendix LXXXVIII, p. 369: measure of Oct. 3, 1667.
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 27. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, p. 209.
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The revocation and its consequences



The Edict of Fontainebleau, drawn up by Le Tellier, who died little more than a week after its official registration, contained eleven clauses.¹ All surviving temples were to be instantly demolished, although in fact a few survived, among them those at Pontorson in Brittany, and Vialas (Castagnols) and Le Collet-de-Dèze in the Cévennes.² Some became Catholic churches, but Le Collet came into the hands of Marie-Félice de Budos, marchioness of Portes, and was to be restored to the Calvinists a century later.³ Sometimes, as at Sanvic in Normandy, a cross was erected to purify the ground on which heresy had flourished.⁴

All religious ceremonies and assemblies were immediately prohibited and ministers given two weeks to leave the country on pain of service in the galleys. Pastors who abjured, however, and their widows after them, would enjoy exemption from the *taille* and from the obligation to quarter troops. They would receive a pension greater by a third than

their previous stipend and their widows would be entitled to a half of the state pension. Concessions regarding length of study and the payment of fees were offered to any former minister of the reformed faith who wished to qualify for a legal career.

Protestant schools were to close and parents courted a heavy fine if they failed in future to baptize their children in the Catholic faith and to raise them in accordance with its beliefs. Calvinists who had already left France could regain possession of their property if they returned within four months; continued absence after that period would result in confiscation in terms of a declaration of August 1685. No further emigration by Calvinists was permitted and a ban was placed upon the export of their goods and capital. Defiance of this clause could result in banishment to the galleys for men and the surrender of person and property for women. There was further a general interdiction on all concessions which could be interpreted as favourable to Calvinism and notice was served on those who might subsequently recant that they would be penalized in terms of all previous legislation against relapsers.

There was no mention in the revocation edict of Calvinist marriages and burials and Louis XIV told Harlay that the omission was deliberate.⁵ The edict closed on what Léonard has described as "an unexpected note".⁶ Members of the reformed church who had not yet seen the light could continue to ply their trades and enjoy their property on condition that they made no practice of their religion. These concessions were perhaps a sop to public opinion and helped to create a favourable climate for general acceptance of the edict. The post-revocation dragonnades, however, suggest that the king's apparent generosity was frequently ignored. Moreover the revocation edict was followed by several supplementary interdicts which closed a few gaps in anti-Calvinist legislation.⁷

In November and December 1685 the legal and medical professions were entirely closed to Calvinists, in December they could no longer teach new converts and in January 1686 Calvinists were now forbidden to employ any but Catholic servants. In January too an edict was passed which Léonard has called "the most odious of all this legislation".⁸ Children of from five to six years of age were to be removed from Calvinist parents and entrusted to the care of Catholic neighbours, or, if their board could not be paid, consigned to the poorhouse. Even the dead were not suffered to escape, for a measure of April 1686 condemned those who had abjured, but who refused the sacraments of the Catholic church on their deathbeds, to be dragged after death through

the mire and flung on the garbage heap. This final degradation, theologically unimportant to Calvinists, but nevertheless a personal indignity, was mitigated somewhat before the close of the year in deference to public feeling on the matter. Pierre Dez has pointed out that “cette fureur contre les cadavres, une des plus répugnantes manifestations de la persécution romaine, s’exerça aussi à un moindre degré contre les jansénistes”.⁹

Although there had been no unanimity in the royal council on the subject of the revocation, Catholic France in the main followed Bossuet’s lead in welcoming the step.¹⁰ Madame de Sévigné, writing to her cousin Roger de Rabutin de Bussy, said of the edict: “Rien n’est si beau que tout ce qu’il contient, et jamais aucun roi n’a fait et ne fera rien de plus mémorable”.¹¹ Subsequent events, however, were to see a rising tide of criticism, overt and covert, and it is possible that some, like Claude le Peletier, the controller general, and Basville of Languedoc, were not as fervent supporters of the revocation as appeared at the time.¹²

The reaction abroad was predictable. Pope Innocent XI, in conflict with Louis XIV over the gallican issue, failed to give the French king the enthusiastic approval he would have liked.¹³ Queen Kristina of Sweden expressed her condemnation of Louis’s harsh treatment of Protestants,¹⁴ while in England the revocation did nothing to further the cause of James II. Although the revolution of 1688 which brought William of Orange to the English throne cannot be linked directly with anti-Catholic feelings stirred up by events in France, they were undoubtedly a contributory cause.¹⁵

In the United Provinces the letters of Johannes de Neercassel, the vicar apostolic, indicate hostility to Catholics there even before the revocation.¹⁶ That the immediate prelude to the Edict of Fontainebleau gave rise to considerable anxiety among Dutch residents in France is apparent from contemporary ambassadorial correspondence and early in 1685 the matter was taken up by the United Provinces with the king.¹⁷ The anti-Catholic backlash can be seen in Zeeland, where papists were compelled to worship in private,¹⁸ in the barony of Breda, where Mass was forbidden in several village churches¹⁹ and in such towns as Amsterdam, Leyden and Enkhuizen, where Catholics were expected to contribute to Calvinist relief.²⁰ The revocation led to the expulsion from the United Provinces of the Jesuits, several of whom asked La Chaize to intercede with the king for the repeal of the Edict of Fontainebleau.²¹

Despite the prohibition on the exodus of Calvinists from France, pastors and a few others apart, the stream of refugees to neighbouring Protestant countries, growing steadily from 1679, became a flood after late October 1685. Some, of noble birth or special merit, were exempted from the terms of the edict of revocation. The admiral Duquesne was permitted to remain in France without being forced to abjure; exit permits were given to his son Henri, to Ruvigny, to Marshal Schomberg and a handful of other notables. Several, like Esther Herwarth, daughter of the former controller general, were compelled to leave hostages. A few hundred among the recalcitrant were also banished from the kingdom; others were deported to the French West Indies, whence many found their way to Dutch and English possessions in the Americas and sometimes back to Europe.²²

The continued presence of Calvinist ministers would certainly have made the task of crushing the reformed faith more difficult and it was against this influential class that the act of revocation was essentially directed. One or two went into hiding, like Raymond Bastide of Florac in the Cévennes, who staved off his abjuration in this manner until 1692,²³ while at least one minister, Pierre Reboulet of Ajoux in the Vivarais, was spared expulsion in 1685 on account of advanced age and physical infirmity. Plans to convert him by force were made in February of the following year, but he died on the eve of their execution.²⁴ It has been calculated that one pastor in six abjured, some, among them the Cévenol minister Louis de Bagards of Saint-Félix-de-Pallières, becoming active campaigners for the Catholic cause. Others, including Daniel de Larroque of Le Caule in Normandy, returned from exile to abjure.²⁵

Movement within France had begun to grow as the revocation approached and anti-Calvinist action was stepped up. Some saw La Rochelle, with its old tradition of Huguenot independence, as a possible refuge while awaiting escape; others moved to the greater seaports, particularly to Nantes. The capital was also an obvious magnet for those who sought safety, despite legislation directed against non-residents. It was possible to live in Paris in comparative anonymity, sometimes under an assumed name; moreover the existence there of the diplomatic representatives of powers friendly to Protestantism suggested that the government would hesitate to use strong measures to coerce Calvinists in the city.

Paris did escape many of the more violent features of the anti-Calvinist drive. The aristocracy of wealth and commerce among reformed church members there was treated with some circumspection, although an

attempt was made to secure conversions at a mass meeting which many failed to attend.²⁶ There was some billeting of troops from December 1685 on those reluctant to conform, but the military kept a low profile.²⁷ The movements of Calvinists, particularly those from outside the capital, were, however, carefully watched, as the records of the police chief Nicolas-Gabriel de la Reynie indicate.²⁸ The strong Paris church showed initial signs of resistance to the revocation, but was dissuaded through the efforts of the pastor Jean Claude. His influence in reformed church circles was considerable and it is significant that he was not afforded the stipulated two weeks' grace before leaving the country, but was deported with twenty-four hours' notice. We see a last flicker of hope that religious accommodation would allow Calvinists to come to terms with the changed situation in a request by Paris heads of families within the reformed ranks that Calvinists might be permitted communion in both kinds, services in the vernacular and other concessions if they joined the Catholic church.²⁹

But if active Calvinism died in the capital, as elsewhere, Paris remained a noted centre for arranging escapes. Emigration agencies sprang up to provide false papers, passports and certificates of abjuration, certain inns gave shelter, guides could be hired at a price and routes planned in advance. Protestants in foreign embassies gave their assistance, the Dutch, for example, arranging for the transfer of funds.³⁰ A flourishing emigration organization in the rue Mazarine operated under the aegis of the representative of Brandenburg, Jean Beck, until Louis XIV had him jailed in the Bastille to await expulsion from the country.³¹ The king could do little, however, to curb the activities of those connected with such major embassies as those of England and the United Provinces.

Escapes were also arranged by French Calvinists already abroad, while escapees could also count on some help along the road from villagers, Catholic and Protestant alike. Even some of the priesthood sympathized with the plight of Calvinists. Jean Gaté, priest at Saint-Denis, was known to have provided certificates of Catholicity to refugees and a Bordeaux priest brought several refugees out of France in person. There were hazards, however, in accepting assistance. Informers and peasants bent on plundering the unfortunate abounded. To avoid recognition refugees frequently travelled in disguise, moving at night and preferably in inclement weather.³²

Two popular escape routes led from Paris and north-eastern France towards the Low Countries, with rendez-vous points outside the capital

from which guides would conduct refugees to the frontier. Those leaving Paris would make for assembly points near Amiens and Saint-Quentin, travelling by way of Senlis. From the first of these rendez-vous, parties would approach the southern Netherlands by a route which skirted Arras, Lille and Roubaix, moving north into the relative security of Spanish territory at Courtrai, which became a headquarters town for the guides. Those from the Saint-Quentin area took a more southerly route via Le Quesnoy, Valenciennes and Mons in Hainaut. The little town of Bohain, north-east of Saint-Quentin, was known to be a nest of guides. Refugees requiring documents would often wait for them in the neighbourhood of Lille and other frontier towns.³³ Entry into the United Provinces was gained by crossing Flanders or Brabant and the towns of Breda and 's-Hertogenbosch saw the passage of many refugees.³⁴

There were, however, other escape routes from Paris and the north and east: across the Jura to Switzerland through Franche-Comté, a recent French acquisition and inclined to favour the movement of refugees; over the Vosges into Alsace, a reasonably safe region less affected by the revocation; through the Ardennes to Maastricht, where refugees could expect to be charitably received.³⁵ Calvinists from Paris also made their way to Dieppe and other nearby points on the coast of Normandy, joining other refugees from that province and elsewhere in the west and north-west to escape to southern England, or to put to sea in a fishing-smack to reach one of the "barques de charité" sent from the United Provinces to bring refugees to the ports of that country.³⁶ The Channel – the British Sea, as it was then called – provided no safe passage, since Barbary pirates had been attracted there by the possibility of rich plunder from French emigrants. Those in more affluent circumstances certainly took with them money, jewels and other valuables, while large sums were also smuggled out of the country by various means. In November 1685, for example, a considerable fortune was despatched from Paris to Brussels by coach³⁷ and in the following year the *Mercure historique et politique* reported the arrival of ships in the United Provinces carrying clandestinely exported gold and jewelry worth large sums.³⁸

Dieppe was not the only Channel port to provide a means of escape. Many left from the Cotentin peninsula and the coast of the gulf of Saint-Malo, making their way to the neighbouring Channel Islands and to such English mainland havens as Southampton. For Calvinists from the Calaisis the short sea crossing to Dover was an alternative escape route to those along the Flemish coast and further inland. Those members of

the reformed church living in the seaboard provinces from Brittany to Guyenne found opportunities for clandestine flight from the Atlantic coast, particularly from the Ile de Ré off La Rochelle and from Royan at the mouth of the Gironde. Many settlers in England sailed from Royan for Plymouth and the little town of Cozes near Royan was an important assembly point for refugees, some of whom came from localities at a considerable distance in the interior.³⁹ Some emigrants from Languedoc reached safety after a long journey to the Atlantic coast across the Cévennes, before embarking on a ship bound for England.⁴⁰

Mediterranean ports also offered a means of escape, especially to Genoa on the Ligurian coast, although many refugees from south-eastern France took an overland route to Geneva, using the upper valley of the Durance, or the Rhône valley.⁴¹ Spain too continued to provide an escape route for those in the south-west.⁴² Refugees often had to travel long distances across France to a point of final departure and routes were usually followed which passed through regions where Calvinism had long flourished and escapees could count on a strong measure of sympathy.⁴³

The French authorities did their best to check the emigration, although the cost of the operation, the compassion of many Catholics for the oppressed and the large numbers filling the prisons to overflowing brought about a relaxation in preventive measures in 1687. It was hoped that a more humane treatment of former members of the reformed church would arrest the outward flow of refugees. The plan, however, was a failure and vigilance was renewed before the end of the year, aid for refugees being regarded as a capital crime. Frontier guards and militia patrolled the passes into Switzerland and the north-eastern border, and although guards could sometimes be bribed, many refugees were captured, imprisoned, sent to the galleys, or, in the case of women and girls, to convents and hospitals.⁴⁴

Coastal shipping was also carefully watched, although again there was some relaxation in 1687, when patrol ships in the Channel were withdrawn.⁴⁵ Port officials, many of them sympathetic to Calvinists and formerly members of the reformed church, tried to prevent such examples of excessive zeal as the smoking out of ships' holds, a practice which on one occasion poisoned a cargo of prunes and caused the death of a child.⁴⁶ At Nantes in November 1685 two frigates lay in the river to keep a careful check upon Dutch merchantmen,⁴⁷ but interference with foreign shipping was greatly resented. The English diarist John Evelyn

wrote in December 1685: "The French insolently visite our vessells, and take away the fugitive Protestants; some", he added, "escape in barrells".⁴⁸ The searchers sometimes drew a blank. The *Haerlemse Courant* published a report from La Rochelle in January 1688 which stated "dat aen 't boort van 't schip van Schipper Job Cornelisz. van Rotterdam, op sijn vertreck leggende, op pretext, dat hy eenige Vluchtelingen in had, 50 a 60 Soldaten eenige dagen gesonden zijn; doch, 't contrarie bevonden wesende men hem weder heeft laten varen".⁴⁹

On the Mediterranean coast François Adhémar de Monteil de Grignan, Madame de Sévigné's son-in-law and military commander in Provence, instituted a naval patrol between the mouths of the Rhône and the Var, paying special attention to the seas off Marseilles and the coast from Fréjus to the frontier with Savoy. His efforts to block the escape of refugees do not, however, seem to have been particularly rewarding.⁵⁰

The French were greatly aided by the many informers in the task of tracking down guides and fugitives. The guides were of all types, not always French, nor necessarily in sympathy with Calvinism. Some were undoubtedly in the business for money; many were thoroughly unreliable. The informers operated both within France and abroad. In the United Provinces they mingled with the refugees to gain their confidence, sending back their reports through diplomatic channels in a numerical code to be deciphered by the royal officials. Some of their information came from unsuspecting emigrant pastors. Spies had their price and the French government wanted a good return for the money expended on them. As the ambassador to the United Provinces, Jean-Antoine de Mesmes d'Avaux, declared of one in 1686: "Il me paroist, . . . que le donneur d'avis de harlem est un peu avide d'argent, mais je croy quil en a besoin". However, he added, it would be foolish to give the Haarlem informer too much.⁵¹

The information supplied was often detailed, both with regard to refugees and those prepared to assist them. In January 1686 the ambassador forwarded to Paris a report on a planned escape by sea of Calvinists from the Angoumois who hoped to bring with them to the United Provinces a large cargo of wines. In March, news was received of a possible exodus of Protestant merchants from La Rochelle and the Ile de Ré in an armed ship bound either for Denmark or the Carolinas. In the following year the imminent departure of a party from Normandy was noted. It included the former minister at Dieppe, Antoine le Page, and would make its escape in an English vessel.⁵² The movement of goods belonging to fugitives did not go unobserved. It was reported in

March 1686 that a Dutch ship was to pick up the personal effects of Calvinists at Tonnay-Charente in Saintonge;⁵³ some months earlier brandy casks filled with coin and destined for England were confiscated on the Normandy coast.⁵⁴

Descriptions of guides were circulated to facilitate their capture. One who was going back to Paris to escort a Calvinist merchant out of the country wore his own hair lank and black, had a swelling in one eye like a pearl, a gruff voice and a fluent knowledge of French and German.⁵⁵ Another, described by the “donneur d’avis” of Haarlem, was a French Catholic of middle height, with brown hair, a lively manner and with “le visage un peu gasté de petite verolle, mais pas beaucoup”. He too collected parties of refugees in Paris.⁵⁶ All this information must have been of value to the French authorities, although it was not always acted upon. Certainly many of the guides were captured. Léonard has noted the arrest of more than 150 between 1685 and 1703, sixteen of them women.⁵⁷ More than half of these were taken into custody in 1686, a circumstance which points to that year as the most significant in the Calvinist exodus after the revocation, although the death penalty of October 1687 for those aiding refugees must have acted as a considerable deterrent. It is worthy of remark that the anti-Calvinist measures of the period did not include interference with the mails.⁵⁸

The precise number of those who took the road to exile remains a difficult matter to determine with any degree of accuracy; nor can it be stated with certainty how many of them went to each of the countries of refuge. There was clearly movement from one country to another, often of men seeking to better themselves. It is equally certain that Catholics mingled with the Calvinist refugees of the late seventeenth century. Some were of the landed nobility,⁵⁹ but Ligou has pointed to the deplorable economic conditions in France which may well have led many – Catholics and Protestants alike – to decide to emigrate. Catholic workers, deprived of a means of livelihood by the departure of Calvinist employers, doubtless sometimes followed their masters across the frontiers. The situation at Tours, where the decline in population greatly exceeded the Calvinist exodus from the town, is significant.⁶⁰ There was already a movement of peoples from the countryside into the towns in France, dictated in part by opportunities offered in industrial centres and in part, as John Locke noted, by the fact that in many towns the *taille* was not levied.⁶¹ There was therefore probably an economic, as well as a religious motive for the greater emigration associated with the anti-Calvinist campaign.

Estimates of the total Calvinist emigration from France have varied greatly from a modest 60 000 to a clearly exaggerated three million.⁶² A major problem in determining the accuracy of figures in this connection is the lack of precision in dates for an outward movement which had its beginnings in the later sixteenth century and was to continue until the revolution. It is suggested – although Léonard has queried a similar figure as an underestimate⁶³ – that the total emigration from France and the territories on the eastern and north-eastern borders was between 190 000 and 200 000 during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. This estimate is not far removed from Scoville's 200 000 for the years 1681-1721⁶⁴ and would indicate that rather more than 20% of French Calvinists left the country. It was a considerable emigration, but one which represented no more than 1% of the entire population, a far cry from Saint-Simon's allegation that Louis XIV's actions cost the kingdom a quarter of its people.⁶⁵

The chapters to follow, dealing more specifically with the known and presumed places of origin of French-speaking settlers at the Cape of Good Hope, will also discuss the position of Calvinism on a regional basis and provide approximate figures for the emigration of members of reformed congregations from these regions. It is, however, appropriate to examine at this stage certain general effects of the revocation in France and in neighbouring states.

The emigration was undoubtedly at its heaviest in frontier regions and among communities living on or near the coasts. Again, as Ligou has demonstrated, the northern part of the country was more affected than the south, both for geographical reasons and because there was more cohesion in the Calvinism of such provinces as Languedoc and, to a lesser extent, Dauphiné.⁶⁶ Ligou has also suggested that proportionately more people emigrated from the towns than from the countryside.⁶⁷ This contention cannot be accepted without reservation. It is true that many Calvinist merchants and manufacturers – some with trade connections abroad – decided to flee, but artisans from villages as well as larger towns were well represented among the exiles.⁶⁸

An analysis of the trades and professions of those given assistance by the refugee Threadneedle Street church in London shows a relatively small number of merchants, a surprisingly large number of agricultural workers for an urban parish and a great mass of artisans and tradesmen, particularly in the cloth industries, for whom Spitalfields would be a great magnet. By no means all were originally townsfolk.⁶⁹

It would seem – and much work yet remains to be done in this field, as

Ligou has pointed out⁷⁰ – that emigration was lowest at opposite ends of the social scale. The unskilled, particularly the rural unskilled, tended to remain at home. This class would often lack the energy and initiative to emigrate and would have the greatest difficulty in making a success of a new life abroad. The richer bourgeoisie, on the other hand, the civil servants, professional people and above all the higher nobility had many inducements to remain in France.

It was, not surprisingly, the young and virile who tended to escape more frequently than the aged and it was noted at the time that many young families emigrated, leaving their possessions to their parents.⁷¹ Those who remained in France as Catholics could inherit, but not sell, the property of fugitive relatives, but possessions were otherwise confiscated and from 1699 administered by a special department of state, the *Régie des Biens des Religionnaires fugitifs*, which subsisted for almost a century.⁷²

Those who came into the possession of the property of refugees formed, as Ligou has observed, a significant group among the former Calvinists who adopted the Catholic faith; others too among the nobility and the bourgeoisie abjured through conviction, or because it was in their own interests to do so.⁷³ In many parts of France, especially where Calvinism had been very much a minority faith, the old belief died with the disappearance of the generation which remembered the earlier dispensation. This was essentially true in such provinces as Burgundy. Elsewhere Protestantism, although seriously weakened and driven underground, survived all efforts to eradicate it.⁷⁴

Success in obtaining sincere conversions depended in large measure upon the means of persuasion adopted. Some of the best Catholic preachers of the age were used in the task of conversion, among them the Jesuit Louis Bourdaloue, more famous in his day even than Bossuet as an orator, who was sent to Montpellier.⁷⁵ There were, however, frequent instances of a lack of co-operation. A report of 1699 from Saint-Lô in Normandy spoke of the many who “font gloire de persévérer dans leur opiniâtreté”, refusing to attend instructional classes. Stronger measures to combat their indifference were called for, since “une conduite aussi opiniâtre ne sert qu’à les endurcir de plus en plus dans leurs erreurs et qu’à Ruiner les heureuses dispositions de ceux qui voudroient se convertir”.⁷⁶ At Châlons-sur-Marne in the early eighteenth century it was suggested that the children of former members of the reformed church should be removed from all parental influence, for “l’entêtement des pères est incurable”.⁷⁷ In the Meaux bailiwick im-

mediately after the revocation the lieutenant general Payen noted that "comme ceux de la R.P.R. . . . sont gens froidz et opiniatres ils nont rien veu qui ait pu sensiblement les toucher".⁷⁸ Gilbert Burnet, who saw the effects of the revocation at first-hand in France, commented that it was always possible to tell a new convert by his look of dejection.⁷⁹ Basville understood only too clearly the real depth of conversion for many when he spoke of the New Catholics of Nîmes in 1687. They seemed sincere enough, but "il est difficile de croire que le souvenir des chastimens et de la conduite un peu sévère (*sic!*) qu'il a fallu tenir n'ayt pas une grande part à ce changement".⁸⁰ The intendant of Languedoc was ever a master of understatement.

Forced conversion certainly made many bad Catholics and doubtless led to religious indifference, although the roots of agnosticism lay in deeper soil than the anti-Calvinist campaign of the later seventeenth century.⁸¹ The deprivation of Calvinist ministrations among rural and semi-literate populations where the reformed faith had been firmly established led to such manifestations of irrational behaviour as were illustrated in the Camisard insurrection of the early eighteenth century in the Cévennes.⁸² The survival of Calvinism in France as an organized force owed much to Geneva and the Walloon church of the United Provinces. Gaining its martyrs among the preachers who served the clandestine *Eglise du Désert* and nurtured by many who practised their faith in the quietness of their own homes, the Calvinist church was to re-emerge in the more liberal atmosphere of a later age.

Contemporary comment on the harmful economic effects of the attack on Calvinism in France came from a number of informed sources. The Rouen intendant Marillac, formerly in Poitou, noted the decline of sugar manufacture in the town in the weeks before the revocation edict;⁸³ three years later his colleague in Auvergne, Jean-Baptiste Desmaretz de Vaubourg, indicated a significant drop in the production figures for point-lace in Languedoc and Guyenne and its effect on the source of raw material in his own province.⁸⁴ Vauban's famous memorandum of 1689 in favour of a restoration of Calvinism covered a wider field. The great architect of military fortifications complained that arts and manufactures had been impoverished by the revocation, exports reduced, commerce ruined and capital driven out of France on a large scale.⁸⁵

A modern survey by Andrée Gobert has emphasized the baneful influence of the revocation on certain local industries: woollen manufactures in Normandy and Languedoc; leather goods at Saint-Lô and Saint-Jean-

d'Angély; the production of paper at Angoulême.⁸⁶ In general, however, it must be conceded with Scoville that the loss of 1% of the population, in part made good by Catholic refugees from Ireland and Scotland after the deposition of James II and VII, cannot have caused more than a temporary setback to French commerce and industry. The economic problems of France in the late seventeenth century must be seen in wider perspective.⁸⁷

The exodus of Calvinists was not the sole cause of economic decline, as the intendant of Orleans, Jean de Creil-Bournaizeau, noted in 1689 with reference to such towns as Gien, Vendôme and Châteaudun in his jurisdiction.⁸⁸ France was again at war, commerce was generally stagnant and capital in short supply. The recession indeed pre-dated the revocation, as may be seen in the silk industry of Tours on the Loire.⁸⁹ The international situation also accentuated declining export figures, with a corresponding reduction in maritime commerce from such ports as Bordeaux, La Rochelle and Le Havre.⁹⁰

On the other hand the effects of the revocation must be seen in terms of the export of skills and the stimulation of industry which resulted from it in France's trading competitors. The discreet reference by the directors of the *Compagnie des Indes orientales* in 1686 to the emigration of workmen then manufacturing abroad goods formerly produced in France is an indication of contemporary dissatisfaction in commercial circles.⁹¹ Further evidence comes from Limoges, where the intendant, Michel de Barberie de Saint-Contest, complained of the danger to the French paper-mills of the manufacture in England by Calvinist refugees of fine quality paper.⁹² Despite attempts by the French ambassador in London, Paul de Barillon d'Amoncourt, to persuade operatives to return to their homeland, the new competitor flourished. Similar instances of foreign competition stimulated by French expatriates may be cited in other industries, particularly in the textile trades. In 1695, for example, the silk merchants of Lyons accused London Huguenots of blocking French exports to England.⁹³ The duties on imported French silks were certainly increased.⁹⁴

The merchant class in general was less affected by the prevailing anti-Calvinism of post-revocation France and many of the Protestant ship-owners and exporters were not disturbed in their religious beliefs, an indication of the importance attaching to trade and the significant rôle played by Protestants in it.⁹⁵

But even if the revocation caused no lasting ill-effects to the French economy and was not the sole cause of the *fin de siècle* depression,

there is no doubt that the countries which received the flood of refugees were immeasurably enriched, not only commercially, but also in the intellectual, scientific and artistic fields. In the practical skills it has been said of those who came to the United Provinces: "In handel en scheepvaart, ambacht en industrie trokken de Hugenoten een groter deel van de welvaart aan zich dan hun aantal zou doen verwachten".⁹⁶ This is perhaps to over-emphasize their contribution, but it was none the less appreciable.

Of all the lands of refuge the United Provinces were the greatest attraction. There, as the *Mercure historique et politique* put it in 1686, the newcomers found their "terre de promission".⁹⁷ Calvinists from France were welcomed from 1681 and given help in cash and kind. Municipalities vied with each other in publishing offers of citizenship and guild membership on easy terms and in allowing freedom from taxation for varying periods to assist refugees to establish themselves.⁹⁸ Assistance did not only come from Protestant sources: the Jews of Amsterdam and the Catholics of Haarlem both made notable contributions.⁹⁹ The northern Netherlands were, in the words of the emigrant philosopher Pierre Bayle, "la grande arche des fugitifs"¹⁰⁰ and perhaps as many as 80 000 settled there to augment the Dutch population of some two and a half million people.

They came to a country which had already absorbed many French and French-speaking refugees and which possessed an established reformed Walloon church originating in the sixteenth-century exodus of Protestants from the Spanish Netherlands. In the United Provinces too was established an information centre under the refugee pastor Pierre Jurieu which served to put in touch with each other members of families scattered throughout the countries of exile.¹⁰¹ The founding of new French language congregations and the extension of existing ones helped, as Léonard has said, to create a Huguenot France in exile, exerting a strong influence on the clandestine Protestantism of post-revocation France and in the long run upon the course of Dutch history.¹⁰² Most of the new congregations joined the Walloon synod, but a few remained independent churches. The beginning of a policy of full naturalization in 1709 and the inevitable process of assimilation brought the newcomers into the mainstream of Dutch life, but the French tradition has survived to the present.

The British Isles were not far behind the United Provinces as a popular refuge. In England, where French congregations long preceded the revocation, relief funds had been made available since 1681.¹⁰³ Al-

though the diarist Evelyn deplored the lack of official encouragement to refugees during the brief reign of the Catholic James II, ascribing it to "a fatality of the times we were fallen into",¹⁰⁴ public opinion and the Anglican church were solidly in favour of an open-door policy towards Calvinist refugees. Fugitives from France arrived in large numbers and flourishing new congregations were founded in many English localities, as well as in the Scottish capital, Edinburgh.

The greatest concentration of refugees was, however, in London. Poorer Calvinists tended to settle in the eastern parishes, particularly in the Spitalfields area, merchants established themselves in the city and many of the social élite in the Soho district. The accession of William III in 1688 gave a new impulse to settlement in England and by the end of the century perhaps 50 000 Huguenots had taken refuge in that country. Letters of denization or of naturalization were granted and it is interesting to note, with reference to the earlier movement for religious accommodation in France, that many French congregations in England came to conform to the rites of the Anglican church.¹⁰⁵

The same movement towards conformity with a state church was apparent in Ireland among refugee congregations. Settlement in that country of French refugees was also of early date, but was greatly accelerated after 1688. Many former French Calvinist soldiers in William III's service helped to crush James II's attempt to undo the work of the Glorious Revolution by a military campaign in Ireland. Their leaders included the younger Ruvigny, created Lord Galway in 1692, and the former French marshal Schomberg, who fell at the Boyne in 1690. Officers and men in William III's Huguenot regiments remained in Ireland, some helping to found the French colony at Portarlington, a settlement promoted by Galway in 1693.¹⁰⁶ Others went to Dublin or to provincial towns, playing an important part in commercial and manufacturing undertakings.¹⁰⁷ In all perhaps 10 000 Calvinist refugees, many of a superior class, were attracted to Ireland.

The republic of Geneva was an obvious place of refuge, but the situation there as the revocation approached was a delicate one. French-speaking Switzerland lay too close to France for comfort and as early as 1669 the opinion had been regretfully expressed that as pensioners of the French king the Swiss could do little to help their fellow Protestants across the border.¹⁰⁸ Geneva was particularly vulnerable. It had early absorbed a large body of refugees from the Pays de Gex in Burgundy; a further influx in September and October 1685 was caused by the threat of a dragonnade there and a report from the city in the latter month,

published in the *Amsterdamsche Courant*, stated: "'T is te verwonderen hoe veele van die van de Gereformeerde Religie uyt Vrankryk, door de strenge vervolging tegens de zelve, alhier zyn aengekomen, dat daeglyks nog continueert".¹⁰⁹ Assistance was provided for many refugees from France and from Savoy, but French officials exerted pressure on the republican authorities to prevent the city from becoming a haven for Huguenot fugitives and before the end of 1685 refugees were being given eight days to move on to a further destination.¹¹⁰

The political situation improved after 1690 when France turned her attention to Savoy. Three years later refugee merchants in Geneva were emboldened to ask permission to attend the trade fairs of Languedoc to purchase textiles. Their threat to buy in England or the United Provinces if their request should be refused failed, however, to sway the French government.¹¹¹ One interesting scheme for Calvinist relief conceived in Geneva deserves a passing mention: that of Jean Noblet in 1680 for an island settlement in the New World which might have made the Genevan republic a colonial power. This was, however, a still-born Utopia and Noblet's efforts six years later to gain French support for his plan were equally in vain.¹¹² The significance of Geneva as a clearing-house for refugees made it a centre for paid spies seeking information about the exodus from France. Active intriguers were the French representatives there, Roland Dupré and his successor Charles-François de la Bonde d'Iberville.¹¹³ Attempts were also made to persuade refugees to return to their native land.¹¹⁴

The principality of Neuchâtel was to become a haven for refugees in the early eighteenth century under Brandenburg hegemony, but at the time of the revocation it was ruled by a branch of the Orléans-Longueville family and provided no sure refuge, despite its Protestant character.¹¹⁵ Zürich and other centres offered succour, but the greatest welcome was afforded in the Pays de Vaud, then under Bernese control. In all more than 20 000 refugees settled in Switzerland,¹¹⁶ those in French-speaking areas merging rapidly with the local population.

Reaction to the oppression of French Calvinists was swift in the Protestant states of Germany. As early as April 1685 Karl I, landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, offered refugees a haven and his example was followed by Friedrich Wilhelm, the elector of Brandenburg, who signed the Edict of Potsdam on October 29, 1685, within days of the revocation, providing exiles from France with citizenship, work, privileges legal and ecclesiastical, and permission to retain their customs and language. Similar concessions were extended to French Calvinists by Christian

Ernst, margrave of Brandenburg-Bayreuth, by the Duchess Eléonore d'Olbreuse of Brunswick-Lüneburg and by the rulers of Brandenburg-Anspach and Brunswick-Kalenberg.¹¹⁷ Despite some Lutheran hostility to Calvinists, about 43 000 refugees came to Germany, either directly from France or by way of Switzerland, Flanders or the United Provinces, whence many shipped from Amsterdam to Hamburg. Wilhelm Beuleke has estimated that 20 000 of the exiles settled in Brandenburg, with a strong concentration in the Berlin area.¹¹⁸

Northern Europe also attracted refugees to the number of 2 000, in Léonard's estimation.¹¹⁹ Those who settled in Sweden were denied religious equality until 1741, although some relaxation in the uncompromising Lutheranism of that country was obtained by Dutch pressure in 1687.¹²⁰ The reformed community in Moscow, dating originally from the early seventeenth century, gained full recognition soon after the revocation. The bulk of the refugees in northern Europe, however, made their homes in Denmark, whose queen, Charlotte Amelia, despite her alliance with France, opened doors to the persecuted. Most settled in Copenhagen and the Jutland seaport of Fredericia.

But Calvinist emigrants from France went further afield. Several thousand eventually found a haven in the English mainland colonies of North America, others in the Dutch and English possessions of the West Indies.¹²¹ Some merchants established themselves in the lands of the eastern Mediterranean¹²² and French speakers also settled in the trading empires of the English and Dutch East India Companies, among them the small group of two hundred and more (0,1% of the total emigration at most) who joined the burgher population at the Cape of Good Hope. Many men took service with the trading companies of England and the United Provinces and were not infrequent visitors to the settlement in Table Valley.¹²³

If the numbers of refugees in the various countries of exile appear to exceed the total figure suggested for the exodus of the last quarter of the seventeenth century, it must be remembered that some of these settlements were made as a result of a second movement of refugees. This is true of the Cape and to a large extent of the West Indies, while the majority of French Calvinist settlers in mainland North America crossed the Atlantic after a period of residence in England and the United Provinces. The movement of refugees between the various European areas of settlement must also be taken into account. This was of considerable volume between England and Ireland, between England and the United Provinces, and between the German states and the

northern Netherlands. There were also emigrants who returned to France either permanently or temporarily.¹²⁴

An indication of this movement of refugees is provided by A.P. Hands and Irene Scouloudi in their analysis of those helped by the Threadneedle Street church in London between 1681 and 1687 who gave an onward destination. Of 575 persons so listed more than 50% planned to leave England, the vast majority going either to Ireland or to the United Provinces. Other intended places of settlement included Germany, Switzerland, the West Indies and mainland North America. Nor had all the arrivals in London come directly from France. Many were from the United Provinces, an appreciable number from Ireland and others from the German states, Switzerland, the Channel Islands and even Bermuda.¹²⁵ Church records in the Netherlands confirm this considerable international movement.¹²⁶

It is evident from the Threadneedle Street records that failure to find employment was one reason for the apparent restlessness of many refugees;¹²⁷ the problem was commented upon in 1688 in reports reaching France from the United Provinces.¹²⁸ A contemporary regarded the professional class and the bourgeoisie as perhaps the worst hit of all refugees,¹²⁹ although tradesmen too suffered. Cases such as that at Arnhem in 1687, when an unemployed tailor was assisted to make the journey to England were not infrequent.¹³⁰ Nor were relief funds everywhere sufficient to provide help for the needy. In 1685 available resources at Maastricht were almost exhausted¹³¹ and three years later the consistory members of the Walloon church there drew attention to "le grand nombre des refugiez qui passoient par (la) Ville en se sauvant de france, et l'impossibilité ou ils se trouvoient de les pouvoir secourir". Leeuwarden came to the rescue on that occasion, but was itself compelled to restrict charity to its own refugees in the following year.¹³² Swiss records also indicate the difficulty of financing relief measures. As early as 1684, after a particularly severe winter, the coffers at Geneva were almost empty;¹³³ the church authorities at Nyon in the Pays de Vaud confessed in September 1689 that "nostre despence estoit beaucoup plus grande que nostre recepte" and that with few exceptions "tous . . . sont presque aussi pauvres que ceux que l'on assiste".¹³⁴

The inadequacy of relief accentuated widespread human suffering and it should be remembered that, despite the apparent prosperity of a city such as Amsterdam, it is probable that more than 80% of the population of something over 200 000 lived near or below the level of minimum subsistence.¹³⁵ This would certainly be equally true of other urban

centres in late seventeenth-century Europe. In 1689 London saw disorderly assemblies of refugees “in the last stage of misery”,¹³⁶ while two years earlier it was reported that many exiles in England and the United Provinces were dying of hunger and that there was great poverty in Brandenburg.¹³⁷ Lausanne in the Pays de Vaud spoke in December 1689 of “la mizere extreme ou sont reduite la pluspart de nos freres” and sought aid in order to clothe “la nudité des pauvres vieillards (*sic*) et Enfants”.¹³⁸ In 1692 the congregation at Arnhem remembered with compassion those refugees dying miserably in poverty, especially in Piedmont and Switzerland,¹³⁹ while a report to Paris from the United Provinces more than five years earlier noted a diminution in the flow of refugees reaching that country, adding: “Ceux qui sont desja icy sen pleignent”.¹⁴⁰

There is no reason to suppose that information on the refuge reaching France from The Hague was presented in a specially favourable light. Letters in the diplomatic bag did not minimize the effect of the revocation and in some instances would seem to have exaggerated the size of the exodus. In November 1685 a report stated: “On assure icy que dans la seule ville de Rotterdam, il y a cinq mille françois refugiez, et en beaucoup plus grand nombre à Amsterdam”. In the following year “une furieuse quantité de refugiez” was noted, arriving “tant par mer que par terre”. A few weeks later it was estimated that 75 000 refugees had reached the United Provinces, including “40 millez hommes capables de porter les armes”.¹⁴¹

It is perhaps not surprising, in view of the large influx of French Calvinists into the lands of refuge, that some hostility towards them became apparent as time went on.¹⁴² They were a foreign element in society, with foreign ways and thus inferior; they were viewed with suspicion in some English circles as Presbyterians and republicans; they were an economic threat, especially in already overpopulated urban areas; their poor were sometimes considered a burden and, as was well said by the Nîmes refugee Gaspard Baux, “la charité se refroidit”.¹⁴³

There were complaints, as at Geneva, of incivility towards refugees by local Calvinists at church and of profiteering by innkeepers.¹⁴⁴ Zürich restricted residence to aliens plying certain trades, particularly textile workers and those engaged in the manufacture of soap.¹⁴⁵ A general hardening of attitude towards Calvinist refugees in Switzerland led Ruvigny to seek recruits there for his Irish colony, since he knew that “les Cantons protestans font sortir tous les Refugiez des terres de leur domination”.¹⁴⁶ This reluctance to accept refugees angered French

exiles elsewhere. In a letter received in Lausanne from Rotterdam in August 1699 it was stated: "Il y a . . . de l'Inhumanité à forcer Ceux Qui sont chez vous à se retirer (;) cest un peché Capable d'attirer la Colere de Dieu sur les Cantons Evangeliques".¹⁴⁷ In England there was much bitterness occasioned by royal favours to Calvinist refugees and some scurrilous anti-Huguenot propaganda, used later, with suitable variations, against the Jews.¹⁴⁸

There is no doubt that, despite the persecution in France, many Calvinist exiles remained loyalist in outlook and hopeful of a return to their native land. This attitude is well summed up in a contemporary plea to Louis XIV to revoke the Edict of Fontainebleau:

"Monarque triomphant qui tire de toy-même
L'Eclat que d'autres Roys tirent du Diadème
Et qui par le progré de ton rapide Cours
Enfle si noblement l'histoire de nos jours . . .
Rappelle les troupeaux, rappelle les Bergers,
Que la Tempeste chasse en des Bords Estrangers".¹⁴⁹

Here is no criticism of the king and the storm which had driven away so many of his loyal subjects was regarded rather as a divine punishment, as is evident in the prayer of the Arnhem refugees, beseeching God "qu'il veuille apaiser son couroux envers nos povres Freres de France, qui gemissent sous le poids d'une lamentable persecution".¹⁵⁰

This patriotism for the lost fatherland, this intense royalism, this expectation that exile would be merely temporary, were not calculated to endear the refugees to those amongst whom they had settled. Such an attitude was widespread until Louis XIV made it clear in 1698 that he would never allow Protestants to return to France "qu'à condition de se soumettre à ses volontez et de se ranger à la Communion Romaine".¹⁵¹ The royal decision of 1698 led to another wave of emigration, as is instanced in the records of the Maastricht church,¹⁵² but even after that hopes for a restoration of French Calvinism on native soil were not extinguished. In 1711 the former elder and *œconome*, or treasurer, of the Riez church in Provence, Nicolas Gaudemar, drew up a record of the history of this small congregation before the refugee Amsterdam lawyer Philippe de Marolles, "pour pouvoir servir", he stated, "si dieu par sa Misericorde vouloit Rallumer le flambeau de son Evangile dans ces Cartiers la".¹⁵³

It must also be noted that, despite the existence of already established French Protestant congregations in the lands of exile, refugees often felt

themselves ill at ease in foreign surroundings. The English handshake came as a surprise to those accustomed to more formal manners,¹⁵⁴ while members of the Arnhem congregation begged to be allowed to keep to their own ways and to take communion standing in the French fashion.¹⁵⁵ And if the manners of their hosts were not always to the liking of the newcomers, those of one or two of the exiles must have scandalized those who gave them shelter. The two young men who rushed out of church at Groningen after the sermon on the first Sunday in March 1687 in order to fight a duel doubtless shocked a wider circle than the local Walloon congregation.¹⁵⁶ A similar case occurred in the same month at Leeuwarden, where a member was suspended from communion, “aiant donné des coups de baston à un autre”.¹⁵⁷ And if the mercurial temperament of some of the French refugees disturbed the tranquillity of northern communities, the emphasis placed by others upon the dignity of rank was also a source of friction. There were quarrels between established ministers in the United Provinces and refugee pastors often quick to show resentment when their pretensions were felt to be disregarded.¹⁵⁸

It would take time before the process of assimilation brought the expatriates into the mainstream of the life of the countries to which they had fled. That some among the first generation found conditions too difficult and returned to France is not surprising, although the case of Jean Guillaume from the Sedan region, who returned in 1686 to ask the Maastricht congregation “de recevoir une seconde fois ses larmes”,¹⁵⁹ was certainly not unique. Others sought different solutions to the social and economic problems of exile. Among them must be numbered the refugees who sailed from Dutch harbours for the distant Cape of Good Hope. It is to them and to their origins in Europe that we now turn our attention.

REFERENCES: CHAPTER FOUR

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2. LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, pp. 432-432n.

3. For the history of this church see A. HUGON, *En Cévennes; le temple et l'histoire de la paroisse du Collet-de-Dèze (Lozère)*.
4. J.-B.-D. COCHET, *Les Eglises de l'arrondissement du Havre*, I, pp. 56-57.
5. LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 431n.
6. *History of Protestantism*, II p. 431.
7. See HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, X, appendix LXXXVIII, p. 377; LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 435; LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 248-250.
8. *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 435.
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10. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 199. Bossuet saw the revocation as the crowning glory of a new Constantine, a new Theodosius, a new Marcan and a new Charlemagne. Louis XIV was also likened in the *Académie française* to Apollo slaying Python (A. GOBERT, 'La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes; ce qu'elle a coûté à la France', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, June 1, 1966, p. 338).
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19. See 143, Correspondance: Saint-Disdier (chargé d'affaires) to Louis XIV, The Hague, Oct. 25, 1685, f.128v.
20. TIMINGS (ed.), *Calendar of state papers. . . James II*, I, 1862, p. 377: London, Nov. 5, 1685; NEVEU, 'Protestants français réfugiés', *BSHPF*, CXIII, Jan.-March 1967, p. 58: Dec. 21, 1685; V.F.J. BOONACKER, 'De Fransche gemeente te Enkhuizen, 1686-1721. Eene bijdrage tot de

- geschiedenis der refugiés in Nederland', *Studiën en Bijdragen op 't Gebied der historische Theologie*, III, 1876, pp. 349-353.
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 23. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, April-June 1968, p. 306n.
 24. S. MOURS, *Le Protestantisme en Vivarais et en Velay des origines à nos jours*, p. 284.
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 36. GUIBERT, *Mémoires*, II, p. 228; LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 444. Giving aid was profitable. A group left Dieppe in 1687, having "fait marché avec un Capitaine anglois pour cinq mille frans (*sic*)" (153, Hollande, correspondance: letter of May 27, 1687, f. 112).

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58. SCOVILLE, *Persecution of Huguenots*, p. 111.
59. Among them Jean Darenne de Saint-Paul of Montreuil, east of Paris, who abjured at Gorinchem (Gorcum) in 1689 (BW 529, *Registre des Actes*... 1686-1726 (Gorcum): April 15, 1689, p. 30 (Bibl. wall.)) and Pierre de Belain des Arsis from La Flèche in Anjou, who abjured at Utrecht in 1690 (12 D 2, *Livre des Actes*... 1671-1739: July 27, 1690, p. 99 (EW Utrecht)).
60. *Protestantisme*, p. 253.
61. LOUGH (ed.), *Locke's travels*, pp. 207-208: July 21, 1678. The environs

- of some towns, including Orleans, were also free of this tax. It should be noted that peasants moving into a *taille*-free town were still liable for ten years. Locke observed a tendency to send children to live in such towns and thus avoid a future burden.
62. See LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 441 and n.
 63. *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 441.
 64. See *Persecution of Huguenots*, pp. 118-121.
 65. A. CHÉRUÉL (ed.), *Mémoires complets et authentiques*. . . , XIII, p. 24. The figures given here, based upon a variety of sources, reflect the loss on a regional basis set out by J. STOYE (*Europe unfolding 1648-1688*, p. 367), compared with the total Calvinist population of 856 000 given by MOURS (*Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 86n.). STOYE (*Europe unfolding*, p. 367) suggests an emigration of about 175 000 for the years 1680-1700, representing some 20% of the reformed church population and less than 1% of the total population of France.
 66. *Protestantisme*, pp. 253-254.
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 68. Note too that France was more than 90% rural in population at the close of the 17th century (P. ARIÈS, *Histoire des populations françaises et de leurs attitudes devant la vie depuis le XVIII^e siècle*, Collection Points, H3, p. 275).
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81. See LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 255-256.
 82. LADURIE, *Paysans de Languedoc*, I, pp. 614-629. See also LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 263-267.
 83. BOISLISLE (ed.), *Correspondance*, I, 206, pp. 54-55: Oct. 5, 1685.
 84. BOISLISLE (ed.), *Correspondance*, I, 578, p. 151: May 22, June 18 and 25, July 28, 1688.
 85. See P. GAILLARD, 'Vauban, la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes et la Dîme royale', *BSHPF*, CXXI, July-Sept. 1975, pp. 354-369.
 86. 'Révocation', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1 June 1966, pp. 344-352.
 87. See particularly *Persecution of Huguenots*, pp. 434-447.
 88. BOISLISLE (ed.), *Correspondance*, I, 679, p. 177: March 23, 1689.
 89. LOUGH (ed.), *Locke's travels*, pp. 216; 217: Aug. 10 and 11, 1678. Recession in this industry before the revocation has been observed at Nîmes in Languedoc (W.J. PUGH, 'Social welfare and the Edict of Nantes; Lyon and Nîmes', *French Historical Studies*, VIII, 3, Spring 1974, pp. 366-367).
 90. GOBERT, 'Révocation', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 June 1966, pp. 576-577. On economic problems between 1684 and 1689 see L. ROTHKRUG, *Opposition to Louis XIV; the political and social origins of the French enlightenment*, pp. 211-233.
 91. P. KAEPPELIN, *La Compagnie des Indes orientales et François Martin; étude sur l'histoire du commerce et des établissements français dans l'Inde sous Louis XIV (1664-1719)*, reprint, Burt Franklin: Research and Source Works Series, 157/11, pp. 201-202.
 92. BOISLISLE (ed.), *Correspondance*, I, p. 106: June 10 to July 22, 1687.
 93. GOBERT, 'Révocation', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 June 1966, p. 577.
 94. SMILES, *Huguenots*, p. 269.
 95. GOBERT, 'Révocation', *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 June 1955, p. 579: "Il est...raisonnable de conclure que la persécution religieuse n'atteignit pas de manière profonde la navigation française".
 96. I. SCHÖFFER, 'De Hugenoten in Nederland', in D. BOTTEN (ed.), *De Hugenoten in Nederland*, p. 22.
 97. Nov. 1686, p. 59.
 98. See the advertisements in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* from Nov. 3, 1685 (Middelburg) to Jan. 17, 1686 (Enkhuizen).
 99. C.H. VOORHOEVE, 'Hugenotenkerk in Voorburg werd 250 jaar geleden ingewijd', *Bulletin van de Nederlandse Hugenoten Stichting*, II, 1, March 1977, p. 17.
 100. H.H. BOLHUIS, 'La Hollande et les deux refuges', *Bulletin van de Nederlandse Hugenoten Stichting*, I, 1, March 1976, p. 6.
 101. F.R.J. KNETSCH, *Pierre Jurieu; theoloog en politikus der refuge*, p. 201, quoted by COERTZEN, *Franse Hugenote in Suid-Afrika*, p. 124.
 102. *History of Protestantism*, II, pp. 447-448.
 103. W.A. SHAW, 'The English government and the relief of Protestant refu-

- gees', *Proceedings HSL*, V, 3, Nov. 1895 – July 1896, pp. 343-423. See also HANDS and SCOULOU DI (eds), *French Protestant refugees*, pp. 2-5.
104. BRAY (ed.), *Diary*, p. 492: Nov. 3, 1685.
 105. C.W. BAIRD, *History of the Huguenot emigration to America*, 2 v. in 1, II, pp. 161-166.
 106. J.S. POWELL, 'The Huguenots of Portarlington', *Studies*, LXI, 244, Winter 1972, pp. 343-353.
 107. SMILES, *Huguenots*, pp. 292-317.
 108. L. FORSTER (ed.), *A calendar of the correspondence of J.H. Ott 1658-1671 in the library of the Huguenot Society of London*, Publications HSL, XLVI, 395, p. 32: J.R. Wettstein to Ott, Basle, Feb. 17, 1669.
 109. *Amsterdamsche Saturday Courant*, Nov. 3, 1685: Geneva, Oct. 16.
 110. LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, pp. 445-446.
 111. BOISLISLE (ed.), *Correspondance*, I, 1196, pp. 324-325 and n.: Basville, May 26, 1693.
 112. C. R(OCH), 'Jean Noblet', in V. ATTINGER (ed.), *Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse*, V, p. 154.
 113. H.-V. AUBERT, 'Les Espions du résident de France à Genève après la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes', *BSHPF*, LXXII, Jan.-March 1923, pp. 39-43.
 114. M. FAURE, 'Les Archives du presbytère protestant d'Annonay', *Revue du Vivarais*, LXXV, 2, April-June 1971, p. 55: letter of April 10, 1688.
 115. GONIN and DELTEIL (eds), 'Révocation...vue par les informateurs', *BSHPF*, CXIX, Jan.-March 1973, 356, p. 111 and n.: Gourville to Condé, Paris, Feb. 4, 1686.
 116. LÉONARD (*History of Protestantism*, II, p. 446) gives 22 000.
 117. LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, pp. 446 and 446-447n.
 118. *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens, 58, p. 16, and on German figures generally, pp. 16-17.
 119. *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 447.
 120. *Mercurie historique et politique*, July 1687, p. 987: Nouvelles du Nort (*sic*).
 121. On the Americas see BAIRD, *History of the Huguenot emigration*, 2 v. in 1. Some fled directly from France to the West Indies and Canada to avoid persecution (M. REIBLE, 'L'Emigration coloniale en Angoumois sous Louis XIV et la question protestante', *Mémoires de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente*, 1958, p. 130).
 122. U.-J. DE DIANOUX, 'Huguenots fled to Turkey', *Bulletin, Huguenot Society of South Africa*, 12, 1974, pp. 20-21.
 123. Many were in Dutch service before the revocation (J. PANNIER, 'Les Protestants français en extrême-orient au XVII^e siècle', *BSHPF*, LIII, Nov.-Dec. 1904, pp. 481-492). For Jacob Crommelin and others who served in the Dutch East Indies see 'Het Rotterdamse naturalisatieregister... ', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw*, XCV, 6 June 1978, cols 171; 176.
 124. See Waalse gemeente, Maastricht, 1, Register van resoluties van het consistorie: Dec. 7, 1686, p. 67.

125. *French Protestant refugees*, appendix III, pp. 222-227.
126. See Eglise wallonne d'Arnhem, II, *Comptes des diacres*, 1686-1690.
127. HANDS and SCOULOUDI (eds), *French Protestant refugees*, p. 12: "Some... went elsewhere after weeks spent in a hopeless search for work".
128. 157, Hollande, correspondance: letter of April 6, 1688, f. 77.
129. See A. GROTZ and N. W(EISS) (eds), 'Le Sort des réfugiés en Hollande, Angleterre et ailleurs en 1687; d'après une lettre originale et inédite', *BSHPF*, XLIII, April 15, 1894, pp. 186-198. The author was Gaspard Baux, then in the United Provinces.
130. Eglise wallonne d'Arnhem, II, *Comptes*: Sept. 22, 1689, p. 13.
131. Waalse gemeente, Maastricht, 1, Register: Nov. 29, 1685, p. 52.
132. BW 590, *Registre des Actes consistoriaux 1659-1773* (Leeuwarden): May 2, 1688; March 10, 1689, pp. 54; 58 (Bibl. wall.).
133. Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève, *Histoire de Genève des origines à 1798*, II, p. 353.
134. Collection Antoine Court, 17 S, *Papiers de M. de Mirmand*: letter to Mirmand, councillor of the Brandenburg embassy, Zürich, Sept. 9, 1689, f. 14 (Bibl. publ. et univ.).
135. D.G. CARASSO, 'Inleiding', in D.G. CARASSO *et al.*, *Amsterdam die grote stad; 17e en 18e eeuw*, p. 6, where the figure of 80-90% is given for the 18th century.
136. W.J. HARDY (ed.), *Calendar of state papers, Domestic Series, of the reign of William and Mary. 13th Feb. 1687 – April 1690*, p. 227: Aug. 23, 1689.
137. 153, Hollande, correspondance: letter of June 28, 1687, f. 134v.; GROTZ and W(EISS) (eds), 'Sort des réfugiés', *BSHPF*, XLIII, April 15, 1894, pp. 186-198.
138. Collection Court, 17 S: Pastor Brouzet to Mirmand, Lausanne, Dec. 10, 1689, f. 15.
139. Eglise wallonne d'Arnhem, I, *Livre des Actes du Consistoire*, 1684-1819: Dec. 10, 1692 (GA Arnhem).
140. 153, Hollande, correspondance: letter of Jan. 28, 1687, f. 16v.
141. 143, Correspondance: Saint-Disdier, The Hague, Nov. 15, 1685, f. 167; 149, Hollande, correspondance: letters Haarlem, May 2 and 24, 1686, ff. 163: 180-180v.
142. See M.R. THORP, 'The Anti-Huguenot undercurrent in late-seventeenth-century England', *Proceedings HSL*, XXII, 6, 1976, pp. 569-580.
143. GROTZ and W(EISS) (eds), 'Sort des réfugiés', *BSHPF*, XLIII, April 14, 1894, p. 198.
144. Archives de l'Eglise de Genève, R 66, *Procès verbaux des séances du consistoire*, 1685-1688: Sept. 19, 1687, ff. 255 and v. (AE Geneva).
145. LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 446.
146. Collection Court, 15, lettres et autres pièces: Ruvigny, Coventry, March 6, 1692 (copy), f. 41 (Bibl. publ. et univ.).
147. Collection Court, 14: Bibaud to Daillé, Aug. 26, 1699 (copy), ff. 179 and v.
148. L. GOLDING, *The Jewish problem*, p. 19.

149. Collection Court, 48, Mémoires: Requête en vers presentes (*sic*) au Roy par Mrs. de la Religion pretendüe Reformée au sujet de la Suppression de l'Edit de Nantez, n.d., ff. 241-242 (Bibl. publ. et univ.).
150. Eglise wallonne d'Arnhem, I, Livre des Actes: Nov. 8, 1685, for national day of prayer, Nov. 11.
151. Collection Court, 15: E. Benoist to Berne refugee directors, Delft, March 4, 1698 (copy), f. 114.
152. Waalse gemeente, Maastricht, 1, Register: extraordinary meeting, March 13, 1699, p. 185: "Les Refugiés viennent en foule".
153. 469², Papiers concernant l'église de Riez, Ro(u)moules et annexes, 1626-1711: June 29, 1711, f. 164 (Bibl. Prot., SHPF).
154. BAIRD, *History of the Huguenot emigration*, II, p. 151.
155. Eglise wallonne d'Arnhem, I, Livre des Actes: May 8, 1684.
156. Kerkbestuur, 1/1, Handelingen, 1686-1780: March 15, 1687, ff. 6v.-7 (GA Groningen). Groningen used the Julian calendar at this time, as was the case with all the Dutch and German Protestant states (Holland and Prussia excepted) until 1700.
157. BW 590, Registre (Leeuwarden): March 6, 1687, p. 53.
158. See particularly Actes du Consistoire, III, 1687-1704 (Haarlem) (EW Haarlem). At Leeuwarden refugee pastors quarrelled among themselves over precedence. A solution was found by allowing them to walk into church "selon l'ancien(n)eté de leur réception" (BW 590, Registre: July 1, 1688, p. 55).
159. Waalse gemeente, Maastricht, 1, Register: Dec. 7, 1686, p. 67. He was received on March 24, 1687 (p. 71).

CHAPTER FIVE

Cape settlers I: from the Loire to the Channel



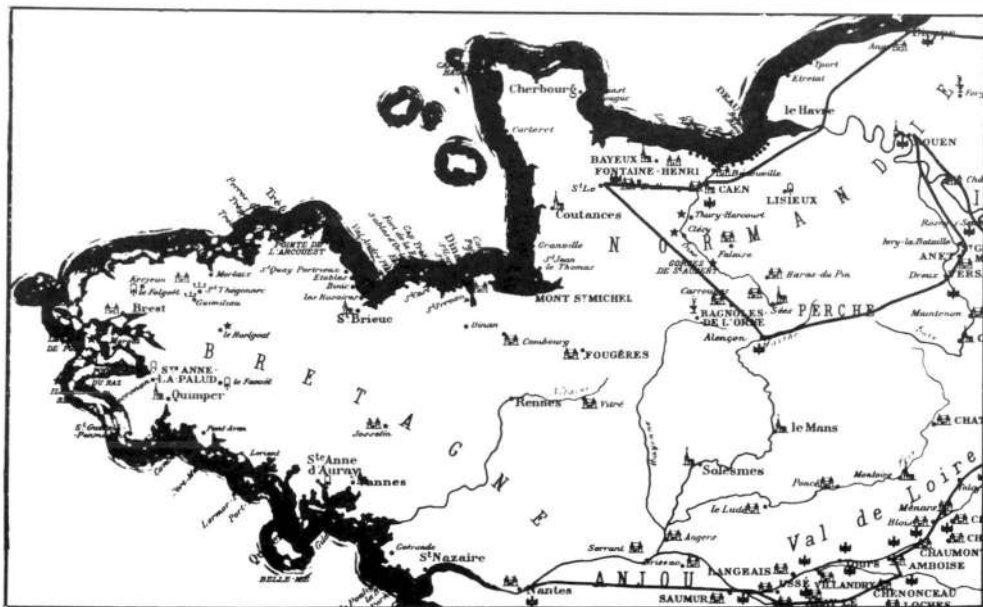
Before discussing the Cape colonists who came from this north-western part of France a closer identification of the region concerned will not be out of place.

Its natural maritime boundaries to the north and west extend from the mouth of the Bresle, north-east of Dieppe, to Bourgneuf Bay below the Loire estuary. The borders of Normandy and the Orléanais, together with that segment of the Ile-de-France, exclusive of Paris of the left bank, lying west of the Seine, represent the eastern limit of the region, while the Loire forms a rough demarcation to the south, more accurately delimited by the southern borders of the ancient provinces which straddle that river: Brittany, Anjou, Touraine and the Orléanais. The region therefore comprises these four provinces, Normandy and the western Ile-de-France, and Maine with the county of Perche.

In physical features, the rocky coast and forested interior of Breton-

speaking western and north-western Brittany stand apart. For the rest the region is largely an extension of the central European plain, broken by the hills of Upper Normandy and those of Perche. A part of France predominantly agricultural, it is principally watered to the east and north-east by the Seine and its tributary the Eure, in the north by such rivers flowing into the Channel as the Orne and the Rance, and to the south-west and south by the Vilaine and the rivers of the Loire system, among them the Sarthe, the Loir, the Mayenne and the Cher.

Administratively the region fell within the jurisdiction of the intendants of seven generalities: those of Rouen, Alençon and Caen for Normandy, the generality of Nantes for Brittany, those of Tours and Orleans to the south and the generality of Paris for the western portion of the Ile-de-France. The generalities were further subdivided into elections. Significant too in the joint campaign of church and state against the Calvinists were the cathedral cities and the dioceses subordinate to them. Some cities, among them Orleans and Rouen, were the seats of generalities; others included Sées, north of Alençon, Angers on the Maine and Chartres near Paris, in whose magnificent cathedral Henri IV was crowned in 1594 after his abjuration of Protestantism had



brought to a temporary close the religious wars. The region also contained several royal seats, including Versailles, west of Paris, and Fontainebleau, south-east of the city, where the edict of revocation was signed. Finally, and important with regard to Huguenot escape routes by sea and the prevention of such evasions, are the seaports of the region. They include Dieppe and Le Havre in Normandy; Saint-Malo, Brest, Lorient and Nantes in Brittany.

In terms of the ecclesiastical organization of the Calvinist church with which we are so closely concerned, this part of France in the seventeenth century included the three synodal provinces of Normandy, Brittany and Anjou-Touraine-Maine, as well as the Beauce colloquy and a small part of the Ile-de-France colloquy of the synodal province of Ile-de-France-Champagne-Picardy, together with a considerable part of the synodal province for the Orléanais and Berry. With the exception of the flourishing Calvinism of coastal Normandy, members of the reformed church were largely a scattered minority and their temples focal points for small groups of worshippers from communities otherwise isolated. The church was very weak in Brittany, Anjou, Touraine and Maine; somewhat stronger in the farming areas of Upper Normandy, the Blésois and the Beauce colloquy. Its survival in some localities owed much to the Protestantism of landowners among the lesser nobility; the Béraults, whose background in Normandy will be sketched in this chapter, were of this class. In all, little more than 10% of French Protestants lived in this region.¹

The Cape settlers from this part of France came largely, but not exclusively, from the towns and villages of coastal Normandy and from a rural quadrilateral with Paris, Orleans, Blois and L'Aigle at its corners. Indeed one refugee ship brought a party of French settlers from the United Provinces whose original homes, despite indications to the contrary by C. Graham Botha² and J.L.M. Franken,³ were all within the quadrilateral. The vessel was the *Voorschooten* of Delft, which sailed from Goeree on December 31, 1687 under the captaincy of Frans Villerius.⁴ Special provision had been made for the spiritual needs of the emigrants. The ship carried two new quarto French Bibles and ten books of the psalms of Marot and Bèze, and for the edification of the refugees on the voyage, the sermons of the former Caen pastors Pierre du Bosc and Jean Guillebert.⁵

In the context of this voyage, Franken's identification of the Cape farm Le Plessis Marlé with a locality near Marle in Picardy is certainly wide of the mark.⁶ It was the refugee Charles Marais who perpetuated the

name of his place of origin in the designation of the farm granted to him in 1688. He and his family came from the Hurepoix region of the Ile-de-France, south and south-west of Paris, and were members of the congregation worshipping at Le Plessis-Marly near Longvilliers, a village north-west of Dourdan towards the Rambouillet forest. Le Plessis-Marly was the estate of the Duplessis-Mornays, the family which gave the statesman Philippe de Mornay to the Protestant cause in the troubled days of Henri IV. Le Plessis-Marly came into Philippe's possession through his mother Françoise, daughter of Charles du Bec-Crespin, vice-admiral of France. Formerly owned by her maternal aunt Jeanne de Deauvilliers, the property was acquired by Françoise in June 1561.⁷

The church was chosen in 1601 by the royal commissioners François d'Angennes and Pierre Jeannin to serve the Calvinists of the Montfort-l'Amaury bailiwick, replacing an earlier place of worship at Garancières-en-Beauce to the south-west.⁸ The Mornays made personal provision in 1606 for the salary of a minister and for the support of the poor. The church was included in the Beauce colloquy of the synodal province for the north-east of France and had close connections with the seigneurial church of La Norville in the Hurepoix, sharing the same pastor, Maurice de Laubéron de Montigny, for a number of years after 1626. The Paris temple had been sited in the Hurepoix before 1606, first at Grigny and later, in 1599, at Ablon-sur-Seine, both south of the capital, but with the removal to Charenton, Le Plessis-Marly and La Norville alone served the region.⁹

It was for Jansenism, rather than Calvinism, that the Hurepoix was noted in the seventeenth century. The Calvinist reform movement had made little headway there and was very much a minority cult. Jean Jacquart has put forward some tentative reasons: the ease with which repressive measures could be introduced to counter heresy in towns and villages close to the capital; few complaints of a material kind against the Catholic church and close family ties between many of the clergy and their parishioners; social stability in a region which remained relatively strong economically during the wars of religion. Here then was no fertile field for religious innovation and proximity to Paris strengthened the efforts of Catholic reform: mission priests, following in the footsteps of Vincent de Paul, were active; eucharistic devotions, a counterpoise to Calvinism, were encouraged. A number of landowners returned to the Catholic faith and those who remained members of the reformed church do not appear to have strongly influenced their tenants.¹⁰

The anti-Calvinist drive mounted by Louis XIV drove the pastor Jac-

ques Rondeau of Le Plessis-Marly to England,¹¹ while Charles Marais, his wife Catherine Taboureux and their children Claude, Charles, Isaac and Marie-Madeleine made their way to the United Provinces. Like so many other refugees of the period they had been compelled to accept Catholicism at the revocation, but returned to the reformed faith in their first country of refuge. Charles, his wife and the older children rejected their forced conversion at the Walloon church in The Hague on September 14, 1687.¹²

Tradition has it that Claude served as an officer in the French army and that the family occupied a higher social position than most other Cape refugees.¹³ However, apart from the fact that it was to the more aristocratic congregation of The Hague that they were attached in the United Provinces, nothing has been discovered to substantiate the claims. Did economic hardship play any part in deciding Marais to quit France? The peasantry of the Hurepoix, essentially a region geared to the production of cereals and wine for the Paris market, suffered a long period of growing pauperization in the seventeenth century, as Jacquart has amply demonstrated. The crisis reached its peak in 1652 during the military operations of the *Fronde*, with widespread famine and general misery. A subsequent increase in land appropriation, in which the Paris bourgeoisie played a conspicuous part, subjected the humble rural population to further degradation.¹⁴ We do not know the circumstances of Charles Marais's daily life, but it is possible that, even without religious persecution, his position was becoming intolerable. The Hurepoix, unlike some other agricultural regions of France, did not generally offer alternative means of remunerative employment, apart from the usual run of village crafts. Those who normally made a living from the land could often turn elsewhere to small scale textile manufacture. However it was virtually only in the stocking industry of Dourdan that such an opportunity existed in this part of the country.¹⁵

But were opportunities for immigrant agricultural workers much greater in the United Provinces? It is to be doubted. The Cape of Good Hope, however, needed farmers and if the Marais parents were a little old to begin a new life in a distant land, their children might be expected to prosper and make a useful contribution to the well-being of the colony. Claude was twenty-four years of age when the passenger list of December 19, 1687 was sent by the Delft chamber to the Cape, Charles was nineteen, Isaac a boy of ten and Marie a child of six.¹⁶

The refugee Pierre Sabatier who accompanied them on the *Voorschooten* was a bachelor of twenty-two in December 1687. The surname is a

common one in the south, a circumstance which perhaps dictated Botha's choice of Mazères in the county of Foix in south-western France as his birthplace.¹⁷ It is just possible that he was a southerner resident in the north at the time of the revocation. The Blois records mention, for example, the death in November 1684 of a young soldier from Languedoc, Simon Soulier,¹⁸ and Sabatier could have been in military service. However, the place-name inaccurately transcribed in the Delft passenger list must surely have been one of the villages called Mézières in the region discussed in this chapter: Mézières north of Blois, perhaps, or Mézières-en-Drouais between Nogent-le-Roi and Dreux. The former seems the more likely as Sabatier is described in the United Provinces as from Blois.¹⁹

The only single girl of marriageable age among the party on the *Voor-schooten* was Marguerite Pierre Basché, aged twenty-three, who was among a group of fugitives who had apostatized before leaving France and who returned to the reformed faith at the Walloon church in Delft on October 19, 1687.²⁰ It is probable that Marguerite came from Aunay, just north of Mer, a small town near the Loire with a flourishing Protestant congregation, situated on the road from Blois to Beaugency. Mer was also known as Ménars-la-Ville. Here we find the vine-dressers Jean and Pierre Basché, brothers, and it is of more than passing interest in the Cape context to note that Jean Basché was married to Esther Rétif.²¹ Marguerite Basché's mother, evidently Marie Pierre, was living at Mer in 1688.²² The church at Mer is significant in Cape Huguenot history and we shall have occasion to return to it in this chapter. Interesting too are the instances of social mobility revealed in the records of this congregation. The Baschés, for example, were not all agriculturalists. Timothée Basché was a merchant in Beaugency in 1670.²³

Also on the *Voorschooten* was the young bachelor Jean Machepasté, twenty-five years of age. Botha is in error in suggesting that he may not have reached the Cape.²⁴ The names Machepasté and Pasté appear in Dutch East India Company records and Franken's guess that the shorter is simply an alternative for the longer name²⁵ is borne out by Paul de Félice in his study of the church at Mer.²⁶ The Cape refugee certainly came from the Blésois. A Daniel Machepasté took part in an illegal Protestant assembly at Mer in 1685 and a vine-dresser François Pasté was one of several members of this family living at Roches near Marchenoir, a Calvinist centre not far to the north of Mer.²⁷ Jean Machepasté fled to Delft, where he made reparation in the Walloon church on December 7, 1687 for abjuring Calvinism in his native land.²⁸

Like that of many of the Cape refugees his stay in the United Provinces was of short duration.

Daniel Terrier, who reached the Cape in 1688, although not on the *Voorschooten*, was among several refugees who made amends before the Delft congregation on October 19, 1687 for having accepted Catholicism in France. There were Terriers in exile from Dieppe, but the Delft entry suggests strongly that Daniel was from the Blésois.²⁹ He came perhaps from Marchenoir, birthplace of Marie Terrier who became a member of the Threadneedle Street church in London.³⁰ There were others from this region in England. On September 26, 1689 Pierre Terrier from the Blésois died at Thorpe-le-Soken near Colchester in Essex.³¹

Paul Godefroy, twenty-two years of age in December 1687 was another of the *Voorschooten* bachelors. Despite a suggestion that he might have had La Rochelle connections,³² there is little doubt that he was from the Orléanais. There were Godefroys from Lorges and Marchenoir in the United Provinces in 1687,³³ but it is likely that Paul Godefroy worshipped at the temple of Bazoches-en-Dunois which served a scattered rural population in the fertile Beauce, north of Orleans. The pastor there, Jérémie Perrot, went over to Rome in 1682,³⁴ but the Calvinists of the region showed themselves recalcitrant in the face of efforts to convert them by force after the revocation.³⁵

At Leyden in October 1687 Pierre and Paul Godefroy were helped with food and lodging by the Walloon church authorities. The name of their place of origin, incorrectly spelled in the records, is almost certainly Bazoches.³⁶ Five years later, on November 27, 1692, Pierre Godefroy, son of the late Jacques Godefroy and Elisabeth Sevain of Bazoches-en-Dunois, married Susanne Renaud of the same town at the London church of La Patente de Soho.³⁷ This could well be the brother of the Cape settler and would not be the only instance of family links between London refugees and those in the distant Dutch settlement. The Godefroys are well represented in the Bazoches registers and we may note the marriage on June 23, 1673 of a Pierre Godefroy to Judith Couvret, member of another local family with Cape connections.³⁸

The refugee Gédéon Malherbe was a bachelor of twenty-five when he sailed on the *Voorschooten*. He was among a group of refugees at Delft who on September 21, 1687 appeared before the celebrated pastor and Huguenot historian Elie Benoist, once minister at Alençon in Normandy, to make public reparation of their fault in abjuring Calvinism before escaping from France.³⁹ Gédéon Malherbe was named among

those who had worshipped at the little church of Laons on the road from Dreux to Brézolles in the Thimerais. This wooded region between the Avre and the Eure came under Norman jurisdiction, although it had more in common with the Perche to the west and like its neighbour was renowned for the breeding of the heavy percheron cart-horse. Its three Protestant churches at Laons, Favières and La Ferté-Vidame formed an outlying part of the Beauce colloquy of the synodal province for the Ile-de-France and the north-east and were sometimes united under a single pastor in the seventeenth century. The seigneurial church at Favières was one of the few congregations which did not lose its temple at the revocation. It was converted into a barn.⁴⁰

This was Malherbe country indeed and the name is associated with all three congregations in the Thimerais. Malherbes who attended the Favières temple are to be found in Catholic records after the signing of the Edict of Fontainebleau in October 1685.⁴¹ However in the inventories of the possessions of Calvinist refugees from the Verneuil election of the Alençon generality appears the name of a merchant Gédéon Malherbe, with wife and four children, of Les Ressuintes, near the road from La Ferté-Vidame to Senonches.⁴² On September 1, 1684 a daughter Marie-Elisabeth was born to Gédéon Malherbe and Elisabeth Bernier and christened two days later at L'Aigle. The parents came from La Mancelière, perhaps the hamlet of that name near La Ferté-Vidame.⁴³ It was at this period, on the eve of the revocation, that the closing and demolition of temples and the general harassment of Calvinists were causing a movement of peoples within France and a rising tide of emigration.

The effects of the revocation were fully brought home to the Protestants of Laons in November 1685, when troops employed by Vauban in an abortive attempt to construct a canal from the Eure to Versailles were seconded to the task of conversion. Calvinists were herded together and driven to the church of Saint-Pierre at Dreux, where they were browbeaten into accepting Catholicism.⁴⁴ Dreux had unhappy memories for reformers. It was here in December 1562 that Condé and Coligny had suffered defeat at the hands of François de Guise. Protestantism was to rise again, but by 1685 its militancy of old had long since disappeared. Among those forced to abjure on November 17, 1685 were Pierre, son of Jean Fouber, and a carter in his employ, the future Drakenstein farmer Gédéon Malherbe.⁴⁵

After his arrival at the Cape Malherbe married Marie Grillon. Although she did not sail on the *Voorschooten* she was evidently from the

same part of France as the settlers aboard that vessel and it is more than likely that she accompanied the Rétifs and Pierre Rousseau from the United Provinces. Marie and Jacques Grillon were among those who returned to the reformed faith at Delft on October 19, 1687 and the refugee Jérémie Grillon who married at The Hague had family connections in the nearby Dutch town and links with the Rousseaus through his wife Anne Bottereau.⁴⁶ Church registers for Mer and Lorges in the Blésois reveal further connections between these families and also between the Grillons and the Baschés. Jérémie Grillon is known to have come from the Orléanais and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that Marie Grillon's home was originally at Mer or a village in its vicinity. The baptism of a Marie Grillon is recorded at Lorges on September 28, 1659, the daughter of Isaac Grillon and Anne Champion. A Marie Grillon of Mer died in August 1674.⁴⁷

On December 10, 1687, three weeks before the *Voorschooten* sailed, the refugee Jacques Pinard married Esther Foucher at the French church in the Prinsenhof at Delft, where Willem the Silent was murdered in 1584. The bridegroom was twenty-three years of age and his wife two years his junior, the youngest of the three married couples aboard that vessel. It would seem that the Cape attracted Jacques Pinard as a place where he would be able to find employment in his trade. He was a carpenter and the fact that this description of him has been deleted in the entry of his marriage and the word cloth-worker substituted suggests that he was unable to follow his calling in the United Provinces.⁴⁸

Earlier research into the history of the Pinards of France has, not surprisingly, brought to light many who have borne that name, but it is probable that few were connected closely with the first Pinard at the Cape. Nevertheless the evidence collected cannot be dismissed out of hand. Although the findings emphasize the social élite, the records of the seventeenth century frequently reveal a considerable class range within families living in a given region. With regard to the Pinards, genealogical investigation indicates that a branch of the family left Brittany, perhaps in the fourteenth century, establishing itself in succeeding generations in Maine, the Vendômois, the Blésois, Upper Normandy and the Pays chartrain.⁴⁹ Pinards adhering to the Calvinist church in the seventeenth century were particularly numerous in the Drouais. Many worshipped at La Fontaine-sous-Prémont near Dreux, a temple serving several neighbouring communities, among them Chérizy, where a Jacques Pinard lived in 1669, Mézières-en-Drouais, Nogent-le-Roi and the strongly Calvinist Marsauceux.⁵⁰ Demolition of the

temple was ordered on November 26, 1682 and the pastor Jean Régnier took refuge across the Rhine.⁵¹

The name Pinard is also to be found in Calvinist circles at L'Aigle in Normandy, where services continued until the year of the revocation.⁵² Was there perhaps a connection between the Pinards of the Drouais, strengthened by the discontinuance of worship at La Fontaine-sous-Prémont? Much points to the Dreux region as the country of origin of the Cape Pinards, but a Jacques Pinard presented an attestation from L'Aigle to the Walloon church authorities of Amsterdam on October 13, 1686.⁵³ It is possible that this is the Cape refugee who perhaps moved in that direction after 1682. On the other hand a Jacques Pinard, clearly a former member of the congregation at La Fontaine-sous-Prémont, was among those forced to abjure at Saint-Pierre in Dreux on November 15, 1685.⁵⁴ The Calvinists of the Drouais suffered as did those of Laons in the efforts to stamp out Protestantism in the region. The name Jacques Pinard appears again when the Paris generality sought to settle the complicated question of local Huguenot church finances after the revocation. This must have been after the Cape settler left France, but it indicates the prevalence of the surname in the country east of Dreux. On this occasion a Jacques Pinard refused to acknowledge a debt he was said to owe the former Houdan consistory and was ordered to explain the matter to the subdelegate at Dreux.⁵⁵

That Jacques Pinard was probably from the Drouais is suggested by family links indicated in church registers at La Fontaine-sous-Prémont and Dreux⁵⁶ with two refugees who came to the Cape on another Delft ship, the *Driebergen*, which sailed for Batavia from the United Provinces on May 25, 1698 under the command of Marten de Jeught. The vessel reached the Cape on September 3 after a voyage which was enlivened by a successful engagement with a pirate north of the Canary Islands. Aboard her were the future colonists Louis le Riche, Pierre and Etienne Cronier, Jean Duthuilé and Philippe Drouin.⁵⁷

The names Duthuilé and Drouin appear both at La Fontaine-sous-Prémont and among those compelled to abjure at Dreux. The abjurations include those of Daniel Duthuilé and his wife Madeleine Drouin on November 16, 1685 and two days earlier, that of Philippe Drouin.⁵⁸ Comparison with names listed in the minutes of the Walloon church at Delft makes it clear that the Philippe Drouin who returned to the reformed communion on December 9, 1693 was also from La Fontaine-sous-Prémont.⁵⁹ The name was not uncommon in the north-east of France and the Drouins may have come originally from the Calaisis.⁶⁰ It

would seem that the Philippe Drouin mentioned here was the Cape refugee. In his will, proved in September 1702, he names as his heir his true friend Gédéon Malherbe, whom he doubtless knew at Dreux.⁶¹ In December 1701 the refugee pastor Henri Rou, formerly at Lorges, sent him a sum of money from the estate of his late father, who had died in France. Philippe Drouin did not live to receive the legacy, however, and it went to Gédéon Malherbe.⁶²

What of Jean Duthuilé? Again, the name in its various forms was widely distributed in northern France. A man with these names from the Calaisis was a silk worker in Groningen in 1687,⁶³ but it seems not unlikely that the Cape refugee was a member of the congregation of La Fontaine-sous-Prémont. There we find the baptism on April 25, 1658 of Jean, son of François Duthuilé and Madeleine Pinard. The child was named for his godfather Jean Pinard of Marsauceux.⁶⁴ Another Duthuilé from this region, Claude from Houdan, was in Canterbury, England in 1686.⁶⁵ There is evidence that some of the Duthuilés of the Drouais were of a certain standing in local society, although many refugees were without means on arrival in exile. A Gédéon Duthuilé was assisted from the poor-box of the Walloon church at Delft in December 1684.⁶⁶

Jacques Pinard's wife Esther Foucher has not been positively identified with others of that surname, but it may reasonably be assumed that she was related to the Foucher family which travelled out on the *Voor-schooten*. These were Gaspard Foucher, twenty-one years of age, who perhaps died on the voyage, and his brother Philippe, accompanied by his wife and three children: Anne, aged six, Esther, five years of age, and Jacques, who was three. Philippe Foucher was a cultivator from the parish of Saint-Lubin de Suèvres, the church of the village of Suèvres, a short distance from Mer on the road to Blois and not far from Ménars, seat of Jean-Jacques Charron, the marquis of Ménars, intendant of the Orléanais in 1674 and of Paris in 1681. Saint-Lubin was a sixth-century bishop of Chartres.⁶⁷

The father of Philippe and Gaspard Foucher, the agriculturalist Bernard Foucher of the farm La Bruslée near Suèvres, was born in March 1617 and died in January 1674, leaving a widow Anne, daughter of David Bruère of Mer. In this town lived her brother Etienne and his wife Susanne Ylaire, very probably the parents of the Cape refugee Etienne Bruère, who also sailed on the *Voorschooten*.⁶⁸ A wainwright by trade, he was then twenty-three years of age. Anne Bruère's brother, a miller, was still in Mer after the revocation.⁶⁹ Mer too was

the home of Pierre Foucher, a cooper, and his wife Anne Rousseau. Pierre died on April 20, 1669 and the burial notice with its characteristically quaint spelling and vagueness about age, says of him: "Le deffeunt lors de son vivant estoit agé de trante quatre a trante cinq ans ou en Viron". Present among the relatives at the funeral was the vine-dresser Noé Rétif.⁷⁰ It will be apparent therefore that there were close relationships among the refugee families from the region at the Cape of Good Hope.

The temple at Mer and that at Blois to the south-west must have held a special place in the affections of those from this part of the Loire valley who made the Cape their home. The congregation at Mer was a flourishing one until Calvinists began to leave the district after 1680, and that despite attempts to make Catholic converts and to curtail worship. A Catholic missionary drive in 1659, a few years before the great famine in the district, is said to have had some success; in 1668 a dispute over title led to the demolition of the temple, but a new one was soon erected to replace it.⁷¹ Several provincial synods were held there, one as late as 1679, and church life continued until July 1685, under the pastoral care in the last decade of Salomon le Clerc and Louis Scoffier. The former was twice imprisoned in the Bastille before he was able to enjoy his state pension as a suitably repentant retired minister; the latter chose exile in the United Provinces.⁷²

It was Scoffier who officiated at the marriage of Philippe Foucher on Monday, June 7, 1677. Philippe took as his wife Anne, daughter of Paul Souchay and Anne Paillevert of Aunay. This was clearly an excellent match. The merchant Paul Souchay was the son of Jean Souchay, an Aunay lawyer, and was connected not only with the world of local commerce, but also with a landowning lesser nobility which had ramifications from the Blésois to the Perche.⁷³ And, in the context of Cape families from this region, we may note the alliance of the Souchays with the Le Roux family of Blois and Nantes. On April 3, 1684 the merchant Paul Souchay de Lamerie married Constance, daughter of Théodore le Roux, agent for the West India Company, whose son Alexandre, a merchant, became an Amsterdam citizen in March 1686.⁷⁴ Paul and his wife also fled to the United Provinces, joining the 's-Hertogenbosch congregation. A son Paul was born to them there in April 1688.⁷⁵ The father served in William III's army, but died in poverty in London; the son, however, prospered in the English capital and attained high office in the Goldsmiths' Company before his death in 1751.⁷⁶ A second link between the Fouchers and the Souchays is revealed in the registers of Blois and Mer. On July 1, 1685 Jean Foucher married Marthe Dutens at

Blois. The bridegroom was the son of Anne Souchay and the late Pierre Foucher, probably the usher of that name at Mer who died before March 1670.⁷⁷ The Dutens were of some distinction in the Blésois and Touraine.

Philippe Foucher, the Cape settler, evidently moved into the merchant class after his marriage to Anne Souchay. Sons Philippe were born to the couple at Suèvres on May 8, 1679 and September 26, 1680, Salomon le Clerc administering baptism to each.⁷⁸ Both must have died in infancy, unless the son Philippe at the Cape was the second of them, whose name was perhaps accidentally omitted from the passenger list for the *Voorschooten*, or who travelled separately.⁷⁹ The daughter Anne would seem to have been born in November 1681,⁸⁰ but there is no mention at Mer or Blois of the children Esther and Jacques. Military means to encourage conversion were not used at Mer until December 1685, but news of Marillac's brutal dragonnade in Poitou in 1681 cannot have failed to have caused considerable alarm among Calvinists in the Blésois and the Beauce. It is therefore possible that the Fouchers took refuge in Paris, particularly as it is known that one member of the family made his way there. The escape of a Pierre Foucher of Mer to the United Provinces is noted in the papers of the police chief La Reynie. A young man of twenty-five or twenty-six years of age, he had abjured on April 6, 1686 and had been working as a waiter in a tavern on the Place de Grève, but had fled later in the year to The Hague where he was received into the Walloon congregation on October 5.⁸¹ He was perhaps the Pierre Foucher who married Marie Hattenville of Bolbec in Normandy at Rotterdam on September 15, 1692.⁸²

If the precise relationship between Pierre Foucher and the Cape refugee Philippe Foucher is uncertain, there is no doubt about that between Philippe and the exile in England, David Foucher. The two were brothers and David made his home in London, where on October 22, 1693 he married Marthe des Fontaines at the church of La Patente in Spitalfields.⁸³ A daughter Susanne was born to them while they were living among the Huguenot weavers of Stepney. Her name appears in the baptismal register of the French church in Threadneedle Street, London on July 29, 1705.⁸⁴

It is possible that Etienne Bruère visited Amsterdam before he sailed for the Cape,⁸⁵ but it is known that he was one of six former members of the Mer congregation to appear at Delft before the pastor Augustin Baccuet from Breuil-Barret in Poitou on June 25, 1687. There, in the words of the Walloon church minutes, they made "recôgce publique de

la faute qu'ils avoyent faite en soucrivant aux erreurs de Rome et (ont) esté reçeus à la paix de l'Eglise".⁸⁶ Etienne may have been born in Blois,⁸⁷ moving later to Mer. It is interesting to note in the records of the French Protestant Hospital in London an entry of January 1775 concerning an elderly sufferer from rheumatism, Jacques Bruère of Blois, the son of Henri Bruère and Elisabeth Coson of Ménars-la-Ville.⁸⁸ A Jean Bruère of Mer, son of a father of the same name, a master miller, went to Sedan at an early date, became a cloth-worker and married there in 1662. This may have provided other members of the family with an escape route, particularly as several Bruères from the Blésois settled in Berlin, where they followed trades in the textile industry.⁸⁹

Appearing before Baccuet with Etienne Bruère were two other refugees who were to accompany him to the Cape on the *Voorschooten*, the brothers Jean and Gabriel le Roux, both of whom worshipped at Mer.⁹⁰ It is to the enthusiasm of André M. Hugo of Cape Town that we owe what knowledge we have of this family from Blois, with its Mer connections.⁹¹ There seems little doubt that the Gabriel who was born on July 25, 1669 to Pierre le Roux and Anne Bourdon and baptised three days later in the temple at Blois was the Cape colonist.⁹² It would appear that his brother Jean was born about the year 1666. Another son Daniel was born to Pierre le Roux and his wife in 1661 and christened on March 10 of that year. Pierre was bailiff at Cour-Cheverny in 1661, a small town south-east of Blois on the road to Romorantin and, as A.M. Hugo has suggested, was perhaps the son of Jean le Roux, who was engaged in the linen trade and died at Blois on November 5, 1668 at the age of seventy-five.⁹³ Godfather at Daniel's baptism in 1661 was Daniel Bourdon, surgeon at Mer. In Mer too lived Jeanne Bourdon and her merchant husband, Isaac le Roux de Pommegorge. The Fouchers and the Bourdons were related. Philippe Foucher was attended at his wedding in 1677 by his uncle Etienne Bruère and his cousin, Jean Bourdon, usher at Mer.⁹⁴ Amsterdam records also suggest a link between the Bourdons and the Baschés.⁹⁵ One of the Blois pastors, appointed in 1660, was Michel Janiçon, later to serve at Utrecht. John Locke met him in 1678 and found him "a very ingenious and civil man".⁹⁶

Although they did not travel on the *Voorschooten*, the refugees Pierre Rousseau, François Rétif and his sister Anne Rétif reached the Cape in 1688. All were members of the Mer congregation, but their parentage is uncertain. These were closely linked families and for the most part vine-dressers, although there was a surgeon Daniel Rousseau at Mer, while Jacques Rousseau, a royal usher, was a leading member of the

consistory in 1668 and 1669.⁹⁷ Those with vineyards included Daniel Rousseau and Marie Rétif at Suèvres, perhaps the parents of Pierre, who was born about the year 1666. Marie Rétif died in 1682. It is worthy of note that Philippe Foucher stood godfather to Marthe, daughter of Daniel Rousseau and his wife, in July 1671. Two other vine-dressers were Jean Rousseau of Mer, married to Madeleine Rétif, and Paul Rétif of Aunay, whose wife was Françoise Rousseau.⁹⁸

François Rétif, born on February 2, 1663, may possibly have been the son of Jacques Rétif, whose father Paul, the Aunay cultivator, died on September 8, 1677 at the age of some seventy-five years. There was also a Pierre Rétif at Aunay.⁹⁹ It seems probable that Pierre Rousseau's marriage to Anne Rétif took place at Drakenstein and that he was not the refugee at Zierikzee in Zeeland who, with a young daughter, was helped by the Walloon church authorities in the winter of 1687–1688. This Pierre Rousseau was too poor to pay for shoe repairs.¹⁰⁰ A Pierre Rousseau abjured with three of his children at Delft on December 7, 1687.¹⁰¹ No trace of the Marie Rousseau of Blois who came to the Cape has been found, if this indeed is the correct version of her surname, while the Cape burgher Frederik Roussouw, more properly Pieter de Wit, is not connected with the Rousseaus of the Blésois.¹⁰²

The name Martineau, like Foucher, is to be found in Protestant registers over a large area of western France on both banks of the Loire. The association of the surname with those of Cape refugees in the Blois and Mer registers suggests, however, that the settler Michel Martineau, who reached Table Bay in 1688, was from this region. There was a Michel Martineau at Mer, who appeared for the bride at the marriage in Blois on June 24, 1685 of François Chasteigné, a weaver from Marchenoir, and Isabelle, daughter of Paul Couvret and Madeleine Pigeard of Mer. Martineau is known to have left at the revocation.¹⁰³ There was also a Susanne Martineau at Aunay.¹⁰⁴ Châteaudun in the Beauce is not far distant from Blois and the baptism took place there on August 29, 1666 of Michel, son of Michel Martineau and Esther Guelot, born on August 25.¹⁰⁵

The vine-dresser and shoemaker Paul Couvret, who came out to the Cape in 1700 with his wife and daughter on the Delft ship the *Reijgersdaal*, commanded by the experienced Marten de Jeught, was from Bazoches-en-Dunois, where the Couvrets were well represented in the congregation.¹⁰⁶ His wife Anne Valette could perhaps have ties with Châtillon-Coligny on the Loing, beyond Orleans to the south-east.¹⁰⁷ Paul Couvret was probably a late refugee, leaving France after

the signing of the Treaty of Ryswick of 1697. He was admitted to membership of the Rotterdam Walloon congregation on July 6, 1698 and would seem to have married in the United Provinces.¹⁰⁸ C.C. de Villiers has drawn attention to a Paul Couvret who was imprisoned for his faith in the castle of Saumur.¹⁰⁹ The Couvret's child Anne-Elisabeth was baptized at Delft on October 14, 1699.¹¹⁰

With the Couvrets on the *Reijgersdaal* were Josué Cellier, carpenter and vine-dresser, and his wife Elisabeth Couvret, doubtless related to Paul. The Celliers were from Orleans, where Josué was born about the year 1667 and Elisabeth some nine years later. The temple where the Calvinists of the city worshipped was at Bionne to the east.¹¹¹ A Josué Cellier, perhaps the Cape refugee's father, appears in the records of the church at Bazoches-en-Dunois, when Nicolas Cellier, born on April 8, 1676 to Josué and his wife Judith Rouilly was baptized on April 26. The godparents, Jeanne Cellier and Maurice Rouilly, were both from Orleans.¹¹²

Another member of this family, Jean Cellier, made reparation at The Hague on July 2, 1701 for abjuring Calvinism.¹¹³ Celliers from Orleans also made their way to London, where a daughter Marie was born to Nicolas Cellier, a lapidary of Greek Street, and his wife Claudine Fouquet on March 19, 1705/6. At her christening in the church of La Patente de Soho on March 31, 1706 she was named for her godmother Marie Cellier.¹¹⁴ The father could be the Nicolas from Bazoches.

Before leaving the region between the Loire and the borders of Normandy we may consider the background of some other Cape colonists who, on the available evidence, would seem to have come from this part of France. There is no precise information on the birthplaces of Louis le Riche and the Cronier brothers who accompanied Duthuilé and Drouin on the *Driebergen* in 1698. All three made their way to Delft, where assistance was given on August 18, 1697 to Louis (le) Riche "pour apprendre son mestier".¹¹⁵ He does not appear to have persevered in the trade he intended to follow.

The Croniers arrived at about the same time. Etienne made his peace with the reformed church on August 7, 1697 and Pierre on January 22, 1698. Pierre's delay is accounted for in the minutes of the Delft consistory, which also reveal that the Croniers were Catholics by birth and upbringing. "Pierre Cronier", we read, "qui avoit embrassé nostre Ste Religion depuis quelques années ayant eu le malheur d'estre arresté en voulant sortir de france et la foiblesse de renoncer à son esperance a fait publiquement recogce de sa faute et (a) esté reçu à la paix de l'eg-

lise".¹¹⁶ Pierre, born about the year 1671, and his brother Etienne considered themselves Normans and may perhaps have come from the Thimerais. The abjuration of a François Cronier of La Ferté-Vidame at Leyden in September 1687 provides a possible clue.¹¹⁷ Le Riche was perhaps from the same area.

Sara Avice, listed to sail on the Zeeland East Indiaman the *Oosterland* in 1688, was a native of Châteaudun, where Cyrus du Moulin, son of the distinguished Charenton pastor Pierre du Moulin, occupied the pulpit.¹¹⁸ Claude Marais's first wife Marie Avice was perhaps from the same town. The name Avice is also to be found at Mer and Blois. In 1659 a master surgeon from Orleans, François Avice, married in the latter town.¹¹⁹ It is possible that the refugee Louis Cordier came from the Orléanais. There was a Louis Cordier at Blois, but the name appears among the Catholic baptisms of that town. The son of a master lace-maker Louis Cordier and his wife Jeanne Blessebois, he was baptized on March 29, 1656.¹²⁰ Cordier arrived in 1688 with his wife, Françoise Martinet, and three daughters Susanne, Jeanne and Louise. Jeanne married Mathieu Frachas, whose place of origin will be discussed in a later chapter. The Frachas farm, however, was named Orleans,¹²¹ a city with which he had no apparent connection. Was it perhaps chosen with reference to the French background of his wife's father? There is some evidence to suggest that Françoise Martinet was from north-eastern France and she will be discussed in that context later.

The Cordier background, however, remains uncertain. He could possibly have come from the north-east like his wife;¹²² again, a Cordier family lived at Espenel, near Pontaix in Dauphiné, the Cape minister Pierre Simond's home province.¹²³ Simond may have recommended Louis Cordier as an elder at Drakenstein in 1691 because he was a fellow-Dauphinois, although of the other members of the first consistency there only Pierre Meyer came from that province. He may equally have been chosen as a man familiar with the Dutch language, a circumstance which would suggest a longer acquaintance with the United Provinces than had most Cape refugees. There were certainly Cordiers at Haarlem as early as 1627.¹²⁴ One thing, however, is certain. The Paris silk-weaver Jacques Cordier, in London and Amsterdam before the revocation, was not, on the evidence submitted by A.P. Hands and Irene Scouloudi, related to the Cape family.¹²⁵

The relationship between the various members of the Le Long family at the Cape cannot yet be fully elucidated. Elisabeth was perhaps the

sister of Charles and Jean le Long; Jean had a daughter Marie and it seems not unlikely that the Jacques le Long who died early in 1707 at the hands of a certain Abraham Jacob was Jean's son.¹²⁶ Jacques le Long is presumably the Jacobus le Long whose name is encountered among the Drakenstein burgher infantry shortly before that date.¹²⁷ J. Hoge's researches have established that Charles le Long came to the United Provinces from the Palatinate,¹²⁸ while more recently A.M. Hugo has suggested that Elisabeth might have been the daughter of a Blois attorney Louis le Long and his wife Marie Baignoulx, born in 1653.¹²⁹ This possibility is reinforced by Paul de Félice's assertion that a Pierre Baignoulx preached a sermon at the Cape towards the end of the seventeenth century.¹³⁰ On the other hand, the Elisabeth le Long at the Cape would seem to have been a much younger woman. The Le Long emigration is associated with the sailing of the *Suijbeveland* from Zeeland on April 22, 1688, the vessel which brought to the Cape the pastor Simond, to be discussed in a later chapter, his wife Anne de Bérault and her brother Louis. As the Béraults came from the L'Aigle district in Normandy, perhaps the Le Longs hailed from the same town. The name is known there.¹³¹ However the ship also carried refugees from Dieppe, where a Calvinist servant Jean le Long was living in 1686.¹³²

The Bérault family of L'Aigle in the Pays d'Ouche was of considerable antiquity and distinction, numbering among its members the jurist and author Josias Bérault (1563–1633), who abjured Calvinism and married a Catholic, Renée Marchand, widow of Jacques Alexandre of Paris.¹³³ His niece Marie de Bérault became the wife of Jean de la Maugère de Saint-Jacques of La Barre-en-Ouche and it is to this branch that Anne de Bérault and her brother Louis belonged.¹³⁴ The Béraults played an active part in the life of the Protestant congregation which assembled at the temple in the Pont-de-Pierre suburb of L'Aigle. In 1669 and 1670 Marie's brother Siméon de Bérault, Sieur du Mesnil et du Boisbaril, residing in the parish of Saint-Martin-d'Ecublei north-east of L'Aigle, led discussions with the Catholic party in the town over cemetery rights.¹³⁵ In 1684, on the eve of the revocation, the marriage of the chevalier Christophe de Bérault de la Maugère de Saint-Jacques to Louise de Challenge was celebrated.¹³⁶

Some members of the family, Louise de Challenge among them, were to emigrate, but the estates at Saint-Sulpice-sur-Risle, between L'Aigle and Saint-Martin-d'Ecublei, remained after the revocation in the hands of Elisabeth de Bérault de la Maugère.¹³⁷ Arms were registered at Verneuil-sur-Avre in 1697 on behalf of Marie de Bérault, widow of

Louis de la Maugère.¹³⁸ It is evident that the Cape Béraults, Anne and Louis, left France several years before the revocation at a period of intensified action by Louis XIV against the Calvinists. A widow La Maugère is known to have emigrated to the United Provinces with four children¹³⁹ and on September 6, 1679 Louis de Bérault, Esquire, of L'Aigle was accepted as a member of the Walloon church at 's-Hertogenbosch in Dutch Brabant.¹⁴⁰ A little over a year later, on October 29, 1680, Anne de Bérault, described as the Demoiselle des Fontaines, was received at Middelburg on the island of Walcheren in Zeeland with attestation from L'Aigle.¹⁴¹ This was probably Simond's future wife and the couple may have met in Middelburg. A former minister at L'Aigle, Michel Chastreson de la Juganière, who had signed the attestation presented by Louis de Bérault at 's-Hertogenbosch, also made his way to Zeeland and settled at Tholen.¹⁴² Louis de Bérault joined the service of the Dutch East India Company and it was as a sergeant that he accompanied his sister and brother-in-law to the Cape on the *Suijdbeveland*.

Coastal Normandy provided the Cape settlement with several colonists. Among those on the *Suijdbeveland* was Salomon de Gournay. He came from the port and textile manufacturing town of Dieppe and would seem to have been resident there after the revocation. A schoolmaster Abraham de Gournay was also still in Dieppe after October 1685 and it is possible that he was the Cape settler's father.¹⁴³ Calvinism was strong in Dieppe and it was not until November 1685 that the intendant Marillac sent in troops to bring the Protestants to heel.¹⁴⁴ It was a contributory cause of the decline of the Norman seaport, accentuated by outbreaks of plague in 1668 and 1670, and the obstruction of navigation in the harbour after the great storm of 1672. Dieppe's misfortunes culminated in the bombardment of July 1694 by Berkeley's naval squadron and the resultant fires which razed most of the town.¹⁴⁵

The revocation and its aftermath led to massive emigration, particularly to England and the United Provinces. Of the four pastors, Thomas de Caux followed Antoine le Page in emigrating to the Protestant Netherlands, Jacob Asselin fled to England and Moïse Cartaut abjured. It is said of Cartaut that his action resulted in a mental breakdown.¹⁴⁶ The schoolmaster Abraham de Gournay went first to Middelburg, where he was received on March 2, 1686.¹⁴⁷ He subsequently settled in London, but did not long survive his changed fortunes and was buried in the English capital on February 1, 1687/8.¹⁴⁸ In London too was Salomon de Gournay's eldest brother Jean, evidently living in the Spitalfields district.¹⁴⁹

Jean de Gournay was the close friend of another refugee couple in London, Jean Sénécal and his wife Elisabeth Poitevin, and was godfather to their children Jean Guillaume, Jean and Jean Robert, baptized in the capital between 1693 and 1705.¹⁵⁰ The repetition of the Christian name suggests a high rate of mortality in the crowded Spitalfields district in which the family lived. Jean Sénécal is first described as a turner, but later became a weaver. That some who followed this trade in the early eighteenth century suffered economic hardship is demonstrated by the references to poverty among silk-weavers in the records of the French church in Threadneedle Street.¹⁵¹

It is reasonable to suppose that Jean de Gournay married during his early years in London. An entry for August 27, 1690 at Threadneedle Street speaks of the marriage of Jean de Gouy (*sic*) to Catherine Nel, or more properly, Néel, of Luneray in Normandy.¹⁵² The daughter of Jacques Néel and Anne de la Balle, her baptism is recorded in the registers of the Norman church on December 3, 1662. Her father was both serge maker and cultivator, a duplication of remunerative activities not uncommon for the period.¹⁵³

The Luneray temple lay near Dieppe and until its closure in 1681 served a wide rural area to the south-west of the port. The Sénécal, allied by marriage to both the La Balles and the Néels, figure prominently in the church records of the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁴ Sénécal from both Dieppe and Luneray took refuge in Canterbury and London after 1682¹⁵⁵ and it is probable that the Cape refugee David Sénécal of Dieppe was related to some of them. David Sénécal emigrated to Middelburg, where he was received by the Walloon church on May 4, 1686.¹⁵⁶ He accompanied Salomon de Gournay to the Cape on the *Suijbeveland*.

Another Dieppois who became a burgher at the Cape of Good Hope was Jean le Sage. He reached the Cape in 1714 aboard the *Sleewijck* and was appointed cook to the governor, Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes, soon afterwards.¹⁵⁷ A David le Sage, still living in Dieppe after the revocation, was perhaps the refugee of that name in Rotterdam; there was at least one Jean le Sage in exile at Leyden.¹⁵⁸

C. Graham Botha has suggested that the widow Du Puis, Anne Martin, was from the Calais region.¹⁵⁹ There was certainly a Jean du Puis, married to an Anne Martin, at Guines, near Calais, in 1679, where a son Jean was born to them on May 31. The baptismal entry for June 4, 1679 may refer to the future Cape refugee and her first husband, particularly as it would seem that they resided in several places during

their life together.¹⁶⁰ There is, however, a strong possibility that Jean du Puis was a native of Dieppe and as his widow married Salomon de Gournay of that town and her daughter Anne-Madeleine became the wife of another Dieppois, David Sénécal, Anne Martin may also have come from the Norman seaport.¹⁶¹ There was indeed a Jean du Puis from Dieppe in exile who, with his wife Anne Martin, is noted in the records of both London and the United Provinces.¹⁶² He was a clock-maker by trade. If we are dealing here with the widow Anne Martin at the Cape, the fact that her daughter Anne-Madeleine du Puis was born in Paris may indicate a move to the capital by Jean du Puis in search of work.¹⁶³

We do not know the date of departure of this couple for the United Provinces, but they evidently went first to Utrecht and from there to Amsterdam, joining the Walloon church early in February 1682. On February 12 of that year Jean du Puis was made a burgher of Amsterdam and would seem to have become the father of a son Jean in the following month.¹⁶⁴ The other daughter of the Cape refugee, Susanne du Puis, is described as from Amsterdam.¹⁶⁵

The movements of Jean du Puis the clock-maker and his wife typify both the restlessness and the economic problems of many of the Calvinist refugees. The couple moved to London in 1683, becoming members of the Threadneedle Street church on August 26. At that time Jean was in need of financial assistance.¹⁶⁶ Did they remain in England, thus passing out of this story?¹⁶⁷ Or did they return to Amsterdam, where a Jean du Puis died in January 1686?¹⁶⁸ What is certain is that a widow Du Puis, Anne Martin, was given a certificate of membership by the Walloon church there on December 15, 1692 before leaving for the Cape with her daughters Anne-Madeleine and Susanne.¹⁶⁹ The second daughter married Etienne Bruère, then a widower.¹⁷⁰

Dieppe and the villages surrounding it were not the only strongholds of Protestantism in the Pays de Caux. The triangle of land west of a line from Fécamp on the coast to Caudebec-en-Caux on the Seine contained many Calvinist communities whose spiritual needs were served by the temples for Fécamp and Bolbec, and those for Criquetot-l'Esneval at Le Préche, for Harfleur at Sénitot and for Havre-de-Grâce (Le Havre) at Sanvic.¹⁷¹ It is interesting to find in the Sanvic records a sad reminder of the busy Cape sea route. An entry for 1663 reads: "Le 17^{me} decembre. . . a estey trouvey au Rivage de la mer. . . dix sept corps tant hommes que femmes sortiz duy (*sic*) navire angloiz allant aux Indes".¹⁷²

It is with this part of Normandy that the surname Vivier is particularly

associated. Again, as at Dieppe, proximity to the sea gave many fugitives the opportunity of escaping by boat to England and the United Provinces and Viviers were to be found in both countries. Among those in London in 1693 was an Abraham Vivier, a widower from Crique-tot.¹⁷³ The temple at Le Prêche was closed at Easter 1685 and the pastor, Jean Taunay, took refuge in the United Provinces, where he died before the close of the year.¹⁷⁴ Was this the congregation to which the Cape Viviers were attached? A Pierre Vivier, son of Abraham Vivier and Elisabeth Louvel was baptized there on July 2, 1662 and the christening of a son Jacob in the same family took place on January 20, 1665. An Abraham Vivier was baptized on June 20, 1654; he may have been an older brother. Elisabeth Louvel died in October 1670 at the age of forty.¹⁷⁵

Whether or not this is the Cape family, there is no doubt that the three Viviers were in exile at Zierikzee on the island of Schouwen in Zeeland, before embarking with the minister Simond on the *Suijdbeveland*. They were in needy circumstances. On September 29, 1686 a small sum of money was paid to Pierre, "qui estoit malade". This was the first of a series of charitable gifts made to Pierre and Abraham. The purpose was not always specified, although on May 11, 1687 they each required two shirts. Another payment was made to Abraham Vivier early in 1688, but it was apparently with some relief that the Walloon church authorities were able to note on March 28, 1688 that a final sum had been handed over "aux 3 Vивиées (*sic*) pour partir".¹⁷⁶ Jacob, whose name does not appear before, had evidently rejoined his brothers. Was he perhaps looking for work elsewhere? There was certainly a Jacob Vivier in Amsterdam just before the revocation. He had come from London.¹⁷⁷

The great temple for the Calvinists of Rouen, situated at Grand-Quevilly in the meadows across the Seine south-west of the city, was one of the largest in France. Of polygonal design, with an interior three-tiered gallery, it could accommodate more than 7 000 worshippers. So good were its acoustics that even a preacher of mediocre voice could make himself heard by all with ease.¹⁷⁸ The temple was closed before the revocation and the ministers Philippe le Gendre and Jacques Basnage, both of high intellectual standing, fled to Rotterdam.¹⁷⁹ Le Gendre may have exaggerated when he asserted that more than three-quarters of his flock chose exile at the revocation, although it is certain that many left the country. Le Gendre noted that they were dispersed throughout western Europe "et ailleurs jusques dans le fond des Indes les plus

reculées", having no reason to regret "d'avoir abandonné leur Patrie, pour suivre le flambeau de l'Evangile".¹⁸⁰

The Cape refugee Guillaume Néel, farmer and tailor,¹⁸¹ born about the year 1663, is known to have come from Rouen,¹⁸² although his name has not been found among the Néels who worshipped at Grand-Quevilly.¹⁸³ He took refuge in Amsterdam before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and married Jeanne la Batte in that city on May 3, 1685. In addition to their children Jean and Jeanne born in Amsterdam, they had a son David, baptized there on March 7, 1686, who must have died in infancy.¹⁸⁴ Jeanne la Batte was born in 1663 at Saumur in Anjou, seat of the famous academy.¹⁸⁵

The background of one Norman settler at the Cape remains a mystery: that of Jean le Roux (Roex). The name is frequently encountered both in French Calvinist records and among refugees in the United Provinces.¹⁸⁶ It would seem probable that the Jean le Roux who became a member of the Walloon congregation at Amsterdam in May 1687 was the future Cape refugee, although another of that name from Normandy was accepted as a citizen of Groningen in 1682. A Pierre le Roux from the Pays de Caux was in Amsterdam in 1686.¹⁸⁷ Also from Normandy were the ancestors of François le Sueur of Ooij in Gelderland, who came out to the Cape on the *Midloo* in 1729 as a Dutch Reformed church minister. His father Jacques fled from France with his parents Jean le Sueur and Marie Haulen in the last decade of the seventeenth century.¹⁸⁸

The city of Nantes in Brittany had close trading associations with the United Provinces in the seventeenth century and during Louis XIV's minority Dutch vessels in the Loire far outnumbered French ships. Not surprisingly the Dutch, "si ardents au lucre, si actifs au négoce et si forts en vaisseaux", were regarded with some jealousy by their trading partners.¹⁸⁹ One Cape refugee of 1695 is known to have come from Nantes: Guillaume Lorée, a Catholic who did not publicly abjure until after he had settled at Drakenstein, when he appeared before Pierre Simond.¹⁹⁰ His reasons for leaving France are uncertain. He may have been one of those who accompanied a Protestant master into exile, or he may have simply left in order to improve his economic position. He was born about the year 1671.

Jérémie Auret, a clerk at the Cape in the service of the Dutch East India Company in 1747, provides another link with the French seaport on the Loire. His father Jérémie-Etienne Auret fled from Nantes to the Hague at the time of the revocation, although the family seems to have

originated in the Albigeois, east of Toulouse. The future history of the Aurets falls outside the scope of this book, but a brief mention of the grandson of the Nantes refugee, Jeremias Auret, born at the Cape in 1751, is appropriate as his career coincided with the French occupation under Suffren in 1781. Jeremias was one of those who sought to profit from the prosperity the occupying forces brought to the settlement and who, with the withdrawal of the troops, were compelled to struggle against the restrictive practices of company rule.¹⁹¹

These then are the refugees who are known to have come from this north-western region of France, or who may with some confidence be ascribed to it. The vast majority were Calvinists by birth and upbringing and it is evident that a large number were compelled to abjure in order to escape from France. They were in the main agriculturalists and artisans, although there is considerable evidence to suggest that the families of which they were a part covered a wide segment of the social scale. Reasonably high standards of literacy have been noted, particularly among Calvinists in the Blésois, the Fouchers among them. There is, for example, an excellent signature of a Marie Foucher at Mer as early as 1615.¹⁹²

These refugees brought with them into exile abilities for which there was no extensive market in the United Provinces in view of the large influx of foreigners. It is therefore not surprising that most of those who sought a second refuge at the Cape were men with rural crafts at their fingertips. It is not to be doubted that there were some who hoped to gain economic advantage in emigrating from France, although so massive a rejection of Louis XIV's religious policy suggests that the economic motive cannot have been paramount. It must, however, have been otherwise with the further emigration to the Cape of Good Hope. The poverty of the Viviers and Jacques Pinard's inability to work at his trade in the United Provinces lend support to this view.

There is evidence too of families and friends trying to keep together in adversity and it seems likely that emigrants in the first groups of refugees to reach the Cape encouraged others to follow them. Some contact must also have been maintained with those who remained in France, or who settled in European countries of exile. It would appear, for example, that Salomon de Gournay from Dieppe had not lost touch with his brother Jean in London. The exchange of letters, messages passed on by the passengers or crews of passing ships and official communications through company channels must surely have prevented complete isolation. It is to be regretted that we have so few indications of these

contacts in comparison with the considerable volume of correspondence which illuminates the great transatlantic emigration from Europe of a century and a half later.¹⁹³ At the same time, however, as Michel Richard has pointed out, it must have been the sad lot of many a village Calvinist in exile to lose all contact with his family in France. Cupidity played its part. His estate had passed to those who remained behind and abjured. This very circumstance served to remove the refugee from the fold in spirit as well as in person.¹⁹⁴

Finally, before turning to another region of France in the context of the Cape emigration, what proportion of the Calvinists between the Loire and the Channel sought exile in the face of persecution and what proportion of the total emigration of French speakers to the Cape in the late seventeenth century is represented by the settlers from the northwest?

An answer to the first question must be tentative. Calvinism was widely disseminated and nowhere a majority creed. It lacked that cohesion which enabled it, as in Languedoc, to survive as a strong underground movement. Coastal Normandy is the only exception and there strict measures taken in 1747 against Protestant children led to a new wave of emigration to Jersey and to Britain.¹⁹⁵ In the seventeenth century too, flight was a solution to persecution taken more frequently by those living close to the sea or to land frontiers. Adapting the figures given by Mours for the Calvinist population of this region, it would seem that some 25 000 people left France, representing one in four of the members of the reformed church.¹⁹⁶ The economic effects of persecution were sometimes locally severe, if impermanent, and long preceded the revocation. At Alençon, for example, restrictions on Calvinists in the lace industry as early as 1663 led to a movement of workers away from the town¹⁹⁷

In answering the second question it is interesting to note that French speakers at the Cape came overwhelmingly from parts of France where Calvinism was at its weakest, a circumstance which will become increasingly apparent in succeeding chapters. Since it is not certain whether all the refugees who embarked for the Cape in fact reached Table Bay, a precise figure for the number of settlers arriving before 1700 is impossible to determine. It must, however, have been about 225 and we may say that those from the region discussed in this chapter represent approximately 22% of the total.

We turn our attention now to that part of France where the Calvinist

faith had established itself most firmly in the religious life of the nation before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

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6. 'Jean Prieur du Plessis', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 382, July 26, 1929, p. 25.
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77. Ms. T 81, TROUËSSART (comp.), *Registres*, Blois: p. 330; i 36, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: March 27, 1669; Feb. 22, 1670.

78. i 38-39, Mer et Aulnay, BMS, 1678-1679; 1679-1683. Godparents at the first baptism on July 9, 1679 were Gaspard Foucher and the child's maternal aunt, Elisabeth Souchay. At the second baptism on Sept. 19, 1680, Etienne Bruère was godfather.
79. Much points, however, to the birth of a third Philippe at the Cape. Note the order of the children listed in Stellenbosch, 18/3, Testamenten: 3a, Dec. 4, 1708 and MOOC 13/1, Boedel reekeningen, 1709-1722: 37, Nov. 15, 1713 (CA). See also FRANKEN, 'Nog 'n paar Franse Hugenote-briefies', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 384, Aug. 9, 1929, p. 43.
80. See i 39, Mer et Aulnay, BMS.
81. FF 7051, R.P.R.: Papiers de M. de la Reynie: Feb. 1687, f. 17 and v. (Bibl. nat.); AB ZH Gra dtb, 's-Gravenhage, Lidmaatschap: 1044, p. 62.
82. Waalse Gereformeerde gemeente, Rotterdam, 1653-1811, 293 dtb Rott 127, Trouwboek, 1654-1721: p. 43 (GA Rotterdam). There was, however, a Pierre Foucher from Saintonge in Amsterdam in 1687 (PA 201, Archieven, 47a, 1680-1689: Feb. 16, 1687).
83. W. MINET and W.C. WALLER (eds), *Registers of the church known as La Patente in Spittlefields (sic) from 1689 to 1785*, Publications HSL, XI, p. 175.
84. COLYER-FERGUSON (ed.) *Registers*, III, p. 264t.
85. PA 201, Archieven, 47a, 1680-1689: Nov. 16, 1687.
86. St 52, Waalse Kerk, Delft, lc: p. 53.
87. See BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 62.
88. C.F.A. MARMOY (ed.), *The French Protestant Hospital; extracts from the archives of "La Providence"...*, I, Publications HSL, LII: Jan. 28, 1775.
89. See FWK: marriage of Jean Bruère, March 5, 1662; death of Marc Bruère of Blois, wool comber, in Berlin, Sept. 16, 1732 *et al.*
90. See St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft, lc: p. 53: "Denis Doignon Et Jean Doignon son fils – Estiène Bruere Pierre Grou Jean le Roux et Gabriel le Roux tous de l'Eglise qui se recueilloit à Mer au pajj Blesois". See also FÉLICE, *Mer*, p. 171; A.M. HUGO, 'Op soek na ons stamouers in die argiewe van Frankryk', *Familia*, I, 2, 1964-1965, p. 32.
91. 'Op soek na ons stamouers', *Familia*, I, 1 and 2, 1964-1965.
92. Ms. T 81, TROUËSSART (comp.), Registres, Blois: pp. 200; 230; HUGO, 'Op soek na ons stamouers', *Familia*, I, 1, 1964-1965, p. 11.
93. 'Op soek na ons stamouers', *Familia*, I, 1, 1964-1965. p. 11. See also Ms. T 81, TROUËSSART (comp.), Registres, Blois: p. 226.
94. i 36, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: burial of Jeane Bourdon, April 15, 1672; i 37, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: June 7, 1677.
95. PA 201, Archieven, 50d, Sorties, 1684-1723: Nov. 19, 1684 (GA Amsterdam).
96. LOUGH (ed.), *Locke's travels*, p. 214: Aug. 5, 1678.
97. i 39, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: Sept. 29, 1680; FÉLICE, *Mer*, appendix III, p. 260. See also P.J. RETIEF, *Die Retief-familie in Suid-Afrika*, p. 3.

98. i 36, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: April 13 and Sept. 9, 1670; July 12 and Oct. 21, 1671; i 39, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: Oct. 2, 1682.
99. i 37, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: Sept. 8, 1677; i 38, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: July 9, 1679.
100. BW 782, Zierikzee, Livre de la recette et de la dépense de l'argent des pauvres, 1680-1689: Oct. 19, 1687; Jan. 25, 1688 (Bibl. wall.).
101. St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft, lc: p. 55. With Jean (Mache) pasté and others.
102. The husband of Jan Jansz. van E(e)den, Marie Rousseau, is described in 1702 as Maria Rossar of "Blooi", aged 43, in MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten, 1689-1712: 36, May 26 (CA). See also BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 83, and for another version of her surname and place of origin (Crassee of Dubloys), HOGE, 'Kanttekeninge', TWK, Nuwe Reeks, I, 2, Dec. 1940, p. 150. For Frederik Roussouw see A.J. BÖSEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, III, Suid-Afrikaanse Argiefstukke, Kaap No. 3, p. 178 and n.: Dec. 16, 1687.
103. Ms. T 81, TROUËSSART (comp.), Registres, Blois: p. 329; FÉLICE, *Mer*, p. 176.
104. i 36, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: Oct. 19, 1670; Feb. 21, 1672; Ms. T 81, TROUËSSART (comp.), Registres, Blois: p. 329.
105. EC, Châteaudun, BMS, 1591-1683 (AD Eure-et-Loir). Martineau refugees played an important part in community life at Norwich in England after 1685, although they would seem to have been formerly at Dieppe. The Walloon church there was to provide the Cape with a minister in the early nineteenth century, Jean-Guillaume-Louis Gebhart (W.J.C. MOENS (ed.), *The Walloons and their church at Norwich; their history and registers. 1565-1832*, Publications HSL, I, part I, p. 108; part II, pp. 84-85; 133; 138-139; appendix IX, p. 243).
106. A Paul Couvret among them (EC, Bazoches-en-Dunois, BMS: Sept. 2, 1674).
107. See 168, Eglise réformée de Châtillon-sur-Loing, B, 1608-1675 (copy) (Bibl. Prot., SHPF). The name Valette (Vallette) is common here.
108. Collection Mirandolle: Paul Couvret (Bibl. wall.). This source is also available on microfiche at The Hague (CBG).
109. 'Notes on Huguenot families', *Proceedings HSL*, V, 2, Nov. 1894 - May 1895, p. 249.
110. St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft, 15: p. 107.
111. L. BASTIDE, 'Les Temples de l'église réformée d'Orléans (1561-1685)', *BSHPF*, XLVIII, Nov. 15, 1899, p. 566.
112. EC, Bazoches-en-Dunois, BMS.
113. FWK: under Sellier.
114. MINET (ed.), *Registers. . . also the répertoire général*, 304, p. 24.
115. St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft, 42a, Livre de mises extraordinaires, 1685-1725 (GA Delft).
116. St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft, lc: pp. 72; 73.
117. Eglise wallonne de Leyde, I E 44, Actes du consistoire, 1658-1695: Sept. 25, 1687, p. 316 (GA Leyden).

118. LEHR, *Réforme*, appendix IX, p. 574.
119. Ms. T 81, TROUËSSART (comp.), p. 217: Feb. 23. See also FÉLICE, *Mer*, p. 175.
120. Ms. T 75, A. TROUËSSART (comp.), Registres de Saint-Solenne, B, II, 1652-1696: p. 48 (Bibl. mun. Blois).
121. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 118.
122. He has been placed firmly in that area by S.F. DU TOIT ('Huguenot-families uit Noord-Frankryk; hier en. . . daar', *Bulletin, Huguenot Society of South Africa*, 4, 1966, p. 13). We may note, somewhat to the south, the Louis Cordier of Meaux, condemned to death, but sent to the galleys (HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, IV, pp. 58-59).
123. 2 E 5411, David Marcel, Actes, Pontaix, 1660-1674: Sept. 28, 1666, f. 186 (AD Drôme).
124. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 38.
125. *French Protestant refugees*, p. 62. See also BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 63; 68.
126. CJ 311, Criminele processtukken, 1707: 8, March 12 (CA).
127. Stellenbosch, 13/21, Generale monster rollen, 1700-1716: July 19, 1704 (CA).
128. 'Kanttekeninge', *TWK*, Nuwe Reeks, I, 2, Dec. 1940, p. 151.
129. 'Op soek na ons stamouers', *Familia*, I, 2, 1964-1965, pp. 30-31.
130. *Mer*, pp. 171-172.
131. An Elisabeth le Long, daughter of a medical doctor, Noé le Long, and his wife Madeleine Passedouet, was born there on August 31, 1656 (LART (comp.), Ms. registers, L'Aigle: baptism, Sept. 1, 1656).
132. E. LESENS (comp.), Ms. Liste des Protestants résidant à Dieppe en mars 1686 (4 mois après la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes): p. 60 (HSL Library).
133. E 1533, Notaires et tabellions, Antoine de la Gombaude, 1611 (AD Eure).
134. E. PICOT, 'Notice sur Josias Bérault commentateur de la coutume de Normandie et sur Le Mesnil domaine patrimonial des Bérault', *Société historique et archéologique de l'Orne*, XXX, 1, 1911, p. 171. See also J.-F.-G. VAUGEOIS, *Histoire des antiquités de la ville de L'Aigle et de ses environs*, . . . , pp. 340-341.
135. N. W(EISS), 'Temples du diocèse de Séez poursuivis avant la révocation', *BSHPF*, LXVI, July-Sept. 1916, p. 240n.
136. I 36, L'Aigle, BM: April 3, 1684.
137. PICOT, 'Notice', *Société historique et archéologique de l'Orne*, XXX, 1, 1911, pp. 171-172.
138. Armorial général, XIX, Normandie: Alençon, 28, p. 222: July 12, 1697 (Bibl. nat.).
139. TT 230, XVIII, Alençon, Généralité: p. 1275 (Vicomté de Laigle).
140. FWK: Bérau(1)t and other variations; H 283° D 1/I, Registre, Bois-le-Duc: 1071, p. 79: Sept. 6; B.I.D 41, 's-Hertogenbosch.
141. FWK: Bérau(1)t, etc.

142. J. ab U. DRESSELHUIS, *De Waalsche gemeenten in Zeeland, voor en na de herroeping van het Edict van Nantes. Eene bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de Hervormde kerk in de Nederlanden*, p. 56; MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CSIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 83.
143. LESENS (comp.), Ms. Liste des Protestants: p. 24. Gournay was evidently not from Blangy-sur-Ternoise in Artois (M. BOUCHER, 'Huguenot refugees; some links between the Cape, France and England in the early eighteenth century', *Historia*, XX, 1, May 1975, p. 58).
144. See S. HARDY, *Histoire de l'église protestante de Dieppe*, pp. 350-360. For a contemporary report see GONIN and DELTEIL (eds), 'Révocation...vue par les informateurs', *BSHPF*, CXVIII, Jan.-March 1972, 125, p. 145: Tixier, Nov. 25, 1685. "Dieppe ne se releva jamais de cet assassinat politique" (L. ESTANCELIN, *Recherches sur les voyages et découvertes des navigateurs normands...*, p. 123).
145. One of MACAULAY's "exploits worse than inglorious" along the French Channel coast (*History of England from the accession of James II*, IV, Everyman's Library, 37, p. 102).
146. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, pp. 83; 85 and n.
147. FWK: Gournai, Abraham de.
148. C.E. LART (comp.), Miscellaneous extracts: V, p. 79 (HSL Library).
149. Certainly before 1712, as in BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 70. The Cape settler left half his estate to "sijn Oudste broeder Jean de Gournaij, wonende binnen London" (MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten: 98, April 8, 1712).
150. COLYER-FERGUSON (ed.), *Registers*, III, pp. 128j; 200b: Dec. 27, 1693; Oct. 11, 1700; S. MINET (ed.), *Register of the church of the Artillery Spitalfields 1691-1786*, Publications HSL, XLII, 424, p. 23: June 21, 1705.
151. As at the baptism of Isaac, son of Miche(1) and Ester (Esther) Mange of Stepney on April 25, 1703, where the father is described as a "pour wever" (COLYER-FERGUSON (ed.), *Registers*, III, p. 236a). Note the use of English at that date in the records of a French church. On the silk-weavers of Spitalfields see M.D. GEORGE, *London life in the eighteenth century*, 2nd ed., pp. 178-196.
152. COLYER-FERGUSON (ed.), *Registers*, III, p. 18p. This may not, however, represent an abbreviated surname.
153. 1520, Registres de l'église réformée de Luneray, 1623-1681, II (copy). On Jacques Néel's occupations see also entry in Dec. 1668 (Bibl. Prot., SHPF).
154. 1520, Registres de Luneray, I-III; MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 63; HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, X, appendix LXXXVIII, p. 380.
155. Including the marriages of Guillaume S(é)nékal of Luneré (*sic*) at Canterbury (HOVENDEN (ed.), *Registers*, part III, p. 525: Nov. 4, 1682) and Madeleine (Madelaine) Sénécal of Dieppe at Threadneedle Street, London (COLYER-FERGUSON (ed.), *Registers*, III, p. 26j: Nov. 6, 1692).

156. FWK: Senequal, David.
157. VC 41, Generale monsterrollen, 1716-1725 (copy): p. 5 (CA); H.C.V. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Requesten (Memorials) 1715-1806*, II, p. 663: 149, 1718.
158. Eglise wallonne de Leyde, I C 27, Livre des témoignages donnés aux membres partants, 1667-1733: June 21, 1682; March 19 and April 3, 1689 (GA Leyden); Waalse Gereformeerde gemeente, Rotterdam, 293 dtb Rott 127: p. 49 (marriage to Madeleine Belledent of Dieppe, May 5, 1694); LESENS (comp.), Ms. Liste des Protestants: p. 62.
159. *French refugees*, p. 57.
160. W. MINET and W.C. WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers of the Protestant church at Guisnes, from 1668 to 1685*, Publications HSL, III, p. 180.
161. MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten: 98, April 8, 1712.
162. FWK: Du Puy.
163. MOOC 7/1/7, Testamenten, 1746-1751: 12, Feb. 1, 1735; proved Aug. 8, 1746 (CA); FWK: Du Puy.
164. PA 201, Archieven, 47a, 1680-1689: Feb. 2, 1682; FWK: Du Puy.
165. In G 2, 7/1, Stellenbosch, Huweliksregister en lidmaatregister, 1700-1788: Feb. 19, 1702, p. 5 (NGKA). See also BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 62.
166. HANDS and SCOULOUDI (eds), *French Protestant refugees*, p. 83; W. and S. MINET (eds), *Livre des tesmoignages de l'église de Threadneedle Street 1669-1789*, p. 97. They brought a certificate of membership from Utrecht.
167. There were certainly a Jean and Anne du Puy (*sic*) in London as late as 1698 (COLYER-FERGUSSON (ed.), *Registers*, III, p. 170bb).
168. FWK: Du Puy, Jan. 22, 1686. An Anne Martin, wife of Jean du Puits (*sic*) joined the Amsterdam Walloon church on March 14, 1688 (FWK: Martin).
169. PA 201, Archieven, 50d. No mention is made, however, of daughters.
170. G 2, 7/1, Stellenbosch, Huweliksregister: Feb. 19, 1702, p. 5; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 62.
171. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 63. Services were held at Maupertuis and Hougerville for the Fécamp church and at Le Montcriquet (until 1659) and Lintot for that of Bolbec.
172. RP, Sanvic, 1628-1665 (AD Seine-Maritime).
173. COLYER-FERGUSSON (ed.), *Registers*, III, p. 28c. His intention of marrying Jeanne Desvignes from the neighbourhood of Le Havre was noted on April 30.
174. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', BSHPF, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 83; COCHET, *Eglises de l'arrondissement du Havre*, I, p. 223.
175. RP, Criquetot-l'Esneval, 1653-1685; 1772-1790 (AD Seine-Maritime).
176. BW 782, Zierikzee, 1680-1689.
177. PA 201, Archieven, 47a: Sept. 16, 1685.

178. (P. LE GENDRE), *Histoire de la persecution faite a l'eglise de Rouën sur la fin du dernier siecle*, p. 70. See also MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 88; 132n.
179. Waalse Gereformeerde gemeente, Rotterdam, 1, Archief van de Kerke-raad, 1652-1694: Jan. 13, 1686, p. 133 (GA Rotterdam). The Rouen pastors were joined by Le Page of Dieppe on that day.
180. *Histoire de la persecution*, p. 83.
181. P. KOLBE, *Naaukeurige en uitvoerige beschryving van de Kaap de Goede Hoop*: ..., I, p. 104. See also J.L.M. FRANKEN, 'Briefjes en handtekeninge van die Kaapse Hugenote', *TWK*, VII, 1938-1939, p. 103.
182. MOOC 7/1/4, Testamenten, 1726-1735: 141, Jan. 26, 1734; proved, Feb. 22, 1734 (CA). See also BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 79.
183. Néels are frequent in the records of Dieppe and Luneray, which lay in the Rouen generality in the Arques election (TT 264, XI, Rouen: May 13, 1686, pp. 407-413 (AN); LESENS (comp.), Ms. Liste des Protestants: p. 79; Ms. 1520, Registres de Luneray, I-III). For Néels at Rouen see J. BIANQUIS and E. LESENS, *La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes à Rouen; essai historique; Notes sur les Protestants de Rouen persécutés à cette occasion*, p. 66.
184. FWK: Néel. For Jean Néel (Nel) see Stellenbosch, 18/5, Testamenten, 1720-1726: 43, Oct. 6, 1724 (CA). See also J. HOGE, *Bydraes tot die genealogie van ou Afrikaanse families; verbeterings en aanvullings op die Geslacht-register der oude Kaapsche familiën van C.C. de Villiers*, p. 99.
185. MOOC 7/1/4, Testamenten: 141, Jan. 26, 1734; proved, Feb. 22, 1734; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 74; 79.
186. Note Jean le Roux of Raffetot, north-east of Bolbec, in 1683 (RP, Crique-tot-l'Esneval: Jan. 1, 1683), and a Jean le Roux, helped at Delft in 1691 (Eglise wallonne de Delft, 42a: Nov. 17, 1691, no p. no.).
187. FWK: Le Roux; PA 201, Archieven, 47a: March 31, 1686.
188. G.C. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, VIII, Suid-Afrikaanse Argiefstukke, Kaap No. 8, p. 59 and n.: Oct. 8, 1729. An Abraham le Sueur of Le Havre was in Amsterdam in 1685 (PA 201, Archieven, 47a: Dec. 16). On the Le Sueur background see A.J. KAN-NEMEYER, *Hugenote-familieboek*, pp. 145-146. Le Sueurs were also numerous in the Brie region, east of Paris. The minister at La Ferté-sous-Jouarre was François le Sueur, who first settled in the United Provinces (J.-T. GAL-LADEVÈZE, 'Registres de l'église de La Ferté-sous-Jouarre. Quelques souvenirs protestants du pays de Brie', *BSHPF*, II, Nov.-Dec. 1853, pp. 412-413).
189. H. SEE, 'Le Commerce des Hollandais à Nantes pendant la minorité de Louis XIV', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, XLI, 3, 1926, p. 252.
190. See C. SPOELSTRA, *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Neder-duitsch-Gereformeerde kerken in Zuid-Afrika*, I, pp. 50-51; 52; 53: letters of 1707. On his origins see MOOC 7/1/2, Testamenten, 1712-1720: 90, Dec. 28, 1713 (CA). See also BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 76.
191. See O.P. LEWIS, 'Jeremias Aurret; burger, lieutenant and farmer of False

-
- Bay', *Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin*, VIII, 4, July 1975, pp. 144–159.
192. i 34, Mer et Aulnay, B.
193. See E.C. GUILLET, *The Great migration; the Atlantic crossing by sailing-ship since 1770*, pp. 145-232 and supplement, pp. 1-16.
194. *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, p. 249.
195. RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, p. 167.
196. *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 86n. See also STOYE, *Europe unfolding*, p. 367.
197. B. ROBERT, *L'Eglise réformée d'Alençon; études historiques*, pp. 91-92.

CHAPTER SIX

Cape settlers II: from the Rhône to the Atlantic



The second region to be discussed in this survey of the origins of French-speaking settlers at the Cape covers a wide area. It is bounded on the west by the Atlantic coast facing the Bay of Biscay from south-

ern Brittany to the Spanish frontier; to the south by the mountain barrier of the Pyrenees and the Lion Gulf of the Mediterranean Sea as far as the western edge of the Rhône delta. This river, with its tributary the Saône to Thoissey, south of Mâcon, represents, with one small deviation, the eastern boundary, while to the north and north-east the Loire provides an approximate line of demarcation, extended along the south-western border of Burgundy. The provinces through which the Loire flows in its westward course have been discussed in the previous chapter; that part of the Nivernais which lies on the left bank of the river is also excluded here.

In the north and north-east of the region lie the former provinces of

Poitou, Berry and the Bourbonnais; to the east is the Lyonnais, straddling the river boundary at Lyons. The central provinces are Auvergne, Limousin and Marche. Midway along the Atlantic coast, from the northern shore of the Gironde estuary to the mouth of the Sèvre niortais above La Rochelle, are Saintonge and the Pays d'Aunis, with the Angoumois behind them. The lands of Languedoc, including Velay, Gévaudan and the Vivarais, are situated in the south-east, with the country of Foix and a late acquisition, Roussillon, won from Spain in 1659, to the south. Béarn adjoins Spain to the west of these, while the remainder of the south-west belongs to French Navarre and the various



territories which together make up Gascony and Guyenne. Those in Gascony include Armagnac and Bigorre; among those in Guyenne are Périgord, the Agenais, Quercy and Rouergue.

This is a region of sharp contrasts: a sandy shore bordering both Atlantic and Mediterranean, extending well inland in the Landes south of the Gironde; large areas of fertile farmland with extensive vineyards; Pyrenean foothills and a mountainous heart in the *massif central*, fringed to the east and south-east by the Cévennes range. From these mountains spring the great river systems which water the region: the Garonne from the Pyrenees, with its major tributaries from the east, the Dordogne, the Lot and the Tarn; the Loire from the Cévennes, which numbers among its tributaries the Allier, the Cher, the Indre and the Vienne. Also rising in the Cévennes are the Rhône's larger tributaries on the southern right bank, the Ardèche and the Gard.

The population in the seventeenth century was as varied as the physical features of the region. There was a considerable range of economic activity: agriculture, including the raising of livestock and the cultivation of the vine; fishing; small scale manufacturing, particularly of textiles. Maritime commerce, declining at La Rochelle, flourished at Bordeaux, the ancient capital of Guyenne on the Garonne. There was also a Mediterranean trade from the Languedoc coast.

The peoples too differed considerably in type and speech. French had long become the language of culture, but there was a wide variety of dialects, based in the south upon the *langue d'oc*, rather than upon the *langue d'oïl*, with Basque and Catalan spoken in the far south-west. Even the everyday speech of Poitou deviated considerably from the standard French of which it was a rustic form. Solange Bertheau has recently quoted a contemporary example which deserves to be repeated here not merely as a linguistic curiosity, but because it also illustrates an aspect of reformed church government which was echoed at the Cape when Simond found it difficult to form a consistory. That the author of the following lines was a Catholic priest Jean Babu in no way invalidates the contention that consistories were often unrepresentative:

“Pre nous entreteni dedons notre creonce
Et la foire fleuri pre tou les coing de France
Jamais o ne felet mettre de Saveté
Proucen, ny surveillont, Sargé, ny Bonneté
Ny Mercé, ny Pegnou, ny Pallot de village. . .
Bon pre de grou Marchond et de bons Avocats
Qui sçavant queme o faut parlé de tou les cas”.

(“To keep us firm in our faith
And make it flourish in every corner of France
We ought never to appoint those who repair old shoes
As elders, nor watchmen, serge makers, nor hosiers,
Nor haberdashers, nor wool combers, nor village idiots. . .
It’s the right job for substantial merchants and able lawyers
Who know how to speak on all matters”).¹

This region of France was divided in the seventeenth century into some dozen administrative generalities, of which those with headquarters in the episcopal seats of Montpellier, La Rochelle and Poitiers are the most important in the context of this study. Other cathedral cities included Saintes in Saintonge, Nîmes, Uzès and Alès in Languedoc, and the commercial centre of Lyons. Of all the towns in the part of France under discussion, however, it is the seaport of La Rochelle which holds the place of honour in the annals of French Calvinism before the revocation.

The reformed church in this region was organized in eight synodal provinces and formed a part of two others. The complete provinces were Poitou, Saintonge-Aunis-Angoumois, Lower Guyenne, Béarn, Upper Languedoc-Upper Guyenne, Lower Languedoc, the Cévennes and the Vivarais. In addition a large portion of the colloquy of Berry in the synodal province for the Orléanais and Berry lay within the area considered in this chapter, as did the churches of the Lyonnais and Auvergne in the Lyons colloquy of the synodal province of Burgundy. Also attached to the Burgundy province, but in the colloquy of Chalon-sur-Saône, were the Calvinists of Moulins in the Bourbonnais.²

We are concerned here with a part of France in which Calvinism was at its strongest. Although there were many scattered communities, the great majority formed a reasonably compact body in a well defined arc of territory extending from Poitou in the north-west through Aunis, Saintonge and Guyenne to Languedoc in the south-east, with an outlying group in Béarn against the Pyrenees. Many rural communities were entirely or almost entirely Protestant in the middle years of the seventeenth century; several towns too, large and small, had a Calvinist majority, including Montauban in Quercy, Milhau in Rouergue, Nîmes in Languedoc and Châtellerauld in Poitou. Villefagnan in the Angoumois, close to the strongly Protestant region of southern Poitou, was once described as “cette nouvelle Genève”.³

Some statistics for the six colloquies which made up the synodal provinces of Lower Languedoc and the Cévennes, united until 1612, will

give an idea of the Calvinist preponderance at local level. In about forty parishes south of Nîmes the population was almost 90% Protestant; two-thirds of those living in the villages west and south-west of Uzès were Calvinists; in the Anduze colloquy of the Cévennes province more than 80% of the population followed the reformed faith and most Catholics lived in a single town, Alès. On the other hand it must be remembered that these areas of dominant Protestantism were not thickly populated. The inhabitants, Catholic and Calvinist, of all three districts mentioned numbered only about 70 000.⁴

The fertile province of Poitou was the country of origin of a number of Cape colonists. It was a region with several urban churches, each with a large congregation in which merchants and artisans were well represented. In the rural areas, where agricultural workers frequently supplemented their earnings by turning to such trades as weaving and wool-combing, Calvinism owed much to the Protestant gentry who permitted services in their homes in the years after 1660 when so many temples were placed under interdict. In Poitou seigneurial churches flourished, and their patrons, together with the more influential members of urban churches, played a leading part in congregational life. They were, as Solange Bertheau has pointed out, the mainstay of the consistories, forming "une sorte d'aristocratie sociale, morale et intellectuelle, qui dirige les destinées de la communauté et travaille pour le bien du peuple, en son nom".⁵

The ancient provincial capital of Poitiers, on its commanding hill-top, occupies a special place in the history of western civilization, for its name is associated with the battlefield, not far distant, where in the eighth century Charles Martel defeated the invading Moors. In the seventeenth century it was an active centre of Calvinism and its temple at Les Quatre-Piquets outside the town was served by two pastors. A description of worship there has come down to us from the pen of a Scottish student, John Lauder, who was in France in 1665 and 1666. The simplicity of the service reminded him forcibly of Presbyterian church life in his native country.⁶

Among those who sailed from Goeree on February 3, 1688 aboard the *Oosterland* of the Zeeland chamber were the surgeon Jean Prieur du Plessis (Plesis), born in Poitiers about the year 1638, and his wife Madeleine Menanteau of the same town. Du Plessis had taken the oath of loyalty required of emigrants together with other male members of the *Oosterland* party on January 8, 1688 in Middelburg, having moved

to the Zeeland capital from Amsterdam.⁷ A son Charles was born to the couple on the voyage and christened aboard the ship on April 18, 1688.⁸

In the advice of departure Du Plessis is said to have lived at some period "op St. Christoffel".⁹ Franken is of opinion that this must refer to a place of that name in France.¹⁰ There are a number of possibilities here, including the village of Saint-Christophe north of Poitiers. He may, however, be mistaken in dismissing another alternative, the island of St Kitts (St Christopher) in the West Indies. This colony in the Leeward Islands was divided into French and English quarters, and was a considerable haven for Calvinist refugees after 1660, especially from the French Atlantic seaboard and its hinterland. Huguenot merchants were numerous in the West Indies and although worship in the French quarter of St Kitts was only permitted in private houses, a Dutch pastor preached in French for Huguenots in the English quarter.¹¹ Among settlers in the French part of the island were Guillaume du Plessis and Pierre Prieur.¹²

It has been suggested that Du Plessis was of noble origin and that a descendant refused to accept an offer made by the first Napoleon to restore to him the family title and inheritance. It may be so, although the story has not been substantiated.¹³ On the other hand the fact that the minister's wife Anne de Bérault and her brother Louis stood as godparents at the baptism of Jean-Louis du Plessis, born at the Cape on February 13, 1691, might suggest a higher social status than the average.¹⁴ The names Prieur and Du Plessis probably represent a family alliance. Both appear in Protestant registers in Poitou, together with that of Menanteau. The marriage of a Jean Prieur to Jeanne Sanzeau is recorded in 1674 at Lusignan, a rural church south-west of Poitiers.¹⁵

The exact date of arrival of Jean Prieur du Plessis and Madeleine Menanteau in the United Provinces is uncertain, but they became members of the Walloon church in Amsterdam on September 28, 1687, with attestation from the church at Saint-Thomas.¹⁶ This may reinforce the argument in favour of a period of residence in the West Indies. Du Plessis became a citizen of Amsterdam on September 30, 1687. Three Menanteaus, Antoine, Marguerite and Marie, were members of the Walloon church in Amsterdam in August 1688, while in the previous month Denis Martineau du Plessis, a schoolmaster from Fontenay, possibly Fontenay-le-Comte, had reached the city. He married there a few months later. In Amsterdam at an earlier date was a wine-merchant, Jean du Plessis of Saint-Germain-en-Laye near Versailles, birth-place of Louis XIV.¹⁷ One Du Plessis from Poitiers made his way to

Wolfenbüttel in Brunswick before the revocation: Joseph du Plessis, a former Catholic priest.¹⁸ There was also a Louis du Plessis, minister of the French church at Bremen, whose daughter Louise was baptized in Amsterdam in September 1686,¹⁹ and a Michel du Plessis, reader of the church at Bergen-op-Zoom and father of a large family.²⁰ The further history of Jean Prieur du Plessis, who was to return to Europe for some years, is recounted elsewhere in this study.

Calvinism was strongly represented at Fontenay-le-Comte, capital of the Vendée, and the temple there served both the town and a number of neighbouring rural communities.²¹ A local industry in which members of the reformed church were prominent was the manufacture of swords and the Cape refugee of 1688, Nicolas Labat, son of Jacob Labat and Susanne Laurent, came from a family associated with this trade. Nicolas's elder brother Jacob, born in Fontenay about the year 1658, was able to establish a sword making business in the parish of St Martin's in the Fields in London, but his first years in exile illustrate the difficulties refugees often encountered in trying to earn a living.²²

Jacob Labat took refuge in Hesse at Cassel, where he married Anne de Lèze of Paris on June 12, 1687. Their eldest son Louis was christened there in May of the following year.²³ It seems that an early visit to London proved unrewarding and Jacob had to be helped back to the United Provinces in 1690 from the poor-box of St James's, Westminster.²⁴ Jacob returned to England with his wife and four children and on July 14, 1700 presented himself for membership of the Savoy church in London.²⁵ His son Louis was married at the French church in West Street to Madeleine de l'Ecluse on April 12, 1710.²⁶ The Laurent family of Fontenay-le-Comte was also represented in London. Nicolas Laurent left the United Provinces for the English capital in May 1694.²⁷

Something of these family relationships is reflected in the Fontenay church records, from which it is clear that there were two closely allied Labat groups linked with the Laurents. At the first marriage in 1676 of Jean (de) Labat, "fourbisseur d'épées", son of Bernard (de) Labat and Anne Birocheau, the bridegroom was attended by his brother Jacob and his first cousin Nicolas Laurent. The bride, Anne Bremaud, came from La Rochelle.²⁸

Nicolas Labat of Drakenstein married Elisabeth Vivier, daughter of Jacob Vivier, in June 1717 and died on December 30 of the same year.²⁹ His brother Jacob in London laid claim to the estate and on October 12, 1724 produced witnesses in support of his right to inherit.³⁰ All were from Fontenay-le-Comte and resident in the British capital. Their

names, or those of members of their families, are recorded in the registers of the temple there.³¹ Jean Hudel, minister of a London congregation; Daniel Taillepain; Benjamin Moquet, probably the indigent brazier who was assisted from the poor-box at Threadneedle Street in 1681; Daniel Paillou, godfather at a Fontenay baptism in 1682; Daniel Pain, perhaps the son of the pastor of Fontenay-le-Comte of this name.³²

A deposition was made before the London lawyer Jacques de Brissac, another refugee from Poitou, but it was not until June 9, 1726 that steps were taken to recover the inheritance. On that date Brissac drew up a power of attorney appointing François Guillaumé, shortly to come put to the Cape, to collect whatever was due to Jacob Labat. The money was to be paid over to the Amsterdam merchant Jean Barbesorre, also a native of Fontenay-le-Comte and a refugee of 1682.³³ The Barbesorres were Amsterdam furriers.³⁴

Jacob Labat's claim was discussed by the Cape Council of Policy on August 28, 1727, when it was decided that as Dutch and English laws of inheritance differed, Jacob's application could not be entertained until all claimants had been eliminated. The death of a younger brother Paul Labat had not been established and it was possible that he, another brother Jean, who had died in 1696, or a sister Catherine, deceased in 1689, had left descendants.

There was also a Jacques Labat at the Cape and Botha has equated him with the London refugee Jacob.³⁵ Jacques, however, was at the Cape as late as 1701³⁶ and there are reasons for thinking that he came from a different region.³⁷ A tentative answer is given in the next chapter.

A colonist who reached the Cape on the *Overschie* in 1749 with wife and child was the sick comforter, schoolmaster and burgher Antoine (Anthonie) Berrangé, son of Antoine Berrangé and Marie Fabry of Delft.³⁸ He too may have had Poitou antecedents. Among those who became members of the Walloon church at The Hague in August 1687 was a Daniel Béranger from that province.³⁹ Such a change in the spelling of the surname is consistent with a trend among refugee families as they became integrated into new societies. The names Béranger and Bérangier are, however, to be found in Calvinist records in many parts of France.

The refugee blacksmith Pierre Barillé⁴⁰ eludes certain identification in European records. There were Barrillets at Niort before the revocation,⁴¹ while on March 20, 1707/8 a Peter Baraille, son of Pierre

and Marie Baraille of Rouergue, obtained naturalization in England.⁴² Despite the variations in spelling, one of these families may perhaps provide a link with the Cape settler.

The publication of Jean Migault's diary early in the nineteenth century shed new light on the persecution of Huguenots in western France before and after the revocation. Discovered in the Spitalfields district of London, this personal account tells a moving story of the dragonnades of 1681 and 1685 across the borders of southern Poitou in which the brutality of the soldiery does not obscure the kindness of others, not all of them Calvinists, in the dark days preceding the revocation Edict of Fontainebleau.⁴³

Jean Migault, born near Thorigné in Poitou,⁴⁴ began life as a school-master, but turned to the law after his marriage to Elisabeth Fourestier in 1663. With the exclusion of Calvinists from that profession in 1681 he went back to the classroom, teaching first at Mougou, south-east of Niort, near his birthplace, and later at Mauzé-sur-le-Mignon in the Aunis colloquy of the synodal province for Aunis, Saintonge and the Angoumois.⁴⁵ He had witnessed the barbarity of the troops quartered on Calvinists at Mougou in 1681 and with the approach of the dragoons on Mauzé in September 1685 he determined to flee. After suffering imprisonment at La Rochelle he at length succeeded in escaping by sea to the United Provinces, landing at Brielle. On June 20, 1688 he became a member of the Amsterdam Walloon congregation.⁴⁶ Several members of his large family were able to join him in exile.

Jean Migault's wife had died in 1683 and eight years later he married Elisabeth Cocuau, a widow from Nantillé in Saintonge. Their son François-Louis was christened at Amsterdam on January 4, 1694⁴⁷ and in 1696 accompanied his parents and an elder sister Madeleine to Emden in German Friesland, where Jean taught the children of the local Huguenot community.⁴⁸ François-Louis Migault joined the service of the Dutch East India Company as a soldier, reaching the Cape of Good Hope as a young man of nineteen aboard the *Strijkebolle* in 1713.⁴⁹ There, like his father, he became a teacher for a number of years. His return to Europe is discussed in a later chapter. Migault has been confused with the burgher Johannes Frederik Carolus Michault,⁵⁰ who reached the Cape in 1727 from Batavia.⁵¹ They were probably not related, however.

The former Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle in which Jean Migault was held captive had lost much of its former greatness by the time of the revocation. In the years following its reduction in 1628 it had become an

unauthorized refuge for Calvinists, but apart from the persecution of 1661 religious life was not seriously interfered with until the approach of the revocation. From 1675, however, there was a considerable increase in abjurations from what was described there as “la R.P.R. autrement dite lheresie de Calvin”.⁵² In March 1685 the temple was demolished, but before that event the pastors Jacques de Tandebartz, Daniel-Henri de Laizement, Théodore le Blanc and Jacques Guybert had suffered imprisonment in the Bastille and had been compelled to make public apology for their alleged errors.⁵³ Tandebartz and Guybert found a refuge in Switzerland; Laizement and Le Blanc went to the United Provinces, where the latter served first at Groningen and later ministered to Huguenot communities in Copenhagen and Altona.⁵⁴ The United Provinces had a consul at La Rochelle, Arnoldus van Herselay, whose reports in the last months before October 1685 describe the growing pressures upon Calvinists there.⁵⁵ The coast was watched by the French authorities, who were kept informed of escape plans, but many shared Migault’s good fortune and managed to make their way to safety.

La Rochelle seems to have had more significance in the history of the Cape refugees as a possible escape route from France than as a place of origin. Although Pierre, Jacob and Abraham de Villiers are described as coming from the port, it is by no means certain, despite the researches of D.P. de Villiers,⁵⁶ that they were born in this western region of France. A tentative solution to the question of their French background is offered in a later chapter. David du Buisson, schoolmaster to the children of Pierre Jaubert (Joubert), is also stated to have come from La Rochelle,⁵⁷ although this has not been confirmed. The only David du Buisson whose name has been found in Dutch records was from Rouen and was married to Marie Gressier of Dieppe at Rotterdam in August 1696.⁵⁸ Several children were born of the marriage. There is an undated receipt in Cape records signed by an Esther du Buisson, wife of Jan Hendrik Carnak, for goods sent to the Cape burgher Johannes Pfeiffer in 1712.⁵⁹

The places of origin of several French-speaking colonists at the Cape remain difficult to determine with any degree of certainty, but one of a later period whose name perhaps suggests an original family home in the west or south-west of France is Gédéon Courtilliat of Lübeck.⁶⁰ He reached the Cape in 1725 as a sailor in the service of the Dutch East India Company and was accepted as a burgher in 1732.⁶¹

Claudine, Susanne and Jeanne Seugnet, probably sisters, brought attes-

tations from Amsterdam to the Stellenbosch church in April 1689.⁶² They came from the province of Saintonge, but the precise locality has not been established. They may have been related to Elie Seugnet and his wife Anne Baudouin, whose names are to be found in Amsterdam records. Anne Baudouin of Saintonge was naturalized there on October 17, 1709 after Elie Seugnet's death. Her son Elie also became a Dutch citizen. Susanne Seugnet was still living in 1741, the widow of François Dutoit, to be discussed in a subsequent chapter.⁶³

Marie Gautier of Marennes in Saintonge was the wife of André Mellet and doubtless the niece of Gilles Sollier, two men whose background remains to be touched upon. The daughter of Jacques Gautier and Marie Roulain, she and her husband reached the Cape in 1731, where she died in 1745. Anne Roulain was Sollier's wife and also from Marennes.⁶⁴ The name Roulain is not uncommon in the region. There were Roulains at Saint-Genis-de-Saintonge, north-west of Jonzac, who were using the temple at Cognac in the Angoumois for baptisms in 1684.⁶⁵ The surname is also encountered among refugees from Jonzac and Saujon in England.⁶⁶ An Anne Roulain of Saintonge, wife of the younger Ruvigny's equerry Jean Nicolas, was in London in 1691.⁶⁷

From Bordeaux came the Stellenbosch burgher of 1687, Jean Saint-Jean,⁶⁸ while a later arrival at the Cape was Guillaume-Henri Bossau, a smith in the company's service who became a burgher on August 7, 1749 and farmed at Swellendam. The surname was changed to Boshof(f) in Dutch. Bossau came from Bayonne, a seaport near the mouth of the Adour towards the Spanish frontier on the Atlantic coast. Bayonne's importance was in steady decline in the eighteenth century and it was perhaps lack of opportunity which drove Bossau to emigrate. A journeyman locksmith by trade he came to the Hamburg region in 1736 and for some four years was a member of the French congregation of that city, worshipping in the church at Altona, then a Danish town. He reached the Cape on March 18, 1741 in the gunnery service aboard the *Ruijven*.⁶⁹

In the colloquy of Nay in the synodal province of Béarn was the Calvinist congregation of Pontacq, on the confines of Bigorre.⁷⁰ It is possible that this was the place of origin of the family of the schoolmaster and farmer Pieter Labuscaigne, since he gave the name Pontak to his farm at Paarl, granted in 1723.⁷¹ Described as from Enkhuizen, he came out as a drummer in 1710 and was for some years employed on contract to teach the children of farmers and sometimes to undertake other jobs required of him. His children Jan, Frans and Johanna Beren-

dina accompanied their mother Anna Maria Bacat when she joined her husband in 1717. Sexton and messenger at the Drakenstein church, he subsequently farmed on his own account. His son Frans was apprenticed to a shoemaker.⁷² Pieter Labuscaigne may perhaps have been a descendant of earlier immigrants to the United Provinces. The surname appears in the Amsterdam records of the Walloon church in 1718 with the baptism of Samson, son of Samson Labusca(i)gne and Louise Teulon.⁷³

In 1887 Henri de France expressed surprise that C.C. de Villiers had failed to find any Montalbanais among the settlers at the Cape. The suggestions he has made to repair the possible omission are, however, unconvincing. Nicolas (de) Labat, for example, was certainly not from Montauban, nor was Marie-Madeleine le Clercq. It is equally unlikely that David du Buisson had connections with the town.⁷⁴ However the last word has still to be written on the places of origin of all the Cape colonists and it may be that this region may yet prove to have supplied the settlement with new blood.

Some reservations must also be expressed about Botha's refugees from Languedoc. The case of Pierre Sabatier has already been mentioned; the association of Louis de Péronne (Pirone) with this province on the assumption that Nazareth might be Mazères is open to doubt; similarly the assertion that Marie de Lanoy was from Aulas in the Cévennes is not necessarily correct.⁷⁵ Both settlers will be discussed in a later chapter.

The blacksmith André Gauch came from Le Pont-de-Montvert on the Tarn, in the Saint-Germain-de-Calberte colloquy of the synodal province of the Cévennes.⁷⁶ Among others from this region of Gévaudan who are known to have become fugitives were Jean and Jacques Gauch.⁷⁷ André was the son of Pierre Gauch and made his escape to Switzerland.⁷⁸ An account of his further history before emigrating to the Cape of Good Hope will be found in the next chapter. Another refugee from the Cévennes, Jean Liron, left Amsterdam in October 1687 "pour les Indes".⁷⁹ This could be taken to indicate a departure for the Cape, although there is no record there of a settler of that name.

Gilles Sollier, the colonist whose business ability made him a useful intermediary in the Table Valley settlement for the legal and commercial transactions of inland farmers,⁸⁰ joined the Cape church on October 4, 1697.⁸¹ The surname is common in Languedoc, but it would seem that he came either from Clermont-l'Hérault, then known as Clermont-de-Lodève, or more probably from Nîmes. His parents had died before

March 1699.⁸² His sons by Anne Roulain – David, baptized at the Cape on October 25, 1699, and Pierre, christened there on November 12, 1702⁸³ – provide no definite lead through their names to a Nîmes background, but on the other hand the records of the Walloon church at Leyden mention a refugee David Soli (*sic*) from Clermont in Languedoc who was first given assistance in the Dutch town in October 1687.⁸⁴ The Gilles Soulier (*sic*) who died a Catholic at Bernis, south of Nîmes, in 1701, could be related to the Cape refugee.⁸⁵

It is known, from an incident in the struggle between the Cape burghers and Willem Adriaen van der Stel, that Gilles Sollier had served in the French army during the Dutch War which ended in 1678. He had been present at the siege of Charlemont on the Meuse.⁸⁶ Sollier was certainly in the United Provinces by 1686, when he became a member of the Walloon church at Gorinchem (Gorcum). He moved to Amsterdam in 1692, where he was received by the Walloon congregation on May 31.⁸⁷ He would appear to have been in the service of the Dutch East India Company⁸⁸ and was perhaps a French army deserter, of whom several were helped by the Walloon church of Arnhem after the revocation.⁸⁹

Botha, who confuses the families of Gilles Sollier and the settler Durand Soullier, is evidently correct in assuming that the two men were brothers, despite the different spellings of the surname.⁹⁰ Appropriately enough, Durand was a shoemaker who, with his wife Marthe Petel, became a member of the Table Valley church at the same time as Gilles.⁹¹ A daughter Susanne was baptized there on June 28, 1699 and her sister Marthe on New Year's Day, 1702.⁹² After the death of his wife Durand Soullier married Elisabeth, daughter of Pierre de Villiers, who joined the Cape church in April 1716.⁹³ Like Gilles, Durand Soullier was a responsible member of burgher society and an elder of the Table Valley congregation,⁹⁴ although he does not seem to have had Gilles's educational background. Had he already been abroad with the Dutch East India Company? On March 3, 1697 a Durand Soullier was received at the Walloon church in Amsterdam with a membership entry which suggests that he had come from the Indies.⁹⁵ If this is so, he must have left very promptly for the Cape of Good Hope.

We shall have more to say about Gilles Sollier later in connection with the arrival at the Cape in 1731 of André Mellet and Marie Gautier.⁹⁶ Mellet was from Nîmes, the son of Claude Mellet, baptized on June 4, 1666 and still living in the French city in 1740.⁹⁷ The surname Sollier is also of frequent occurrence in the Nîmes registers of the reformed church.⁹⁸ Also from Nîmes was the refugee Jean Imbert, who suffered

blindness in later life.⁹⁹ He reached the Cape at an early date, perhaps as a soldier on the *Oosterland*.¹⁰⁰ There is also a reference at the Cape to a “Pieter” Imbert, then unknown, but owing money to the Dutch East India Company.¹⁰¹

The name Imbert occurs frequently in documents from the Nîmes area. Although the birth of a Jean Imbert has not been discovered, that of a Pierre Imbert, son of Jean Imbert and Jeanne Sanière, took place on December 24, 1660. The father was a husbandman.¹⁰² This is perhaps the Imbert family of the village of Saint-Césaire, south-west of the city, of which the *travailleur* (*sic*), or farm worker Jean Imbert was a member in 1679.¹⁰³ An Etienne Imbert of Saint-Césaire was assisted at Geneva early in 1686.¹⁰⁴ It was probably the Cape settler who was helped with money and food by the Walloon Church in Leyden during September and October 1687.¹⁰⁵ Imberts from Nîmes also settled in the English colonies of Virginia and Pennsylvania in North America.¹⁰⁶

The fatal divisions in Calvinist ranks between zealots and moderates had broken the resistance of the reformed church in the Nîmes area during the period of passive opposition in the south of France in 1683. The arrival of dragoons there in October of that year drove the more energetic pastors Charles Icard and Jacques Peyrol into exile in Switzerland. At the end of September 1685 the troops returned to pillage the smaller centres of Lower Languedoc and to threaten the larger. Nîmes surrendered on October 4, 1685 and the ministers Elie Cheiron and Pierre Paulhan abjured at the hands of the bishop, Jean-Jacques Séguier de la Verrière.¹⁰⁷ Thousands more bowed to the inevitable in the last weeks of a church which in Languedoc sometimes called itself, with more pride than legality, “l’Eglise crethienne refformee”.¹⁰⁸ The intendant Basville was the instigator, but although his predecessor Henri d’Aguesseau would have disapproved of the methods used,¹⁰⁹ the result would have pleased him. He liked neither Calvinists nor Calvinism and laid the faults of the faithful at the door of the faith. The temple at Nîmes, he wrote in 1683, was a centre of disturbance and “les Espritz y sont naturelem’ rudes et grossiers”. All carried arms and those who came down from the mountains were particularly fierce and brutal.¹¹⁰ France had not yet heard the last of the men from the Cévennes and in the city itself Protestantism was to re-emerge in strength in years to come and to give one of its sons to the world of politics and letters, the historian Guizot.

Also apparently from Nîmes was the Cape burgher Jacques Therond, who reached the Cape as a soldier aboard the *Oosterland* in 1688.¹¹¹ No

certain information has been learned about his departure from France or his arrival in the United Provinces, but he must have been in Middelburg prior to embarkation. A merchant Jacques Therond from Montpellier settled in Amsterdam in 1687¹¹² and there was a Calvinist of that name at Boisseron, between Montpellier and Nîmes, before the revocation. He not only farmed there, but also traded in oil and other merchandise out of Frontignan to Messina in Sicily.¹¹³ There may be a family connection here, although the name Therond is frequently encountered in the region. Another possible reference to the Cape settler in the Netherlands appears in the records of the 's-Hertogenbosch church, where a Jacob Tournon (*sic*), a soldier in the Walloon regiment, brought an attestation from Saint-Antonin, presumably the Calvinist centre of that name north-east of Montauban.¹¹⁴ This is at a considerable distance from Nîmes, but the entry does not entirely rule out the possibility that we are dealing here with the Cape refugee, despite the variation in names.

We do, however, have some knowledge of the Cape Theronds and their background from a manuscript account drawn up by Pieter François Theron in 1827,¹¹⁵ a descendant who has rightly been described by A.M. Hugo as the first Afrikaner genealogist.¹¹⁶ This document not only contains material on the colonial branch of the family, but also the Dutch translation of a letter written at Nîmes on April 2, 1719 by Jacques Therond's father.¹¹⁷ Although the original has not come to light, there can be no doubt about the authenticity of this communication. Franken has suggested that the date may have been incorrectly transcribed, but he misinterprets the evidence on which he bases this assumption.¹¹⁸ A remark in the letter about the outbreak of war between France and Spain does in fact accord with the contemporary political situation. The reference is to the brief struggle to curb Alberoni's expansionist policies, fruit of a new Anglo-French understanding which emerged after the close of the long Spanish succession struggle.¹¹⁹

There are other details in the letter which lend credibility to its contents: family history and the evident advanced age of Jacques's father; the fact that another son was living in the Prescheurs suburb, easily identifiable from a map of the period; comment on the private devotions of Calvinists; the mention of galley-slaves; a probable reference to the former Protestant centre of Calvisson, where worship was banned in August 1685 and the great temple demolished after the revocation, to rise again in modern times on the same site.¹²⁰ If, as seems likely, it is this place-name which is disguised by a faulty spelling, there is no reason to accept Franken's suggestion that the Theronds might have

had aristocratic connections.¹²¹ Finally there is the Fisquet who brought news to Languedoc of the Theronds in exile at the Cape. Is this not perhaps Jean Fisquet of the Cévennes, a corporal in the service of the Dutch East India Company there in 1715?¹²²

The contents of this letter enable us to make a cautious evaluation of the Therond entries in Protestant registers at Nîmes and Calvisson. Jacques Therond had a brother Moïse and an uncle of the same name; another uncle was Pierre. There were also nephews Moïse and Daniel. Jacques's father was spending his declining years in Daniel's house, where the letter was written. However, the abundance of Theronds in the Nîmes and Calvisson registers, the incomplete nature of the entries and the existence of other temples in the neighbourhood of Nîmes where family details might have been recorded¹²³ make positive identification difficult. Moreover we are confronted by other problems. Pieter François Theron has indicated that Jacques's father was also named Jacques.¹²⁴ If this is so the extant registers at Nîmes and Calvisson reveal little. Secondly we have it on record that Jacques Therond of the Cape was born in mid-May 1668.¹²⁵ This cannot be confirmed from the baptismal entries at Nîmes.¹²⁶

Nevertheless a tentative approach to the Therond relationships will at least serve to place the family in social context. A preliminary remark will not be out of place at this stage. Botha was aware that two forms of surnames sometimes existed among Cape settlers from France, but he did not appreciate the significance of the variations. In the seventeenth century it was customary in the southern regions of France to add a feminine suffix to the surnames of women and girls. Thus Therond became Theronde, Imbert, Imberte and Vidau, Vidalle. Other examples from the Calvinist registers of Languedoc and Provence include Rey and the feminine Reyne, Soulier and Soulière, Roux and Rousse, Martin and Martine, and Jourdan and Jourdanne, or even Jo(u)rda-nesse.¹²⁷

The closest entry of the birth of a Jacques Therond in the baptismal registers of Nîmes was made exactly a year before the date recorded at the Cape, namely on May 18, 1667. This was the child of a *travailleur* Sauvaire Therond and his wife Isabeau Contesse, whose marriage had taken place on October 22, 1663. Sauvaire (Saviour) is a Christian name of local usage. The child was presented at baptism by a silk-mercator Jean Martin, acting for his son Jacques. It seems possible that Sauvaire Therond was the son of Jacques Therond, whose wife Marie

Imberte died in January 1676.¹²⁸ This would bring the Theronds and the Imberts, represented at the Cape, into a close relationship.

Here is a family in which the Christian names Moïse, Pierre and Daniel are to be found and one moreover with a clear link with Calvisson. On April 27, 1659 Moïse Therond of Nîmes married Marie Vidalle of Calvisson.¹²⁹ They settled in the wife's birthplace, where a son Sauvaire was born to them in June 1670.¹³⁰ Members of the Therond family were mainly agricultural workers and artisans, although there was a Jean Therond practising medicine in Calvisson.¹³¹ A Pierre Therond, possibly the brother of Sauvaire Therond of Nîmes, was a shoemaker, but of sufficient standing in local society to be chosen as consul, or municipal officer. Another Moïse Therond was married to Isabeau Massipe.¹³² Like Sauvaire a labourer, he and his wife chose as godfather to their daughter Sara in 1685 a gardener Pierre Martin, another link perhaps with the godfather of 1667. A son Daniel was born to this couple in March 1683.¹³³ Further investigation of contemporary documents, particularly in the legal field, will doubtless reveal more about these involved family relationships, but much suggests that we are at least dealing with the family of the Cape settler.

A Jacques Therond, son of a father of the same name, has, however, been identified elsewhere and again we have a connection with the Martins of Languedoc. The child's date of birth is close to that recorded at the Cape, but not sufficiently so to make identification certain. This Jacques Therond was born on January 16, 1669 and was christened at Uzès, within easy reach of Nîmes to the north. His father was a merchant, married to Jeanne Martine.¹³⁴ It is possible that the Theronds were not natives of Uzès, where the name is of rare occurrence. Was this family then related to the Theronds of Nîmes and Calvisson?

Uzès, in the opinion of the visiting Englishman John Locke, was 75% Calvinist in 1676, when Protestants lost their municipal representation there.¹³⁵ The name Martin was fairly common in the community and we have it on record that the one-handed Cape refugee Antoine Martin came from the town, where he was born about the year 1664.¹³⁶ The baptismal registers for Uzès provide a probable identification. Antoine, son of the lawyer Pierre Martin and his wife Marie Barbarsanne, was born on November 12, 1664 and christened on December 9.¹³⁷ If, as seems likely, this is the Cape settler, he came from a higher social level than the majority of the French-speaking Cape colonists. A connection between Theronds and Martins has already been noted and it is not

beyond the bounds of possibility that Jacques Therond and Antoine Martin were related.

We do not know how the Cape settlers from Languedoc reached the United Provinces, but they probably took the road to Switzerland across Dauphiné. Assistance was afforded an Antoine Martin and his sick child in Geneva on March 5, 1688, although their place of origin is stated to have been Die in Dauphiné.¹³⁸ Did they perhaps stop there on the road to exile? Martin sailed from Texel on July 27, 1688 on the *Wapen van Alkmaar*, commanded by Carel Goske. The voyage, marked by a dispute between the captain and the fiscal designate for Surat, Pieter van Helsdingen, was an arduous one. The vessel took the northern route from the United Provinces around the British Isles to avoid the French and on arrival in Table Bay had more than a hundred sick aboard and not enough fit men to lower the bower anchor. Thirty-seven deaths occurred on the voyage.¹³⁹ This was the ship originally intended to bring Vaudois refugees from Germany to the Cape.¹⁴⁰

Mention has already been made of François Guillaumé in connection with the Labat inheritance. He was sent out in 1726 with his wife and family on the *Berbice* to raise silkworms and to stimulate a Cape silk industry for the Dutch East India Company.¹⁴¹ The enterprise was not a success, but Guillaumé became a Cape burgher in 1735 and the family remained to make a contribution to South African history.¹⁴² François Guillaumé came from Aimargues in Languedoc, or probably more accurately from Saint-Laurent-d'Aigouze.¹⁴³ These were localities in the strongly Calvinist region below Nîmes towards Aiguesmortes, the former Mediterranean seaport from which Louis IX set out on his crusading adventures in the thirteenth century.¹⁴⁴ Aiguesmortes was to colour the Huguenot imagination after the revocation as the site of the Tower of Constance, one of the many prisons in which Calvinists were incarcerated.¹⁴⁵

It is possible that François was the son of Jacques Guillaumé and Marie Bordasse, born on November 29, 1680 and baptized at Aimargues five days later, or perhaps of a related couple François Guillaumé and Isabeau Ducroze, married at Aimargues on December 6, 1675.¹⁴⁶ The Cape settler was in exile by 1700¹⁴⁷ and settled in Berlin as a tailor with his wife Claudine Eloy,¹⁴⁸ whose place of origin will be discussed in the next chapter. Their son Mathieu, who worked with him in the nascent silk industry at the Cape and was later employed as a blacksmith, was born in Berlin on February 20, 1712.¹⁴⁹ His daughters Jeanne, Marie and Anne were doubtless also born in Germany. The Guillaumés were

in Amsterdam by May 1726¹⁵⁰ and it would be interesting to know how François came to be chosen to act for Jacob Labat. Did he perhaps visit London? Where too had he acquired his skill as a silk maker? It was a flourishing industry in Languedoc, showing phenomenal growth in Nîmes during the seventeenth century. Much of the raw silk came from the Cévennes and Calvinists from that mountain region were encouraged to bring their techniques to the papal Comtat Venaissin across the Rhône in order to increase production there.¹⁵¹

The refugee of 1688 Pierre Bénézet named his Drakenstein farm Languedoc.¹⁵² There were at least two Bénézets with this Christian name in the United Provinces after 1685: a wool-comber from Uzès at Leyden and an immigrant who brought an attestation of membership to Amsterdam on March 21, 1688 from Vézenobres in the Cévennes colloquy. The latter became a citizen in the same month.¹⁵³ Bénézets are to be found throughout Languedoc and the names of several appear in the seventeenth-century records for Nîmes, Calvisson and Montpellier.¹⁵⁴ There was also a branch of the family from this province established in the commercial world of Picardy in northern France and it could be that the Cape settler was connected with it.¹⁵⁵ The question remains to be discussed in a later chapter.

Others who came to the Cape of Good Hope from the region considered in this survey had careers which place them even more firmly in the category of company men than François Guillaumé, even though, like the silk expert, they left descendants to swell the burgher ranks. Some attention will be paid to them at a later stage.

Much that was said about settlers from the west and north-west of France applies equally to those from other regions, this one included. The same range of occupations is seen here, with the addition of a new sphere, that of teaching. The level of intellectual development would seem to have varied considerably in this field: Migault, whatever his personal failings, was clearly a man of parts.¹⁵⁶ There is also a similar variation in standards of literacy generally, although it would appear from an examination of church registers and other documents that the level was rather higher in the north than in the south and, it may be added, higher among men than among women. Franken, whose valuable researches brought to light so many fragments written in French and Dutch by the French-speaking pioneers at the Cape, has suggested that rather more than 50% of the men were at least able to sign their names.¹⁵⁷ It would seem that the percentage of women able to do so would be somewhat lower.

Once again in this survey we find evidence of contact, slight perhaps, between the settlers at the Cape and kinsfolk in France or in the European lands of refuge. The Therond letter is of particular interest here. There is less emphasis among the refugees from this region, however, on an emigration in groups with family connections, or on Calvinists coming from the same town or district. On the other hand we have been considering a part of France much greater in extent and one from which a proportionally small number of Calvinists emigrated. Moreover it is a region much less homogeneous than the first, both in physical features and in the composition of its population. Poitou, Aunis and Saintonge have much more in common with the area north of the Loire than they have with, say, Languedoc, whose closest associations outside the south-west are with Provence to the east. This is reflected in the prevalence of surnames among those worshipping in the various Calvinist temples. In the north we may note the Fouchers, numerous in both the Loire valley and Poitou.¹⁵⁸

One further difference between the regions discussed so far must be emphasized again: the great strength of Calvinism in the clearly defined zones south of the Loire and west of the Rhône. It is not surprising, in the hostility of government and Catholic church to the reformed faith, that military means of coercion were the unhappy prelude to the Edict of Fontainebleau of October 1685 wherever Calvinism was a powerful religious force.

The roots of Calvinism could not be pulled out by a single proscriptive act. We have noted the survival of the reformed faith in eighteenth-century Normandy; many elsewhere, as in Dauphiné and the south-east, clung in secret to the old ways.¹⁵⁹ But it was in this region, and particularly in Languedoc, that Protestantism retained its strongest hold in the days of persecution. This was in part an accident of geography, for Calvinism flourished in remote areas of the *midi*; in part because this region of firmly entrenched Protestantism was essentially agricultural and there had been no decrees to prevent Calvinists from continuing to till the soil and to tend their flocks.¹⁶⁰

Again, at an individual level, those engaged in commerce and industry did not suffer persecution to the same extent as did those among the professional classes. The Calvinist merchants of the western seaboard retained much of their prestige, even though Calvinism among the masses declined greatly in that region, since it was a minority faith.

The population drain from rural Languedoc cannot be entirely divorced from the decline in agriculture which Le Roy Ladurie has noted be-

tween 1679 and 1686. A series of hot, dry summers caused widespread ruin. Water supplies dwindled, stock suffered and crops withered. Moreover two cold winters destroyed many olive trees.¹⁶¹ The revocation may have provided a final impetus to flee to a peasantry already enduring economic hardship.¹⁶² Nevertheless, in comparison with other regions, the tide of emigration flowed sluggishly in Languedoc.

Calvinism resisted sporadic attempts to eradicate it in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was here in the Cévennes that the protracted Camisard revolt took place, spearheaded by Abraham Mazel's attack to free Calvinist prisoners in 1702 at Le Pont de Montvert, home of the Gauch family.¹⁶³ Here too, as the Therond letter indicates, private devotions kept the faith alive and it was in Languedoc that the pastors of the Desert were especially active, bringing the consolation of the reformed religion to those who continued to reject Catholicism and endeavouring to keep isolated congregations together in some semblance of synodal unity. For it was the absence of spiritual leadership which led to the excesses of the Camisard revolt, with its mystic and prophetic undertones, and the use of the old Protestant liturgical language, French, by latter-day saints who "spoke in tongues".¹⁶⁴ In this regenerative work, both in the field and in the creation of a theological seminary at Lausanne in Switzerland, Antoine Court of Villeneuve-de-Berg in the Vivarais played a notable part.¹⁶⁵ Active Calvinism was contrary to the intentions of 1685 and led to reprisals: executions, among them those of the pastors Claude Brousson at Montpellier in 1698 and Pierre Durand in the same town more than thirty years later; imprisonment; the harsh life of a galley-slave, endured by many from Languedoc from Jacob Germain in 1685 to Jean Viala of Anduze in 1762.¹⁶⁶ Others took the road to exile and as late as 1752 thousands left for Switzerland to avoid the re-baptism of their children christened by the pastors of the Desert.¹⁶⁷

What was the approximate emigration from the entire region discussed in this chapter for the period 1675-1700? In the central and southern territories the cohesive strength of Calvinist sentiment in many towns and villages combined with the remoteness of the eastern frontiers and the Atlantic coastal escape routes to limit the flight of Calvinists. Perhaps only one in ten of the Protestant population fled; possibly fewer still from the far south-west. For the remainder of the region the figure may have been as high as one in four. On the basis of Mours's population estimates this would represent something in the neighbourhood of 90 000 refugees.¹⁶⁸ Few of them chose to exile themselves to the

Cape of Good Hope, however. Of the French-speaking settlers who reached Table Bay before the close of the seventeenth century, 7% at most would seem to have come from that part of France which lies west of the Rhône and south of the Loire.

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 30. For the claim and decision see DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VII, pp. 356-358: Aug. 28, 1727; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 52; BOUCHER, 'Huguenot refugees', *Historia*, XX, 1, May 1975, pp. 58-59.
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 71. II, 2, Old Stellenbosch freeholds, 1723-1785: Aug. 3, 1723, f.2, p. 188 (DO); BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 124.
 72. J.L.M. FRANKEN, 'Huisonderwys aan die Kaap (1692-1732)', *Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, XII, B, 1, July 1934, pp. 15-16; 23; DE VILLIERS and PAMA, *Genealogies*, II, pp. 450-451.
 73. PA 201, Archieven, 35i, Livre des baptêmes, 1717-1749: Dec. 22, 1718; born Dec. 17 (GA Amsterdam).
 74. *Les Montalbanais et le refuge*. . . , pp. 223n.; 315, 344-345; 482n. On other unlikely or incorrect links see pp. 134; 182n.; 231n.; 469; 482n.
 75. *French refugees*, pp. 80; 85; 98.
 76. EC, Céligny, 2, BMS, 1670-1743: Jan. 13, 1683, p. 7 (marriages) (AE Geneva); BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 70; 160a.
 77. TT 253, II, Mende: pp. 280; 288 (fugitives listed in 1688) (AN).
 78. EC, Céligny, 2, BMS: Jan. 13, 1683, p. 7 (marriages); BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 160a.
 79. PA 201, Archieven, 50d, Sorties, 1684-1723: Oct. 28 (GA Amsterdam).
 80. The Sollier who arranged payment at the Cape for "two Madagascar negro ladds" imported in 1714 by the *Delicia*, captained by Woodes Rogers, and bought by Pierre Jaubert (Joubert) of Drakenstein was almost certainly Gilles, who understood English (MOOC 14/5, Bylae by boedelrekeninge, 1723-1737: J.W. Ker, Dec. 16, 1714, in 2/71, P. Joubert (CA) and for Sollier's English, *Contra-deductie ofte grondige demonstratie*. . . , p. 15: Feb. 28, 1711; FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelinge', VII, *Die Huisgenoot*, XII, 298, Dec. 9, 1927, p. 37. See also BOUCHER, 'The Cape and foreign shipping, 1714-1723', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, p. 12n.).
 81. Microfilm 25, Cape church members 1665-1901: register 1695-1712, p. 113 (Human Sciences Research Council).
 82. CJ 2597, Testamenten en codicillen, 1691-1700: March 19, 1699, pp. 255-257; CJ 2605: 14, April 9, 1731, p. 65 (CA).
 83. G 1, 8/1, Kaapstad, Doopregister, 1695-1712: pp. 14; 28 (NGKA).
 84. Eglise wallonne de Leyde, II F 160, Registres concernant les réfugiés, 1687-1688: Oct. 29, 1687, p. 43 (GA Leyden).

85. A. ATGER, 'Avant et après la révocation à Bernis; extraits de l'état civil', *BSHPF*, LXII, Nov.-Dec. 1913, p. 507. He was buried on Nov. 13, 1701.
86. *Contra-deductie*, p. 93: June 30, 1706. See also NOBLE, *Fransche Hoek*, p. 24; FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelingen', VIII, *Die Huisgenoot*, XIII, 327, July 13, 1928, p. 25.
87. BW 535, Noms des communians de l'église wal(l)onne de Gorcum, 1693-1731: 1693 and earlier (Bibl. wall.); FWK: Sollier; PA 201, Archieven, 46b.
88. KANNEMEYER, *Hugenote-familieboek*, p. 228.
89. Eglise wallonne d'Arnhem, II, Comptes des diacres, 1686-1690: Aug. 24, 1689, p. 12: "a trois deserteurs Reformé(e)s, de quels deux etoient malades"; "a une femme, qui avoit loge chez elle un deserteur malade" (GA Arnhem).
90. *French refugees*, p. 87. The Durand Sollier (Soullier) who married Elisabeth de Villiers was not Gilles's son. We may note a close financial relationship between the two men (MOOC 22/3, Diverse finansiële stukke, 1719-1799: n.d. (1719) (CA)). Gilles had stood surety for Durand. FRANKEN has indicated the Soullier spelling ('Briefies en handtekening', *TWK*, VII, 1938-1939, p. 100).
91. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 87: Oct. 4.
92. G 1, 8/1, Kaapstad, Doopregister: pp. 13; 24.
93. G 1, 13/1, Kaapstad, Huwelik (en lidmaatregister): April 19, 1716, p. 3 (membership).
94. G.C. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, VI, Suid-Afrikaanse Argiefstukke, Kaap No. 6, p. 379: Dec. 14, 1723 (Durand); p. 363: Dec. 20, 1713 (Gilles).
95. FWK: Soul(l)ier.
96. That their son, baptized on July 4, 1732, was named Durand further suggests a family relationship between Gilles Sollier and Durand Soullier (DE VILLIERS and PAMA, *Genealogies*, II, p. 552).
97. UU 98, B, Le Livre des (*sic*) baptistoir de Leglise Refformee de Nisme(s), 1655-1667: Mel(1)et, p. 235v. (AD Gard); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VIII, p. 266n.: Jan 13, 1733.
98. See UU 101, Nimes, Protestants, BMS, 1674-1677 (AD Gard).
99. Stellenbosch, 13/21, Generale monster rollen, 1700-1716: dragonders, 1712 (CA).
100. See J.L.M. FRANKEN, 'Esaye Costeux', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 386, Aug. 23, 1929, p. 33. The farm Monpeliers Waveren was held by Jean Ingbert (*sic*) and seems to indicate a connection with Montpellier in Languedoc (II, 1, Old Stellenbosch freeholds, 1704-1723: Aug. 30, 1714, f. 2, p. 128 (DO)). BOTHA (*French refugees*, p. 124) wrongly attributes ownership to a Jean Joubert.
101. G.C. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, V, Suid-Afrikaanse Argiefstukke, Kaap No. 5, p. 390: Nov. 21, 1719. This list contains a Jan Hardie from Memes (*sic*). Could this be Nimes?
102. UU 98, B, p. 118.

103. II E 39/387, Etude Lamau, Jean Aubanel, 1679-1680: Jan. 23, 1679, p. 10v. (AD Gard).
104. Archives hospitalières, Kq 5, Distributions de deniers à la semaine, 1683-1687: p. 126 (AE Geneva).
105. Eglise wallonne de Leyde, II F 160, Registres: Sept. 3; Oct. 1, p. 11.
106. BAIRD, *History of the Huguenot emigration*, II, p. 133.
107. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 173-174; 191-192.
108. Thus avoiding any mention of the "religion prétendue réformée". See UU 97, Nîmes, Protestants, M, 1637-1685: marriage of pastor Jacques Isnard of Poussan, south-west of Montpellier, July 10, 1656 (AD Gard).
109. On his relative moderation see LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 238-239.
110. TT 260, I, Nîmes: Le Puy, July 17, 1683, pp. 99-100 (AN).
111. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 89.
112. FWK: T(h)eronde: attestation from Montpellier, May 28, 1687. See also Collection Mirandolle: March 6, 1688. M.A. DU PLESSIS identifies this man with the Cape settler ('Jean Prieur du Plessis', *Proceedings HSL*, XXII, 3, 1973, p. 265), but his conclusion is open to doubt. A refugee of this name died in Amsterdam in 1705 and another, a stocking worker from Calvisson in Languedoc, settled in Berlin (FWK: Terond; Terron).
113. TT 256B, VI and VII, Montpellier: Biens des religionnaires fugitifs, 1686-1687, pp. 1061-1063; 1329 (AN).
114. H 283^e D 1/I, Registre des personnes reçues ou admises à la Ste Cène dans l'Eglise wallonne de Bois-le-Duc, I, 1633-1694 (1725) (copy): 922, p. 72 (May 21, 1684) (GA 's-Hertogenbosch). The original is in B.l.D. 41, 's-Hertogenbosch (Bibl. wall.).
115. S.A. Bound Pamphlets, 310: Ms. Geslacht lijst (SAL). It was compiled between 1823 and 1826.
116. See his articles 'Pieter François Theron van Tulbagh (1771-1846); ons eerste Afrikaanse genealoog?', *Familia*, VIII, 4, 1971, pp. 98-109, and 'Pieter François Theron – 1771-1846; ons eerste Afrikaanse genealoog en vroegste bron van Hugenote-oorleweringe aan die Kaap', *Bulletin, Huguenot Society of South Africa*, 9, 1971, pp. 23-33.
117. For an English translation see NOBLE, *Fransche Hoek*, p. 27.
118. 'Hollandse Hugenotebriefjes; Jaques Therond', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 397, Nov. 8, 1929, p. 63.
119. See P. ROBERTS, *The Quest for security 1715-1740*, pp. 16-18, on "this now almost forgotten war" (p. 16).
120. See A.-D.RABINEL, 'Le Temple de Calvisson (Gard)', *BSHPF*, CXII, July-Sept. 1966, pp. 250-271.
121. 'Hollandse Hugenotebriefjes; Jaques Therond', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 397, Nov. 8, 1929, p. 63.
122. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen, 1701-1715 (copy): Jan Fisquet, Sevennes (*sic*), p. 290 (CA).
123. See MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 76.
124. S.A. Bound Pamphlets, 310: Ms. Geslacht lijst, p. 4.
125. FRANKEN'S estimate of mid-April 1688 is incorrect ('Hollandse Hugenote-

- tebriefies; Jaques Therond', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 397, Nov. 8, 1929, p. 63).
126. See UU 114, Nîmes, Protestants, BMS, 1668; Nouveaux convertis, 1713-1726 (AD Gard).
 127. Examples given here are drawn from Languedoc records in AD Gard and Hérault, and from those for Provence in AD Alpes-de-Haute-Provence and Vaucluse.
 128. UU 97, M: p. 256; UU 98, B: p. 256v.; UU 101, BMS: p. 85.
 129. UU 97, M: p. 220.
 130. 5 E 58/5, Calvinsson, Protestants, BMS, 1670-1684: born June 29; baptized July 11 (AD Gard).
 131. 5 E 58/5, Calvinsson, BMS: baptism, June 28, 1670, of Catherine, daughter of Jean Therond, surgeon, and Judith Arnaude, born June 17.
 132. UU 101, BMS: Jan. 5, 1676, p. 85; Feb. 27, 1676, p. 12.
 133. UU 104, Nîmes, Protestants, BMS, 1683-1685: March 18, 1683; Aug. 20, 1685 (AD Gard).
 134. 678206, Uzès, Protestants, BMS, 1616-1673: GG 34, 1665-1669 (microfilm) (GSSLC).
 135. LOUGH (ed.), *Locke's travels*, pp. 22-23: Jan. 31, 1676.
 136. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 78.
 137. 678206, Uzès, Protestants, BMS: GG 33, 1645-1664.
 138. Archives hospitalières, Kq 6, Distributions de deniers à la semaine, 1687-1689: p. 100 (AE Geneva).
 139. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.) *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 357: Jan. 27, 1689; A.J. BÖSEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, III, Suid-Afrikaanse Argiefstukke, Kaap No. 3, pp. 200-202: Feb. 15-17, 1689.
 140. H.C.V. LEIBBRANDT, *Rambles through the archives of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope*, 1st Series, p. 93.
 141. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VII, p. 293: Nov. 5, 1726. This vessel brought stowaways to the Cape.
 142. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VIII, p. 64n.: Nov. 8, 1729; pp. 265-266: Jan. 13, 1733.
 143. FWK: Guillaumé.
 144. Saint-Laurent was 75% Calvinist in the 17th century; Catholics and Protestants were in approximately equal numbers at Aimargues (GACHON, *Quelques préliminaires*, appendix XIX, p. xxi).
 145. See Locke on the town in 1676 (LOUGH (ed.), *Locke's travels*, pp. 61-62: March 24). He notes (p. 61) a decline in Calvinism there.
 146. 5 E 6/3, Aimargues, Protestants, BMS, 1675-1682 (AD Gard).
 147. E. MURET, *Geschichte der französischen Kolonie in Brandenburg-Preussen, unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Berliner Gemeinde*, p. 322.
 148. FWK: Guillaumé, where the wife's name is given as Eloy, not Cloy (cf. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 94; G 1, 12/1, Kaapstad, Huwelik (en lidmaatregister): Nov. 25, 1726, p. 25).
 149. FWK: Guillaumé. The date of baptism was Feb. 28, 1712. Cf., however, DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VIII, p. 242: Nov. 4, 1732, when Mathieu

- sought and obtained full legal powers, having reached the age of 21. On the family see also BOUCHER, 'Cape and company', *Kleio*, IX, 1 and 2, June 1977, pp. 66-67.
150. FWK: Guillaumé.
 151. LADURIE, *Paysans de Languedoc*, I, pp. 441-442.
 152. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 117.
 153. FWK: Bénézet; PA 201, Archieven, 46b.
 154. Among them a Catholic Pierre Bénézet, born on Oct. 6, 1670 and baptized at Montpellier on Oct. 14 (3 E 177⁵², Montpellier, Catholiques, BMS, 1668-1683 (AD Hérault)).
 155. J. PANNIER, *Antoine Bénézet (de Saint-Quentin); un Quaker français en Amérique*, p. 5.
 156. His signature as a witness in Stellenbosch, 18/4, Testamenten, 1715-1720: 10, Maria (Marie) Couteau, Dec. 18, 1717 (CA) is that of a cultivated man.
 157. 'Briefies en handtekening', *TWK*, VII, 1938-1939, p. 101.
 158. Note the Fouchers of Saint-Maixent in Poitou (4 E² 289, Saint-Maixent, Protestants, BMS, 1684-1685: Jan. 28, 1685 (AD Deux-Sèvres)).
 159. See RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, pp. 163-164 on the "résistance spirituelle" at Grenoble.
 160. RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, p. 206: "Les seuls métiers vraiment libres furent ceux du commerce, de l'agriculture et de l'industrie".
 161. For a wider analysis see *Paysans de Languedoc*, I, pp. 509-629: Le Reflux.
 162. "En Languedoc, au moins dans les cantons protestants, la Révocation accentue ce marasme préexistant" (LADURIE, *Paysans de languedoc*, I, p. 642).
 163. RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, p. 191.
 164. LADURIE, *Paysans de Languedoc*, I, p. 614: "Les inspirés cévenols, quand ils parlent *en langues*, en langues étrangères, sous l'action du Saint-Esprit, s'expriment couramment *en français*, à l'émerveillement des populations patoisantes".
 165. RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, pp. 224-226.
 166. HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, X, appendix XCVII, pp. 406-428.
 167. RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, p. 167.
 168. *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 86n. See also STOYE, *Europe unfolding*, p. 367.

Cape settlers III: from south-eastern France and adjoining territories



This region is bounded on the south by the Mediterranean Sea from the Rhône delta to the western coast of the Gulf of Genoa and on the west, excluding a small corner of the Lyonnais, by the Rhône and the Saône. An approximate line of demarcation to the north-west is provided by a portion of the Langres plateau, the Faucilles and southern Alsace, while the region extends to the east to include French-speaking Switzerland and the Alpine territory of north-western Italy.

The French provinces of Provence and Dauphiné, together with south-eastern Burgundy, lie within this part of Europe. To these must be added Franche-Comté, ceded by Spain in 1678, and the mainly Lutheran county of Montbéliard, occupied briefly by the French after 1676, but an appendage of the German state of Württemberg until the French revolution. Montbéliard was the homeland of the nineteenth-century Protestant historians Eugène and Emile Haag. Autonomous

enclaves east of the Rhône did not finally become French until the eighteenth century: the Orange principality and its dependent villages in 1713; the Comtat Venaissin and its capital Avignon, removed from papal control in 1791.

Apart from the coastal strip and the river valleys, particularly that of the Rhône, this region is dominated by the massive mountain ranges of the Alps and the Jura. Here, and in the Vosges to the north, many of the rivers of the Rhône-Saône system have their sources, among them the Durance, the Drôme and the Doubs. It is a land of hardy mountain folk in many districts, often living in isolated towns and villages and speaking dialects of Provençal in the south, a language in eclipse in the



seventeenth century, but certainly more widely spoken than is the case today. Those from Provence, as a contemporary pointed out, did not consider themselves Frenchmen.¹

The French territories of the region in the mid-seventeenth century fell within the jurisdiction of the generalities administered from Aix-en-Provence and Grenoble, and in part of those with headquarters at Lyons and Dijon. A Besançon generality was later established for Franche-Comté. Other important French towns were Valence on the Rhône and the ports of Marseilles and Toulon. Beyond the French borders lay the capital of Savoy, Chambéry, and Lausanne across the Lake of Geneva in the Pays de Vaud. Of major importance in the history of European Calvinism was the republic and city of Geneva at the western end of the lake.

The synodal province of Dauphiné, which formed the prolongation of the great arc of Calvinism from Poitou to Languedoc, had close links with Geneva. The reformed faith was firmly established in Dauphiné and Calvinists were in a majority in many rural communities and were influential in the life of a number of towns, among them Montélimar and Die. Some 85 000 members of the reformed church lived in its eight colloquies, worshipping in more than seventy temples, of which several lay in Alpine territory now forming part of Italy: those of the six churches of the Valcluson colloquy, including Pragela (Pragelato), and Château-Dauphin (Casteldelfino) in the Embrunais colloquy. The churches of the Orange principality were also included in the Dauphiné synodal province.²

In Provence, Calvinism had suffered greatly during the civil wars of religion and was only numerically significant in a single bloc of territory north and south of the Lubéron range above the lower valley of the Durance. Here lived more than half of the members of the reformed church in Provence. Many of the Protestants of such villages as Cabrières-d'Aigues, Lourmarin and Mérindol between the Durance and the Lubéron heights, and Lacoste and Joucas north of the mountains, were descendants of Vaudois refugees from Piedmont and Dauphiné who had established themselves there at an early date.³ Village names in Piedmont have close affinities with Provençal patronymics: Malano (Mallan, or Malan); Sambuco (Sambuc); Pellenchi (Pellanchon).⁴ The Malans of modern South Africa are not the only descendants of Cape refugees with a Vaudois background.

In the synodal province of Burgundy lying east of the Saône, Calvinism was strongest in the Pays de Gex on the Swiss border, where it had

flourished since the Bernese conquest of 1536. Of its dozen churches before 1662, three lie today within the Swiss canton of Geneva: Versoix, Saconnex and Meyrin. The demolition of twenty-one temples ordered by the intendant Claude Bouchu in 1662 left only two for the colloquy at Sergy and Ferney, known now as Ferney-Voltaire through its association with the great literary figure of the eighteenth century. Part of the Lyons colloquy of the Burgundy synodal province also lay in the region discussed in this chapter.⁵

It will be seen therefore that Calvinism was a relatively powerful religious influence in south-eastern France, especially in Dauphiné and along the Swiss border. Its strength was, however, largely confined to rural areas of small total population and one or two of the smaller towns. Some 12% of all French Protestants lived in this part of the country.

The history of religious persecution in Savoy in the late seventeenth century is intimately bound up with that in France under Louis XIV. The Duke of Savoy, Vittorio Amedeo II, had been compelled to expel his Protestant subjects by the French king after the revocation and many took refuge in Switzerland and Germany. Savoy, however, joined the alliance against France in the War of the League of Augsburg and in 1692 invaded Dauphiné. Many Vaudois living in the Alpine communities on the French side of the frontier fled into ducal territory and others returned from exile. Religious freedom was restored by edict at Moncalieri in 1694, but when hostilities were ended two years later at Turin, a further exodus of Protestants from Savoy ensued.⁶

Although the plan to bring Vaudois refugees in exile near Nuremberg to the Cape in 1688 did not materialize,⁷ there was evidently one Savoyard in the settlement at a later period, François Guillaumé's wife Claudine Eloy. Her place of birth is difficult to identify; it was perhaps Bordighera on the Ligurian coast, close to the ducal territories.⁸ It is likely too that Jacques Labat was not from Fontaney-le-Comte, but from Savoy. He is so described on one occasion,⁹ while elsewhere he is said to have come from Bourdeaux.¹⁰ It is interesting to note that there was a Susanne Labat from Bourdeaux in London in 1698.¹¹ While Bordeaux on the Atlantic coast could be intended here,¹² two other possibilities present themselves: Bourdeau near Chambéry in Savoy and the almost exclusively Calvinist community of Bourdeaux in south-western Dauphiné.¹³ One other Cape settler who apparently had an Italian background may lie outside the scope of this study altogether:

the widower Ignatius Maré, who was stated in 1706 to have come from Calabria.¹⁴

Switzerland was both a land of permanent refuge and a point of departure for French-speaking emigrants bound for more distant destinations. Many of the future Cape settlers from south-eastern France and some from further afield must have passed this way on their travels to the United Provinces. Geneva in the immediate post-revocation period was an unsatisfactory haven; moreover a smallpox epidemic in 1686 caused added suffering, particularly among the children.¹⁵

One young settler at the Cape was apparently born in or near Geneva about the year 1684. Although no baptismal entry for Etienne Gauch has been found, we are indebted to C. Graham Botha¹⁶ for the discovery in 1920 of the entry on January 13, 1683 of the marriage at Céligny of his father André Gauch from Le Pont-de-Montvert in the Cévennes to Jacqueline, daughter of the late Louis Decré of Sauverny.¹⁷ Céligny is in a small enclave of Geneva on the western shore of the Lake of Geneva towards Nyon. It is evident that André Gauch had left France some time before the revocation; his bride's father was also probably a refugee, as Sauverny is in the Pays de Gex.

André Gauch became a member of the Walloon church in Amsterdam on April 16, 1690 and was accompanied to the United Provinces by his wife and son. A daughter Marie was born to them in the Dutch seaport and baptized on May 28, 1690.¹⁸ The family may have spent some time in Basle before leaving Switzerland. A Jean Gauch came to Amsterdam from that city in March 1697.¹⁹ André Gauch and his son Etienne reached the Cape in 1691 aboard the Amsterdam East Indiaman *Spierdijk*, commanded by Siarwert de Jonge.²⁰ Whether Jacqueline Decré and Marie died in the United Provinces or on the outward voyage has not been determined.

An early Cape settler from Geneva was Isaac Manget, who was accepted as a burgher on January 20, 1658.²¹ Another Swiss colonist who was certainly at the Cape in 1688 was Jean Margra, or Marguerat. The name of his Stellenbosch farm indicates that he was from Lutry near Lausanne, in the Pays de Vaud.²² He reached The Hague in 1681 and was perhaps a soldier in a Swiss regiment serving with the French. On April 26, 1688 he was permitted to bring out his wife Trijntje Dekker, then resident in Middelburg.²³ A number of variations in the spelling of her husband's surname have been encountered, but it seems probable that Marguerat is the correct version, since that name is associated with Lutry.²⁴ Of later date were the ship's corporal Jean Sauchy from Rouge-

mont in the Vaud, the soldier Abraham Matthé of Tramelan in the Berne canton, Jean de Koning of Geneva and Pierre Sandoz, a silversmith from Neuchâtel who arrived in 1748 as a soldier on the *Amstelveen*. All became burghers in the mid-eighteenth century.²⁵

Dauphiné occupies a special place in the history of the Cape emigration, for it was in this province that the first minister to the French-speaking Calvinist colonists of Drakenstein, Pierre Simond, had his origins. Although a high degree of religious stability had evolved in the province after the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes,²⁶ Calvinism suffered greatly as the revocation approached, both during the savage reprisals initiated by the intendant Pierre Cardin le Bret in 1683 to break the campaign of passive resistance and during the dragonnade of 1685. Several Calvinists paid with their lives for the events of 1683, among them Antoine Chamier, great-grandson of Daniel Chamier, the theologian who helped to put into practice the legislation of 1598.²⁷

Although Pierre Simond was a company official at the Cape and never became a permanent resident, the nature of his office requires that his European background be discussed in the context of the settlers to whom he ministered. He was born about the year 1651 at Nyons in south-western Dauphiné, an important centre in the strongly Calvinist Aygues valley region of the province. The reformed congregations of the valley formed part of the colloquy of the Baronnies, to which the Protestants of Orange were also attached.²⁸

It seems more than likely that the family was connected with another town in the vicinity, Buis-les-Baronnies, and Pierre may have been a son of Jacques and Elisabeth Simond, and brother of David and Marthe, both of whom took refuge abroad.²⁹ He was in any case undoubtedly related to them. There is a tradition that the future minister took part in 1669 in a trading venture to San Domingo and other parts of the West Indies,³⁰ but no confirmation of this has been discovered. What is known is that he trained for the ministry under Alexandre d'Ize at the provincial academy of Die³¹ and in 1678 was accepted as pastor to the Montjoux congregation, a small church in the predominantly Protestant region of the Valentinois colloquy around Dieulefit.³² In the following year he transferred to another rural congregation, that of Eourres near Serres in the Gapençais colloquy, retaining the ministry there until 1682.³³

Pierre Simond's last charge in France was at Embrun, chief town of the Embrunais colloquy of Dauphiné and an archiepiscopal seat lying in the upper valley of the Durance within sight of snow-capped Alpine peaks.

Although some members of the reformed church were socially influential, Calvinism was the minority faith and was clearly under considerable pressure. Already by a royal ordinance of November 14, 1680 Calvinists had in theory, if not entirely in practice, been excluded from municipal government and in March 1682 the *parlement* of Grenoble had decreed the suspension of services in the temple.³⁴

Even as Simond took up his new appointment the Catholic hierarchy was engaged in an enquiry aimed at completely discrediting the reformed church. His move to Embrun was in fact the result of one of the successes of this campaign. Jean Garcin, his predecessor, had sought to reconcile Calvinist belief with Catholic dogma. His efforts, however, pleased neither the ecclesiastical nor the secular authorities. Garcin was summoned to Grenoble, fined heavily and compelled to relinquish the ministry. He was ultimately to find a refuge in the United Provinces.³⁵

Simond's pastorate therefore coincided with a difficult period in the life of the reformed church at Embrun. He served there for rather more than two years, officiating for the first time at the baptism on June 9, 1682 of Pierre, son of a farrier, Abraham Martin.³⁶ He was assisted by a reader, Jean Court of Corps in Dauphiné, and by a consistory in which the social élite of the Protestant community was well represented. In addition to the town itself, the church, as was usually the case outside the larger urban centres, served a number of localities in the immediate vicinity. The Calvinist population of the region was not large, however. In 1683, the only complete calendar year of Simond's ministry, a mere fifteen acts are recorded in the registers: eleven baptisms and four interments.³⁷

The campaign to eliminate Protestant worship at Embrun achieved final success on June 26, 1684, when the royal council ordered the demolition of the temple. Simond signed a last entry in the register on June 18 after the baptism of Isaac, son of Paul Chabrand of Les Orres, and the consistory concluded its business as a deliberative body on July 2. On August 22 a *Te Deum* was recited at Notre-Dame in Embrun to celebrate the destruction of the temple and the bells pealed to mark the triumph of orthodoxy over reform.³⁸

It is possible that Pierre Simond remained at Embrun until the revocation. He was certainly there late in 1684 and was living in the house of the heirs of a certain François Arnaud. On November 11 of that year he was paid the sum of nine hundred *livres* "pour ces états ou pour les frais du sinode".³⁹ In early October of the following year the goods of fugitive members of the Calvinist church were sold to defray the garri-

son costs of a cavalry regiment in the town.⁴⁰ The Embrun congregation, although small, was affluent and the gentry, men of affairs and the professional class were in a majority there.⁴¹ When the assets of the consistory were at length made over to the hospital it was noted that Embrun was second only in wealth to Montélimar among the reformed congregations of Dauphiné.⁴²

Simond's road to exile may have taken him through Savoy, Switzerland and the Rhine valley and it is possible that he travelled with members of his family. In the United Provinces he joined the growing number of dispossessed pastors from France for whom special provision was made once they had given evidence of the soundness of their religious views.⁴³ Simond, together with Antoine Rey, former minister of Saint-Félix-de-Sorgues in Rouergue,⁴⁴ went to Zierikzee in Zeeland, where on February 18, 1686 they were appointed for two years to the Walloon church at a salary of four hundred guilders a year, a sum deriving from a collection made locally to relieve distress.⁴⁵ This was in advance of a decision taken by the states of Zeeland on March 8 of that year to set aside the sum of four thousand guilders for the support of refugee ministers, to be supplemented by a collection from the town in which they preached.⁴⁶ The Zierikzee congregation had been in existence for more than a century and had been founded to care for refugees from Antwerp after Parma's capture of that city.⁴⁷ A Dauphiné pastor probably known to Simond, André Corrège of Condorcet, was appointed to the Walloon church at Sas van Gent, south of the Scheldt.⁴⁸

Simond's residence in Zeeland throws further light upon his family background. His sermon published at Leyden in 1687, *La Discipline de Jésus-Christ*, dedicated to the Prince of Orange, refers to services rendered to the stadtholder Frederik Hendrik by Simond's maternal grandfather, perhaps in the principality of Orange.⁴⁹ It is known too that Marthe Simond was at Zierikzee. On July 20, 1687 she was married there to Jean-François, son of Marc Nézon and his wife Jeanne.⁵⁰ The Nézons, like the Simonds, came from Nyons and the subsequent history of these families indicates that Pierre Simond was a close relative.⁵¹ Pastoral work must have brought Simond into contact with many French refugees, particularly from the north-east and the Channel coast, numerous in Zeeland congregations.⁵² He certainly knew some of the future Cape settlers, among them the Viviers, and was in close touch with the refugee problem generally through the deliberations of the synod of Rotterdam which he attended in April 1686.⁵³ It would seem therefore that Pierre Simond himself did much to encourage the emigration to the Cape.

A decision to send a French minister to the Cape was taken by the Lords Seventeen of the Dutch East India Company on October 6, 1687 and three weeks later Pierre Simond was appointed to the post as a company servant at a salary of ninety guilders a month.⁵⁴ One of his first measures was to approach the Amsterdam chamber of the company in January 1688 with a request that commissioners be appointed to obtain full details about the colonists who might soon emigrate to the Cape in large numbers.⁵⁵ His concern was doubtless for the Vaudois contingent which at length decided to remain in Europe.⁵⁶ The Middelburg chamber, in its advice to the Cape of February 18, 1688 concerning the arrival of a pastor, spoke of Pierre Simond and his family. Was his original intention to come out with relatives?⁵⁷ However, Simond married Anne de Bérault in Middelburg on April 18, 1688 and sailed four days later on the *Suijdbeveland* to inaugurate a ministry for his compatriots at the Cape.⁵⁸ Antoine Rey long continued to serve the Zierikzee congregation and was joined after Simond's departure by a pastor from his own Rouergue region of France, Isaac du Claux of Saint-Jean-du-Bruel.⁵⁹

There would seem to be some indications in Simond's background and certainly in the social standing of his wife's family to suggest an element of truth in accusations of autocratic behaviour levelled at the minister at the Cape, when he quarrelled with a settler whose origins have yet to be discussed, Jacques de Savoye.⁶⁰ There is an echo too in this dispute of the gulf which separated pastors and laity in France, when it was stated that ministers there "étoient si odieux aux grands et aux petits, et ou l'on se donnoit tant de licence de les insulter".⁶¹

The Simonds, it was alleged, looked down upon those entrusted to their care, the minister seeing none at first worthy of choice to form a consistory for Drakenstein. Moreover, Simond was accused of exercising almost papal authority over his flock and both he and his wife threatened to impose an economic stranglehold upon the French-speaking community by selling goods, levying a tithe and establishing a bakehouse for profit which all would have to use.⁶²

We have an example of a profitable undertaking by pastors in the Calaisis, home of a number of Cape settlers, and with regard to the formation of a consistory for Drakenstein Simond may have remembered Embrun, where, as so often in France, reformed church elders were drawn from the cream of local society.⁶³ Such a choice could do much to strengthen a church threatened by powerful outside forces and it is possible that the minister wanted the support of a strong body of

settler opinion to counter the impending actions of local officials hostile to any signs of Huguenot separatism at the Cape. Simond, in a dispute at this period with the Stellenbosch sick visitor Sijbrand Mankadan, is alleged to have complained of the petty tyranny of company rule at the Cape.⁶⁴ On the other hand Pierre Simond was a company official himself and the accusations of social snobbery, cupidity and high-handed methods of raising money represented perhaps the first rumblings of burgher discontent with official domination. Simond, like so many of the reformed ministers of France before the revocation, was in a privileged position in society;⁶⁵ now most of his flock were struggling to find their feet in an alien land.

Several other settlers from Dauphiné reached the Cape. One was Louis Fourié, about whom little background information has come to light. There seems no reason to connect him with Thomas Florie, or Fourie, who was at the Cape in 1671 with his wife Marie Leset.⁶⁶ Louis Fourié was one of a small group of refugees from the province which took leave of the Amsterdam congregation of the Walloon church on December 21, 1687 before sailing for the distant southern African settlement.⁶⁷ The place of origin of one of these settlers was Pontaix in Dauphiné and it may be that all were from that neighbourhood. Were it not for one circumstance it could be assumed that all embarked on the *Borssenburg*, a vessel which left Texel on January 6, 1688 under the command of Jan Claesje Valcuijt of Diemermeer, with "French Piedmontese" aboard, doubtless a reference to colonists from the *midi*.⁶⁸ However the names of Louis and David Fourié appear in the membership register of the Amsterdam church on January 18, 1688.⁶⁹ Perhaps Louis delayed his departure and travelled on the *Wapen van Alkmaar* or some other ship.⁷⁰

It was Pierre Lombard who was a member of the congregation at Pontaix in Dauphiné, a picturesque little town on the right bank of the Drôme below Die. A man of about thirty years of age when he left the Amsterdam church in December 1687 he was accompanied by his wife Marie Couteau, a year his junior.⁷¹ Lombard had a further responsibility. The church register speaks of the departure of the couple "et leur Mère Eve". It is not clear whose mother is intended here and her surname is not given.⁷² Whether Eve decided to remain in the United Provinces, or died before or during the voyage is uncertain. If the Lombards travelled on the *Borssenburg* with her she must have reached the Cape, for the voyage was not marked by the sickness and deaths which were so common a feature of the long southward passage.⁷³ The name Lombard is recorded among refugees at Middelburg and Leyden

between 1685 and 1688 and there were Pierres at both. However Lombard is not an uncommon surname and it is known that some refugees of that name came from the north of France.⁷⁴ Couteaus at Leyden and at Magdeburg in Germany were certainly from Dauphiné.⁷⁵

The Pontaix church suffered greatly in the persecutions of 1683 and its pastors Daniel Lambert and Daniel Lautier fled to Switzerland.⁷⁶ Lombards were prominent in the neighbourhood and it is suggested that Pierre may have been a son of Antoine Lombard, a farm worker of Aurel, south of Pontaix across the river, who remained in the district after the revocation. Antoine was the son and heir of Jean Lombard, married to Isabeau Rochas, and grandson of Moïse Lombard, also of Aurel. It is interesting to note that Isabeau Rochas was connected with a family Coutoux, or perhaps Couteau. The Lombards of Aurel bore the nickname "Figuier".⁷⁷

This ancestry is merely a tentative approach. There were several Pierre Lombards in and around Pontaix in the later seventeenth century⁷⁸ and a further examination of contemporary legal documents will perhaps reveal another line of descent. The various Lombard families were doubtless related. They were evidently mainly of the landowning or tenant farming class. An Etienne Lombard was a consul in the municipal government of the town in 1690;⁷⁹ earlier a Madeleine Lombard was fined for practising as a midwife when that occupation was closed to Calvinists.⁸⁰ Related families at Pontaix to the Lombards were the Bérangiers and the Serves. In 1663 Susanne Serve, wife of Daniel Bérangier, made her will. She was then "gisante au lit affligé (*sic*) de maladie corporelle causée par une perte de sang qui luy (est) arrivée par les mauvaises (*sic*) traitements de son mary". Her Calvinism was of a stern and unforgiving kind and she was determined that her husband's inexpert medical care should not go unpunished. Daniel was to be excluded from his inheritance as far as the law would permit.⁸¹ Here is a vivid picture of domestic strife in the little Protestant community of Pontaix.

The name Couteau (Coustaut, or Coutaud) is not unknown at Pontaix; there were also Couteaus at Die to the east and at Romans-sur-Isère to the north-west.⁸² Marie Couteau's place of origin is evidently concealed by an inaccurate transcription in the Dutch East India Company records. It could be a misspelling of Beaurières, a locality to the south-west, near Luc-en-Diois, but more likely the place-name intended is Soubeira, the old form of the modern Soubeyran, near Crest in the

strongly Calvinist Drôme valley region of the Diois colloquy north-west of Valdrôme.

That this might be the case is suggested by the background of the refugee Antoine Gros, whose departure for the Cape is also noted at Amsterdam on December 21, 1687. He is probably the refugee of that name who brought an attestation to the Walloon church there from Geneva on May 26, 1683.⁸³ Did he have a wife who followed later from France, or who fell sick on the way? The wife of an Antoine Gros was helped by the Genevan authorities on August 24, 1687.⁸⁴ If the Cape settler were indeed her husband she must have died before he left Europe.

There were members of this family at Pontaix and an Antoine Gros, father of a family, at Valdrôme in the Gapençais colloquy.⁸⁵ The needy refugee at Geneva, however, did not come from either of these places, but from a locality which, although difficult to decipher, is probably Soubeira (Soubeyran). Another surname to be found at Pontaix is Viret.⁸⁶ Botha's inclusion of a Jean Viret among the passengers on the *Berg China*, which sailed from Rotterdam on March 20, 1688 under Samuel Jansz. van Groll,⁸⁷ would seem to have been in error. There was, however, an Etienne Viret on the *Suijdsbeveland*.⁸⁸ He was born about the year 1662 in Dauphiné and was perhaps either from Pontaix or from another Calvinist centre such as Vinsobres near Nyons.⁸⁹

Daniel Bouvat embarked as a soldier on the *Wapen van Alkmaar* in 1688 and became a burgher after his arrival at the Cape.⁹⁰ The name Bouvat appears among refugees from Dauphiné at Leyden and Middelburg after the revocation,⁹¹ but it would seem that Daniel Bouvat was resident in Amsterdam before that event, leaving the city in August 1684 for another town in the United Provinces.⁹² There were Bouvats at Pontaix and at Saint-Etienne-en-Quint in the same region,⁹³ but the Cape refugee is noted in Dutch records as having come from Die,⁹⁴ the major Calvinist centre in Dauphiné, with a population of 5 000, most of whom belonged to the reformed church.⁹⁵ One of the pastors there, Louis de Gilbert, abjured in Paris a few months before the revocation. His conversion was apparently sincere and he subsequently obtained a judicial post at Die, where he died at an advanced age in 1737.⁹⁶

The refugee surgeon and farmer Jean Durand, born about the year 1666, came from the more isolated Calvinist community of La Motte-Chalançon, south of Die. He must surely have been related to the surgeon Durand of this small town who committed suicide in 1738 because his daughter had been interned in a religious house for converts

to Catholicism.⁹⁷ By that time the Cape settler had been dead for more than a decade. Jean Garde was associated with Durand at the Cape in 1690 and in the following year was granted a farm which he called Rhône.⁹⁸ He was probably also from Dauphiné, particularly as a Daniel Garde from that province reached Amsterdam in March 1687. A Jean Garde is also recorded in the Dutch city. He brought an attestation from London to the Walloon church there in December 1683.⁹⁹

Also from Dauphiné was Etienne Niel, born in 1669, who came to the Cape as a soldier in the service of the Dutch East India Company and later farmed at Drakenstein. The spelling of the surname makes it clear that he was not related to Guillaume Néel of Normandy.¹⁰⁰ Niels have been identified in several parts of Dauphiné, including Vinsobres and Château-Queyras, south of Briançon in the high Alps.¹⁰¹ An Antoine Niel from Dauphiné, a stocking-maker, was living with his wife and three children in Magdeburg in 1710.¹⁰²

Pierre Meyer is another Dauphinois refugee at the Cape whose birthplace remains uncertain. He may have come from the Vaudois valleys, now Italian territory. It is known that the sons of a Pierre Meyer of Pragela (Pragelato), Jean and François, became merchants at Gap. Meyers were also present in Niel country at Château-Queyras.¹⁰³ The Cape refugee escaped into Germany to avoid the dragonnades and was perhaps of a higher social class than many of his burgher compatriots in exile. A mercantile background would be in keeping with his subsequent career and marriage into the Savoye family.¹⁰⁴

The refugee Pierre Rochefort was born at Grenoble,¹⁰⁵ where Calvinists, although very much in a minority, were not without influence. The temple was usually served in the seventeenth century by two pastors, often loaned by the church in Geneva. The minister there, Alexandre Vigne, who publicly repudiated Calvinism in 1684, used his literary talents in defence of Protestantism before his abjuration and to attack it after he became a Catholic.¹⁰⁶ Rochefort was perhaps of good family. His parents, citizens of Grenoble who had died before July 1702, were Edouard Arnaud and Virginie Chevalier. Both surnames are represented in Calvinist circles in Grenoble in 1670. Mathieu Chevalier, an innkeeper, was living there at that time, as was Daniel Arnaud, a master mason.¹⁰⁷ It will be recalled that the name Arnaud has been mentioned in connection with the minister Pierre Simond. Rochefort may have assumed a nickname, or perhaps his surname represented a territorial holding in the family.

A Cape settler whose original home continues to elude certain identi-

cation may possibly have come from Dauphiné. François Villion reached the Cape in 1671. He was from Clermont, a French place-name of frequent occurrence.¹⁰⁸ However the surname appears among refugees from this region in the United Provinces and Switzerland.¹⁰⁹ Was François Villion perhaps from Clermont in the Terres froides north of Grenoble, or from Monestier-de-Clermont south of the provincial capital?

Two men from Orange played a leading part in church life at the Cape: Paul Roux, appointed shortly after his arrival in 1688 as reader and teacher at Drakenstein, and Antoine Faure, who came out on the *Kokenge* in 1714 as a soldier in the Dutch East India Company's service and was chosen in 1719 as reader and teacher at Stellenbosch.¹¹⁰

The principality of Orange was a noted Calvinist centre, with a large church in the town of that name and a smaller one at Courthézon to the south, on the borders of the Comtat Venaissin. These congregations were attached to the Baronnie colloquy of Dauphiné, while those in the villages of Orpierre and Trescléoux in southern Dauphiné, dependencies of Orange, were included in the Gapençais colloquy of the synodal province.¹¹¹ John Locke visited one of the Orange temples on his way to Montpellier in 1675 and found it "a pretty sort of building". At that time Calvinists and Catholics had an equal share in municipal administration.¹¹²

Dragoons under René de Froullai, the count of Tessé, violated Orange sovereignty on October 24, 1685 and were speedily followed by two battalions of infantry. They evicted French Calvinists who had taken refuge there, had the temples demolished and the pastors arrested, and secured the usual mass abjurations under duress.¹¹³ Four of the ministers were imprisoned in the fortress of Pierre-Scize at Lyons; a fifth, Jacques Pineton de Chambrun, abjured at Valence on the journey, but recanted and succeeded in reaching a safe exile. The title of the book he published at The Hague in 1687, *Les Larmes de Jacques Pineton de Chambrun*, poignantly evokes his anguish of spirit. Pineton died two years later in England.¹¹⁴

The French, who had made several incursions into the principality since 1660, evacuated Orange in 1698 after the Treaty of Ryswick and the surviving pastors at Pierre-Scize, Charles Petit of Orange and Etienne Aunet of Courthézon, were released. The restoration of Calvinism was short-lived. France reoccupied the territory in 1703 and a new exodus was precipitated, including the pastors Petit and Aunet.¹¹⁵ A decade

later the Utrecht settlement confirmed French possession of the principality.¹¹⁶

Paul Roux of Drakenstein was probably the son of Jérémie Roux, a citizen of Orange on whom dragoons were quartered in 1686.¹¹⁷ It is reasonably certain that he escaped to the United Provinces by way of Geneva, where on August 8, 1687 a Paul Roze (*sic*) of Orange was assisted by the authorities.¹¹⁸ The receipts of the sale of goods belong to a Paul Roux who had fled from Orange were given as some three *livres* in March 1691, an insignificant amount.¹¹⁹

Antoine Faure of Stellenbosch was born at Orange in 1685, the son of a merchant Pierre Faure and his second wife Justine Pointy. His grandfather Philippe Faure had been imprisoned at Grenoble for his religious beliefs. C.C. de Villiers has sketched the background of this family of some distinction, having its origins in the sixteenth century at Bourg, capital of Bresse in southern Burgundy.¹²⁰ Pierre Faure fled to Borculo in the Achterhoek of Gelderland during the religious persecution after the revocation. He was perhaps the new convert of moderate means mentioned at Orange in 1686 as a suitable person on whom to billet dragoons.¹²¹ He returned to the principality in 1689, where he died.

It is interesting to note in the registers of the church at the Orange dependency of Trescléoux the presence of several Faure families having links with Lombards of that congregation. There were at least two Antoine Faures at Trescléoux, one a cultivator and the other a lawyer.¹²² The Cape settler of that name must have left Orange after the second wave of persecution there when the French reoccupied the principality early in the eighteenth century. An Alexandre Faure of Orange was a refugee of some distinction at Bergen-op-Zoom in this period.¹²³

Calvinism in Provence had a sad history of persecution. The anti-Protestant violence of 1545 led to the burning and pillaging of the villages south of the Lubéron from Mérindol to Saint-Martin-de-la-Brasque and the temporary exodus of many of the population. The Vaudois and other villagers of that region and Calvinists in other parts of the province suffered greatly in the massacres of 1561 and 1562. Among those who lost their lives were certainly some who were ancestors of Cape refugees in the next century: Guillaume Perrotet and Claude Gardiol of Lourmarin, for example; Jean Roux and Jeanne Jo(u)rdenne from the neighbourhood of Cabrières-d'Aigues; the Antho(u)ard children, who died of hunger in the same village.¹²⁴

The Edict of Nantes was registered, somewhat tardily, by the *parlement* of Provence on August 11, 1600¹²⁵ and in the following year there were twenty active churches, although a dearth of pastors to serve them.¹²⁶ This situation was, however, greatly ameliorated in the course of the next fifteen years, but between 1642 and 1647 Calvinist worship was prohibited in a number of localities, among them Antibes and Eyguières, although it was restored in the latter place in 1654.¹²⁷ Calvinism remained strongest on the Lubéron slopes, but Catholic hostility resulted in a decree of the royal council on July 14, 1661 by which services were forbidden and the temples destroyed in two villages whose congregations were attached to the church at Cabrières-d'Aigues.¹²⁸

Further restrictions followed the findings of a commission of enquiry undertaken by Charles d'Arbalestier for the Calvinist party and the intendant François Bochart de Champigny for the Catholics. Their report signed at Pertuis on May 17, 1662 formed the basis for three royal decrees of May 4 of the following year. Most of the temples of the Lubéron churches were ordered to be destroyed, among them those at Cabrières-d'Aigues, La Motte-d'Aigues, Lourmarin and Lacoste. Worship was also prohibited at Souliers, now Solliès-Pont, near Toulon.¹²⁹ The demolition of temples was charged to the Calvinists of the various localities concerned, although they were given the opportunity of carrying out the work themselves if they so wished, with the free disposal of the materials remaining.¹³⁰ It is not surprising to read in the pages of Locke's diary that members of the reformed church in Provence "complain that those who are garantie of the Edict of Nantes interpose noe thing in their behalf".¹³¹ In 1677, shortly after Locke's visit to Provence, a Catholic mission led by Henri Robert made many converts in the Aigues valley,¹³² but Calvinism remained strong numerically in the region until the revocation.

The prohibition of worship at Cabrières-d'Aigues and other Lubéron villages compelled members of the reformed church in such localities to make use of more distant temples. One was at Mérindol, scene of several provincial synods until 1679.¹³³ The little town was 90% Calvinist, but arguments put forward in 1683 by Jérôme de Grimaldi, cardinal archbishop of Aix-en-Provence, were found sufficiently persuasive to bring the exercise of the reformed faith there to an end in the following year. Entitled "Moiens pour obtenir de la pieté et du Zele de S.M. pour lextirpation de lheresie la demolition du temple", the cardinal's memorandum advanced several reasons why Mérindol should be deprived of its Calvinist privileges: the local seigneur, Jean-Baptiste d'Etampes, was also the Catholic bishop of Marseilles; extensions to the

temple had been financed from a community fund and not from purely Protestant sources; the temple was too near the church and the intermingling of congregations outside "cause souvent du desordre, surtout lors qu'on fait des processions".¹³⁴ Mérindol's minister, Etienne Villet, was among the many from his congregation who took the road to exile, dying in the United Provinces in 1701. He first took refuge in Orange, but was forced to leave when the troops entered the principality in 1685.¹³⁵

Worshippers from the Aigues valley could also use three other temples: Manosque to the east, Eyguières to the south-west and Velaux, the temple for the Calvinists of Aix-en-Provence and Marseilles. A few other churches survived the pruning of 1663.¹³⁶ One was Le Luc, south-west of Draguignan, serving an extensive area both inland and along the Mediterranean coast from Toulon to Antibes. Another, Seyne in north-eastern Provence, was specially recommended to the charity of the Geneva consistory in 1654 because of its poverty and its isolation in a largely Catholic region. Finally, the small church of Riez-Roumoules, east of Manosque across the Durance, survived until the approach of the revocation,¹³⁷ as did that at La Charce in the Sisteron enclave within the boundaries of Dauphiné.¹³⁸

In the last months before the revocation attitudes towards those professing the reformed religion hardened in Provence. On August 4, 1685 the intendant Thomas-Alexandre Morant banned the exercise of the Protestant faith in the free port of Marseilles to all except foreigners, of whom there were a number in the commercial world from the United Provinces, Switzerland and England.¹³⁹ However, the Dutch consul and merchant Nicolaas Rutz of Amsterdam, married to Bernine Zollikoffer of a Marseilles trading family from Sankt Gall in Switzerland,¹⁴⁰ noted that foreigners, unless armed with a pass, were not exempt from the growing attacks on Protestants.¹⁴¹ Once Calvinism had been officially proscribed, Louvois ordered the dragoons into Provence, billeting the troops on members of the reformed church at Mérindol, Lourmarin, Eyguières and other centres. Marseilles was to be spared, but Calvinists there refused to abjure and the lieutenant general Grignan was forced to take military action. The result there, as elsewhere, was mass conversion or escape.¹⁴²

It was from this region of weakened Calvinism that a large body of French refugees came to the Cape via the United Provinces, many of them embarking at Rotterdam on the *Berg China*, a vessel which also brought a small party of orphan girls from the Netherlands to help

redress the balance between the sexes at the Cape.¹⁴³ It was not an easy voyage. Forced initially to take the northerly route round the British Isles, the *Berg China* at length reached Table Bay with some fifty sick aboard who required hospitalization. Twenty deaths occurred before the ship made port.¹⁴⁴ Not all the refugees whose names appear in the *Berg China's* passenger list of December 23, 1687 lived to make a contribution to South African history. Some clearly changed their minds about emigrating before the ship sailed on March 20, 1688; others must have died before embarkation, on the voyage or immediately after they reached the Cape.¹⁴⁵

One whose name is lost to Cape history was Jean Furet, a young man of eighteen in December 1687. The name appears among Calvinists at Marseilles, Lourmarin and Gordes,¹⁴⁶ but is particularly associated with the village of Peypin-d'Aigues, towards La Bastide-des-Jourdans at the eastern end of the Aigues valley south of the Lubéron. The temple here was one of the two demolished in 1661. A Jean Furet there was married to Honorade Courbonne, another family name encountered among the Provençal emigrants of 1688.¹⁴⁷ There was also a Jean Furet of Peypin-d'Aigues at Geneva in 1697. Rather younger than the youth in the passenger list of 1687, he was an apprentice confectioner in the Swiss city.¹⁴⁸

Pierre Goirand, aged thirty in 1687, and his wife of twenty-eight, Françoise Rousse, disappear from the Cape story after their names were included in the *Berg China's* passenger list. They came from Cabrières-d'Aigues and were still living there at the end of August 1686. A decision not to leave earlier may have been made because of Françoise's pregnancy. A child Jacques was born to them in June 1686, but died two months later and was buried on August 29. Church and legal records in the region south of the Lubéron reveal complex alliances. It is clear, for example, that this marriage was not the only link between the families. There was a Pierre Roux at Cabrières after the revocation whose wife was Madeleine Goirande.¹⁴⁹ Again, as in Languedoc, we see the use of the feminine ending in the surnames of women.

Nothing more is heard after the compilation of the *Berg China's* passenger list of Antoine Madan (*sic*), thirty-eight years of age, his wife of twenty-three, Elisabeth Verdette, and their daughter of ten months, unnamed in the letter from the Rotterdam chamber of December 1687. The name Madan has not been traced in Provence and it is suggested that it should be Mal(l)an. There were Verdets at Forcalquier, Manos-

que and at Ongle, a village some distance to the north-east of the Aigues valley beyond Forcalquier. Others came from Saint-Martin-de-la-Brasque, then known as Saint-Martin-d'Aigues and the second locality to lose its reformed services in 1661. All these Verdets worshipped at the Manosque temple. This couple would seem to have come from Saint-Martin. On August 8, 1684 Antoine Mal(l)an and Isabeau (Elisabeth) Verdet(te) presented a son Pierre for baptism at Manosque. If these are in fact the prospective Cape settlers, Pierre, born on July 24, 1684, must have died before the passenger list of December 1687 was drawn up.¹⁵⁰

Pierre Mal(l)an's godfather was Pierre Jourdan of Saint-Martin-de-la-Brasque. Jourdans were well represented in the list of those boarding the *Berg China* and to add to the profusion – and to the confusion of Christian names – another would seem to have come to the Cape by a different ship. One group of seven Jourdans and near relatives came from Cabrières-d'Aigues and the neighbouring village of La Motte-d'Aigues. It consisted of two households. There was first the widow Jourdan, Jeanne Marthe aged sixty, with her sons Jean Jourdan, twenty-eight years of age, and Pierre, twenty-four. There was also another widow, Marie Jourdanne, forty years of age, probably a close relative. She was accompanied by her three daughters Jeanne Rousse, aged fifteen, Marie Rousse, ten, and Marguerite Rousse, a child of seven. The two widows and Jeanne Rousse are among those whose names disappear after the compilation of the passenger list.

The younger widow, Marie Jourdanne, was formerly the wife of Jean Roux, a farm worker of La Motte-d'Aigues and the son of Pierre Roux and Perrine Despine. In 1677 he had inherited a third share of his parents' estate, the other portions going equally to his brothers Daniel and Etienne. The inheritance included buildings, vines, orchards and livestock. Jean Roux died before the close of 1683. In his will of October 14 of that year he left his house, goods and farm animals to Marie, "sa tres bien aymee fame (*sic*)".¹⁵¹ In subsequent family settlements we learn that Marie Jourdanne had a brother-in-law Daniel Cavallier,¹⁵² a name which appears in the Lourmarin records, where there were clear links between the Roux, Cavallier and Furet families.¹⁵³ Claire Cavallier (Cavallièrre), who died at Lourmarin in January 1705, was refused Christian burial, "estant morte de mort subite, et nayant donne auparavant le devoir chatolique (*sic*)".¹⁵⁴

The precise relationship between the Rousse girls and Jeanne Marthe's sons from Cabrières is difficult to determine. It is possible that the latter

were the children of a Paul Jourdan, an agricultural worker in the village. Paul was the name given to one of Jean Jourdan's sons at the Cape, as was Louis.¹⁵⁵ A Louis Jourdan is known to have died at Cabrières-d'Aigues in 1699 at the advanced age of eighty-two.¹⁵⁶ Could he have been the grandfather of the Cape settlers? It is interesting to note that a Pierre Jourdan, perhaps the Drakenstein farmer, was employed as a *garde du terroir*, or ranger, at Cabrières on the eve of the revocation.¹⁵⁷ Jourdans from the village were in trouble for their faith as late as 1736.¹⁵⁸ Pierre Jourdan is sometimes given a sobriquet at the Cape. This could be *cartier*, for *charretier* (waggoner), although Franken suggests a form of *calottier* (cap maker).¹⁵⁹ The former seems the more likely, but the presence at Magdeburg after the revocation of Pierre and François Jourdan, stocking makers of Cabrières-d'Aigues, is to be noted.¹⁶⁰

The names of two other Jourdans appear in the *Berg China's* sailing list: Pierre, like his namesake, twenty-four years of age, and Paul, a young man of twenty-two of whom nothing more is heard after December 1687. They were to sail with André Pellanchon, a boy of fifteen, and all three were first cousins. André and Pierre were joined at the Cape by a second Jean Jourdan. The general composition of refugees planning to sail on the *Berg China*, the distribution of families in church registers in Provence and the fact that both Jourdans are described as from Saint-Martin¹⁶¹ suggest that the cousins were from Saint-Martin-de-la-Brasque. Pierre Jourdan was perhaps the godfather to Jacques Mal(l)an in 1684 and probably the man known as "Swart Piet" to the Khoikhoi.¹⁶² The abjuration of an André Pel(l)anchon, a son of Jean Pel(l)anchon and Marie Seguin (Seguine), took place on October 23, 1685. This was not at Saint-Martin, however, but at Sivergues, on the northern slopes of the Lubéron towards Apt.¹⁶³

The Verdeau brothers listed to sail on the *Berg China*, Jacques aged twenty and Hercule, sixteen years of age, have not been identified in Provence. Only the younger brother survived to settle at Drakenstein. The name of another young man, aged nineteen, is difficult to decipher in the Rotterdam letter of December 1687. Botha has suggested Antoine Scaet, or Senet, but it could well be Fayet (Fayet).¹⁶⁴ There were Fayets at Ongle, related to the Verdets, and more pertinently, members of the family in the Aigues villages, evidently connected with the Jourdans of Cabrières-d'Aigues.¹⁶⁵ This refugee is not mentioned after 1687.

The settler Mathieu Frachas has been touched upon in connection with

the Cordier family at the Cape. A man of twenty-six when he decided to emigrate to the Cape on the *Berg China*, his place of origin in Provence remains uncertain. It could have been Lourmarin, where an agriculturalist Antoine Frachas lived until his death in 1672. His daughter Susanne Frachasse was married at Velaux in April 1675 to Joseph Audibert of Mérindol.¹⁶⁶ Also on the *Berg China* were the cousins Pierre Grange, twenty-three years of age, and Louis Courbon, a youth of twenty. These would seem to be families from Cabrières-d'Aigues, where there was certainly one link between them: the marriage of François Grange to Marguerite Courbonne.¹⁶⁷ Their sons were Louis and Daniel, the latter dying in January 1695.¹⁶⁸ Marguerite made her will in July 1677, describing herself "comme fidelle xstienne (chrétienne) de la religion prethandue refformée".¹⁶⁹ Her marriage was not a happy one and by 1680 husband and wife had separated.¹⁷⁰ Members of both families were masons in the village.

The name Pierre Jaubert (Joubert) does not appear in the December 1687 list of refugees on the *Berg China*; that of Susanne Reyne (Resne), however, "jonge dochter out 20 jaren", is included. There was clearly a last-minute marriage here, as the register of the Walloon church at Brielle in the United Provinces indicates. The ceremony took place on February 1, 1688 and was conducted by Godefroi Lambiron after the publication of the required banns in a single day, with special permission of the town-council. The wording of the marriage entry has perpetuated an error: the bride is described as "Susanne Reyne de la Roque, native d'Antheron en provence". It should read: "Susanne Reyne, native de La Roque-d'Anthéron en Provence".¹⁷¹ La Roque, closely linked until 1663 with the Lourmarin church, lies south of the Durance. Pierre Jaubert's place of birth is correctly given as La Motte-d'Aigues. At the time of his marriage he would be about twenty-four years of age.

Also in the embarkation list for the *Berg China* are Pierre Mallan (Malan), a young man of twenty-three, and his wife of twenty, Isabeau Richarde. Herein lies an apparent mystery, since we hear no more of Pierre Mallan and Susanne Reyne and find that at the Cape Pierre Jaubert is the husband of Isabeau (Elisabeth) Richarde. It is perhaps no mystery at all. Death doubtless claimed two of these refugees and the survivors remarried.¹⁷² The place where this second ceremony took place remains uncertain.

In the records of La Motte-d'Aigues we are confronted with a not unusual proliferation of Jauberts. Was the Cape refugee perhaps the

Pierre Jaubert, son of the late Pierre, agriculturalist, or a son of the late David, who followed the same calling? The latter was a nephew of Catherine Jauberte, married to Antoine Roux of Cabrières. Another of her nephews was Pierre Jaubert, son of the late Jacques.¹⁷³ The relationships are confusing, but there can be no doubt that Pierre Jaubert of Drakenstein stemmed from this stock. There appear to have been at least two Pierre Jauberts in Amsterdam, both arriving in 1686 with attestations from Geneva, the usual escape route from this part of France.¹⁷⁴

The Rey, or Roy family is also numerous in several localities north and south of the Durance and many lived at La Roque-d'Anthéron. Susanne could perhaps be a child of Jean Rey and Jeanne Parise, who were living there in 1674.¹⁷⁵ A Madeleine Reyne was a Rotterdam refugee in 1687 and there was a Marie Reyne at The Hague two years later. In neither case is the place of origin given. However an Etienne Rey of La Roque settled in Berlin, where he was a master basket weaver in 1700.¹⁷⁶ There was a link between the Rey and Barret families of La Roque and between the Barrets and the Richards.¹⁷⁷ The Barrets, as we shall see, had a representative at the Cape. An Elisabeth Richarde became a member of the Walloon church in Amsterdam in March 1688, while the marriage of Jeanne Richarde of Lacoste to Antoine Mal(l)an was celebrated in Provence before early 1675.¹⁷⁸ The surname Mallan is widely distributed indeed and there can be no certainty about the birthplace of the Pierre Mallan whose name appears in the *Berg China's* embarkation list.

The largest party to register for a passage on the *Berg China* was that of the Meinard (Mesnard) family: Jean Meinard, his wife Louise Courbonne, her mother-in-law Marie Anthouarde, a widow of sixty-four, and six small children, Jeanne, ten, Georges, nine, Jacques, eight, Jean, seven, Philippe, six, and a baby André, aged five months. The sailing list of 1687 gives Jean's age as twenty-eight and that of his wife as thirty. If the husband's age is correctly stated he married at an unusually young age. Of this considerable family group all but Jean Meinard the father and two of his children, one of them Philippe, had died by 1690.¹⁷⁹

Although neither the marriage of Jean Meinard to Louise Courbonne, nor the baptism of any of their children has been discovered, there is a strong lead in the records of Provence for the years 1677 and 1683 to the place of origin of the father. He probably came from Saint-Martin-de-la-Brasque, where Georges Meinard and his wife Jeanne Asscotte had

sons Jean, André and Philippe. Jean did not share in a division of property made between the father and the other two sons, both married, in April 1677.¹⁸⁰ Was he perhaps the Cape settler? The family Christian names mentioned here strongly support this view.

There were Meinards at Mérindol who were clearly related to those at Saint-Martin. An André Meinard of Mérindol, with wife and children, received assistance at Leyden in January 1688 and a Pierre Meinard from the same place settled in Magdeburg after the revocation, working there as a wool-comber.¹⁸¹ There is every indication that the Cape Meinards went to Mérindol at or before the revocation. A Jean Meinard of that place, with five children, four of them boys, was described as a fugitive by the *viguier*, or magistrate, Joachim Jury, in 1687. Also mentioned by Jury were Pierre Rouman(ne) and his wife Marie Roux (Rousse), together with other members of the Roux family.¹⁸² It is known that André Meinard, Jean's brother at Saint-Martin, was married to Honorade Roumanne of Peypin-d'Aigues.¹⁸³

The Meinards had abjured the Calvinist faith after the revocation, but like so many others who were forced to do so, made their escape from France. The route they took cannot be determined with certainty, but they may have followed the example of Pierre Rouman and his wife, who left from Marseilles.¹⁸⁴ Did Louise Courbonne travel independently? Her name is not mentioned with her husband's among the refugees of 1687 and the fact that she had a small child suggests that she may have delayed her departure until after his birth, or had perhaps left for the United Provinces at an earlier date. Where the family lived in the decade before the revocation remains an unsolved problem. It may have been in one of the more remote villages of Provence. Between 1675 and 1677 members of the Meinard, Roux and Mallan families of Mérindol were living in the hamlet of Vins, far to the south-east in the administrative region of Brignoles.¹⁸⁵ Orange too, before the expulsion of strangers in 1685, is a not unlikely place of residence.¹⁸⁶

It is possible that Louis Courbon and Louise Courbonne were brother and sister. Jean Meinard's wife would therefore be from the neighbourhood of Cabrières-d'Aigues. A Louise Courbonne from nearby La Motte-d'Aigues was godmother at Manosque in June 1684 to Marie, daughter of Daniel Roux and Madeleine Jourdanne. Further family connections are indicated in the marriage at Manosque in 1671 of François Ro(u)man of Saint-Martin-de-la-Brasque and Marie Courbonne of the same village.¹⁸⁷ East of Manosque at Roumoules lived a mason Pierre Courbon.¹⁸⁸ The name Marie Anthouarde is also to be

found at Cabrières. The widow of Jacques Pillat in 1674, her daughter Madeleine was married to a Pierre Jourdan and another daughter Susanne was the wife of a Jean Jourdan.¹⁸⁹ It is also clear that the Anthouarde and Grange families of Cabrières-d'Aigues were united.¹⁹⁰

This survey of refugees mainly concerned with the sailing of the *Berg China* merely touches the fringe of complex relationships. There were certainly closer ties of blood among members of the group discussed here; much too suggests that they all came from villages at no great distance one from another: those strung out along the road skirting the southern slopes of the Lubéron from Lourmarin in the west to Peypin-d'Aigues in the east, together with La Roque-d'Anthéron south of the Durance. The greatest concentration was to be found in the three adjoining hamlets of Cabrières-d'Aigues, La Motte-d'Aigues and Saint-Martin-de-la-Brasque. More settlers from the Lubéron region of Provence were to arrive in Table Bay aboard other ships.

We have not yet completed the list of Cape refugees from the Roux, Rey (Roy) and Mallan families; the surname Barret has also appeared in these pages. In addition to the Rousse girls, there were two settlers from Provence named Roux at the Cape: Pierre and Jean. The former came from Cabrières-d'Aigues, or possibly from nearby La Motte. He was the son of another Pierre Roux who had died before 1684 and on October 21 of that year began an apprenticeship with Jacques Rippert as a wool carder. Roux was known as Gay and it is this sobriquet which serves to identify him as the Drakenstein agriculturalist, for he used it to sign a testimonial of 1691 drawn up on behalf of the minister Pierre Simond.¹⁹¹ We have already mentioned one Pierre Roux of Cabrières in connection with the Goirand family; there were others in the region and, significantly, Daniel and Antoine, sons of a Pierre Roux of La Motte, by trade *faisseurs a toille* (*sic*), or cloth workers. The Ripperts were allied with both the Roux and Jourdan families.¹⁹² It is not known on which ship Pierre travelled to the Cape, although he was an early arrival. He was perhaps the Pierre Roux who was received by the Walloon church in Amsterdam on March 21, 1688.¹⁹³

The second Roux, Jean, was born about the year 1665 at Lourmarin. In his will, drawn up on February 17, 1705, more than thirty years before his death, he left half of his estate to his father Philippe, then living in Lourmarin at the age of sixty-eight.¹⁹⁴ Philippe was probably the son of Jean Roux of Lourmarin and nephew of André Roux, known locally as *le masclé*, a meridional variant of "little man". Philippe Roux had brothers Jean, a shoemaker, and Antoine.¹⁹⁵ Jean, the shoemaker,

made his way at the revocation to Marseilles, where he abjured on November 3, 1685 before the Recollect, Thomas Croset.¹⁹⁶ Antoine Roux was married to Catherine Cavallier.¹⁹⁷ Christian names are repetitive in these village families; nor was it unusual, in a period of high mortality among women of child-bearing age, for husbands to remarry. There are references to the marriage of a Philippe Roux to Anne Savatière of Lourmarin and of a second man so named to Honorade Gardiol(le).¹⁹⁸ Jean Roux of Drakenstein seems to have stemmed from one of these marriages; perhaps the latter, as the Gardiol family was also represented at the Cape. Like Pierre Roux, Jean was an early arrival in Table Bay. There was a Jean Roux in Amsterdam in 1686, married to Dauphine Parise. A son Nicolas was born to them there in November 1687.¹⁹⁹

Jacques and Jean Roy were at the Cape before 1690, but the former evidently died soon after his arrival.²⁰⁰ If Jean named his Drakenstein farm for his birthplace, his origins must be sought at Lourmarin.²⁰¹ While church registers for that place lead to no certain identification, the baptism of a Jeanne Reyne, daughter of Jean Rey (Roy) and Françoise Roux (Rousse), is recorded on July 8, 1675. The godfather was Jean's brother Jacques. There was also an André Rey at Lourmarin and this Christian name was given to one of the Cape settler's children. André's son Claude Rey married Jeanne Mille in August 1684.²⁰² This marriage might indicate another connection between Cape refugee families. Jean Rey appears in Walloon church records in Amsterdam, but there was evidently more than one fugitive there so named.²⁰³

The Cape settler of 1688, Jacques Mallan (Malan), born about the year 1672, has been described as the brother of Jean, Henri and Barthélemy Mallan of Mérindol.²⁰⁴ While these names appear in the local church registers,²⁰⁵ it must be remembered that there were Mallans in many of the villages in this part of Provence. Moreover, Jacques Mallan called his Drakenstein farm La Motte, a circumstance which suggests that he came from La Motte-d'Aigues.²⁰⁶ Another family farm name at the Cape was Saint-Martin, indicative perhaps of connections with Saint-Martin-de-la-Brasque.²⁰⁷ There were certainly Mallans in plenty at both villages in the later seventeenth century. Many were agricultural workers and one at least, François Mallan of La Motte, was a weaver.²⁰⁸

No trace of Jacques Mallan's birth has come to light, but the Christian names of the Cape settler and of his second son are to be found among the Mallans of La Motte and Saint-Martin. There were *travailleurs*, or husbandmen Jacques and André Mallan at Saint-Martin-de-la-Brasque,

while at La Motte-d'Aigues we find a small landowner Jacques Mallan in 1684 and in the previous year the farm workers Daniel and Antoine, sons of the late Pierre Mallan.²⁰⁹ It is interesting to note that in 1701 two Mallan brothers of Saint-Martin-de-la-Brasque, Daniel and Paul, unenthusiastic converts to Catholicism, approached the authorities with regard to the detention of the property of a third brother Jacques, a fugitive.²¹⁰ The Mérindol Mallans were doubtless related to those in the Aigues valley, if only distantly, but the evidence that Jacques Mallan of Drakenstein was from Mérindol is inconclusive.

There is every reason to believe that the refugee Louis Barret, who reached the Cape among the early groups of French-speaking settlers, was a native of La Roque-d'Anthéron.²¹¹ Contemporary documents associate him with La Roque and although this could refer to one of several localities in France, La Roque-d'Anthéron had at least four families of Barrets among its Calvinist inhabitants. Their names appear in the records of churches at some distance from their homes: André Barret and Isabeau Reine (Reyne) are mentioned at Mérindol in 1669; Abraham Barret and Anne Meinarde at the same place in 1673; Jean Barret and Jeanne Rey(ne) at Velaux six years later; and Pierre Barre, and Marguerite Richarde at Manosque in 1684. The Manosque entry refers to the baptism of Antoine Barret and we may note that the godfather was a Mathieu Roux of Cabrières.²¹² The names of the wives here show links with other families associated with the Cape emigration.

Despite some variations in the spelling of names in different registers, it is evident that Antoine Gardiol, his wife Marguerite Perrotette and their children Jean, Susanne and Marguerite found a first haven in Amsterdam, joining the Walloon church there on December 28, 1687. Their stay was a brief one. On July 18 of the following year they are recorded as having left that congregation to emigrate to the Cape of Good Hope.²¹³ They would seem to have embarked on the *Wapen van Alkmaar* and perhaps in the course of an arduous voyage Antoine died. His wife's health may also have been affected, as we find her listed after her arrival as a sickly widow.²¹⁴

The Gardiols, as the name of Jean Gardiol's farm at the Cape indicates, came from Lacoste to the north of the Lubéron range.²¹⁵ Susanne Gardiollé's birth is also known to have taken place there, doubtless before 1669.²¹⁶ Her sister Marguerite was born on October 2, 1670 and her christening is recorded in the Mérindol registers eight days later. Jean Gardiol was born at Lacoste on December 14, 1674 and was

baptized at Mérindol on January 8 of the following year. The Mérindol records contain the names of many Gardiols from Lacoste and from the villages of Joucas and Murs to the north, on the edge of the Vaucluse plateau. On February 11, 1683 a Pierre Gardiol of Lacoste married Marie Mallan of the same village at the Mérindol temple.²¹⁷

A number of Calvinists destined for the Indies are listed in the register of departures from Amsterdam's Walloon church and as the Cape was then included in this comprehensive geographical and administrative expression some doubtless intended to settle there. One who specifically mentioned the Cape of Good Hope as his destination was Jean Ferrand, whose name is entered on July 18, 1688.²¹⁸ He may therefore have been among the refugees who died on the *Wapen van Alkmaar*. The names of three Jean Ferrands have been traced in the United Provinces in the late seventeenth century, but the prospective Cape settler was probably the Jean Ferrand of Mérindol who was first assisted at Leyden in 1685.²¹⁹

Another possible emigrant from Provence on the *Wapen van Alkmaar* is Mathieu Amiel, also listed among the departing members of the Walloon church of Amsterdam on July 18, 1688.²²⁰ His name, however, is not connected there with the wife Jeanne Mille who died at an advanced age at the Cape,²²¹ but with Susanne Aubanelle. Mathieu Amiel is given as a member of the French congregation of Amsterdam on June 20, 1687 and an André Amiel appears in the registers on September 7 of that year.²²² With Amiel we move away from the Lubéron Calvinist communities. There is clear evidence that he came from Le Luc between Draguignan and Toulon, and place of origin of the Berlin refugee Etienne Amiel, a cloth-worker in that city in 1699.²²³ It is significant that the Cape settler named his farm La Terra de (*sic*) Luc.²²⁴ Henri Dehérain has seen a religious connotation here, with reference to the apostle,²²⁵ but it is probable that Amiel, like so many of his compatriots, recalled a cherished corner of his distant homeland. The form of the farm name as recorded at the Cape suggests Mathieu Amiel's everyday speech. Is it not more correctly La Terra del Luc, and thus the sole surviving indication of the Provençal language with which so many of the early French settlers must have been familiar? The name of the village has no Biblical origin. *Lo loc*, or *luc* in Provençal is the place (*lieu*), or homestead.

The surname Amiel is frequent in the records of Le Luc, both Calvinist and Catholic. There is an entry in the surviving registers of the reformed congregation of the seventeenth century which, when due al-

lowance is made for spelling variations, suggests that Mathieu Amiel married Susanne Aubanelle of Tourrettes, north-east of Draguignan, in 1679 and that he was the son of a wool carder Jean Amiel and his wife Isabeau Gras(se). The father may well have been the son of another Jean Amiel, who died in September 1678 at the age of fifty-six. Mathieu's wife Susanne was the daughter of Pierre Aubanel (Albanet) and Françoise de l'Ange.²²⁶ The name Aubanel is found among other refugees in the United Provinces who formerly worshipped at Velaux. On March 6, 1687 Marguerite Aubanelle of Marseilles married Jean Rue at Leeuwarden in Friesland. This is perhaps a further link between Amiel and Mathieu Frachas, who was related to a family Ree (Rue, Roux, or possibly Rey) in Amsterdam.²²⁷

The older Jean Amiel was married to Anne Terreblanque (Terreblanche),²²⁸ a patronymic which suggests a connection with a settler who arrived rather later than Mathieu Amiel, evidently towards the end of the seventeenth century. The Cape colonist Etienne Terreblanche – the surname is elsewhere always Terreblanque – is stated to have come from Toulon.²²⁹ There were indeed Calvinists in the naval port, many of them, according to Fermaud's analysis of the composition of the reformed community there, single men.²³⁰ John Locke, who visited the town in April 1676, speaks of eight Calvinist families in Toulon. Male members of the reformed church were chiefly employed in the dockyard and it was to the civilities of one of them, the engineer Rodolphe Gédéon-Corneille, that Locke was indebted during his stay.²³¹ There were also representatives of the Protestant lesser nobility at Toulon, as well as several Dutchmen, whose presence may in part have been due to the relative proximity of the principality of Orange. It may be added that several marriages were contracted with girls from Orange.²³²

But if the surname Terreblanque has not been encountered in Toulon, it was not unknown at nearby Solliès-Pont, north-east of the port towards Le Luc. This was the strongest Calvinist community in the district, numbering not less than ninety persons in 1679, several of them in the merchant class. Here lived the weaver Louis Terreblanque and his wife Catherine, a member of the Meissonnier family, well established at Solliès and Le Luc. Charles Meissonnier was a cloth merchant at Le Luc, Henri a merchant of Solliès and Anne the wife of Louis Blin, active in the lace trade in the latter town. The registers of Le Luc record the baptisms of two children of Louis Terreblanque and Catherine Meissonnier (Meissonnière): Anne, on March 25, 1674, and Etienne, christened on May 25, 1670.²³³ The latter may well be the Cape refugee, who perhaps settled later at Toulon. Etienne Terreblanque (Terre-

blanche) has not been identified in the United Provinces, but an Isabeau Terreblanche from Provence joined the Walloon church in Amsterdam on December 28, 1687, where her name is coupled with those of a Jean Jourdan and a Jean Gardeau (Gardiol). Isabeau died in Amsterdam and was buried there on January 20, 1696.²³⁴ Her death could perhaps be linked with the departure of Etienne for the Cape of Good Hope.

Who was Mathieu Amiel's wife Jeanne Mille? A connection has been noted between the Rey and Mille families in Provence and Jeanne Mille was certainly from that part of France. The surname, however, is a common one in the region. If, as seems probable, she was Amiel's second wife, the two male children who were with him at the Cape in 1690 could not have been the product of this marriage. Jeanne Mille was born in 1633 and thus past child-bearing age long before she left Europe. One of the children was perhaps François Amiel, known to have been at the Cape in 1706.²³⁵

The name Mille appears in the records of assistance afforded needy refugees by the Walloon church in Amsterdam. The entries are confusing, but could refer to the Cape settler's father. In 1685 a Jean Mille, of advanced age, was given a pair of shoes and a waistcoat; on November 28 of the following year a centenarian Jean (le) Mille, presumably the same person, was provided with a blanket. Longevity would seem to have been a Mille characteristic. The second of these Amsterdam entries mentions a place of origin, Le Val.²³⁶ This, it is suggested, is the village so named in southern-eastern Provence, near Brignoles, although no Mille appears in the church registers of Le Luc for 1670-1679. Calvinists from the Brignoles area would certainly have made use of the temple there. However, in 1664, when an outbreak of the plague placed Le Luc in quarantine, a certain N. Mille was fined for entering the town with the minister in an unauthorized manner.²³⁷

The reformed churches of France depended for the payment of their ministers and their work of social service upon the interest on legacies and the contributions of dependent communities. In this respect Le Luc fell below the national average on the basis of figures for 1677-1678.²³⁸ Fermaud's examination of the social standing of members of the congregation suggests that the parish was predominantly middle-class in composition, with merchants and skilled artisans forming the largest group.²³⁹ However the occupations of more than half of the heads of families named in the surviving records are not known and it may well be that the proportion of those on the lower rungs of the social ladder

was rather higher than is indicated here. This fact, combined with the general economic depression in France and the increasing pressures on Calvinist congregations as the revocation approached, is sufficient to explain the relative poverty of the church.

Worship at Le Luc ended shortly before the Edict of Fontainebleau was promulgated and the minister since 1656, Jean Bouer, was forbidden to reside within three leagues of the town. In July 1685 the funds of the consistory were transferred to the local hospital. The temple was razed early in November 1685 on the orders of the lieutenant general Grignan and mass abjurations took place at Solliès and Le Luc to forestall a threatened dragonnade. The danger of a possible revolt led to a demand in 1688 that the newly converted surrender their arms. One who did so was Henri Meissonnier of Solliès.²⁴⁰

Despite the ban on emigration reiterated by Grignan on October 30, 1685, many Calvinists took refuge in flight. Jean Bouer had been born in Mérindol, where his brother Pierre was an apothecary. It is not surprising therefore to note his reappearance there with his wife Madeleine Joufrète after the revocation. It would appear that Jean Bouer fled from Mérindol with a cousin Daniel. Geneva was their probable destination and it is known that Jean's son Joseph became a citizen of the Swiss city in 1714.²⁴¹ Others of the congregation of Le Luc doubtless chose the same route.

The Cape refugees from the region of France discussed in this chapter came from Dauphiné, where the reformed faith was relatively strong, and from Provence, where it was generally weak, but firmly established in a number of small rural centres, with a marked concentration in certain villages in the Lubéron foothills. Some of the communities in this area were predominantly Calvinist, while neighbouring villages were mainly Catholic. An instance is afforded by those which lie along the road which skirts the southern slopes of the Lubéron. In the sixteen kilometres which separate the former Calvinist centres of Lourmarin and Saint-Martin-de-la-Brasque are two villages where the reformed faith was a powerful force, La Motte-d'Aigues and Cabrières-d'Aigues, and two others mainly Catholic, Cucuron and Vauignes.

Protestantism in Dauphiné had its adherents in all social classes and was represented among a wide range of occupations. In certain towns, such as Embrun, Calvinists formed an influential group. Although literacy levels were not high in the Dauphiné countryside – and here the *midi* lagged behind the north of France – it was otherwise in urban communities, as Brès has demonstrated with regard to Embrun.²⁴² In Provence

on the other hand, a small merchant class apart, often, as in Marseilles, of foreign origin, the Protestant population was largely rural and illiteracy widespread, particularly among women. Even the wife of the pastor of Le Luc, Jean Bouer, was unable to sign her name.²⁴³ The comment made at the Mérimond provincial synod of 1679 is significant: "On a remarqué que parmy un grand nombre de familles, il y a tres peu d'instruction (*sic*) plusieurs negligans (*sic*) a apprendre a lire".²⁴⁴ Something of these differences is reflected in the background and attainments of those from Dauphiné and Provence who came to the Cape of Good Hope. Botha's collected signatures are not a complete record of the level of literacy among French speakers at the Cape, but it is noteworthy that he gives few examples of signatures of settlers from the far south-east.²⁴⁵

Le Roy Ladurie has seen the Vaudois communities north of the Durance as among the first centres of southern Calvinism, where reformers from 1535 onwards began to retail Bibles, catechisms and especially psalters.²⁴⁶ It was, however, on the further bank of the Rhône that Calvinism took deepest root. In Provence the movement was attacked from the beginning, contained and stunted in its growth; in Languedoc it had the early support of urban intellectuals and artisans, who propagated the faith in the neighbouring villages.²⁴⁷ There the spread of the reformed faith and the penetration of the French language were twin forces in the sixteenth-century cultural revolution; in Provence the impact of French was of far greater significance than that of reform.

What was the effect of the revocation on economic life in Provence and Dauphiné? It must certainly have caused difficulties in some of the urban centres of the latter province, but Scoville's general thesis that the edict of 1685 caused no more than temporary economic problems is probably justified.²⁴⁸ The revocation of the Edict of Nantes must be seen here, as elsewhere, against the contemporary world economic depression. The sorry condition of agriculture in the south of France between 1679 and 1686 has already been noted. Economic hardship and the financial ruin and widespread sickness which accompanied it must have given an added impulse to Calvinists to seek relief in flight. Resistance to suffering must have been at a low ebb in 1685 after the droughts, crop failures and severe winters of previous years. Poverty was often the lot of the peasant in Provence, even in normal times. In 1676 Locke remembered his visit to a gardener's house at Aix where the family's Sunday dinner consisted of "nothing but slices of congeald bloud fried in oile".²⁴⁹ Moreover the years of economic plight there had been preceded by a decade of virulent smallpox. Misery too had been

widespread in Dauphiné. In 1675 many peasants were reduced to eating grass and the bark of trees.²⁵⁰

The records of relief disbursements in the countries of refuge provide ample testimony of the poverty of many of the recipients and the winter months in northern Europe were clearly distressing, particularly to those who had fled from the warmer south. The refugees from Provence who chose to emigrate to southern Africa and who survived the arduous voyage were to find themselves in a congenial climate and in surroundings which must have reminded many of them of the familiar hills which lay beyond the white walls and dappled rooftops of such villages as Cabrières-d'Aigues and Saint-Martin-de-la-Brasque in the distant homeland.

In attempting to estimate the number of Calvinists who fled from the region under discussion here in the last two decades and a half of the seventeenth century we may assume that the emigration was heaviest towards the Swiss border and lightest from southern Provence. Switzerland, as a country of refuge, does not enter the picture here, while permanent exile from Savoy was probably on a par with that from Dauphiné. The exodus from Orange in the late seventeenth century was probably on a somewhat smaller scale. Perhaps as many as half the Protestants of the Pays de Gex left that territory, one in three left Dauphiné and Savoy, one in four fled from Orange and one in six from Provence. In all, possibly 38 000 people from the entire region found a refuge in Protestant Europe between 1675 and 1700.²⁵¹

Of those who embarked in the United Provinces for the Cape it is possible that a few died soon after arrival, although the greater number of fatalities must have occurred on shipboard. Many are known to have died on the *Berg China* and the *Wapen van Alkmaar*. The percentage of Cape colonists from south-eastern France and adjoining territories can therefore only be approximately estimated. It would seem that no more than 24% of the total immigration of French speakers in the last quarter of the seventeenth century had their original homes there.

The percentage is very similar to that obtaining for settlers from the region between the Loire and the Channel, but in comparing the groups we find two marked differences between them. In the first place, the great majority of those discussed in this chapter came from rural areas where the home-spun speech of the peasantry was not French, but one of the dialects of the *langue d'oc*. This is not to say that they were not conversant with standard French, the language of the pulpit, the law and the administration. Their everyday speech forms, however, must

have been far removed from those of northern France. Secondly, we find here a concentration of settlers from a handful of villages lying close together near the Lubéron range. Something of the complex relationships between the Calvinist inhabitants of all of them has been shown here. There were other groups from similar small and closely integrated communities, as for example in the Blésois, but that from Provence was clearly the largest among those who made their homes at the Cape of Good Hope.

REFERENCES: CHAPTER SEVEN

1. FRANÇOIS-TIMOLÉON DE CHOISY, in his *Journal du voyage de Siam fait en M.DC.LXXXV et M.DC.LXXXVI*, p. 320: Dec. 23, 1685. CHOISY said the same of Bretons. See also E. STRANGMAN, *Early French callers at the Cape*, p. 140.
2. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 81-84.
3. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 80-81.
4. J. SAMBUC, 'Documents sur le Protestantisme en Provence', *BSHPF*, CXXIII, April-June 1977, p. 289.
5. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 84; 85.
6. See E. ARNAUD, *Histoire des Protestants du Dauphiné aux XVI^e, XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, III, pp. 102-103; J. JALLA, *Les Vaudois et la Guerre de la Ligue d'Augsbourg (1690-1697)*.
7. See LEIBBRANDT, *Rambles*, pp. 84-93; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 10. Jean Pastre was the chief spokesman for the Vaudois refugees. The question received press coverage in the United Provinces. The *Oprechte Haerlemse Saturdaegse Courant* of May 29, 1688 published a report from The Hague of May 27 on a conference between the directors of the East India Company and Vaudois representatives at which various matters were discussed. The meeting was in part held, "soo men segt, om verder t'adjusteren, het geene gerequireert wert tot het transport van de bewuste 800 verdrevene Dalluyden van Piemont na de Caeb de Bon(ne) Esperance, om die Landen te cultiveren".
8. FWK: Guillaumé (Bibl. wall.).
9. MOOC 8/1, Inventarissen, 1692-1705: 52, March 20, 1699 (Jacob (*sic*) Labat van Savoij) (CA).
10. CJ 298, Criminele processtukken, 1695: May 17, p. 177 (Jeaques (Jacques) la Bat van Bourdeaux, in case involving Jean de Seine) (CA).

11. W. and S. MINET (eds), *Register of the church of Hungerford Market, later Caste Street*, Publications HSL, XXXI, p. 59.
12. BOTHA gives the 1695 Cape reference as Bordeaux (*French refugees*, p. 73).
13. On the churches of this region of France to the revocation and its aftermath see E. ARNAUD, *Histoire des églises réformées de la vallée de Bourdeaux en Dauphiné*, pp. 5-34.
14. See BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 77-78.
15. J. GIRAUD, 'Fragment du journal d'un réfugié dauphinois à Vevey, 1686', *BSHPP*, XIV, July-Aug. 1865, p. 258.
16. See *French refugees*, p. 160a.
17. EC, Céligny, 2, BMS, 1670-1743: p. 7 (marriages) (AE Geneva).
18. PA 201, Archieven der Bestuuren gevormd door de Waalse gemeente in Amsterdam tot 1943, 35f, Livre de baptême, 1686-1692 (GA Amsterdam); FWK: Gauch.
19. FWK: Gauch, March 31.
20. Scheepssoldijboeken, 1633-1795: 114, *Spierdijk*, 1690-1691, f. 1 (ARA). The vessel carried a company official Jean-Conrad Delamère (Jan Coenraet Delameer) of Saumur in France (f. 2).
21. He took service with a farmer (G.M. THEAL, *Chronicles of Cape commanders, or an abstract* . . . , p. 72). Burghers at this period were mainly of low rank (J.E. LOUWRENS, *Immigrasie aan die Kaap gedurende die bewind van die Hollandse Oos-Indiese Kompanjie*, unpubl. D. Phil. thesis, Univ. of Stellenbosch, 1954, p. 74).
22. See SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1697: T 412, pp. 148v.-150v. (DO). BOTHA gives Latry (*French refugees*, p. 124).
23. FWK: Margra, April 7; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 92.
24. M. R(EYMOND), 'Marguerat', in H. TÜRLEER *et al.* (eds), *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz* . . . , V, p. 25.
25. C 251, Requesten, 1752: 74, pp. 159-160; CJ 2889, Contracten, 1744-1746: 47, May 5, 1745, pp. 133-134; CJ 2892, Contracten, 1751-1752: 52, Feb. 18, 1752, pp. 140-141; VC 56, Lijst, Kamer Zeeland, 1718-1791(CA); F. ERNST and K. SCHEURER (comp.), *History of the Swiss in southern Africa 1652-1977 (325 years)*, p. 23.
26. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, p. 38.
27. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 168-169; 193-194.
28. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 81.
29. TT 243, IV, Dauphiné: Estat des nouveaux convertis. . . , p. 178 (AN); AB Ze Zie dtb, Zierikzee, Trouw, 1630-1696 (copy): July 6 and 20, 1687 (CBG); MINET (ed.), *Registers. . . also the répertoire général*, 96, p. 8: La Patente de Soho, Nov. 23, 1692; SHAW (ed.), *Letters. . . 1701-1800*, p. 118. On David Simond see also J 147, St John papers: Conveyance, Dec. 2, 1716 (CRO, Bedfordshire).
30. N. PERRY, 'Voltaire's London agents for the Henriade; Simond and Bénézet, Huguenot merchants', *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth Century*, CII, 1973, p. 278.

31. Alexandre d'Ize was the natural son of a nobleman, Jean-Antoine de Rosans. He was professor at Die from 1666 to 1677 (E. ARNAUD, *Histoire de l'académie protestante de Die en Dauphiné au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 84; 86).
32. ARNAUD, *Histoire des Protestants du Dauphiné*, II, p. 285; S.P. ENGELBRECHT, *Die Kaapse predikante van die sewentiende en agtiende eeu*, p. 27.
33. 2 E 48/5, Eglise réformée, Eourres, BMS, 1669-1673; 1674-1683 (AD Hautes-Alpes). Simond's name appears as officiant at baptisms between Oct. 1679 and Oct. 1681.
34. BRÈS, 'Protestants d'Embrun', *BSEHA*, 1972, p. 56; ARNAUD, *Histoire des Protestants du Dauphiné*, III, appendix VII, 1, p. 353.
35. BRÈS, 'Protestants d'Embrun', *BSEHA*, 1972, p. 56-57; MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, April-June 1968, p. 313 and n.
36. 2 E 47/14, Eglise réformée, Embrun, BMS, 1633-1673; 1673-1684; 1788-1790: pp. 104-104v. (AD Hautes-Alpes).
37. BRÈS, 'Protestants d'Embrun', *BSEHA*, 1972, pp. 58; 60; 66.
38. 2 E 47/14, Embrun, BMS: p. 109; BRÈS, 'Protestants d'Embrun', *BSEHA*, 1972, p. 57; ARNAUD, *Histoire des Protestants du Dauphiné*, III, appendix VII, 1, p. 353.
39. H supp. 95 (B 45), Hospice d'Embrun; consistoires supprimés, Embrun, 1625-1685: ff. 7-10 (AD Hautes-Alpes); R. BRÈS, 'Liste des pasteurs d'Embrun (Hautes-alpes) 1636-1684', *BSHPF*, CXVI, Oct.-Dec. 1970, pp. 596-597.
40. C. CHARRONNET, *Les Guerres de religion et la société protestante dans les Hautes-Alpes*, p. 420: Oct. 9, 1685.
41. BRÈS, 'Protestants d'Embrun', *BSEHA*, 1972, pp. 60-62.
42. TT 243, IV, Dauphiné: biens, no p. no.
43. See Eglise wallonne d'Arnhem, I, Livre des Actes du Consistoire, 1684-1819: Sept. 5, 1686, for the importance attached to proof of orthodoxy (GA Arnhem).
44. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, April-June 1968, p. 292.
45. J.L.M. FRANKEN, 'Pierre Simond', *Die Huisgenoot*, XXIII, 912, Sept. 15, 1939, p. 78.
46. H. HARDENBERG, 'De Hugenoten in Zeeland', *Jaarboek, Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie en het Iconographisch Bureau*, XXIX, 1975, p. 65.
47. HARDENBERG, 'Hugenoten in Zeeland', *Jaarboek, Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie en het Iconographisch Bureau*, XXIX, 1975, p. 62.
48. DRESSELHUIS, *Waalsche gemeenten in Zeeland*, pp. 65-66.
49. FRANKEN, 'Pierre Simond', *Die Huisgenoot*, XXIII, 912, Sept. 15, 1939, p. 78.
50. AB Ze zie dtb, Zierikzee, Trouw.
51. The link is indicated at a family christening in England (H.M. GODFRAY (ed.), *Registre des baptêmes, mariages et mortz, et jeusnes de*

- leglise wallonne. . . etablie a Southampton. . .*, Publications HSL, IV, p. 78: Sept. 14. 1721 (Marthe Coqutsaute, otherwise Caucutsaute)).
52. They arrived mainly via Sluis and the island of Walcheren (DRESSELHUIS, *Waalsche gemeenten in Zeeland*, p. 45).
 53. See C.-L. FROSSARD, 'Liste des pasteurs des églises réformées de France réfugiés en Hollande, et présents au synode wallon de Rotterdam, en 1686', *BSHPF*, VII, Nov.-Dec. 1858, p. 434.
 54. FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', II, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 193, Nov.20, 1925, p. 13.
 55. FRANKEN, 'Pierre Simond', *Die Huisgenoot*, XXIII, 912, Sept. 15, 1939, p. 78.
 56. See BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 10.
 57. C 417, Inkomende brieven, 1688-1690: ff. 123v.-125 (CA). See also FRANKEN, 'Pierre Simond', *Die Huisgenoot*, XXIII, 912, Sept. 15, 1939, p. 78.
 58. FWK: Simond. FRANKEN ('Pierre Simond', *Die Huisgenoot*, XXIII, 912, Sept. 15, 1939, p. 78) gives Zierikzee and February. His reference there to Anne de Bérault on Feb. 6, 1688 would seem to refer to the forthcoming April marriage (AB Ze Zie dtb, Zierikzee, Trouw). For the sailing of the *Suijdbveland* see BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 8.
 59. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, April-June 1968, p. 292; DRESSELHUIS, *Waalsche gemeenten in Zeeland*, pp. 55; 120. DRESSELHUIS (p. 55) disposes of Simond somewhat prematurely: "Hij overleed in 1687".
 60. The quarrel is analysed at length by FRANKEN ('Franse vlugteling', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 211; 214; XI, 216, April 2 and 30; May 7, 1926).
 61. VC 115, Documents relating to French refugees, 1690 (and 1691) (copies): 3, Request of Drakenstein congregation, March 1, 1691, p. 576 (CA).
 62. VC 115, Documents: 3, Request, p. 575; FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 211, April 2, 1926, p. 21.
 63. In Simond's time there, the elders, "choisis théoriquement à partir de critères moraux, . . . se recrutent pratiquement pour diverses raisons, dans l'élite de la société" (BRÈS, 'Protestants d'Embrun', *BSEHA*, 1972, p. 58). On the profits accruing to pastors from a mill at Oye, near Calais, see N.W(EISS), 'Les Fugitifs du Calais et du Boulonnais dont les biens furent saisis après la révocation (1687)', *BSHPF*, LXVI, Oct.-Dec. 1916, p. 297.
 64. FRANKEN, 'Pierre Simond', *Die Huisgenoot*, XXIII, 912, Sept. 15, 1939, p. 121.
 65. See RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, p. 59: "Le pasteur et sa femme mènent une vie sociale: ils reçoivent les notables du pays, les familles nobles, et sont reçus par eux".
 66. G 1, 1/1, Kaapstad, Notule, 1665-1694: May 23, 1671, p. 6 (baptism of son, Jo(h)annes) (NGKA).
 67. PA 201, Archieven, 50d, Sorties, 1684-1723 (GA Amsterdam).

68. Scheepssoldijboeken: 99, *Borssenburg(h)*, 1688, f. 1; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 7-8.
69. PA 201, Archieven, 47a, Livre contenant les noms des membres, 1680-1689 (GA Amsterdam).
70. BOTHA (*French refugees*, p. 160a) gives Fourie's year of arrival as 1688, but the *Wapen van Alkmaar* did not reach the Cape until 1689.
71. For the ages of these settlers see BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 76.
72. PA 201, Archieven, 50d. Eve (Eva) was the name of one of Pierre Lombard's daughters (KANNEMEYER, *Hugenote-familieboek*, p. 149). For an Eve Lombard in Dauphiné see 4 E 391, Vinsobres, BMS, 1671-1672; 1680-1682: Oct. 2, 1682 (AD Drôme).
73. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 8.
74. FWK: Lombard/Lombaer. The Pierre Lombard at Leyden was from Amiens. The same name appears twice among those received at Middelburg: on July 6, 1686 and May 30, 1688.
75. FWK: Couteau.
76. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, April-June 1968, p. 311.
77. 2 E 5412, David Marcel, Actes, Pontaix, 1674-1680: March 24, 1677, pp. 128-130; 2 E 5414, Jean-Antoine Marcel, Actes, Pontaix, 1690-1691: July 29, 1691, pp. 107v.-109 (AD Drôme).
78. Including Pierre, son of Daniel Lombard of Pontaix (2 E 5412, David Marcel, Actes: June 25, 1680, p. 213).
79. 2 E 5414, Jean-Antoine Marcel, Actes: July 2, 1690, p. 8.
80. B 798, Archives civiles, 1680-1689 (AD Drôme).
81. 2 E 5399, David Marcel, Actes, Pontaix, 1660-1665: May 20, 1663, p. 127 (AD Drôme). Pierre, son of Daniel Lombard of Pontaix, was the brother-in-law of Abraham Bérangier (2 E 5412, David Marcel, Actes: June 25, 1680, p. 213).
82. 2 E 5411, David Marcel, Actes, Pontaix, 1660-1674: July 19, 1662, pp. 53-54 (Coustaut) (AD Drôme); TT 6, Généralité de Grenoble, 1686-1716: 1, 1686-1693, Bertrand Coutaud, surgeon, son of David Coutaud, merchant of Romans, married at Magdeburg, April 25, 1693. For others in the German town see H. TOLLIN, *Geschichte der französischen Colonie von Magdeburg*, II, appendices I and V, pp. 456; 459-460; 488-490.
83. PA 201, Archieven, 50d; 47a.
84. Archives hospitalières, Kq 6, Distributions de deniers à la semaine, 1687-1689: p. 68 (AE Geneva).
85. 2 E 5411, David Marcel, Actes; TT 243, IV, Dauphiné: Etat des nouveaux convertis, p. 179.
86. 2 E 5411, David Marcel, Actes: March 13, 1633, p. 83 (Jacques Viret).
87. For the sailing see AB ZH Brie dtb, Brielle, Doop en Trouw (copies): Registre des mariages proclamez ou bénis dans l'Eglise Wal(l)onne de la Brille, 1673-1802, Feb. 1, 1688 (CBG).
88. *French refugees*, p. 90.
89. Note Antoine Viret and his son François at Vinsobres in 1681 (4 E 391, Vinsobres, BMS: Nov. 2).

90. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 160b. Not Couvat, as in BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 64.
91. Eglise wallonne de Leyde, II F 160, Registres concernant les réfugiés, 1687-1688: Simon Bouvat, March 10, 1688, p. 107; I C 25, Registre des membres, 1671-1772: Jean Bouvat from Middelburg, Aug. 1698 (GA Leyden).
92. PA 201, Archieven, 50d: Aug. 3.
93. 2 E 5411, David Marcel, Actes: Jan. 6, 1668, p. 269; 2 E 5414, Jean-Antoine Marcel, Actes: Aug. 2, 1690, pp. 17v.-18.
94. FWK: Bouvat.
95. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 82.
96. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPP*, CXIV, April-June 1968, p. 314 and n.
97. MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten, 1689-1712: 19, March 20, 1707 (CA); BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 67; RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, p. 214.
98. BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 68; 118.
99. PA 201, Archieven, 47a: Dec. 9, 1683; March 19, 1687.
100. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 79, where a link is suggested between him and Guillaume Néel (not Niel) of Rouen.
101. TT 243, IV, Dauphiné: estat des nouveaux convertis, p. 198; 4 E 391, Vinsobres, BMS: March 25 and 31, 1680.
102. TOLLIN, *Geschichte*, II, appendix V, p. 495.
103. H. supp, 382 (B 112), Gap, BMS, 1671-1674: Nov. 8, 1672; H supp. 384 (B114), Gap, BMS, 1680-1684: Oct. 17, 1684 (AD Hautes-Alpes); TT 243, IV, Dauphiné: Estat des nouveaux convertis, p. 198: Daniel and Louis Meyer. A merchant Pierre Meyer from Château-Queyras, with his Swiss wife from Morges, their servant and three young sons, took refuge at Aigle in the Pays de Vaud (ARNAUD, *Histoire des Protestants du Dauphiné*, III, appendix IV, p. 367).
104. *Contra-deductie*, p. 50; KANNEMEYER, *Hugenote-familieboek*, p. 179. Meyer married Jacques de Savoye's daughter Aletta and became a leading burgher at the Cape (DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, IV and V).
105. MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten: 56, July 22, 1702; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 82.
106. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 83; MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPP*, CXIV, April-June 1968, p. 314 and n.
107. GG 206, Regi(s)tre des baptêmes, mariages et enterrements de l'Eglise Réformée de Grenoble de l'année 1670: Aug. 7, p. 25; Nov. 20, p. 35 (AC Grenoble); MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten: 56, July 22, 1702.
108. H.D.VAN BROEKHUIZEN gives Clermont in Dauphiné (*Die Wordingsgeschiedenis van die Hollandse kerke in Suid-Afrika*, p. 48).
109. Archives hospitalières, Ka 6, Délibérations des diacres... et livre de mémoires, 1680-1691: Oct. 12, 1685, p. 347: Didier Villion of Beaurepaire, north-west of Grenoble (AE Geneva); St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft, 50, Mémoire des deniers, 1683ff.: Feb. 29, 1684: Claude Villion of Romans (GA Delft).

110. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis...Requesten (Memorials)*, II, p. 442: 11, Feb. 1, 1718; 139, 1719.
111. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 81; 82.
112. LOUGH (ed.), *Locke's travels*, p. 11: Dec. 30. He noted "one long stone arch, like a bridg(e), run(n)ing the whole length of the church, and supporting the rafters like the main beam of the building, a new, but not incommodious way for such a room".
113. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 204. Some escaped into the Comtat Venaissin (ARNAUD, *Histoire des Protestants de Provence*, II, p. 128).
114. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, April-June 1968, p. 313 and n.
115. France feared encouragement for the Camisards from Orange (J. CONVENTENT, *Histoire abrégée des dernières révolutions arrivées dans la principauté d'Orange...*, p. 26).
116. See E. ARNAUD, 'Les Derniers jours de l'église d'Orange. 1703-1731 (1713)', *BSHPF*, XXXII, Nov. 15, 1883, pp. 485-498.
117. V.-L. BOURRILLY, 'Les Protestants de Provence et d'Orange sous Louis XIV', *BSHPF*, LXXVI, April-June 1927, p. 178.
118. Archives hospitalières, Kq 6, Distributions: p. 44.
119. N. W(EISS) and A. DESTANDAU, 'Fugitifs provençaux à la suite de la révocation, 1691', *BSHPF*, XLVIII, July 15, 1899, p. 375: Le Bret, Aix-en-Provence, March 5.
120. 'Notes on Huguenot families', *Proceedings HSL*, V, 2, Nov. 1894 - May 1895, pp. 227-228.
121. BOURRILLY, 'Protestants de Provence et d'Orange', *BSHPF*, LXXVI, April-June 1927, p. 187.
122. 2 E 173/1, Trescléoux, Protestants, 1680-1685, with later Catholic entries: April 29, 1682 (cultivator), p. 5; Feb. 20, 1684 (former lawyer), p. 23 (AD Hautes-Alpes).
123. Q^o 17, Registre des annonces publiées dans l'église wallonne de Bergues-op-Zoom 1691-1802: July 24, 1701, p. 6 (Bibl. wall.); W.F. LEEMANS, 'Orangeois aux Pays-Bas', *Bulletin, Commission de l'Histoire des Eglises wallonnes*, VI^e Série, 4, 1971, p. 67. Faure, born in Orange on April 29, 1672, married at Bergen-op-Zoom in Aug. 1701.
124. See (BÈZE), *Histoire ecclésiastique*, I, pp. 61-64 (pp. 44-47 of Antwerp, 1580 ed.); III, pp. 407-466 (pp. 336-381 of Antwerp, 1580 ed.). Not all Calvinists in Provence were Vaudois immigrants, even in the Lubéron villages (G. AUDISIO, 'Un Aspect des relations entre le Piémont et la Provence aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles; les Vaudois', *BSHPF*, CXXII, Oct.-Dec. 1975, p. 494.).
125. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, p. 25.
126. Assistance was sought in 1601 to remedy the lack of ministers by approaching the synodal provinces of Lower Languedoc and Dauphiné (ARNAUD, *Histoire des Protestants de Provence*, I, pp. 375-376).
127. FERMAUD, *Protestantisme dans l'arrondissement de Draguignan*, p. 54n.

128. HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, X, appendix LXXXVIII, p. 378: Peypin-d'Aigues and Saint-Martin-d'Aigues.
129. ARNAUD, *Histoire des Protestants de Provence*, I, pp. 364-368; BOURRILLY, 'Protestants de Provence et d'Orange', *BSHPF*, LXXI, Jan.-March 1922, pp. 19-22; J.-C. FERMAUD, 'Documents sur l'église réformée de Solliès-Pont (Var) et sur son procès devant les commissaires de l'édit en 1662', *BSHPF*, CXI, July-Sept. 1965, pp. 257-259; 260-263.
130. Demolition was carried out "à leurs frais" (469², Papiers concernant l'église de Riez, Ro(u)moules et annexes, 1626-1711: p. 166 (Bibl. Prot., SHPF)).
131. LOUGH (ed.), *Locke's travels*, p. 83: Aix-en-Provence, April 19, 1676.
132. BOURRILLY, 'Protestants de Provence et d'Orange', *BSHPF*, LXXI, Jan.-March 1922, pp. 37-38.
133. ARNAUD, *Histoire des Protestants de Provence*, I, p. 389.
134. TT 253, V, Mérindol; Cabrières; Lourmarin: pp. 453-455 (AN). An example of religious disturbance in 1669 is in R. PILLORGET, *Les Mouvements insurrectionnels de Provence entre 1596 et 1715*, p. 918.
135. ARNAUD, *Histoire des Protestants de Provence*, I, p. 474; MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, April-June 1968, p. 310.
136. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 80-81.
137. Although not listed as a place of worship after 1663 (469², Papiers concernant l'église: p. 166), its consistory remained active until the eve of the revocation (469¹, Registre du consistoire de Reiz, Ro(u)moules et annexes, 1625-1683 (Bibl. Prot., SHPF)).
138. "La Charse (*sic*)", in that part of Provence "enclavé dans le dauphiné" (469², Papiers concernant l'église: p. 166).
139. 11178, Staten-Generaal, Inkomende brieven, Vrankryk, . . . , 1685: Morant, Marseilles, Aug. 29, 1685, f. 39 (ARA).
140. 202 E 296, Velaux, Protestants, BMS, 1669-1684: April 6, 1670 (marriage of Nicola(a)s, son of Gillis Rutz of Amsterdam) (AD Bouches-du-Rhône).
141. 11178, Staten-Generaal: Marseilles, Aug. 29, 1685, f. 40.
142. ARNAUD, *Histoire des Protestants de Provence*, I, pp. 478-480.
143. C 416, Inkomende brieven, 1685-1687 (1688): Kamer Rotterdam, Dec. 23, 1687, ff. 1029v.-1031 (CA).
144. C 502, Uitgaande brieven, 1688-1690: to Johan Camphuijs and Council, Batavia, Aug. 16, 1688, ff. 219 and v. (CA). BOTHA (*French refugees*, p. 8) gives 30 deaths.
145. For names and ages see C 416, Inkomende brieven: Kamer Rotterdam, Dec. 23, 1687, ff. 1033v.-1055v.; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 140-143.
146. E, Mérindol, Culte protestant, BMS, 1669-1684: André Furet of Gordes, Dec. 21, 1683; E. Lourmarin, Protestants, BMS, 1669-1683: Isabeau Furet, Jan. 12, 1681 (AD Vaucluse); 202 E 296, Velaux: Joseph Furet, merchant druggist, Oct. 5, 1671. Note the separate Lourmarin registers, despite the interdict of 1663.
147. IV E 338, Manosque, Eglise réformée, BMS, 1669-1684: 1672, day and

- month illegible (AD Alpes-dé-Haute-Provence). A Jean Furet, son of Jean Furet and Marguerite Roussenc of Peypin-d'Aigues, married at Mérindol on March 31, 1678 (E, Mérindol, Culte protestant).
148. 30^e, Fr. Joly, 1697: f. 54; 33^e, Fr. Joly, 1698: f. 226 (AE Geneva).
 149. GG 1, Registre des naissances, mariages et décès, Cabrières-d'Aigues, 1686-1718 (AC Cabrières-d'Aigues). The baptism of Pierre, son of Pierre Roux and Madeleine Goirande, took place on July 12, 1686.
 150. IV E 338, Manosque, BMS. See also G. GILLIER, 'Les Protestants en Haute-Provence aux XVI^e, XVII^e, XVIII^e siècles', *BSHPF*, CXXV, July-Sept. 1979, p. 392.
 151. Fonds Enjoubert, 298, J. Lafourest, 1682-1685: Jean Roux, testament, pp. 283-285; further division of property, Jan. 13, 1684, pp. 401-402 (AD Vaucluse).
 152. Fonds Enjoubert, 298: Jan. 7, 1684, pp. 397v.-398.
 153. In addition, the Jean Furet at Geneva was a son of Marthe Cavallier (33^e, Fr. Joly, 1698: f. 226).
 154. E, Lourmarin, Catholiques, 1693-1714: Jan. 18, p. 18 (AD Vaucluse).
 155. See Fonds Enjoubert, 298: May 12, 1683, p. 193v., and KANNEMEYER, *Hugenote-familieboek*, p. 119.
 156. GG 1, Cabrières-d'Aigues, BMS.
 157. CC 49-51, Pièces justificatives des comptes, 1678-1688 (AC Cabrières-d'Aigues).
 158. TT 253, V, Mérindol; Cabrières; Lourmarin: judgement against 84 Protestants, March 24, 1736, pp. 466-472. Others from this region sentenced included members of the Roux, Courbon and Grange families.
 159. 'Franse vlugteling', II, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 194, Nov. 27, 1925, p. 21n. Another alternative is *cardier*, for *cardeur* (wool carder). See Stellenbosch, 13/21, Generale monster rollen, 1700-1716: 1705; 1709; 1712 (CA).
 160. TOLLIN, *Geschiede*, II, appendix I, p. 468: Aug. 1698.
 161. VC 107, Specification of provisions supplied to French refugees, 1689 (1688)-1690 (copy) (CA). See also FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', II, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 194, Nov. 27, 1925, p. 21.
 162. CJ 299, Criminele processtukken, 1696: Jan. 27, p. 301v. (CA).
 163. SAMBUC, 'Documents', *BSHPF*, CXXIII, April-June 1977, p. 295.
 164. *French refugees*, pp. 86; 141; 143.
 165. IV E 338, Manosque, BMS: Nov. 23, 1669; Oct. 23, 1678.
 166. 202 E 296, Velaux: Oct. 19, 1672; April 29, 1675.
 167. Fonds Enjoubert, 267, Louis Roux, 1672-1677: April 28, 1674, p. 366v. (AD Vaucluse). The name Pierre Grange also appears at Cabrières. He was the son of Mathieu Grange, formerly of La Motte-d'Aigues (Fonds Enjoubert, 298: March 24, 1684, pp. 489v.-490).
 168. GG 1, Cabrières-d'Aigues, BMS: Jan. 3.
 169. Fonds Enjoubert, 267: July 27, pp. 784-786.
 170. Fonds Enjoubert, 268, Louis Roux, 1678-1682: Nov. 25, 1680, p. 354 (AD Vaucluse).
 171. AB ZH Brie dtb, Brielle, Doop en Trouw.

172. See W.H. HINDE, 'The Huguenot settlement at the Cape of Good Hope', *Proceedings HSL*, V, 2, Nov. 1894 – May 1895, pp. 213-214. Elisabeth Richarde died on Oct. 7, 1740 (CJ 834, Civile regts rollen, 1740: Oct. 27, p. 111 (CA); cf. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 72).
173. Fonds Enjoubert, 298: Nov. 2, 1683, pp. 308v.-309v.; Jan. 10, 1684, pp. 405v.-406; March 24, 1684, pp. 487v.-488v. The lawyer Lafourest whose papers are examined here was from La Motte.
174. PA 201, Archieven, 46b, Livre des membres depuis l'an 1629: Nov. 17, 1686; April 21, 1686 (GA Amsterdam). The name given is Goubert here.
175. Baptism of a daughter Françoise, born on Dec. 31, 1674 (E, Mérindol, Culte protestant: Jan. 5, 1675).
176. Waalse Gereformeerde gemeente, Rotterdam, 1653-1811, 288 dtb Rott 122, Doopboek, 1653-1699: April 16, 1687, p. 98 (GA Rotterdam); FWK: Rey, March 20, 1689; Jan. 7, 1700.
177. E, Mérindol, Culte protestant: March 31, 1669; IV E 338, Manosque, BMS: Oct. 1, 1684.
178. FWK: Richard, March 28; E, Mérindol, Culte protestant: Oct. 20, 1675.
179. KA 4004, 13, Specificatie, April 1690: p. 85 (ARA). BOTHA gives 4 children (*French refugees*, p. 78).
180. Fonds Enjoubert, 267: April 3, 1677, pp. 758-764v.; 298: Nov. 27, 1683, p. 337v.
181. Eglise wallonne de Leyde, II F 160, Registres: Jan. 21, p. 91; FWK: Meinard, Dec. 16, 1688.
182. TT 253, V, Mérindol; Cabrières; Lourmarin: Verbal...sur l'évasion des familles, June 9, 1687, pp. 456-461. See also ARNAUD, *Histoire des Protestants de Provence*, I, appendix III, p. 562.
183. Fonds Enjoubert, 267: April 3, pp. 758-764v.
184. ARNAUD, *Histoire des Protestants de Provence*, I, appendix III, p. 562.
185. 7 E 77/1, Le Luc, Eglise réformée, BMS, 1670-1679: Feb. 17, 1675; Aug. 24, 1676; March 17, 1677 (AD Var). I am greatly indebted to M. le Pasteur J.-C. Fermaud for his kindness in allowing me to consult his Ms. analysis of the records of this church: Fichier de l'église réformée du Luc en Provence établi d'après le registre des baptêmes, mariages et ensevelissements de 1670 à 1679 (Misc. sources).
186. The wife of a Magdeburg refugee, Jacques Meinard of Mérindol, came from Orange (FWK: Meinard, baptism of a child Paul, May 2, 1687). There is, however a Mérindol north-east of Orange in Dauphiné, much nearer the principality that the locality so named in Provence.
187. IV E 338, Manosque, BMS: March 8, 1671; June 4, 1684.
188. 469², Papiers: Daniel Gaudemar, accounts, Nov. 1668, p. 53v.
189. Fonds Enjoubert, 267: March 12, 1674, pp. 357-358v; 268: Feb. 4, 1679, pp. 134-136; E, Mérindol, Culte protestant.
190. Fonds Enjoubert, 298: Oct. 21, 1684, pp. 679-680.
191. VC 115, Documents: Request of Drakenstein congregation, March 1, 1691, p. 577; Fonds Enjoubert, 298: Oct. 21, 1684, pp. 679-680. Cf. FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 211, April 2,

- 1926, p. 23n.: “*Pierre Gaij* is die enige onbekende van die ag-en-vyftig ondertekenaars”.
192. GG 1, Cabrières-d'Aigues, BMS: July 19, 1690; Fonds Enjoubert, 298: March 25 and June 30, 1683, pp. 108v.; 241v.-242.
 193. PA 201, Archieven, 47a.
 194. Stellenbosch, 18/2, Testamenten, 1698-1713: 10 (CA). See also BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 83.
 195. E, Lourmarin, BMS: Sept. 3, 1678.
 196. V.-L. BOURRILLY, ‘La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes à Marseille’, *BSHPF*, LIV, Jan.-Feb. 1905, p. 21.
 197. E, Lourmarin, BMS: April 15, 1681.
 198. E, Mérindol, Culte protestant: July 2, 1673; E, Lourmarin, BMS: June 23, 1683.
 199. PA 201, Archieven, 35f: Nov. 19.
 200. See FRANKEN, ‘Franse vlugtelingen’, II, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 194, Nov. 27, 1925, p. 21 and n.
 201. See BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 120 and Old Stellenbosch freeholds, II, 1, 1704-1723: Dec. 19, 1714, f. 2, p. 76 (DO).
 202. EC, Lourmarin, Cultes réunis, BMS, 1669-1692: Aug. 15, 1684 (AC Lourmarin); E, Lourmarin, BMS.
 203. PA 201, Archieven, 35f: Nov. 5, 1686; 47a: Aug. 28, 1686; May 26, 1687. The last entry refers to a refugee from Languedoc.
 204. Sources for this information include KANNEMEYER, *Hugenote-familieboek*, p. 157, *Di Afrikaanse Patriot*, Feb. 3, 1888: De Familie Malan, and D.R.K. (ed.), *The Malan de Mérindol*.
 205. E, Mérindol, Culte protestant. Entries include a reference to Jean Mal(l)an and Anne Grasse, Sept. 8, 1680 (See KANNEMEYER, *Hugenote-familieboek*, p. 157).
 206. Old Stellenbosch freeholds, II, 1: Dec. 18, 1713, f. 2, p. 70. See also BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 119.
 207. SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1722: p. 6.
 208. Fonds Enjoubert, 267: Jan. 27, 1676, pp. 620v.-621.
 209. Fonds Enjoubert, 298: Feb. 11, Sept. 25 and Nov. 12, 1683; Jan. 13, 1684, pp. 40-42; 265v.-266; 317v.-318; 402.
 210. BOURRILLY, ‘Protestants de Provence et d'Orange’, *BSHPF*, LXXVI, Jan.-March 1927, p. 19: Sept. 1701.
 211. See VC 107, Specification. FRANKEN erroneously links Pierre Batté with La Roque (‘Franse vlugtelingen’, II, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 194, Nov. 27, 1925, p. 21 and n.).
 212. IV E 338, Manosque, BMS: Oct. 1, 1684; 202 E 296, Velaux: Sept. 24, 1679; E, Mérindol, Culte protestant: April 30, 1673; March 31, 1669.
 213. PA 201, Archieven, 47a; 50d. Surnames are variously given as Gardeau, Gardeol and Becotet(te).
 214. KA 4004, 13: p. 86v.
 215. Old Stellenbosch freeholds, II, 1: Dec. 18, 1713, f. 2, p. 82; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 118.

216. See BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 69; 89.
217. E, Mérindol, Culte protestant. Perrotets from Lacoste also appear in the Mérindol records.
218. PA 201, Archieven, 50d.
219. FWK: Ferrand. The others were at Amsterdam and Rotterdam.
220. PA 201, Archieven, 50d.
221. She died in her late nineties in 1731 (BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 59).
222. FWK: Amiel; PA 201, Archieven, 47a.
223. FWK: Amiel, June 29, 1699.
224. Old Stellenbosch freeholds, II, 1: Dec. 18, 1713, f. 2, p. 72. See also BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 117. For Arniel (BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 59; 68; 117) read Amiel.
225. 'Les Français dans l'Afrique du Sud', in G. HANOTAUX and A. MARTINEAU (eds), *Histoire des colonies françaises et de l'expansion de la France dans le monde*, VI, p. 504.
226. 7 E 77/1, Le Luc, BMS, and Fichier de l'église réformée du Luc.
227. Stellenbosch, 18/4, Testamenten, 1715-1720: 28, Aug. 10, 1718 (CA); FWK: Ree.
228. 7 E 77/1, Le Luc, BMS, and Fichier de l'église réformée du Luc.
229. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 88.
230. *Protestantisme dans l'arrondissement de Draguignan*, p. 32.
231. LOUGH (ed.), *Locke's travels*, p. 78 and n.: April 14, 1976. See also p. 83: April 19, 1676.
232. FERMAUD, *Protestantisme dans l'arrondissement de Draguignan*, pp. 33-34. Gédéon-Corneille married Jeanne Ougier of Orange in 1674 (7 E 77/1, Le Luc, BMS, and Fichier de l'église réformée du Luc).
233. 7 E 77/1, Le Luc, BMS, and Fichier de l'église réformée du Luc; FERMAUD, *Protestantisme dans l'arrondissement de Draguignan*, pp. 32-33.
234. PA 201, Archieven, 46b; FWK: Terre Blanche.
235. See the list of those supporting W. A. van der Stel in FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelingen', VII, *Die Huisgenoot*, XII, 298, Dec. 9, 1927, p. 39.
236. PA 201, Archieven, 285k, Livre des charges, 1683-1697 (GA Amsterdam).
237. FERMAUD, *Protestantisme dans l'arrondissement de Draguignan*, p. 56n.
238. FERMAUD, *Protestantisme dans l'arrondissement de Draguignan*, pp. 28-29.
239. *Protestantisme dans l'arrondissement de Draguignan*, pp. 33-34.
240. FERMAUD, *Protestantisme dans l'arrondissement de Draguignan*, pp. 35-37; 58-59n.
241. TT 253, V, Mérindol; Cabrières; Lourmarin: Verbal, pp. 456-461; FERMAUD, *Protestantisme dans l'arrondissement de Draguignan*, pp. 39; 40; 56n.
242. 'Protestants d'Embrun', *BSEHA*, 1972, pp. 62-63.
243. FERMAUD, *Protestantisme dans l'arrondissement de Draguignan*, p. 56n.

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244. 469^l, Registre du consistoire de Riez, Ro(u) moules et annexes: Mérindol synod, Nov. 3, 1679, p. clxxv.
245. *French refugees*, between pp. 58-59.
246. *Paysans de Languedoc*, I, p. 334.
247. LADURIE, *Paysans de Languedoc*, I, p. 335. PILLORGET ascribes the lack of resistance in Provence after 1685 to the numerical weakness of Calvinism (*Mouvements insurrectionnels*, p. 1008).
248. *Persecution of Huguenots*, p. 446.
249. LOUGH (ed.), *Locke's travels*, p. 88: April 23, 1676.
250. MONGREDIEN, *Vie quotidienne sous Louis XIV*, p. 229.
251. Based on total figure for south-eastern France, with Orange, in MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 86n. See also STOYE, *Europe unfolding*, p. 367. In 1698 the intendant Le Bret estimated that one Calvinist in five had left Provence (FERMAUD, *Protestantisme dans l'arrondissement de Draguignan*, p. 39).

CHAPTER EIGHT

Cape settlers IV: from Burgundy to Picardy

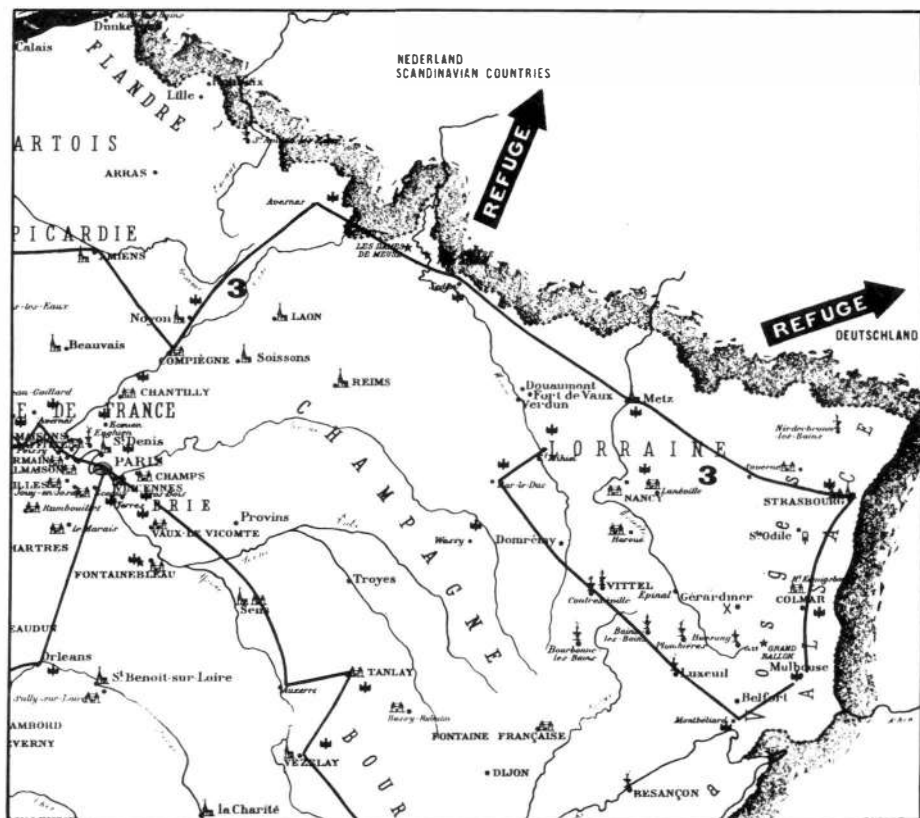


This chapter considers the Cape settlers from eastern and north-eastern France within the frontier zones. The borders of the region towards the areas of military conflict in the later seventeenth century are therefore approximately coterminous with those of the kingdom in this direction at the time of Louis XIV's accession in 1643. The Boulonnais and Calaisis of northern Picardy have, however, been excluded since they have much in common with those neighbouring parts of modern France incorporated since that date. The boundary runs roughly eastwards from the mouth of the Canche on the Channel coast to the Ardennes, and south to Franche-Comté. The southern and western borders of this region will be evident from the geographical sketches provided in preceding chapters, while the short stretch of Channel coast from the Canche to the Bresle forms a natural boundary to the north-west.

The region contains the ancient provinces of Champagne and the Niver-

nais, together with large portions of three others: the Ile-de France, Picardy and Burgundy. In the south-west corner of Burgundy is the Charolais, a Spanish royal possession occupied by France in the war of 1674 and finally ceded to Louis XIV ten years later. So far as Picardy is concerned, the provincial boundaries do not adequately represent an area whose inhabitants might well consider themselves Picards. This would include a considerable part of the Ile-de-France and some border districts of Champagne.¹ The towns of Compiègne and Château-Thierry, for example, important in the context of the Cape emigration, clearly fall within this greater Picardy.²

Apart from the wooded slopes of the Ardennes and the Argonne in the east and the Côte-d'Or south-west of Dijon in Burgundy, the region



discussed here has no outstanding physical features. Much of it is rich farming country, well watered by a river system which includes the Seine, the Marne, the Oise and the Aisne. Champagne and Burgundy were then, as now, noted for their wines of quality.³

In the seventeenth century the region was divided into generalities whose intendants had their headquarters in the capital, Paris, and at Châlons-sur-Marne, Soissons, Amiens, Dijon and Bourges. Other important episcopal seats of the period were Rheims, Laon, Beauvais and Meaux in the north; Auxerre and Autun in the south.

Industry flourished in the later seventeenth century under Colbert's supervision, particularly in the north.⁴ Textiles dominated, stimulating both the growth of such associated trades as dyeing and the manufacture of soap, and of cottage industries in the villages. The port of Abbeville on the Somme owed much of its success as a centre of the cloth trade to the presence of the Dutchman Josse van Robais, who was invited to establish himself there in 1665 with a group of skilled artisans from his own country. Workers from Tournai in the Spanish Netherlands had introduced new techniques in this field at Amiens, while further inland in Picardy, Saint-Quentin specialized in lawns and muslins. Rheims in Champagne was important in the manufacture of woollens and at Beauvais in the Ile-de-France the state-supported tapestry industry rivalled that of the Gobelins in the capital. By far the most important city in the country was Paris, with a population approaching half a million in 1684 and strongly influencing the economy of the surrounding countryside which supplied it with the bulk of its food-stuffs. A city of contrasts, of fine buildings and noisome rookeries, of luxury and extreme poverty, it was in the seventeenth century Europe's greatest metropolis.⁵

The reformed church in eastern and north-eastern France was often locally influential and embraced all social classes. It was, however, widely disseminated and had nothing of that cohesion we have seen in many areas of the south and south-west. The region discussed in this chapter contained something approaching 8% of all French Calvinists and formed a part of three synodal provinces: Ile-de-France-Champagne-Picardy, the Orléanais and Berry, and Burgundy. In the first of these ecclesiastical provinces the colloquy of Champagne had thirteen churches, of which that at Vitry-le-François was the largest, with more than 20% of the total Protestant population. The congregation there numbered some 2 000. In the Picardy colloquy one-third of the 15 000 members were attached to the churches of Calais and Boulogne-sur-

Mer, to be discussed in the next chapter. In the Ile-de-France colloquy the temple at Nogentel for the Calvinists of Château-Thierry and neighbourhood is the most important in connection with the Cape emigration, but 60% of the 20 000 Protestants in the colloquy, many of them of considerable social standing, belonged to the Paris church.⁶

The great temple for Paris at Charenton-le-Pont, south-east of the city at the confluence of the Seine and the Marne, demolished in November 1685,⁷ was an impressive building housing a congregation of 14 000. With its two interior galleries it had, in the eyes of the Catholic pamphleteer Jean de Rostagny, more the appearance of a theatre than a place of worship. To the left of the temple was the consistory building and – sign of an age which paid due regard to social pretensions – two cemeteries, one for the burial of persons of quality and the other where those of less exalted background were interred.⁸ The temple could be approached by land and by water. Travel by the latter method was not without danger. On January 18, 1654 a river boat crowded with returning worshippers sank near Charenton with a loss of nearly fifty lives.⁹

The English diarist Evelyn visited the temple early in 1644 and found it “a very faire and spacious roome, built of free-stone, very decently adorn’d with payntings of the Tables of the Law, the Lords Prayer and Creede”. He noted that a special enclosure round the pulpit was provided for elders, strangers and the more influential members of the congregation. Evelyn praised the psalmody, but his pleasure in the service was somewhat marred by the noise made by the movement of the “forms and low stooles” on which the congregation sat.¹⁰ Another frequent visitor was the English envoy in Paris, Henry Savile, whose attendance at worship between 1679 and 1682 was designed to show support for the Protestant cause in France.¹¹

The congregation had a large and distinguished pastorate. Jean Claude has already appeared in these pages. First prominent as moderator of the provincial synod of Nîmes in 1661, where he showed himself an outspoken opponent of compromise with Catholicism, he fled to The Hague by way of Cambrai and Brussels after the revocation.¹² Another of the Charenton ministers exiled in 1685 was Pierre Allix. A native of Alençon in Normandy, he became a naturalized Englishman and was honoured with doctorates in divinity by the universities of both Oxford and Cambridge.¹³ A third pastor, Jean Mesnard, who fled to the United Provinces and subsequently went to England, spent over a month in the Bastille in 1683.¹⁴ Reformed services were also held in the Dutch embassy in Paris. On the staff there was André Forestier, a Frenchman

from Montpellier, who had studied in the United Provinces. Forester was among those who abjured the Calvinist faith.¹⁵

Protestantism was not strong in the Nivernais, where the churches were under the jurisdiction of the colloquy of Berry in the Orléanais and Berry synodal province. The faith was also widely disseminated in that part of the Burgundy synodal province which falls within the scope of this chapter. The colloquy of Dijon, with its main centre at Is-sur-Tille, lay entirely in the region discussed here, which also included most of the colloquy of Chalon-sur-Saône and Mâcon in the Lyons colloquy.¹⁶

Although some attention has been paid to the important Paris church, the capital had more significance in the history of the Cape emigration as a probable place of refuge and assembly point for escape than as the original home of any considerable body of settlers at the southern tip of Africa. One who came out at a later date was Denis Allier of Paris, who reached the Cape as a soldier on the *Meijenberg* in June 1728 and was granted burgher papers in 1734.¹⁷ There was also a burgher François Allier, born at the Cape, who applied to settle at Batavia in 1743.¹⁸ We have already noted the birth in the capital of Anne-Madeleine du Puis; another settler who was born in Paris about the year 1682 was Elisabeth Pochot (Pochot, perhaps), who sailed on the *Reijgersdaal* in 1700 with the Couvrets and Celliers. She was accompanied by another young lady, two years her senior, Cornelia Huijssen of Delft, but nothing further has come to light about her background.¹⁹ The documents of the Paris church were seized from the former elder Jacques Conrart in November 1685.²⁰ Their destruction during the Commune of 1871 has left an irreplaceable gap in our knowledge of that congregation. Luckily some research had already been carried out in the records, but all that survived the burning of the Palais de Justice were a few charred fragments published in 1872.²¹

North of Paris, beyond the abbey church at Saint-Denis on the road to the Condé chateau at Chantilly, there was a small Calvinist community at the village of Villiers-le-Bel. It was in this place, disguised in the Cape documents as “Willebeck”, that the refugee Jean Pariset was born about the year 1667.²² Villiers-le-Bel was described after the revocation as “une petite Genève à trois lieues de Paris” and about one-third of its inhabitants – some four hundred persons – subscribed to the reformed faith. Although the distance from Charenton made them irregular worshippers in the temple there, they were nevertheless able to hold assemblies in the village, either at the home of the elder Nicolas Tav-

ernier, or at that of Zacharie Chastelain, a man of some learning known locally as "le petit ministre".²³

Villiers-le-Bel and such neighbouring villages as Sarcelles and Grouslay were both agricultural communities and centres of a cottage industry in the manufacture of filigree lace in gold and silver, a technique imported from Spain. The Calvinists of the region were active in the production and marketing of this material and as Béatrix de Buffevent has recently pointed out, the spread of reform there would seem to be not unconnected with the movement of merchants and their contacts abroad, particularly in the United Provinces.²⁴ There was, as elsewhere in rural society, considerable overlapping in productive employment and many were both lace-makers and cultivators. Viticulture was extensively practised.²⁵ There were a number of wealthy families, among them the Taverniers and Chastelains, who as merchants and intermediaries in the Paris market, obtained the raw material for the cottage industry in which other, less affluent families were engaged. Some established themselves permanently in the mercantile world of the capital, thus providing a close link between the centres of production and their marketing outlet.²⁶ One such was Samuel Pariset of Villiers-le-Bel, resident in the Saint-Denis suburb of Paris. It was probably he who was among a party which fell into the hands of a false guide who promised in 1686 to get them safely out of the country.²⁷

The Parisets, however, do not generally seem to have been of the merchant class. There was a Jacques Pariset at Villiers-le-Bel, "ouvrier en dentelle et en soie", and two brothers Louis and Pierre Pariset, engaged in the cultivation of the vine. Their cousins – and in one of them we have, perhaps, the Cape settler – were Jean Pariset and his son of the same name.²⁸ The Parisets must all have been closely related in so small a community as that of Villiers-le-Bel.

Protestantism at Villiers was stamped out by a detachment of troops sent there in November 1685 under the future marshal Pierre de Montesquiou d'Artagnan.²⁹ Their efforts were accompanied by an unnecessary amount of pilfering and wanton destruction, but the result was greatly to the liking of the prior of Villiers-le-Bel, Philippe Gourreau de la Proustière. In a letter to Condé of November 22 he justified the means adopted and described his small part in the operation. "J'ai bien reconnu", he wrote, "... qu'il fallait joindre l'épée de Saint-Paul aux clés de Saint-Pierre. J'ai seulement recueilli ce que vous m'aviez moissonné".³⁰

But not all wanted to abjure, and of those who did, a large number

subsequently left the kingdom. It was estimated that more than 60% of the Calvinists of the generality of Paris, not including the capital itself, took the road to exile.³¹ Several from Villiers-le-Bel brought their skills as lace-makers to England³² and it is evident too that the movement across the frontiers from the Paris region began well before the revocation. Many first sought refuge in the capital. In a list of expatriates formerly resident in Paris which was drawn up in 1687 appears the name of Anne Gouffé, widow of a lace-maker Isaïe Pariset, who had fled with four children. Another of her sons, a soldier with the troops sent to Villiers-le-Bel, made himself master of the house and its lands his mother had previously owned in the village.³³ A Louise Pariset abjured at The Hague on May 26, 1686,³⁴ but the Cape settler Jean must have gone to Middelburg to sail on the *Oosterland* in 1688.

The surgeon-barber Gédéon le Grand, resident at Stellenbosch by 1698, has left us one of the most interesting fragments of a personal nature to survive from the early days of French settlement at the Cape. It is his diary, or account book, begun on Wednesday, January 1, 1710, the year in which he died.³⁵ Franken has provided an excellent annotated transcription of its contents, which present a fascinating picture of contemporary medical practice, as well as a glimpse of the ills to which the early settlers were heir.³⁶ Le Grand had moreover a more imaginative streak and the lines of verse with which he opens his journal, however pedestrian, will serve to introduce him here:

“Journal de L’année mil sept cens dix,
avec le jour commence ta journée
de L’Eternel le saint nom benissant
Le soir aussi ton labeur finissant
Loue le encorre et passe ainsi L’année”.³⁷

Gédéon le Grand does not appear to have married and it was in the settlement of his estate between 1711 and 1715 that we learn of the presence in the United Provinces of his brother Abraham and can thus determine the place of origin of the family.³⁸ Gédéon and Abraham le Grand were the sons of Gédéon le Grand and Susanne Millet and came from Compiègne, north-east of Paris near the confluence of the Oise and the Aisne and seat of a royal palace.³⁹ The church there was one of a number scattered throughout the Valois and the Beauvaisis. Not far distant from Compiègne to the east is the village of Fitz-James, known as Warty before the early eighteenth century, when it took the name of the local proprietor, James Fitz-James, the duke of Berwick. Born at Moulins in the Bourbonnais, Berwick was the natural son of James II of

England and Marlborough's sister Arabella Churchill. He was active as governor of Languedoc in suppressing the Camisards. Warty was strongly Calvinistic before the revocation and among those from the village worshipping at neighbouring Clermont were many Le Grands, perhaps related to those of that name at Compiègne.⁴⁰ The temple for Compiègne was in the hamlet of Bienville, north of the town, and the pastor there, Antoine Catel, found a refuge in Zeeland, becoming minister of Veere on the island of Walcheren before his death in 1687. Both Clermont and Compiègne, although in the Ile-de-France, formed part of the Picardy colloquy of the synodal province of the reformed church for the north-eastern regions of the kingdom.⁴¹

Several members of the Compiègne congregation in exile joined Catel at Veere, among them Isabelle le Grand from Lacroix-Saint-Ouen, a small locality on the edge of the Compiègne forest. Isabelle abjured at Veere the Catholicism she had been forced to accept by appearing before the minister on August 24, 1686. No record of Gédéon le Grand in the United Provinces has been found, but Abraham, who left Compiègne towards 1693, married the widow Marie Mangard at Haarlem on January 13, 1699. His wife, the daughter of Pierre Mangard and Elisabeth Sézille, was born at Rosières in Picardy about the year 1670 and had settled in Haarlem with her parents in 1688 before marrying the refugee Jean Mésant.⁴²

Abraham le Grand was chosen as a deacon of the Haarlem church on March 4, 1703.⁴³ His business career in that city is an illustration of the benefits the countries of refuge derived from the influx of skilled workers from France. He was a silk weaver, with special knowledge of the production of bolting-cloth, a fine gauze used for sifting such products as flour. He joined a Haarlem firm already manufacturing silk gauze and soon introduced an improved material based on an eastern model which helped to make the Dutch city a leading European centre of the silk industry. Abraham took over the firm and he and his family became naturalized citizens of the United Provinces in 1710. He was then thirty-eight years of age, with three daughters, Susanne, Marie and Elisabeth. A son Gédéon, baptised at Haarlem in November 1707, must have died in infancy. Abraham le Grand's death occurred in early January 1720, but his widow continued to run the business. The middle daughter Marie, christened on October 11, 1705, married Louis Belain of The Hague, also a child of French immigrants, in June 1729. He joined his mother-in-law in partnership and at length inherited the firm. Although the Belain line died out in 1776 and the business passed into

other hands, it was still in existence late in the nineteenth century. The raw material which Abraham le Grand used to found the fortunes of this commercial enterprise was imported from the Far East in Dutch East India Company vessels calling at the Cape.⁴⁴ There must surely therefore have been some contact between the Haarlem manufacturer and his surgeon brother in the distant settlement.

The Brie française and the Brie champenoise straddling the borders of the Ile-de France and Champagne south-east of Compiègne and east of Paris contained a number of Calvinist communities before the revocation. Those who worshipped at Nogentel came not only from Château-Thierry, birthplace of the poet La Fontaine, but also from many small towns, villages and farms on both sides of the Marne. Services at Nogentel, south of Château-Thierry across the river, were held under seigneurial protection in the country-seat known as the Forte-Maison. The congregation was predominantly rural, but although the gentry was a class better represented in other Brie churches, the names of several from the upper ranks of society are to be found in the Nogentel registers.⁴⁵

The church was attached to the Ile-de-France colloquy of the synodal province for the north-east. Its pastor from 1677 until 1683 was Pierre Augier, a native of Nogent-le-Roi near Dreux, who at the time of the revocation was serving the congregation of Châlons-sur-Marne. He was arrested at Charleville on the Meuse as he made his way into exile and could only obtain his release at the price of leaving his wife Marie Jullion and his children in France. Rather than do this Augier chose to abjure, but was later to escape with them to Lausanne in Switzerland. From there he travelled to Berlin and eventually resumed the ministry at Halle-an-der-Saale in Saxony, where he died in 1701.⁴⁶ The Nogentel elder Paul Rapilliart, a Château-Thierry jeweller, fled to London where he re-established the family business. In 1692 his son Jean, also a jeweller, married Rachel, daughter of Samuel Mettayer, minister of the church of La Patente in Spitalfields and formerly of Saint-Quentin. Paul's daughters Marguerite and Anne remained in France and attempted to recover debts owed to their father. Their action led to much ill-feeling and divisions within the family. The case was probably not unique among refugees and their families in the homeland.⁴⁷

There were upwards of eight hundred members of the reformed church in the Château-Thierry election of the Soissons generality and it is clear that a large proportion of them sought exile abroad. It is known that by 1700 one-half of the Calvinists had left the villages round Meaux in the

Brie française and most of those who remained kept secretly to the old religious ways, making use where possible as time went on of church facilities for marriages and baptisms at the Dutch embassy in Paris, or in the garrison towns of the southern Netherlands.⁴⁸ The situation in the Brie champenoise was probably much the same. It was largely as a result of the considerable exodus that certain family names died out in Brie, among them that of Taillefert.⁴⁹ One branch of the Taillefert family emigrated to the Cape of Good Hope and although the name there too has disappeared, the Tailleferts have numerous descendants throughout South Africa today.

Isaac Taillefert of Château-Thierry, hatter, vine grower and perhaps apothecary, embarked on the *Oosterland* in 1688, after taking the required oath of allegiance as a prospective Cape settler. He left Middelburg with his wife Susanne Briet and the six surviving children of the marriage. Isaac was the son of a Nogentel church elder and Château-Thierry apothecary Jean Taillefert and his wife Esther Jordain. Despite some confusion in the Nogentel registers published in 1885 by Elisée Briet, it is certain that Esther Jordain died before June 1680. Other children of the marriage were Elisée, Jeanne, Pierre, Marie, Nathanaël and Madeleine. Of these, Elisée followed his father's calling, marrying Jeanne Prud'homme of the village of Mortcerf in April 1684. The couple were living in Middelburg in 1690, where a daughter Jeanne was born to them. It is interesting to note the death in 1683 of another Jeanne Prud'homme. She was a servant in the household at Coubert, near Brie-Comte-Robert, of the duke of Schomberg.⁵⁰

The Cape refugee's sister Jeanne Taillefert became the wife of Jean Leclère, a master pewterer of Château-Thierry who died in 1680. She may have remarried. A Jeanne Taillefert, wife of Louis Barry, joined the Walloon church at Middelburg in June 1687 after escaping from France. Jeanne's brother Pierre settled in Berlin after the revocation, marrying Marie Henriët there in December 1691. He too was an apothecary, but turned to another trade in exile, that of confectioner.⁵¹ Marie Taillefert was the wife of Paul Lefebvre; their history deserves closer attention in the context of the Cape settlement and will be referred to again. Little is known about Nathanaël and Madeleine, although the former seems to have remained in France.⁵²

Tailleferts, artisans, merchants or agriculturalists, lived not only in Château-Thierry, but also in such neighbouring localities as Brasles, Nogentel and Monneaux. Pierre Taillefert of Nogentel was a church elder and merchant draper; his widow Jeanne de Saint-Supplie abjured

before the parish priest Hyacinthe Trudel in 1686. At Monneaux, in the Essômes valley on the right bank of the Marne, were Jean Taillefert, a plasterer, and Paul Taillefert, a vine-dresser. A resident of Brasles was Claude Taillefert.⁵³

The Briets were agriculturalists of Monneaux and surrounding hamlets and it would appear that the Cape settlers Isaac Taillefert and Susanne Briet married a little before January 1671. In that year an exchange took place between the merchant cooper Etienne Briet of Monneaux and Isaac Taillefert, in which certain lands belonging to Susanne Briet at Vaux, near Monneaux, are mentioned.⁵⁴ Isaac Taillefert's own land holdings were evidently augmented by others settled upon his wife at the time of their marriage. The name Etienne Briet reappears among Leyden refugees in 1690.⁵⁵

Elisabeth, the eldest of Isaac Taillefert's children to come to the Cape, was born about the year 1673. Her brother Jean was baptized at Nogentel on February 2, 1676 and named for his godfather Jean Huet. His godmother was Marie Taillefert, doubtless Isaac's sister. Jean Huet was godfather to another child of this family, baptized at Nogentel on September 26, 1680. The name given is again Jean, but it could perhaps be Jean-Isaac and refers perhaps to the Isaac Taillefert, aged seven, who embarked with his parents on the *Oosterland*.⁵⁶ No entry of the birth of the fourth and fifth children, Pierre, aged five in January 1688, and Susanne, two and a half years of age, appears in the surviving Nogentel records. According to Elisée Briet, the youngest emigrant, Marie Taillefert, was baptized by the monks of the royal abbey of Essômes in January 1687.⁵⁷ It is worthy of note that the Catholics of the abbey displayed marked tolerance towards the Calvinists of the region in those days of religious strife.⁵⁸

In addition to the six children mentioned in the advice of departure of the *Oosterland*, the Nogentel registers record the baptisms of two other daughters of Isaac Taillefert and Susanne Briet. On February 6, 1678 a girl Susanne, clearly not the daughter of that name aboard the *Oosterland*, was christened with Paul Lefebvre as godfather and Susanne Huet, daughter of a Monneaux hatter Isaac Huet, as godmother. On June 27 of the following year Marie-Madeleine Taillefert was baptized at Nogentel. Her godparents were Claude le Drapier of Viffort and her aunt Madeleine Taillefert. Marie-Madeleine died in September 1680.⁵⁹

The possibility that the dates of birth of the two youngest children to embark on the *Oosterland* have inadvertently been reversed has already been the subject of controversy.⁶⁰ As the question is bound up with the

Tailleferts in exile it may suitably be discussed again here. The problem arises from the baptism at Middelburg of Susanne Taillefert in October 1687, a circumstance which suggests that Susanne was younger than Marie, despite the ages given in the *Oosterland's* passenger list.⁶¹

The records, however, may be correct in every respect as they stand. It may well be that Susanne, born on the eve of the revocation, was never baptized in France. We know that the Tailleferts took refuge in the secluded Essômes valley at this time, that Isaac and his wife were compelled to abjure and that the former, probably accompanied by the older children, preceded his wife to Middelburg where he made public reparation for his fault in accepting Catholicism on January 11, 1687 and was naturalized six days later. This was the month of Marie Taillefert's baptism at Essômes and it is evident that Susanne Briet remained in France because of her advanced pregnancy. It was not until September 16, 1687 that she resumed membership of the reformed church in Middelburg.⁶²

Elisée Briet has mentioned La Rochelle as the Taillefert escape route.⁶³ It is possible that either he or his wife made the journey to the United Provinces from this port, particularly as the more direct means of communication along the carriage road to Lille and beyond was not without its dangers. On the other hand we know that Briets from Monneaux reached Middelburg by a more circuitous land route, going first to Basle in Switzerland and passing through Frankfort-on-Main on the northward journey in December 1686.⁶⁴ Could the town of Longwy, north-west of Metz, have provided an intermediate stop on the road to exile? There was a Rachel Briet of Château-Thierry living there in 1686, the wife of a master locksmith Jacob Michau(l)t, formerly of Sedan.⁶⁵

Isaac Taillefert's vines appear to have been in the hands of Isaac Huet after his flight from France.⁶⁶ This is probably the Isaac Huet of Monneaux mentioned earlier. The Tailleferts, Briets and Huets were closely related and we may note in the history of this widespread dispersion the marriage in the Spitalfields district of London in 1694 of Isaac Briet, the son of Jérémie Briet and Marie Gratiot of Château-Thierry, to Anne l'Evesque from Normandy. A witness was Paul Taillefert, a relative of the bridegroom. The father is presumably the Jérémie Briet who abjured at Delft in 1693. Isaac Taillefert's wife Susanne was the sister of Elisabeth Briet, wife of the Nogentel carpenter Jean Huet.⁶⁷ We shall have occasion to return to the Huets at a later point.

Making reparation with Isaac Taillefert in Middelburg in January 1687

were Louis and Marie Taillefert. Louis's family may later have settled in Amsterdam. Marie could be Isaac's sister, but from the transcription of the records of the Walloon church in the Zeeland capital we learn that the surgeon Paul Lefebvre and his wife Marie Taillefert had reached Middelburg at an earlier date and had been naturalized there on November 17, 1685.⁶⁸ Paul Lefebvre played an important part among the Calvinists of the Château-Thierry election in his professional capacity. He attended the Nogentel pastor Jean Pages in his last illness and was a witness at his funeral in 1677.⁶⁹

The Lefebvre children who appeared at Middelburg with their parents were Paul, Pierre, Susanne and Marie. There are discrepancies here with the children whose baptisms are recorded in the surviving Nogentel registers. There we find the baptism of Jean Lefebvre on April 1, 1674, of Anne on January 12, 1676 and of Marie-Madeleine on May 16, 1677. The registers, however, do not cover a lengthy period and it is also possible that some of the children of Paul Lefebvre and Marie Taillefert died before 1685. Another daughter Marguerite was born to them in exile and christened at Middelburg on January 10, 1687.⁷⁰

It seems a distinct possibility that there were two surgeons named Paul Lefebvre, father and son, at the Cape, the former arriving in the service of the Dutch East India Company in 1694 and the latter two years afterwards. This hypothesis is suggested by entries in the log of the *Vosmaar* of Zeeland, a vessel which sailed for the Indies on April 26, 1696 under the command of Jacob Lantsheer. She left Flushing in the company of the *Veenmol* and a larger ship, the *Huijs te Duijnen*, on a voyage which was to last almost six months and cause the deaths of ninety-four of those aboard her. With only four fit men left among the crew she had to be helped to an anchorage in Table Bay. Her consorts made even longer voyages and there were many deaths aboard the *Huijs te Duijnen*, whose captain could bring her no further than Saldanha Bay without assistance. The *Veenmol*, which reached the Cape via Accra and Cape Lopez, was captured by the French merchantman the *Pontchartrain* in February 1697 and sold with her cargo in Brazil.⁷¹

The *Vosmaar* carried ten French refugees. On June 27, 1696, in cold, wet weather, it was reported in the log: "Kregen dagelix veel volck jnde kooij door sieckte". The first death occurred two days later and by the time the *Vosmaar* had crossed the equator on August 1, several more had succumbed to sickness and a sailor Jacob Hartog had fallen overboard and drowned. In southern latitudes the toll mounted rapidly, each fatality being faithfully recorded in the log. On Saturday, August

11 during the first watch a French passenger, Marie Lefebvre, died. Six days later we read: "Smorgens . . . is overleeden maria taaljefaar (Marie Taillefert) van Schattoetire (Château-Thierry) in vranckrijck zijnde de moeder van den overleede maria La fever franse refugees overvaarende na de Caap de bon Esperance". Here we have the first link with the family of Paul Lefebvre the surgeon.

A third death among the emigrants took place on September 7, that of "een van onse franse passagiers kinders . . . genaamt paulus biosse (Paul Bisseux) gebooren tot middelbg". We shall return to the Bisseux family in due course. Although more than three weeks were to elapse before another passenger died, the loss of life among the soldiers and sailors aboard was increasingly heavy throughout September. The deaths included that of a French-speaking soldier, Paul Grison of Lille, on September 9 and of the chief surgeon Daniel van Sluijs six days later. By September 18 fifty deaths had been reported and on the following day the log noted: "Het Rantsoen drinkwater gestelt op 7 mutsies daags". On Monday, October 1 sickness claimed "een fransche passagier, pieter huet v: maineael (Monneaux) bij Chateau tierie" and on the Monday following the death of a fifth refugee was recorded, the "fransche jonge dogter Susanna Lavever (Lefebvre)". The tragic voyage was almost at an end and on October 16 land was sighted. The deaths, however, continued until the day before the vessel anchored and it is not surprising that the accuracy of the running total kept for so long in the log began to falter in the last weeks.⁷²

The link with the Château-Thierry and Monneaux families is an interesting one. It would seem that Marie Taillefert was coming out to join her surgeon husband, bringing with her the children Marie and Susanne. Was her son Pierre also aboard the *Vosmaar*? A Paul Lefebvre, presumably the son of the Château-Thierry surgeon, was married at Middelburg on June 27, 1694 to Elisabeth Sézille, who bore him a child Paul less than six weeks after the ceremony. The boy was baptized in the Zeeland capital on August 4 of that year.⁷³ The father and his wife Elisabeth Sézille could have been aboard the *Vosmaar*; they were certainly at the Cape in the last years of the seventeenth century.⁷⁴ The name Sézille suggests a Picardy background. Sézilles at Herly were related to the Mangards there and may thus have been connected with the family of Abraham le Grand's wife.⁷⁵ The surname is also to be found among refugees from the Noyon district, north-east of Compiègne.⁷⁶ The connection between the Taillefert, Briet and Huet families has already been indicated. While the Pierre Huet who died on the *Vosmaar* has not been positively identified, the Nogentel registers

contain the baptism of a Pierre Huet on January 15, 1674 and the burial of a man of the same name, a Monneaux viticulturalist, on January 27, 1677. Huets are known to have been living in Amsterdam in 1691.⁷⁷

Two of the five survivors among the *Vosmaar's* passengers were the baker Jacob Bisseux and his son Pierre, elder brother of the boy Paul who died on the voyage.⁷⁸ Pierre Bisseux was christened in Middelburg on February 17, 1694 and Paul on November 26, 1695. The latter was thus less than a year old at the time of his death. A third brother, Jacob, was baptized in the Zeeland capital on January 7, 1691. Their mother was Marie Lefebvre.⁷⁹ Was this the daughter of Paul Lefebvre and Marie Taillefert? It is possible, although she is not described as a married woman in the log of the *Vosmaar*. Bisseux remarried Elisabeth Pochox (Pochot) in 1700 and in the same year an inventory of the goods formerly owned by Marie Lefebvre was drawn up.⁸⁰ If Bisseux's first wife survived the voyage, then there were two Marie Lefebvres on the *Vosmaar*.

Jacob Bisseux apparently entered the United Provinces by way of Lille. He was enrolled as a member of the Walloon church in Middelburg on August 21, 1689, but may first have abjured at The Hague two years previously.⁸¹ He came from Picardy, perhaps from Chéry-lès-Pouilly, north of Laon. A Jacob Bisseux is known to have fled from this village by 1686. His possessions came into the hands of Nicolas Hochet and others after his departure and it is evident that this refugee harvested wheat, a circumstance in keeping with his known trade.⁸² A Marie Bisseux from the nearby Guise district abjured at Haarlem early in 1687 and an Abraham Bisseux in the following year.⁸³ The Haarlem congregation contained many refugees from Picardy. It is an interesting coincidence that the nineteenth-century Protestant minister Isaac Bisseux, born at Lemé, near Vervins in the Aisne department of France on September 4, 1807, should have devoted his life to missionary activity in the Cape region of early French settlement with which his namesake and fellow-Picard was associated.⁸⁴

With the Tailleferts on the *Oosterland* in 1688 was the shoemaker Jean Cloudon.⁸⁵ His place of origin is given simply as Condé. While there is more than one locality of this name in France, the general composition of the passengers on this vessel suggests that he was from Condé-en-Brie, a small town on the Dhuis, not far from Château-Thierry.

If we owe much of our knowledge of the Tailleferts, Briets and Lefebvres to the work of Elisée Briet,⁸⁶ we are equally indebted to André M. Hugo for considerable background information on the Hugot, Des-

bordes and Blignaut families.⁸⁷ Dutch records go some way towards answering certain outstanding questions.

Daniel Hugot, the farrier and farmer of Drakenstein, left Champagne, his native province, before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He was accepted as a member of the Walloon church of Amsterdam on July 29, 1685 with attestation from the seigneurial church of Chaltrait, situated in wooded country south of Epernay on the Marne.⁸⁸ The pastor there, Philippe de Lambermont, who had studied for the ministry in Geneva, found a refuge in Germany, as did many of his congregation.⁸⁹ Hugot's departure from Amsterdam is listed on October 26, 1687, where he is recorded as leaving for the Indies.⁹⁰

Hugots, on both sides of the religious divide, were numerous in central and western Champagne. One, a Catholic, achieved some distinction in the seventeenth century. Nicolas Hugot of Troyes, who died at Grenoble in April 1694, was director general of hospitals with the army serving in Piedmont.⁹¹ However, those whose names appear in the Chaltrait registers of the reformed church were merchants, artisans and farmers clearly closely related to the Cape refugee. It is evident that the cradle of the Hugot family was Monthelon, a village between Epernay and Chaltrait, near the Brugny forest. There, in the seventeenth century, lived two brothers and their families: André Hugot, a vine grower married to Anne Philiponnat, and Jacob Hugot, an agriculturalist whose wife was Jeanne Royer. Two other brothers lived further afield: Daniel Hugot, a merchant glover of Châlons-sur-Marne, married to Marguerite Parjois, and Jacques Hugot, a merchant of Serzy, west of Rheims near the Vesle stream. Jacob's wife was Jeanne Barbier.⁹² It is interesting to note that there were close links between the Calvinists of the Château-Thierry area and those from the Vesle and Marne valleys to the east and north-east, particularly in the dark days for Protestantism in the eighteenth century.⁹³

The Cape settler was the son of Jacques Hugot and Jeanne Barbier and was born about May 1664, almost certainly at Serzy. Since there was a temple much closer to the Vesle valley than Chaltrait, it is not surprising that his baptism is not recorded in the registers of the latter church. Daniel Hugot must have been christened at Ay, across the Marne from Epernay, a temple whose demolition was ordered early in 1684. The minister there during Daniel's youth was Louis Garnier, who had studied both in Geneva and at Die. We do not know where Hugot received his education, but in November 1679 he was apprenticed for

three years by his father to Jean Nollin, a farrier and locksmith of Monthelon.⁹⁴

A younger brother Jacques Hugot, born about the year 1673, worked in later life as a stocking maker in Berlin, where he died on September 19, 1730. Daniel's uncle Jacob of Monthelon also settled in Berlin as a stocking maker with his wife and children, as did descendants of his uncle André. The glover of Châlons, Daniel Hugot, made his way with his family to Erlangen, near Nuremberg; other cousins were at Neu Isenburg, near Frankfort-on-Main.⁹⁵ Some of the Hugots escaped from France through Switzerland, but the route taken by the Cape refugee is not known. That he was smuggled out in a case of books is a legend which has not been verified. His reputed lack of inches would certainly have been an advantage there.⁹⁶

Jean Blignaut reached the Cape in 1723 as a cadet aboard the East Indiaman *Huijs te Assenburg*.⁹⁷ The Blignauts and the Hugots of Champagne were related and it is said that Daniel Hugot sent for the younger man as school-teacher to his children.⁹⁸ It may well be so, although Blignaut's departure is noted in the Walloon church records of Amsterdam on October 26, 1722 with the destination Batavia.⁹⁹ He may therefore have been persuaded to remain at the Cape when the ship put into Table Bay. His teaching career in the Hugot household was a short one, as his employer died in 1725 and Jean married the widow, Anne Rousseau, daughter of the refugee Pierre Rousseau.¹⁰⁰

Jean Blignaut was the son of Pierre Blignaut, a Monthelon farrier, and his wife Elisabeth Desbordes, whose marriage was celebrated at Chaltrait on Sunday, January 21, 1674. Pierre was the son of Etienne Blignaut, whose wife was a sister of Jacques Hugot, father of the Cape settler. Elisabeth Desbordes was the daughter of Urbain Desbordes and Susanne Nollin and it was into her mother's family that Daniel Hugot was apprenticed in 1679.¹⁰¹ Elisabeth Desbordes, if not her husband, was living at the Cape in 1726.¹⁰² It is uncertain whether she accompanied her son there, or joined him later.

Etienne Blignaut had another son Jean, a vine grower of Monthelon, who was married to Esther Boucher. Six of their children were baptized at Chaltrait between 1674 and 1683.¹⁰³ It is possible that Jean and his wife remained in France after the revocation and that Esther Boucher decided to join other members of the family in the United Provinces after her husband's death. She was received into the Utrecht congregation of the Walloon church on August 12, 1726 and is there described as a widow.¹⁰⁴ It is probably her son Jacques Blignaut, born at Monthelon

on September 17, 1675, who brought an attestation of church membership to 's-Hertogenbosch from Maastricht on May 30, 1694.¹⁰⁵

At least five children were born to Pierre Blignaut and Elisabeth Desbordes before the revocation: Pierre, on October 26, 1674, Jean, on June 3, 1677, Marguerite, on August 21, 1679, Jacob, on July 10, 1682 and Esther, born on August 20, 1684.¹⁰⁶ The Blignauts may not have emigrated together, but it is evident that they were in Amsterdam a few years after the revocation. Elisabeth Desbordes became a member of the Walloon church there on May 9, 1688.¹⁰⁷ The Jean Blignaut who came to the Cape cannot have been the son christened at Chaltrait in 1677.¹⁰⁸ He was evidently born in Amsterdam, where the baptisms of two of his brothers are recorded: Etienne, on May 6, 1691 and Abraham, on September 13, 1693. Pierre Blignaut of Champagne, who with his wife Marguerite Lefebvre and sons Pierre and David, was naturalized at Amsterdam on October 15, 1709, was probably the older brother of that name. The agriculturalist Jean Blignaut of Monthelon who finally settled at Buchholz in Saxony was perhaps a son of Jean and Esther Boucher, born on April 29, 1674. Like so many refugees he turned to another trade in exile, that of brewer.¹⁰⁹

It is possible that Françoise Martinet, wife of Louis Cordier, was born in the province of Champagne. Her husband has very tentatively been included among the settlers from the Orléanais, although he too may have come from the north-east. The name Martinet is not an uncommon one, but it is evident that several exiles of this name in the United Provinces were from Vitry-le-François, south-east of Châlons-sur-Marne. A Pierre Martinet of Vitry married in Rotterdam in 1689 and there was a Françoise Martinet at Oostburg three years earlier.¹¹⁰ She was from Nettancourt and the pastor at Oostburg, Samuel Georges, was formerly minister at Vitry-le-François, not far from her birthplace. Georges had been an outspoken opponent of the anti-Calvinist persecution in France.¹¹¹

Martinets in exile, however, also came from other regions. The reader in the churches at Gorinchem and 's-Hertogenbosch in the late seventeenth century was a Jean Martinet from Sedan, while in the latter Dutch town lived Nicolas Martinet, probably from the same locality and married to Jeanne Buisset.¹¹² We shall have occasion to discuss the origins of the Cape settler Marie Buisset in the next chapter. Martinets, like Cordiers, were also to be found in Dauphiné. A Pierre Martinet from that province was at 's-Hertogenbosch in 1690¹¹³ and a Jean

Martinet fled from Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux in south-western Dauphiné.¹¹⁴

We turn our attention now to the borders of Champagne and Burgundy, and in particular to the bailiwick and county of Bar-sur-Seine. This district, geographically a part of Champagne, had formed an enclave of Burgundian soil since the Treaty of Arras in 1435. The temple of Landreville there, whose demolition was ordered in February 1679, some five years after a recommendation that worship should cease, was numbered among the places of worship in the reformed church colloquy of Champagne in the synodal province for the north-east. It served not only the Calvinists of the Bar-sur-Seine bailiwick, but also those from localities in Champagne itself, among them the towns and villages of the bailiwick of Sens, up river from Bar-sur-Seine.¹¹⁵

The refugee Jean Légeret, who reached the Cape as a freeman aboard the *Agatha* in 1693,¹¹⁶ was originally from Champagne and probably came from one of the communities along the Seine in the Sens bailiwick. A Jean Légeret was living as early as 1613 at Courteron, while in the later seventeenth century the same name appears both there and at Neuville-sur-Seine downstream. Between these little towns lies Gyé-sur-Seine, where other members of the family were established.¹¹⁷ It is clear from the Landreville records that these Légerets were closely related. Baptiste Légeret of Gyé was a vine grower, but those from Neuville and Courteron were farriers. Jean Légeret of Neuville, who died in 1671 in his late twenties, left a young widow Jeanne Doué.¹¹⁸ It is possible that his uncle, Isaac Légeret of the same town, who married Anne Doué on April 15, 1668, was the father of the Cape settler.¹¹⁹ A Pierre Légeret of Champagne was at 's-Hertogenbosch in 1701,¹²⁰ but no information concerning Jean's arrival in that country has yet been discovered.

Was Légeret induced to emigrate further by settlers already living at the Cape? It is an interesting question, the answer to which is perhaps bound up with the French origins of Pierre, Abraham and Jacob de Villiers. The three men sailed from Goeree on January 9, 1689 aboard the *Zion* which, prevented by contrary winds from joining the Zeeland fleet as protection in time of war, sailed alone for the Cape of Good Hope. In a letter to the Cape from the Delft chamber of the Dutch East India Company of December 16, 1688 the new settlers were recommended for their skill in the cultivation of the vine and were described as coming from the neighbourhood of La Rochelle.¹²¹

Jacob de Villiers was born about the year 1661; the dates of birth of

Pierre and Abraham are considered to be 1657 and 1659 respectively. Even with this information, research into their origins in the west of France has produced meagre results. On the other hand, records in the Netherlands and at the Cape suggest the province of Burgundy as their homeland, while the names of their farms – Champagne, La Brie and Bourgogne – indicate a connection with the east, rather than with the west of France.¹²² La Rochelle could perhaps have been a final place of residence before they left France. It must be conceded that in the names of towns, villages, farms and local landmarks in many parts of their homeland links can be found with the place-names associated with the three men. Nevertheless the Burgundian enclave of Bar-sur-Seine in Champagne offers a possible solution to a long standing problem.

A family worshipping at Landreville from at least 1620 was that of Robert Villiers of Viviers-sur-Artaut, a village to the north-east of the temple. Jean Robert Villiers became *greffier*, or recorder, of Viviers, marrying Rachel Dacorat, daughter of a shoemaker David Dacorat.¹²³ Although some members of the family signed themselves Robert Villiers, others used the simple surname Villiers, or were referred to as “de” Villiers. Jean Robert Villiers died a number of years before the demolition of the temple, but references to his children appear there until that date and afterwards in the registers at Buncey, serving the Calvinists of Châtillon-sur-Seine.¹²⁴ This congregation was attached to the Dijon colloquy of the synodal province for Burgundy,¹²⁵ but the temple was sufficiently close to the Bar-sur-Seine bailiwick for members of the reformed church there to make use of its facilities until the eve of the revocation.

Is this the family of the Cape settlers of this name? Jean Robert Villiers had sons Pierre and Abraham, both vine growers, as well as a son Paul, who died unmarried on March 12, 1671.¹²⁶ The name Paul is part of the Cape family legend.¹²⁷ Another son Isaac died on November 1 of the same year. There was also at Viviers a fifth son David Robert Villiers, a shoemaker married to Jeanne Branche and it is interesting to note that a David de Villiers was assisted by the Walloon church of Delft in 1695.¹²⁸ What of Jacob? The name appears in the Buncey registers, both as Jacob Robert Villiers and as Jacob de Villiers. On June 8, 1681 he was godfather to Jacob, son of Jacques Bonnemain and Anne de Lan of Viviers and on September 15, 1683 to Marie, daughter of Abraham Arnoux and Jeanne Robin of the same place.¹²⁹

The Delft letter of December described the three new settlers as brothers, but there is no indication at Buncey that Jacob was a son of Jean

Robert Villiers. It may be added that the Bonnemain family mentioned here had its representatives in exile in Berlin. They are described as from Chervey in Champagne, a village very near Viviers-sur-Artaut, but in the Troyes bailiwick outside the Burgundian enclave.¹³⁰ Chervey residents also worshipped at Landreville and Buncey.

We would stress that the discovery of this Villiers family is by no means conclusive proof that the Cape refugees of this name came from Viviers, although it is a distinct possibility. We may, however, assume with some confidence that they were Burgundians. Jacob is so described in the Cape records,¹³¹ while on March 17, 1674 another refugee from Burgundy, Pierre Villeer (Villiers), took the oath of citizenship at Wijk bij Duurstede, south-east of Utrecht.¹³² Could this be the Drakenstein farmer? If so, he obtained burgher papers at an early age in the light of the accepted date of birth of the Cape settler. Furthermore, the citizen of Wijk bij Duurstede was not the Pierre Robert Villiers of Viviers, unless the latter returned to France after 1674. Pierre of Viviers-sur-Artaut is noted in the Landreville registers in 1676.¹³³ There was a Pierre de Villers (*sic*) at Haarlem, but he did not abjure until 1693.¹³⁴ A Burgundian origin accords well with viticultural skills; La Rochelle and its neighbourhood do not.

Finally, we may mention in passing another name which appears in the Cape records: Marie de Villiers.¹³⁵ Nothing has been found to link her with Pierre, Abraham and Jacob and she will be discussed with her husband in the following chapter.

The brothers Jan and Johannes Petrus Serrurier sprang from a family active in the commercial world of Saint-Quentin in Picardy. Their grandfather Louis Serrurier was a Danzig merchant who moved to Amsterdam in 1681, where six years later his son Louis was born. The younger Louis Serrurier studied at Leyden before entering the church, becoming pastor at Hanau in Hesse, where he married in 1716 Esther de Visch, Amsterdam-born daughter of Isaac de Visch and Esther Bert. Their son Jan married Catharina Kretzschmar at the Cape in 1747; his brother Johannes Petrus was a reformed church minister there from 1760 until his retirement in 1804. Another of Isaac's sons, Daniel Serrurier, was a pastor at Leyden. Members of this Saint-Quentin family also took refuge in England, South Carolina and the West Indies.¹³⁶

Other Cape settlers from north-eastern France and beyond the frontier will be discussed in the next chapter, but it is possible that André Wibaut of Middelburg and his sister Marie-Catherine had connections

with Amiens. The spelling of the surname adopted here is one of many to be found in contemporary registers from that city, from Amsterdam and Leyden, and from the Strangers' church at Canterbury in England. The Amiens family and others in England were clearly of Dutch origin. Among refugees in Amsterdam after the revocation were Abraham and Marie-Catherine Wi(l)baut; a Catherine Wibau(t) was also in exile at Leyden, where she was accused of scandalous behaviour in 1686.¹³⁷ Marie-Catherine Wibaut, born about the year 1675, was at the Cape before André, who sailed as a soldier on the *Beloijs* in 1706. The first child of Marie-Catherine's marriage to Hercule Verdeau, Madeleine, was christened in 1703. André Wibaut did contract work at Drakenstein before obtaining burgher papers in 1715. That he was a carpenter by trade seems likely from the inventory of his possessions made in 1727.¹³⁸

With the exception of the Château-Thierry and Monneaux exiles, the Calvinists from the region discussed in this chapter came from a number of widely separated communities. Those with a knowledge of farming predominated, but there were several artisans and some with links with the manufacturing trades of north-eastern France. It is significant here, as indeed elsewhere, that the Cape settlers of the late seventeenth century did not come from the most depressed social classes, but were people who had skills to offer; significant too that there were evidently several refugees from what appears to have been a more prosperous section of the rural community.

The wide dissemination of Calvinism in this region probably prevented any serious, long term economic consequences of the revocation and there were indeed instances of manufacturing flourishing after 1685 in areas of marginal Calvinism.¹³⁹ There are, however, indications of the prejudicial effects of the persecution on economic life. The textile workers of the largely Calvinist community of Is-sur-Tille in Burgundy left in large numbers to the detriment of production;¹⁴⁰ there was a temporary shortage of apprentices in the filigree lace industry round Villiers-le-Bel;¹⁴¹ the Amiens intendant Louis Chauvelin was informed in the month before the revocation that commerce was beginning to decline in Saint-Quentin as a result of the Calvinist exodus.¹⁴²

The proportion of Protestants seeking exile from the region discussed here was high, ranging perhaps from a third of all those in Burgundy and the south to more than half of those living in parts of the Ile-de-France, Champagne and Picardy. It may be said that something approaching 25 000 men, women and children from eastern and north-eastern France sought refuge in flight in the last quarter of the seven-

teenth century, excluding those from the frontier zones, from the Boulonnais and from the Calaisis.¹⁴³ Of the refugees who came to the Cape in these years, perhaps 13% were from this region, although the figure must be considered in conjunction with that for the lands further to the north and east to which we shall now turn.

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2. Note the Taillefert farm name Picardie (BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 121).
3. M. LISTER, *A Journey to Paris in the year 1698*, ed. R.P. STEARNS, Facsimile Reprints, History of Science, 4, p. 163.
4. P. DEYON, 'Les Progrès économiques et les sociétés provinciales (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)', in FOSSIER (ed.), *Histoire de la Picardie*, pp. 268-274.
5. MONGRÉDIEN, *Vie quotidienne sous Louis XVI*, pp. 29-40; LISTER, *Journey*, pp. 1-31. JACQUART (*Crise rurale*, p. 651) describes the Hurepoix and the Beauce as "centres essentiels de l'approvisionnement parisien".
6. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 60; 61-63.
7. There is a lively report on the progress of the demolition in the *Amsterdamsche Donderdagse Courant*, Nov. 1, 1685: Paris, Oct. 26.
8. RICHARD, *Vie Quotidienne des Protestants*, pp. 33-34.
9. C. READ, 'La Catastrophe arrivée, le 18 janvier 1654 à Charenton-Saint-Maurice', *BSHPF*, XXXVIII, Sept. 15, 1889, pp. 479-486.
10. BRAY (ed.), *Diary*, pp. 52-53: March 6, 1644.
11. HANDS and SCOULOUDI (eds), *French Protestant refugees*, p. 1.
12. HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, III, pp. 473-474; 476; SMILES, *Huguenots*, p. 160; MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 147-148.
13. SMILES, *Huguenots*, pp. 253-254; HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, I, pp. 61; 62. He became an Anglican and a canon and treasurer of Salisbury cathedral.
14. HAAG and HAAG, *France Protestante*, VII, p. 396; FUNCK-BRENTANO, *Lettres de cachet*, 1183, p. 73: Aug. 3-Sept. 10. Mesnard was chaplain to the prince of Orange, later William III.
15. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 82 and n.

16. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 66-67; 84-85.
17. C 236, Requesten en nominatiën, 1733-1734: 71, pp. 303-304 (CA). See also LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Requesten (Memorials)*, I, p. 3.
18. C 242, Requesten en nominatiën, 1743: pp. 33-34 (CA).
19. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters received*, p. 247: 190, Kamer Delft, April 5, 1700. The name given is Pogeau. A third woman, Anna van Ameijden, sailed with this party.
20. N. WEISS, 'Saisie des registres de baptêmes, mariages et décès, des Protestants de Paris après la révocation, 24 Nov. 1685', *BSHPF*, LXV, Nov.-Dec. 1915, pp. 690-695.
21. 'Copie de fragments des registres de l'état civil des Protestants détruits par l'incendie du Palais de Justice de Paris, en 1871', *BSHPF*, XXI, May 15-July 15, 1872.
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24. *L'Industrie rurale de la dentelle dans les campagnes au nord de Paris au XVII^e siècle*, unpubl. thesis (3^e cycle), Univ. de Paris, 1974, pp. 233; 345. See also J. PANNIER, *L'Eglise réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII (1610-1621)*, p. 485.
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67. St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft, 50, Mémoire des deniers, 1683ff.: Oct. 4 (GA Delft); BRIET, *Protestantisme en Brie*, appendix II, p. 230: baptism of Jean Huet, Jan. 14, 1677; MINET and WALLER (eds), *Registers of the church*, p. 176: La Patente, Spitalfields, May 28.
68. PA 201, Archieven der Bestuuren gevormd door de Waalse gemeente in Amsterdam tot 1943, 35i, Livre des baptêmes, 1717-1749: April 29, 1717 (GA Amsterdam); FWK: Lefebvre; Taillefert.
69. BRIET, *Protestantisme en Brie*, p. 118; appendix II, p. 230; BOUCHER, 'Nogentel-en-Brie congregation', *Familia*, XII, 3, 1975, p. 71. On Pagès

- see HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, VIII, p. 65. Chaurry in Botha (*French refugees*, p. 74) is an abbreviation for Château-Thierry.
70. FWK: Lefebvre; BRIET, *Protestantisme en Brie*, appendix II, pp. 226; 228; 231.
 71. See RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 412: Oct. 17, 1696; pp. 412; 417: Nov. 3, 8 and 9, 1696; p. 424: Jan. 3, 1697. On the *Veenmol* see also LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters despatched*, p. 34: 54, to Batavia, Jan. 20, 1697 and KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, p. 357: capture and sale of the *Wennolle* (*sic*), or *Taupe*. The correct translation in *Taupe-grillon*.
 72. For details of the voyage and fatalities see KA 4401b, *Journal Vosmaar*, 1696 (ARA). BOTHA (*French refugees*, p. 11) mentions the voyage.
 73. FWK: Lefebvre.
 74. H.T. COLENBRANDER (*De Afkomst der Boeren*, 2nd ed., pp. 28-29) gives the arrival of this Paul Lefebvre at the Cape as 1694 and his marriage in Middelburg as 1693, however.
 75. I 12, Herly, BMS, 1680-1684 (AD Somme).
 76. TT 26, Généralité de Soissons: Election (*sic*) de Noyon, pp. 138-139; 148.
 77. FWK: Huet, Sept. 23; BRIET, *Protestantisme en Brie*, pp. 226; 230.
 78. See BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 11; 61.
 79. FWK: Bisseux.
 80. MOOC 8/1, Inventarissen, 1692-1705: 45, Sept. 7, 1700 (CA).
 81. AB ZH Gra dtb, 's-Gravenhage, Lidmaatschap, ens., 1621-1893: 1161, p. 73: June 1, 1687 (CBG); FWK: Bisseux.
 82. TT 26, Généralité de Soissons: Election de Laon, p. 122. With Hochet were Charles Chrestien, Jean le Tel(l)ier and Claude Carlier. Other villages so named north of the Marne are Chéry-les-Rozoy in the Thiérache and Chéry-Chartreuve, south-west of Fismes.
 83. Actes du Consistoire, III: Aug. 1, 1687; Membres de l'Eglise, III, 1687-1734: July 30, 1688 (EW Haarlem).
 84. C.J. K(RIEL), 'Bisseux, Isaac', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, I, pp. 79-80. He was the son of a Jean Bisseux (DE VILLIERS, 'Notes on Huguenot families', *Proceedings HSL*, V, 2, Nov. 1894-May 1895, p. 223).
 85. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 63.
 86. *Protestantisme en Brie*, pp. 116-119.
 87. 'Die Franse voorgeslagte van ons families Hugo en Blignaut', I-IV, *Familia*, X, 1-4, 1973. A summary appears in G.F. DE V. HUGO *et al.*, *Die Hugo-familieboek*, pp. 9-11.
 88. PA 201, Archieven, 47a, Livre contenant les noms des membres, 1680-1689 (GA Amsterdam).
 89. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 81. See also FWK: Hugot, and HUGO, 'Franse voorgeslagte', IV, *Familia*, X, 4, 1973, pp. 87-92.
 90. PA 201, Archieven, 50d, Sorties, 1684-1723 (GA Amsterdam). The Indies then included the Cape of Good Hope.

91. Ms. 2301, Notes historiques sur Troyes, depuis 1535 jusqu'à 1699 inclusivement: f. 30 (Bibl. mun. Troyes). This Ms. includes a Hugot section.
92. See EC, Chaltrait, Protestants, BMS, 1660-1684 (AD Marne) and HUGO, 'Franse voorgeslagte' IV, *Familia*, X, 4, 1973, pp. 87-92.
93. BRIET, *Protestantisme en Brie*, p. 122.
94. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 81; HUGO, 'Franse voorgeslagte', IV, *Familia*, X, 4, 1973, p. 90.
95. FWK: Hugot, and HUGO, 'Franse voorgeslagte', IV, *Familia*, X, 4, 1973, pp. 87-92.
96. J.L.M. FRANKEN, 'Hollandse Hugenotebriefies; Daniel Hugot', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 392, Oct. 4, 1929, p. 43. On his short stature see also NOBLE, *Fransche Hoek*, p. 32.
97. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Requesten (Memorials)*, I, p. 60: 41, 1726.
98. EC, Chaltrait, Protestants, BMS: Dec. 21, 1673; HUGO, 'Franse voorgeslagte', IV, *Familia*, X, 4, 1973, p. 86; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 94.
99. PA 201, Archieven, 50d.
100. FRANKEN, 'Hollandse Hugenotebriefies; Daniel Hugot', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 392, Oct. 4, 1929, p. 57.
101. EC, Chaltrait, Protestants, BMS: Jan. 21 and other entries; HUGO, 'Franse voorgeslagte', IV, *Familia*, X, 4, 1973, p. 86.
102. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 93.
103. EC, Chaltrait, Protestants, BMS; HUGO, 'Franse voorgeslagte', IV, *Familia*, X, 4, 1973, pp. 85-86.
104. A 31, Utrecht, Liste des réfugiés, 1686-1730 (with other lists) (copies) (Bibl. wall.).
105. H 283° D 1/I, Registre des personnes reçues ou admises à la Ste Cène dans l'Eglise wallonne de Bois-le-Duc, I, 1633-1694 (copy): 1396, p. 96 (GA 's-Hertogenbosch). Original in B.I.D. 41, 's-Hertogenbosch (Bibl. wall.). See also EC, Chaltrait, Protestants, BMS: baptism, Sept. 29.
106. EC, Chaltrait, Protestants, BMS: baptisms of Oct. 28, 1674, June 6, 1677, Aug. 27, 1679, July 12, 1682 and Aug. 25, 1684. HUGO ('Franse voorgeslagte', IV, *Familia*, X, 4, 1973, p. 86) omits the birth of Esther.
107. PA 201, Archieven, 47a.
108. HUGO ('Franse voorgeslagte', IV, *Familia*, X, 4, 1973, p. 86) points to the anomaly of a midshipman in his forties.
109. FWK: Blignaut; EC, Chaltrait, Protestants, BMS; HUGO, 'Franse voorgeslagte', IV, *Familia*, X, 4, 1973, p. 86.
110. Waalse Gereformeerde gemeente, Rotterdam, 1653-1811, 293 dtb Rott 127, Trouwboek, 1654-1721: May 1 (GA Rotterdam); AB Ze Oost dtb, Oostburg, Doop, 1686; 1771; Trouw en begrafenissen, 1710-1787 (copy) (CBG); G. HÉRELLE, *Documents inédits sur le Protestantisme à Vitry-le-François, Epense, Heiltz-le-Maurupt, Nettancourt et Vassy, depuis la fin des guerres de religion jusqu'à la révolution française*, III, p. 168.
111. J. DE HULLU, 'De Waalsche kerk van Oostburg', *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, N.S., X, 1913, pp. 196-197.

112. B.I.D. 32, Livre des actes du consistoire de l'Eglise française de Bois-le-Duc, 1649-1712: Oct. 9, 1691, pp. 262-263 (Bibl. wall.); BW 535, Noms des communians de l'église wal(l)onne de Gorcum, 1693-1731 (Bibl. wall.); H 283° D 1/I, Registre, Bois-de-Duc, I:1078, p. 80 (Oct. 3, 1687) (and in B.I.D. 41, 's-Hertogenbosch).
113. H 283° D 1/I, Registre, Bois-le-Duc, I: p. 89 (May 14) (and in B.I.D. 41, 's-Hertogenbosch).
114. TT. 6, Généralité de Grenoble, 1686-1716: 74, 1690-1691 (AN).
115. 4 E 187/7-9, Landreville, Eglise réformée, BMS, 1613-1679 (AD Aube); A. PETEL, 'Le Temple protestant de Landreville; contribution à l'histoire du Protestantisme dans l'arrondissement de Bar-sur-Seine', *Mémoires de la Société académique d'Agriculture, des Sciences, Arts et Belles-lettres du Département de l'Aube*, 3^e Série, XLIV, 1907, pp. 94-95; MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 60.
116. BOTH A, *French refugees*, p. 74.
117. 4 E 187/7, Landreville, Eglise réformée, BMS, 1613-1668: Oct. 27, 1613; April 15, 1668: Isaac Légeret of Neuville; Jean Légeret of Courteron; 4 E 187/8, Landreville, Eglise réformée, BMS, 1669-1673: April 23, 1671: Baptiste Légeret of Gyé.
118. 4 E 187/8, Landreville, BMS: April 5.
119. 4 E 187/7, Landreville, BMS.
120. H 283° D 1/I, Registre, Bois-le-Duc, I: 2266, p. 154 (Sept. 4) (and in B.I.D. 41, 's-Hertogenbosch).
121. C 417, Inkomende brieven, 1688-1690: ff. 557-559 (CA); C 502, Uitgaande brieven, 1688-1690: to Middelburg, June 20, 1689, ff. 445v.-447 (CA); BOTH A, *French refugees*, pp. 10-11.
122. DE VILLIERS, *History of the De Villiers family*, pp. 3-20; 25.
123. 4 E 187/7, Landreville, BMS: Nov. 15, 1620; 4 E 187/8, Landreville, BMS: March 12, 1671.
124. EC, Buncey, Protestants, BMS, 1671-1684 (AD Côte-d'Or); 4 E 187/8, Landreville, BMS; 4 E 187/9, Landreville, Eglise réformée, BMS, 1674-1679.
125. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 85.
126. 4 E 187/8, Landreville, BMS. See also 4 E 187/9, Landreville, BMS: March 30, 1676; Sept. 3, 1677.
127. NOBLE, *Fransche Hoek*, pp. 29-30.
128. St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft, 42a, Livre de mises extraordinaires, 1685-1725: Jan. 30 (David de Villié) (GA Delft); 4 E 187/8, Landreville, BMS: Dec. 8, 1669.
129. EC, Buncey, BMS.
130. FWK: Bonnemain.
131. CJ 2599, Testamenten en codicillen, 1714-1719: 49, Jan. 10, 1719, pp. 273-278 (CA). See also BOTH A, *French refugees*, p. 89; DE VILLIERS, *History of the De Villiers family*, pp. 30-32.
132. Collection Mirandolle: Villeer.
133. 4 E 187/9, Landreville, BMS: March 30.

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134. Actes du Consistoire, III: June 4.
135. See BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 78.
136. I E 1070/3, Eglise réformée du bailliage de Saint-Quentin, BMS, 1668-1685: May 3 and June 14, 1682 (AD Aisne); letter W. Beuleke, Whitsun 1975, to author (Misc. sources); A. DAULLÉ, *La Réforme à Saint-Quentin et aux environs du XVI^e à la fin du XVIII^e siècle*, new ed., pp. 103; 109; 147; 226; ENGELBRECHT, *Kaapse predikante*, pp. 77-78; M.C. KI(TSHOFF), 'Serrurier, Johannes Petrus', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, II, p. 654; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 96; BAIRD, *History of the Huguenot emigration*, II, pp. 94-95n.
137. I 9, Amiens, Protestants, BMS, 1675-1685: Feb. 2, 1684, baptism of Jean, son of Isaac Willbau of Leyden and Susanne de Lannoy of Amiens, born Dec. 24, 1683 (AD Somme); PA 201, Archieven, 50d.: May 12, 1686; Eglise wallonne de Leyde, I E 44, Actes du consistoire, 1658-1695: Cathérine, daughter of Jean Wilbau, and Philippe Flamand, June 7, p. 305 (GA Leyden); HOVENDEN (ed.), *Registers*, part III: April 4, 1674 (Marie, daughter of Noé Wybeau of Amsterdam).
138. G 3, 3/1, Paarl, Doop, 1694-1745: March 24, p. 25 (NGKA); CJ 2916, Vendurollen, 1696-1727: Nov. 9, 1727, pp. 418-420 (CA); BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 95. The farm Calais in CJ 2916 was named by Jean Manié, not Wibaut.
139. P. GOUBERT, *Beauvais et le Beauvaisis de 1600 à 1730; contribution à l'histoire sociale de la France du XVII^e siècle*, I, p. 234.
140. FROMENTAL, *Réforme en Bourgogne*, p. 175.
141. BUFFEVENT, *Industrie rurale*, p. 89.
142. BOISLISLE (ed.), *Correspondance*, I, 209, p. 56n.: Sept. 18.
143. Based on figures in MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, See also STOYE, *Europe unfolding*, p. 367.

Cape settlers V: from Flanders to Alsace on the turbulent frontier



This chapter is chiefly concerned with Cape settlers whose homes lay in and beyond the region of French expansion to the east and the north-east. The area, which requires no precise definition here, is represented by a wide swath of territory from the Channel and North Sea coasts to Alsace and the Rhine, lying between Picardy and Champagne on the one hand and the lands of the Empire and the United Provinces on the other. A region of farm and forest, traversed by such rivers as the Lys, the Meuse and the Moselle, it reaches its highest points in the Ardennes, the Argonne and the Vosges.

This part of Europe straddles a moving frontier which French penetration frequently extended considerably further than the limits determined at successive peace treaties. Beyond the north-eastern borders of France as they stood at the close of the seventeenth century, it included the bishopric of Liège and the provinces of the Spanish Netherlands: the counties of Flanders, Hainaut, Brabant and Namur, and the duchy

of Luxemburg. Within this frontier lay the Calaisis and the Boulonnais of northern Picardy, Artois and the Cambrésis, permanent French gains in Flanders and Hainaut from Dunkirk to Maubeuge, and the temporary possessions of that country round Ypres and Tournai. Further French annexations lay to the south-east: the Charlemont salient on the Meuse; the duchy of Bouillon; the principality of Sedan; Longwy and other frontier positions. In the east, the acquisition of Alsace had given France a Rhine frontier, although Mulhouse remained a part of the Swiss confederation. Lorraine and the Barrois were separate dukedoms, but the county of Clermont had been ceded to France in 1661. The lands of the three bishoprics, Metz, Toul and Verdun-sur-Meuse, had been French since the settlement of Westphalia in 1648, but retained certain privileges; on the border between Alsace and Lorraine were two counties independent of France: Saarwerden and the upper county of Salm.

So far as the territories under French control are concerned, administration by generalities was largely in process of evolution. The lands of northern Picardy came under the jurisdiction of Amiens, while the three bishoprics and Sedan were administered from Metz. Alsace formed a generality in 1682, although it had long been under the control of an intendant. Flanders and Artois were united in 1691 and Lorraine and the Barrois were fully incorporated into the French administrative system in the following century. Other important cities west of the Rhine and the Spanish Netherlands were Arras in Artois, Lille in Flanders, Nancy in Lorraine and Strasburg in Alsace; beyond the French frontier lay Ghent, Bruges and Brussels in the Spanish Netherlands.

This is a region not only of political divisions, but also of linguistic frontiers. German dialects were then and are still dominant east of a line from the Meuse above Liège to southern Alsace; a similar boundary separated the inhabitants of Flemish speech in the northern part of modern Belgium and the north-eastern corner of France from French and Walloon speakers to the south and west. French cultural, social and economic influences were, however, particularly strong in the areas where Flemish was spoken and would increase in those of German speech.

Only the large church of the Calaisis and the small congregations of the Boulonnais formed part of the reformed church organization of France through the Picardy colloquy of the synodal province for the north-east. Of the other churches, that of the principality of Sedan with its four

temples enjoyed the closest relations with the French church through its famous academy.¹ It was at this seat of learning, closed in 1681, that Pierre Bayle from the county of Foix held the chair of philosophy. He retired to the United Provinces and the scepticism and wide tolerance he displayed in his later writings were to exert an enormous influence on radical thought in the following century.²

The other Calvinist churches were linked with that of France through a common doctrine only. The reformed faith was particularly strong at Metz, but in Alsace, where most Protestants were of the Lutheran persuasion, Calvinists numbered at most 5% of the total population. In principle, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes did not apply to the province, although in practice both Lutherans and Calvinists were subjected to pressures by Louis XIV. Nor can it be said that the two Protestant branches were generally well-disposed to one another. The main Calvinist centre was at Mulhouse.³

In other parts of the region discussed here the reformed religion was something of an underground faith, served in the Spanish Netherlands by itinerant pastors sent from the United Provinces. That it had numerous adherents, years after the revocation in France, is apparent from the revival of congregations in border towns captured from the French in the War of the Spanish Succession.⁴ Before 1685, however, Sedan, Mulhouse and the Calais hinterland apart, Calvinism was everywhere very much a minority cult; those French citizens professing it in this frontier region cannot have represented even 1% of the total Calvinist population of the kingdom.

In discussing the Cape settlers whose origins lay in these frontier lands we are chiefly concerned with northern Picardy, Artois, Sedan, Metz and the *pays conquis et reconquis* along the Flanders-Hainaut border. A few came from other parts of what is now Belgium, or from the United Provinces themselves. In addition there are those whose places of origin in France remain too obscure even to hazard a guess. As they must have left for the Cape from the United Provinces the names of a few of them may appropriately be given here: Pierre Batté; Paul Brasier; Charles le Loup; Zacharie Mantior, or Massion; Pierre Périidon.⁵ There is also a reference in a letter signed by Jacques Therond in 1689 to a Jean Forgon at Drakenstein.⁶ This might, however, be a transcription of a Dutch name.

By far the largest group of refugees from a single church in this region was that which worshipped at the temple of Guines, south of Calais, a locality made famous through its association with the unsuccessful

efforts of François I of France to woo Henry VIII of England on the Field of the Cloth of Gold south-east of the town in 1520.⁷ Although the area was French-speaking by the middle years of the seventeenth century, place-names and the surnames of some of the Calvinist congregation bear testimony to an older Flemish tradition which had also left its mark upon local farming techniques. A region of many waterways, often providing the best means of communication between villages, it was largely agricultural. There were, however, some small industries: milling, the production of colza, brewing and weaving. The usual range of rural crafts is well represented in the Guines registers and among the congregation were shoemakers, carpenters, masons, farriers and other artisans. An important local occupation was that of waterman. There were many merchants at Calais and Guines having close links with Zeeland and with England, and some Calvinists in the Calaisis had shares in the Dutch East India Company, while others found their way to the Far East long before the revocation.⁸

Calvinists were not numerous in Calais itself, but about a third of those who lived at Guines were members of the reformed church. The proportion was higher still at Balinghem, south-east of Calais near Ardres, and at Coulogne near the seaport. At Guemps, a hamlet north of Ardres towards the sea, Catholics and Calvinists were in approximately equal numbers. After the destruction by Spanish troops in 1641 of the temple at Marck, east of Calais, which provided in part for a Flemish language congregation, Guines became the only place of worship for the Calvinists of the Calaisis. These formed the bulk of the congregation, but some came to Guines from as far afield as the Boulonnais and Artois to the south and south-west, and from Dunkirk along the coast in the *pays conquis* to the north-east.⁹

The temple at Guines during the last sixty years of active Calvinism in the Calaisis before the revocation was a large, galleried structure, able to accommodate some 3 000 worshippers, with an adjoining consistory building. It was served by two pastors, one of whom, in later years at least, lived in Calais. For administrative purposes the parish was divided into ten districts, each in charge of one or more deacons.¹⁰ A young Englishman, White Kennet, future historian and Anglican bishop of Peterborough, visited Guines in the autumn of 1682. He has left an interesting description of religious life there: the journey by boat from Calais, no longer enlivened as of old by sacred song; the long wedding banquets; the group baptisms; the boys in the temple who, for a fee, would sing the penitential psalms requested by the dying of their friends.¹¹

The ministers at Guines in the decade before 1685 were Jacques de Prez, succeeded in 1681 by Simon de Vaux, and Pierre Trouillart. Jacques de Prez was a son of a former Guines pastor, the Savoyard Ferdinand de Prez, who came to the Calaisis from Fontainebleau, where his son was born. His successor Vaux was a stern opponent of Catholicism. Trouillart was born at La Ferté-Vidame in the Thimerais in 1646. His father, also Pierre, came from Sedan. A professor in the academy there, he also exercised the ministry in a number of congregations in the synodal province for the north-east. He died at his son's house in Guines on October 16, 1680, at the age of sixty-two. Another of his sons, Florent-Philippe, ministered at Oisemont, south of Abbeville. He emigrated to England at the revocation and took passage to South Carolina in 1686, where he resumed the ministry at Charleston and in Berkeley county. Jacques de Prez and the younger Pierre Trouillart married daughters of Pierre Regnier-Jansse, an engineer of Dutch stock in the service of Louis XIV. The wedding of the former to Marie Regnier-Jansse was celebrated on February 28, 1672; that of Pierre Trouillart to her sister Susanne took place on August 25, 1675.¹²

Anti-Calvinist pressures mounted in the Calaisis and the Boulonnais in the five years before the revocation and despite a watch on the coast a number of successful escapes were effected from Calais and from Saint-Valéry-sur-Somme. The reformed church had formidable antagonists in the Picardy intendant François le Tonnelier de Breteuil and his brother Claude, the bishop of Boulogne. The latter played a leading part in the drive to extirpate Calvinism in the diocese and regarded Calais as a modern Babylon, whose proximity to England and the United Provinces made it greatly to be feared. The example set by some of his diocesan clergy did not make the task of conversion any easier. In the middle years of the century the priest at Guines, Nicolas de Tiercelin, fathered several illegitimate children; more recently the Calais priest Nicolas Chesneau had kept notoriously evil company and was in bad odour for failing in his parochial duties.¹³

Calvinist worship continued at Guines until June 1685 when the temple was closed by official decree on the pretext of illegal and anti-Catholic actions; baptisms continued until October 8, on which date Daniel de la Croix was christened at Calais. The temple was demolished after the revocation, but the consistory building survived until 1876. Materials from the temple were used in the construction of a new aisle for the parish church and the pulpit was removed to the Catholic church at Coulogne. The Calais hospital and the Catholic authorities benefited from the proceeds of the sale of Calvinist property.¹⁴

"The Geneva of the north", however, lived on. Exiles from the Guines congregation founded a new church at Cadzand, north of Sluis across the Dutch border;¹⁵ others sailed for Dover in England to reconstitute the French church in that port, closed since 1661.¹⁶ The silver communion cups and sacramental linen used at Guines were brought to Dover; Cadzand retained the books from the library of the parent church. Not surprisingly, with two rival claimants to the right of succession, a sharp quarrel ensued over possession of the Guines treasures which dragged on for more than six years before ending in statemate. The Dover church held the silver and linen in trust until worship should be restored at Guines; Cadzand presumably retained the books on similar terms.¹⁷ The anticipated return to France never materialized, however.

Of the ministers at Guines in 1685, Trouillart became the first pastor to the Cadzand congregation,¹⁸ but on January 16, 1686/7 preached his inaugural sermon at the Strangers' church in Canterbury. Some years later he assisted the Dover consistory in resolving certain difficulties which had arisen in the church there. He returned to the United Provinces in 1699, dying at Middelburg in April 1701. Simon de Vaux also went to the United Provinces. His death took place at Haarlem in 1705.¹⁹

The same close relations which bound together so many of the Cape refugees from the Lubéron slopes in Provence are apparent among the families there from Guines. The following pages trace the main lines of descent.²⁰

Among the early Cape settlers from the Calaisis were the children Isaïe, Susanne and Jean Caucheteux (Costeux). Described as orphans in 1690, it may be assumed that they set out from the United Provinces with their parents Isaïe Caucheteux and Susanne Albert of the village of Marck. Isaïe was the son of Antoine Caucheteux and Elisabeth Clinquemeur and at the time of his marriage on November 13, 1672 was twenty-five years of age and an agriculturalist. His mother, then a widow, had died at lower Marck on June 4 of that year at the age of sixty-nine. Susanne Albert, twenty-two years of age, was the daughter of Pierre Albert and the late Noëlle de Bus. Her father died at Oye (Oye-Plage) towards Gravelines on January 21, 1681, aged seventy-two. Isaïe Caucheteux was attended at his wedding by his first cousins Pierre Clinquemeur and Isaac Bonduel.²¹

The eldest of the Caucheteux children at the Cape, Isaïe, was born on September 23, 1673 at Fort-Brûlé, near Guemps, and was baptized on

October 8, with Isaac Carpentier and Sara Albert as godparents. Sara was Susanne Albert's sister and the wife of Abraham Mortreul of Marck. The second child Susanne was born on December 18, 1675 at lower Marck and was christened on January 5 of the following year with Jacques Clinquemeur and Anne du Ponchel as godparents. Her godmother died at Guines on October 28, 1676 at the age of twenty. The third of the Caucheteux children at the Cape, Jean, was one of twins born at Marck on December 7, 1682 and baptized two days later. The other twin Marie died six days after birth. Jean's godmother was his maternal aunt Anne Albert. Another son Pierre was born to Isaïe Caucheteux and Susanne Albert at Marck on May 21, 1679 and baptized three weeks later. Susanne had then recently lost a sister Catherine, who died at Oye on February 15, 1679 at the age of twenty-one.²²

It is not known when the parents of the Cape orphans left the Calaisis, but the goods of several members of families mentioned here were seized after the revocation drove them out of the country. Jacob Caucheteux left a house and lands; Pierre Clinquemeur had possessed houses, lands and an oil mill at Marck, Frethun, near Calais, and Guemps; Jean du Ponchel had property and farms at Andres and Balinghem, east of Guines, at Guines itself and at Saint-Tricat, northwest of Guines. The Caucheteux and Albert families are represented in the registers of the Strangers' church in Canterbury after 1685, while a Jeanne Caucheteux brought an attestation from Guines to Middelburg as early as 1653.²³

The refugee Daniel des Ruelles reached the Cape in 1688 with his young daughters Esther and Anne. He was married on July 12, 1671 at Guines to Anne Goudalle and their daughter Esther was born in the town on November 6 of the following year. Anne's birth took place at Guines on November 10, 1673 and it is interesting to note that her godmother at her baptism two days later was Anne du Ponchel, godmother to Susanne Caucheteux in 1675. The Guines registers record the births of three other children to Daniel des Ruelles and Anne Goudalle: Daniel, born at Guines on October 21, 1675, who only survived eight days, a second son Daniel, born in the same town on March 1, 1677, and Pierre, who was born at Guemps on February 6, 1681 and died eleven days later.²⁴

Daniel des Ruelles, the father, had a sister Esther, whose daughter Judith Mallet of Balinghem married Jacques le Dent, a master carpenter living at Dunkirk, on November 9, 1681. Anne Goudalle was the sister of Jacques and Marie-Madeleine Goudalle. Their parents were

Jean Goudalle, a gardener, who died at Guines on June 7, 1672 aged fifty-four, and Marie Vitu. The Goudalles would seem to have come originally from Richebourg in Artois, north-east of Béthune.²⁵

Daniel des Ruelles, with his wife and three surviving children, took refuge at Zierikzee in Zeeland. It seems likely therefore that the minister Pierre Simond had something to do with his decision to emigrate to the Cape. A further impulse must have been given by the penurious condition to which, like the Viviers there, he had been reduced. Relief in cash and kind was regularly bestowed upon the family from November 1686 until March 1688. On January 5, 1687, for example, he not only received money, but also two blankets; by March 23 of that year clothing had been distributed to each member of the family and a pair of shoes given to one of the girls; on July 13 we read that a small sum had been allocated to the father "pour un louchet et une pelle", tools doubtless needed to help him earn a living. It was a time of grief for the family, for two months earlier the boy Daniel had died. Once again Daniel des Ruelles had been forced to seek the charity of the church. On May 4 a sum of money was set aside "a l'enterrement du fils de daniel druelles".²⁶

But if there was then one mouth less to feed, another was soon to take its place. On August 3, 1687 a daughter Marie was baptized in the Walloon church at Zierikzee, perhaps by Pierre Simond himself.²⁷ There is no mention of the child's death there. Did she fail to survive the long voyage to the Cape, clearly on the *Suijdbeveland*?²⁸ Daniel des Ruelles was not a widower in 1690, as Botha describes him,²⁹ but Anne Goudalle evidently died before the close of the seventeenth century.

The Nourtier brothers who sailed on the *Oosterland* in 1688 were also from the Calaisis.³⁰ Daniel Nourtier, a carpenter, who was received by the Walloon church of Middelburg on May 4, embarked with his wife, Marie Vitu, whom he had married in the Zeeland capital on June 17, 1687. Jean and Jacob Nourtier were agriculturalists. The former was admitted to the Middelburg church on February 26, 1686.³¹ The Guines registers record the birth of a Jacob Nourtier to Jean Nourtier and Eve du Pont in December 1669. He was baptized at Guines on January 12 of the following year. This could be the Cape settler, although his age was given, somewhat vaguely, in 1743 as "bij de 80 jaaren". Jacob Nourtier's date of death is incorrectly stated in Botha's study of the French-speaking settlers. His body was discovered on June 9, 1743 by a passing church-goer on the banks of the Berg River in the Drakenstein district. The circumstances pointed to suicide. Nourtier was known to have been

left-handed and he had bled to death after the severing of an artery in his right arm, a wound carefully inflicted. He had been living with his niece Elisabeth, widow of Matthys Strijdom and daughter of Daniel Nourtier.³²

Eve du Pont, possibly the mother of the Cape settlers, died at Saint-Blaize, near Guines, on September 23, 1676 and Jean Nourtier, by trade a master carpenter, married Anne de Sainne of Balinghem on October 14, 1677. Jean had been godfather on October 22, 1671 to Susanne, daughter of Jean Francomme and it is interesting to note that Francomme's son, also Jean, became an elder of the Dover church and was still living there when the last service was held in 1731.³³

We have already met a Marie Vitu as the mother of Anne Goudalle. There were a number of Vitus worshipping at Guines, including the brothers Eustache, Jean and Pierre.³⁴ Members of the family emigrated to England, among them a Marie Vitu, daughter of Jean, who crossed from Calais to Dover in July 1686.³⁵ This could be Daniel Nourtier's wife. Sara Vitu, who was received at Middelburg on September 12, 1696, was perhaps of the same family. She reached the Cape in 1699 with her husband Jacques Delporte, who will be discussed later in this chapter.³⁶

The Jacob family from the Guines congregation arrived in 1688. Pierre Jacob was married to Susanne de Vos, of Flemish stock, and both families were evidently from the hamlet of Vieille-Eglise, south-east of Calais. Related to the Jacobs were the Carpentiers, a family already noted in connection with the Caucheteux background. There were also Vos and Jacob families in Calais. The Guines brewer Isaac Jacob came from the seaport and Elisabeth de Vos of Calais, cousin of Isaïe Caucheteux's wife Susanne Albert, married Abraham Aymonin, a Swiss surgeon living there, on January 18, 1682. There are a number of references in the Guines registers to Swiss garrison troops.³⁷

A branch of the Vos family lived in the hamlet of Nouvelle-Eglise, adjoining Vieille-Eglise, and another Susanne de Vos from this locality became the wife of a widower Jean de Bus, a Guemps farmer, on July 28, 1680. The husband's surname provides a link with the Albert family discussed earlier, and with the agriculturalist Jean de Bus who sailed for the Cape on the *Oosterland* in 1688. The name is frequently encountered in the Guines registers and is particularly associated with Marck and with Offekerque, north-east of Guemps. The Jean de Bus born at Marck to Elisabeth de le Becque (Delbecque) on September 6, 1670 may well be the Cape settler. The father, also Jean, married Elisabeth

on December 26, 1669, but did not live to see his child, dying at Marck on August 15, 1670.³⁸

Pierre Jacob and his wife brought three children to the Cape, all of whom were born at Vieille-Eglise: Susanne, born on September 9, 1671, Daniel, on September 14, 1673 and Sara, on October 7, 1677. These were not, however, their only children. A son Pierre was born at Offekerque on December 17, 1668, but died eighteen days later. Twins Pierre and Daniel were born at Vieille-Eglise on July 21, 1670 and baptized in Calais. Pierre died on August 14, 1670, and it is probable that Daniel also failed to survive infancy. Another Pierre was born at Guemps on October 14, 1680 and was christened at Calais on November 7, and Abraham Jacob was born at Offekerque on May 4, 1683.³⁹ These children must also have died before the family reached the Cape. The entries in the Guines registers are an indication of the prevailing high rate of infant mortality in seventeenth-century Europe.

The Prévosts who worshipped at Guines sailed on February 19, 1688 aboard the Middelburg East Indiaman the *Schelde*. The voyage was by no means uneventful. After encountering heavy seas the vessel put into the harbour of A Praia on Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands in order to effect necessary repairs. The Portuguese authorities, however, warned the captain that an English pirate was operating with some success in the vicinity and the *Schelde* weighed anchor without delay. Unfortunately she ran into a severe storm as the fifteen-week voyage drew to a close and further structural damage was caused. There were twenty-three refugees aboard her, but despite all adversities, no deaths occurred.⁴⁰

Charles Prévost was born about the year 1650 to Henri Prévost and Jeanne de Fief. He came from a village described in the Guines registers as Dombroy, probably Dombrie, near Saint-Amand-les-Eaux, south-east of Lille towards Valenciennes. In 1673 he was working in Dunkirk as a master wheelwright and on October 8 of that year married Marie le Fèvre, a year his junior and the daughter of David le Fèvre and Elisabeth le Bleu of Marck.⁴¹ As all their children from France were born near Calais, it seems likely that their father left Dunkirk soon after his marriage.

The Prévosts were accompanied on the voyage to the Cape by a son Abraham, who celebrated his ninth birthday at sea, and by two younger daughters, Anne and Elisabeth. A second son Jacob was born on shipboard on May 29, 1688. Abraham was born at Marck on May 24, 1679, Anne in the same village on February 18, 1681 and Elisabeth in

the hamlet of Les Attaques, south of Marck, on October 31, 1683. Two other children died before the departure for the Cape: David, born at Marck on March 10, 1675, and Marie, born at lower Marck on February 10, 1678 and baptized in Calais a week later. Marie's death is not recorded in the Guines registers, but David died at Marck on February 9, 1685, shortly before his tenth birthday.⁴²

Although Charles Prévost came from the Lille region, it would seem that the family was originally from the Calaisis, perhaps from Hames-Boucre, north-west of Guines. There were certainly branches there and in Calais itself. The Fiefs were perhaps from Marck. The Prévosts were connected with the Alberts and the Bonduels whom we have met in the Caucheteux family history.⁴³ One Prévost, Jeanne of Calais and widow of Michel Bonduel, made an excellent match. On March 1, 1676 she married the merchant Abraham Regnier-Jansse of the family which provided wives for the pastors Jacques de Prez and Pierre Trouillart.⁴⁴

Marie le Fèvre had brothers Daniel and David, possibly twins born about the year 1646 and both husbandmen. Daniel married Elisabeth Fournier, a widow ten years his senior from Desvres in the Boulonnais, on November 1, 1676. David was thirty-eight when he married Marie-Claire Tourbier from Artois on November 26, 1684. The mother of the Le Fèvre children, Elisabeth le Bleu, remarried Henri Raire and a daughter of this marriage, Marie, became the wife of a widower Jean Liennard, an agriculturalist from the Ardres district, on September 15, 1680. The Liennards were also related to the Prévosts and we shall have occasion to mention them again in connection with the Cape emigration. Elisabeth le Bleu died early in 1678.⁴⁵

A Charles Prévost is known to have left possessions in France at the time of the revocation⁴⁶ and members of the family took refuge at Aardenburg and Zierikzee in the United Provinces.⁴⁷ The French church at Canterbury also had close links with the Guines congregation. On March 28, 1687 Pierre Albert of Marck married Marguerite Prévost there. His wife had been born in the English cathedral city.⁴⁸

With the Prévosts on the *Schelde* was Abraham Bleuset, born in the Calaisis about the year 1665.⁴⁹ While no certain trace of this refugee has been found, the name, associated with the Du Ponchels, was common at Guines and Marck.⁵⁰ Marie du Ponchel, daughter of Isaac and his wife Marie Bleuset of Guines, married a widower Noël Gentil from Niort in Poitou at Canterbury in 1690. Gentil, a leather-dresser, later plied his trade in Bristol. Isaac du Ponchel, together with Jean and Pierre Bleuset of Marck, left property in the village when they fled from

France. Isaac became a Bristol tailor.⁵¹ There was an Abraham among other Bleusets at Canterbury before the revocation⁵² and the surname is recorded among refugees at Cadzand and Oostburg in the United Provinces.⁵³ The Cape refugee, like the Prévosts, must have made his way to Zeeland.

Bleuset's farming partner at the Cape was Jean Manié, also from the Calais region, who arrived on an earlier ship. An older man than his friend, he was born about the year 1649.⁵⁴ Again, despite the prevalence of Maniés, variously spelled, in the Guines registers, the trail is faint. There were, however, many at Andres, near Guines, among them a Jean Ma(g)nié, whose daughter Marie was godmother at a baptism in 1677. It is clear that the Maniés of Andres were related to a branch of the Fief family.⁵⁵ Here perhaps is a link with the family of Charles Prévost's mother. A Marie Ma(g)nié, her nephew and nieces, are listed among emigrants from Andres after the revocation.⁵⁶ A Jean Manié is also named in 1687 among the refugees in England who settled at Thorney in Cambridgeshire, a community with which was associated the family of Jacob des Camps, reader of the Guines church and "instructeur de la jeunesse".⁵⁷ Jean Manié at the Cape signed on behalf of cash received by a Jean Mijsaal in 1690.⁵⁸ The name was perhaps Mézel. Was this refugee from north-eastern France?

The Zobry family from the Calaisis was also represented at the Cape before the close of the seventeenth century.⁵⁹ Jean de Zobry, the son of another Jean and his wife, Françoise Dournelle, was a boatman from Guines. He married Marguerite Jean at the age of twenty on December 2, 1674. His wife, then twenty-four years of age, was the daughter of Pierre Jean and Marguerite Choqueret of Calais. Jean de Zobry's mother died at Guines on March 22, 1676 at the age of sixty-six; his father, two years her junior, did not long survive her. His death occurred on November 8 of the same year.⁶⁰

Jean de Zobry and his wife had a child Marguerite with them at the Cape, who was born in the lower town of Calais on September 3, 1675. The names of three sons also appear in the Guines registers: Jean, born at Guines on May 22, 1677, Isaac, born in the lower town of Calais on January 14, 1679, and Jacques, born at the same place on April 19, 1680. Both Isaac and Jacques died eight days after childbirth. Their father had a brother Jacques, who was married to Sara Bécud and it is a sad commentary on the ravages of disease among young people in Europe that they lost three children in a single week of June 1684 while living in the lower town of Calais.⁶¹

Jean and Jacques de Zobry had sisters Sara and Françoise, both of whom married watermen. Sara's first husband Abraham Poissonier, whom she married on April 23, 1669, died on December 28, 1673. She then married the twenty-two year old boatman Jacques le Poivre of Calais on February 17, 1675, but died in childbirth on January 8, 1681 at the age of thirty-five. Her sister Françoise, born about the year 1649, became the wife of the boatman Luc Liennard on September 24, 1679. Liennard was a native of Guines, but was then working in Calais. It was his brother Jean whose name has already appeared in the records of the Prévost family. The Prévosts and the Zobrys were also allied.

Marguerite Jean's brother Pierre, born about 1648, was a master turner in Calais, who married Marie d'Hoy of La Calimotte in the parish of Sangatte on July 9, 1673. This was not the only link between these families. Catherine Jean was the wife of Samuel d'Hoy of La Calimotte. Their son Samuel was a carpenter in the village.⁶²

The name Catherine le Four of Calais appears in the Stellenbosch records in 1698. Although this patronymic has not been identified in the Guines registers, it is possible that Du Four is meant, a family connected not only with the Zobrys, but also with the Fiefs and the Clinquemeurs. Catherine was born about the year 1659; in 1698 she had a married brother living in Calais, perhaps Jacques du Four, a waterman.⁶³

The Zobry brothers both emigrated to Zeeland after the revocation. Jean de Zobry was naturalized in Middelburg on January 8, 1686 and Jacques on May 31 of the same year. The waterman Luc Liennard crossed the straits to Dover, where he, his wife Françoise de Zobry and their children Marie, Françoise, Philippe and Pierre acknowledged their membership of the church on April 2, 1686. They were among friends and relatives. Between February 1686 and March 1687 Catherine Jean and several of her children and grandchildren found security in England within sight of their homeland. They were not the first from these families to reach Dover. Among those assisted from the poor-box there in the first year after the revocation was a certain Desobry (*sic*). He was one of several seeking a permanent place of exile and it is to be hoped that the shilling he was given on December 15, 1685 was enough to help him on his way. Church funds at Dover were low at the time and a group of French sailors who presented themselves on the following day had to be content with sixpence between them.⁶⁴

A name of frequent occurrence in the Guines registers is that of Dumont. Burgher papers were issued to a Pieter Mon of Calais on August

22, 1696 at the Cape and it seems likely that this entry disguises Pierre Dumont, known to have been at Drakenstein two years later.⁶⁵ A Marie Dumont has been noted in exile at Rotterdam in 1688 and a Jean Dumont at Oostburg in 1696.⁶⁶ These were places of refuge popular among those from the north-east. More significantly a Pierre Dumont was held and questioned at Furnes near the Flemish coast in 1687. He was making his way to the United Provinces and may well have been the future Cape settler.⁶⁷

It is possible that Jean du Puis and Anne Martin, discussed in an earlier chapter, had Guines connections. The registers there reveal some movement of peoples between coastal regions from Normandy to Zeeland. Indeed a study of Calvinist church records suggests a surprising degree of mobility generally, not merely to be accounted for in the closure of temples and the need to travel great distances for baptisms, weddings and funerals.

Not far from Calais to the south-east is the town of Saint-Omer in Artois, which did not become French until its capture in 1677. Here, about the year 1652, was born the Cape settler Gérard Hanseret, son of Liévin Hanseret and Françoise de Beauvois. He arrived as a freeman in 1701, perhaps after the death of his wife Gabrielle Wavrand. His children Marie-Gabrielle, born about 1679, and Jean-Joseph, whose birth took place some five years later, were still living in Saint-Omer, their birthplace, in 1702. Hanseret, who worked as a mason in Stellenbosch and was in partnership as a farmer with Pierre Rochefort of Grenoble, evidently felt that his son might come to the Cape and would then have expected him to care for Rochefort. Whether Jean-Joseph left Europe to join his father is uncertain, but it is probable that only Marie-Gabrielle was living in 1712. We know little about Gérard Hanseret's background, although bequests in his will mention some of his friends and perhaps relations in Saint-Omer: the widow Anne Cassier; a potter Jean la Mory; the master masons Omez du Bois and Nicolas Dannel, or Daniel. The last-named was evidently Gérard's former associate.⁶⁸

Before turning to the French frontier in Flanders and Hainaut, and the lands beyond it in modern Belgium, the effects of the revocation at Sedan and Metz deserve attention in terms of the subsequent emigration to the Cape. From Sedan came Marie Buisset, daughter of a merchant and long a midwife in Table Valley, who reached the Cape in the early years of the eighteenth century as the new wife of the surgeon Jean Prieur du Plessis. Her father's name is not known, although there

was an Etienne Buisset in Amsterdam in 1690. Marie Buisset and Jean Prieur du Plessis were married in the Nieuwe Kerk of Amsterdam in August 1700. Her second husband, Dirk Snith, was also a surgeon.⁶⁹

The town and principality of Sedan, with its dependencies, enjoyed special privileges which predated the French annexation of 1642 and the Calvinists there were slow to surrender their freedom of religion, despite the warning of the Catholic clergy in 1682, delivered to them by Jean Dez, rector of the Jesuit college. Louvois therefore sent in the Champagne regiment in early November 1685. The threats of the soldiery and the burning of property brought about the desired conversions within a week, leaving the army to turn its attention to recalcitrant Saint-Quentin. The Sedan pastors Jacques Alpée de Saint-Maurice and Jacques Gantois from the town church took refuge in the United Provinces.⁷⁰ Saint-Maurice, who was also a professor of theology at the Sedan academy, asked particularly to remain in Maastricht in October 1685, since “une grande partie de son troupeau (*sic*) s’est arrêté ici, et qu’ils souhaitent passionnement (*sic*) d’être encor’ instruis et edifies par ... leur pasteur”.⁷¹ Marie Buisset has not been traced at Sedan, but among those whose goods were seized after the revocation on the frontiers of Champagne was a widow Sara Buisset.⁷²

To the south-east of Sedan lies Metz on the Moselle which, with the surrounding Pays messin, formed part of the three bishoprics separated from the Empire in 1648. It was here that the learned Paul Ferry, theologian and local historian,⁷³ preached for more than half a century before his death in December 1669. If his celebrated meetings with Bossuet, future bishop of Meaux, failed to bridge the gap between Catholics and Protestants in 1666,⁷⁴ he was nevertheless held in high esteem by those of all religious persuasions.⁷⁵ Despite the considerable decline in the proportion of Calvinists to the total population of Metz in the seventeenth century, certain streets still had a distinctive Calvinist character at the revocation.⁷⁶

The Pays messin was not an integral part of the French kingdom, but its special position did not enable it to escape the consequences of the revocation.⁷⁷ Bernard Pellart, the marquis of Givry, Louis XIV’s lieutenant at Metz, reported to Condé on October 21, 1685 that orders had been issued to raze the city temple and that pastors had been given a fortnight to leave the country if they refused to abjure.⁷⁸ A royal concession, however, gave the Calvinists of the region ten months to submit to the Catholic authorities. Although many members of the reformed church left during this period of grace, private devotions were

not interfered with until the dragoons entered the town in August 1686. Further anti-Calvinists measures were taken in October 1687, when Boufflers became governor of the lands of the three bishoprics. These included the deportation to Martinique of several leading Calvinists, some of whom subsequently escaped to Barbados and St Kitts.⁷⁹

The four pastors to the Metz congregation, David Ancillon, François Bancelin, Isaac de Combles and Paul Joly, left by boat in 1685 to make their way into the Empire through Frankfort-on-Main; Jean Jennet of the rural church of Courcelles-Chaussy fled to the United Provinces. Bancelin was among those who tried to secure a reversal of the revocation edict towards the close of the War of the League of Augsburg; Ancillon, a preacher of distinction, served briefly at Hanau before his appointment to the French church in Berlin, where he died in September 1692.⁸⁰ The Ancillons were to make significant contributions to the religious, intellectual and political life of Brandenburg-Prussia; they were, moreover, closely associated with the Naudés, represented at the Cape. All four pastors, like their predecessor Ferry, had been well thought of by the Catholics of Metz before the revocation.⁸¹

Jacob Naudé came to the Cape as a midshipman in the East Indiaman *Abbekerk* in 1718 and after a period as a private schoolmaster at Drakenstein, obtained burgher papers in 1723.⁸² Born in Berlin about the year 1696, he was the fourth son of Philippe Naudé and Anne Isnard. The Naudés had been resident in Metz since at least the sixteenth century and Philippe was born there on December 28, 1654. His intellectual interests were stimulated during his childhood when he served as a page in the Saxe-Eisenach court, but his father was in no position to assist him after his return to Metz and he was obliged to study in his spare time. He entered the commercial world and was a master dyer when he married Anne, the daughter of a surgeon André Isnard, on July 4, 1683. Their eldest son Philippe was born in Metz on October 18, 1684.⁸³

The family home in Metz in 1684 is known. Philippe Naudé lived with his wife and a servant in the rue de Vincent in the parish of Saint-Livier, while Anne Isnard's widowed mother had a house in the rue du Change in the parish of Saint-Simplice, where she was accommodated with her son and a servant. Other Naudés at Metz in 1684 were David, a draper, and Paul, a merchant, both resident in the rue de Vincent, and Isaac, a stocking vendor who lived under the arches ("sous les arvoids") of the Petite Place in Saint-Simplice parish. A fourth member of the family

was Daniel Naudé, a haberdasher of the rue du Plat d'Estain in the parish of Saint-Jacques. The Naudés were clearly men of commerce.⁸⁴

Philippe Naudé and family left Metz in 1685, travelling to Hanau by way of Saarbrücken. Two years later they moved to Berlin, where Philippe had a distinguished career as a mathematics professor. He died on March 7, 1729. Anne Isnard survived him by nine years, dying at the age of seventy-five. Seven children were living with their parents in Berlin in 1699. Philippe inherited his father's mathematical abilities and became a member of learned societies in Berlin and London. Roger-David Naudé, born in Berlin on June 29, 1694, was a theologian, professor and *littérateur*. He married Marie-Elisabeth Borel, who died in 1741 at the age of forty-six. Her husband's death occurred in Berlin on January 30, 1766. A daughter Judith, born to Philippe Naudé and Anne Isnard in 1705, became the wife of Frédéric-Auguste Ancillon, pastor at Basle in Switzerland.⁸⁵ She lived until 1780. Jacob, the Cape settler, was a member of the Hanover church before his departure for the United Provinces.⁸⁶ Did he come out at the suggestion of a member of his family? Franken has commented upon the presence in the settlement in 1713 of Marcus Isnard, junior surgeon and later employee of Mathieu Amiel.⁸⁷ Could this be Anne Isnard's brother? It is interesting to note that at the death of Jacob's wife Susanne Taillefert on February 13, 1724 a funeral service in French was conducted at Drakenstein, although the language was fast disappearing from use there.⁸⁸

In 1754 another member of the Naudé family arrived in Table Bay as a soldier in the service of the Dutch East India Company aboard the *Slooten*.⁸⁹ Philippe-Jacob Naudé, born in 1736, was a son of Roger-David, and thus Jacob's nephew. He was discharged in 1766, the year of his father's death, and settled at Drakenstein, marrying Johanna Elisabeth, great-granddaughter of Jean Prieur du Plessis, in 1774. Two years earlier he passed a power of attorney in favour of the Berlin astronomer David Naudé and the French pastor in the city, Louis Ancillon, to enable them to collect what was due to him from the family estate.⁹⁰

West of Metz is Verdun-sur-Meuse, one of the three bishoprics and then, as later, a key point in French frontier defence. Here was born in 1660 an army captain, Armand-Emile Auchamp, who with his wife Marianne-Pauline-Céleste de Beausobre crossed the Rhine in the late seventeenth century to settle in the Empire. Their son Jean-Diedrich Auchamp of Raden, south-east of Rostock, came to the Cape as a soldier on the *Prattenburg* in 1727, obtaining his release after ten years.⁹¹

In considering the settlers from the border areas of Flanders and Hainaut we discuss first those known to have come from the French side of the modern frontier and in particular from Lille and the region surrounding it from Bailleul in the north-west to Valenciennes in the south-east. It is in this part of France that Charles Prévost had his birthplace. Lille was wrested from Spain in 1667 during the War of Devolution and although occupied by the allies in 1708 in the course of the War of the Spanish Succession, was restored to France at the subsequent Utrecht peace settlement. Its history in these late years of Louis XIV's reign is not unconnected with the story of the Cape emigration and will be referred to in another chapter.

The earliest known settler from Lille is Catharijntje Abrahams, wife of the burgher and former company gardener, Maarten Jacobsz.⁹² She would seem to have been a Flemish speaker. The brothers Guillaume and François Dutoit of Lille, who reached the Cape in 1686, both probably on the *Vrijheijt* which anchored on June 23, were, however, clearly French speakers.⁹³

Dutoits are known to have emigrated to Leyden as early as 1605⁹⁴ and a modern descendant of François at the Cape, S.F. du Toit, has noted in the Walloon church records of the Dutch city the marriage on June 28, 1626 of Esther Dutoit and Simon Roussel, both from the neighbourhood of Lille.⁹⁵ Another link with Leyden is provided in the membership lists of the Walloon church in 's-Hertogenbosch. In September 1678 a Guillaume Dutoit, with his wife and daughter Marguerite, brought an attestation from the Leyden church.⁹⁶ Whether this is the Cape settler has not been ascertained, but the Guillaume Dutoit who became a member of the Walloon congregation of Middelburg on December 20, 1684 must certainly have been the future Stellenbosch farmer. The wife of a François Dutoit (Dutoict) of Haarlem, Anne Billin, joined the Amsterdam Walloon church on November 21, 1683.⁹⁷

Lille records confirm the family ties with Leyden. S.F. du Toit has discovered in the French city the baptismal entry of a François Dutoit who was probably the Cape settler.⁹⁸ The son of Pierre Dutoit and Marie Rousel(le), he was baptized in the church of the Madeleine on September 15, 1664, with Jean Brian and Catherine Rousel(le) as godparents. However, it must be added that another François Dut(h)oit was christened in the church of Saint-Maurice in Lille on April 5, 1665. With reference to the first baptism, a Pierre Dutoi(c)t was christened at Saint-Maurice on October 28, 1639 and two girls Marie Rousel at the Madeleine church on January 19, 1634 and on October 1, 1641. The

name Guillaume Dutoit appears in seventeenth-century records for the Lille area, but there is no apparent connection with the exile at Middelburg and the Cape. The Dutoits evidently had a sister and a brother, Bruno. On March 17, 1693 a Bruno-Joseph Duthoy (*sic*) was baptized at the Madeleine church.⁹⁹ As throughout the Spanish Netherlands, the Calvinists of Lille were compelled to make use of Catholic facilities for the registration of baptisms, marriages and deaths.

That Guillaume Dutoit was an older man than François is suggested by the fact that he was engaged to the widow Sara Cochet, one of whose sons Abraham came to the Cape in 1688 as a soldier in the company's service aboard the *Oosterland*. Sara Cochet's first husband was Pieter de Klerk of Serooskerke, north of Middelburg, who died in or before 1687, the year of her arrival at the Cape. The name De Klerk was doubtless originally Le Clercq and the family of French language descent, probably from the north-east of France or the Spanish Netherlands. It is difficult to determine to what extent the De Klerks of the Cape were French-speaking. In addition to Abraham, born at Serooskerke, there was another son Joost at the Cape from the same locality in Zeeland and a daughter Jeanne, born in Middelburg. Sara Cochet, who married Guillaume Dutoit on May 16, 1688, was born in Oost-Souburg, north-east of the port of Flushing.¹⁰⁰

Burghers at Stellenbosch in 1700 were Guillaume de Haas and his wife Marie-Catherine Durier of Lille, with their children Anne, Marie, Abraham and Jacob. Marie, who married Jean le Roux (Roex) of Normandy, was evidently born in Lille.¹⁰¹ Jacques Delporte reached the Cape in 1699 with his wife, Sara Vitu, whom he married, presumably at Veere, in October 1698 shortly before embarking on the *Cattendijk*.¹⁰² Their eldest child Marie must be the child baptized at Drakenstein on October 4, 1699.¹⁰³ A refugee Jean Delporte and his wife Marianne du Château are known to have been resident at Tholen in 1696; their daughter Madeleine had for godmother a Madeleine de La(u)noy, a family to be discussed later in this chapter.¹⁰⁴ Jacques Delporte was not, as in Botha, from Lille itself, but from a nearby locality.¹⁰⁵ The name, in the form La Porte, was not uncommon in the Lille region. The *Cattendijk* sailed on December 10, 1698 on a voyage marred by disagreements between her captain, Jan Naalhout, and two of his officers, the first mate Jan Heulen and the chief surgeon Gregorius Heijns.¹⁰⁶ Another former Lille resident, the burgher Antoine Moris (Mouret), gave the minister Pierre Simond and the deacons of the Walloon church in Middelburg a power of attorney in 1702. He was still at the Cape in the next decade.¹⁰⁷

Arrivals at the Cape in 1683 were Pierre le Fèvre, his wife Marie de Grave and their son Guillaume. It is possible that Pierre was also accompanied by his sister Barbe, born about the year 1670. This family came from the village of Fleurbaix, west of Lille in the Pays de l'Al-leu.¹⁰⁸ Was Barbe's second husband of 1709, Roelof (Roloff) Jonasse, from Norway?¹⁰⁹ There is a hamlet south of Lille called Fléquières which might have been his birthplace.¹¹⁰ Jonasse was born about the year 1660.

Another settler from this frontier region and linguistic border was François Bastiaansz. of Armentières who preceded the main body of French-speaking settlers and in 1686 married Anna Maria de Leeuw. There is a Leyden connection between the Bastiaansz. and Lanoy families.¹¹¹ North-west of Armentières is Steenwerck, birthplace of the settler Jacques Mouton. Married first to Catherine l'Hermite, he was divorced from her, since she later married Pierre le Roy in Europe. Mouton's children by this marriage, Jacques, Antoine and Marie-Jeanne, remained with their mother. Mouton subsequently married Marie de Villiers. Two children were evidently born to them in Middelburg, Madeleine and Marie, while a third daughter Marguerite was born either on shipboard or soon after the family reached the Cape. They sailed in 1699 on the Zeeland East Indiaman, the *Donkervliet*, commanded by Steven Scheydcruyt. Mouton was married for a third time on October 8, 1700 to Francina Bevernagie, whose family will be mentioned later in this chapter.¹¹²

The daughter Marie Mouton at the Cape was born in the Zeeland capital about the year 1690. She became the wife of Franz Jooste of Lippstadt, but on January 31, 1714 murdered her husband with the help of her lover, the slave Titus of Bengal, and an accomplice Fortuin. All three suffered a painful death for their crime.¹¹³ Jacques Mouton's second wife Marie de Villiers was perhaps from north-eastern France, although a refugee so named from Nantes is known to have abjured at Arnhem in 1687.¹¹⁴

The surname Lanoy has been mentioned in an earlier chapter. The frequency with which this name is encountered in the borderlands dealt with in this section and the evidence suggested by family alliances point to the north-east as the Lanoy homeland. The information concerning the Lanoys in Botha's *French refugees* is both incomplete and inaccurate,¹¹⁵ but has been revised by Hoge in his useful additions and corrections to the standard work.¹¹⁶

The Lanoys were evidently at the Cape by 1688 and it would seem that

the father, Nicolas de Lanoy, died soon afterwards, leaving a widow Marguerite de France and five children, Nicolas, Mathieu, Marie, Susanne and François. The mother and her eldest sons were assisted in 1690. Marie de Lanoy first married the settler Arie Dirksz. Lekkerwijn, or Lecrévent, of Boskoop near Leyden. Her brother Nicolas married Susanne de Vos, widow of Pierre Jacob. Here we have a connection with the Calaisis and it is possible that the Lanoyes were members of the Guines congregation, where the name is of frequent occurrence.¹¹⁷

Among refugees in the United Provinces a Nicolas Lan(n)oy and Marguerite Masure were helped by the Walloon church of Amsterdam in 1684, while in the following year a Marie Lanoy, the wife of Louis du Pont, was living in Zierikzee. Their child Elisabeth was christened there on November 4 of that year.¹¹⁸ Reinforcing the argument that the Lanoyes were from the north-east are two entries in the records of London's Threadneedle Street church. A Susanne de Lanoy, aged seventeen, from the neighbourhood of Amiens, was helped to buy clothes in 1681; in the next decade there was an Antoine de Lannoi (*sic*) from the Lille region in the congregation.¹¹⁹

We turn now to the towns and villages of modern Belgium and in passing note the burgher tailor Jacob Taillard, a name later corrupted to Taljaard. He reached the settlement as a soldier on the *Getrouwigheijd* in 1749 and left the company's service on October 31, 1753 with the intention of making a home in the Stellenbosch district. Taillard was born about the year 1722 at Tournai in Hainaut. Aggressive, argumentative and evidently untrustworthy, he was called a scoundrel and a "Franse(n) doedelzak" to his face and was at length sentenced in 1755 to a flogging and ten years in chains on Robben Island for passing remarks calculated to bring the Cape judiciary into disrepute.¹²⁰ It was not the end of his troubles.

One man among the early settlers from what is now Belgium occupies a special place in Cape history through a quarrel with the minister Pierre Simond. This episode, analysed in depth in its social implications by Franken,¹²¹ falls outside the scope of this study, but it is of significance in the light it throws upon the attitudes of expatriate pastors from France and upon the possible economic motives impelling the settler in question to leave Europe. Simond's social pretensions have already been touched upon; the economic background to emigration in this instance will be discussed here.

The colonist referred to is the former merchant Jacques de Savoye who, with his second wife Marie-Madeleine le Clercq, his mother-in-law

Antoinette Carnoy, his children Marguerite-Thérèse and Barbe-Thérèse by his first marriage and a baby Jacques, reached the Cape in 1688 aboard the *Oosterland*.¹²² Savoye was sent out with a warm encomium from the Rotterdam chamber of the Dutch East India Company as a staunch Calvinist who had suffered for his beliefs.¹²³

Jacques de Savoye was born at Ath in Hainaut in 1636, the son of a father of the same name and his wife Jeanne van der Zee.¹²⁴ Not therefore a Frenchman by birth, but a native of the Spanish Netherlands, he came of a family which perhaps had its roots in the Cambrésis, where the name was known in the sixteenth century.¹²⁵ Savoye evidently prospered in Ath, where he lived for many years. When he left the town he possessed houses, land and investments there, the management of which he placed in the hands of a fellow-merchant Jean Henrichant.¹²⁶ It was probably at Ath that he married his first wife Christine du Pont, whose family came from that town.¹²⁷ Savoye was accompanied to the Cape by the Nourtiers of the Calaisis as his servants.¹²⁸ Was there also a family connection through Christine du Pont?

From Ath, Jacques de Savoye moved to Ghent and it seems likely that, in company with many others from the small towns and villages of the Spanish Netherlands, he took refuge in the city from Turenne's advancing troops in 1667, when the War of Devolution secured for France a number of towns beyond the border, Ath, Courtrai, Tournai and Oudenarde among them. A daughter Jeanne would seem to have been born to the Savoyes before they settled in the Flemish city and her marriage to André du Pont further cemented the alliance between these families.¹²⁹

Savoye remained in Ghent until at least the end of 1685.¹³⁰ From neither a social nor an economic point of view was this an easy period for a Calvinist merchant. The days of the Protestant ascendancy in the city were long past and the religious orders of the Catholic church were flourishing. The closure of the Scheldt estuary, French incursions into the southern Netherlands and the occupation of Ghent itself did nothing to stimulate business. Some expansion had taken place in the linen industry and certain luxury trades had been established, but the economic situation in the seventeenth century was precarious and Ghent as a commercial centre had declined greatly since medieval times.¹³¹

Although the Calvinists of Ghent were compelled to make use of Catholic churches for baptisms, marriages and interments, the reformed church "recueillie sous la croix" and watched over by the Dutch church authorities was by no means moribund. Its itinerant pastors

preached regularly and administered communion whenever the opportunity presented itself. Savoye was known to one of them, François Simon, evidently of a Rouen family, who considered the Ghent merchant a devout worshipper and a man of courage who did not hesitate to allow his house to be used for Calvinist services. From other Ghent sources – the merchant Martin de Lecourt, the consul Christiaan Crayenest and a friend Jacques des Obry (De Zobry, perhaps) – it is evident that Savoye's zealous defence of his beliefs earned him the hostility of the Catholics and particularly of the Jesuits among them. According to Crayenest and Des Obry the virulence of the persecution he endured made him even fear for his life.¹³²

These testimonials to his religious fervour were produced at the time of his quarrel with Simond and went hand in hand with favourable comment on his business probity. However, it was rumoured at the Cape that Savoye had become insolvent in Ghent. This was a matter for church censure and the former merchant was called upon to vindicate himself, an invitation he ignored.¹³³ Was there in fact any truth in the allegation? It is evident that Savoye worked with his son-in-law André du Pont in the linen trade and although Lecourt does not associate the Cape emigrant with Du Pont's business affairs, he notes that Savoye's departure from Ghent coincided with his son-in-law's insolvency. Du Pont moved to Leyden with his wife, became a successful bookseller there and died in 1699.¹³⁴

The case of Jacobus Pape and others against Jacques de Savoye in 1709 would suggest that the Cape settler was not in partnership with André du Pont and was not responsible for payment of a bill presented by Pape's father-in-law Zacharias Pedé for linen delivered to Ghent in June and July 1686.¹³⁵ For this view we have only Savoye's word, however, and an earlier case puts a different interpretation on his business relationships with his son-in-law. On April 12, 1701 an Amsterdam merchant Jasper Pallet sought to recover a debt incurred by Savoye and Du Pont, who were named together on the relevant bill of exchange and had accepted liability.¹³⁶ Pallet used the assistant mate Barend Kragt of the *Berckenrode* as an intermediary in his dealings with Savoye and it is interesting in the history of Huguenot commerce at the Cape to find him years later buying hides from the refugee Durand Soullier to make a stout pair of trousers suitable for a seaman.¹³⁷ On the available evidence it would appear that the rumours of financial difficulties surrounding Savoye's name were not without foundation.

The names of several of the children of Jacques de Savoye and Christine du Pont appear in the registers of Sint-Jacobs, the parish church for the densely populated district surrounding Ghent's Vrijdagmarkt, where in 1340 Edward III of England had been proclaimed king of France. A son Jacques was baptized in June 1669 and a daughter Julienne-Louise on May 16, 1671. Julienne died shortly after her christening at the age of two weeks. Both the children of this marriage who settled at the Cape were born in Ghent. Marguerite-Thérèse was christened on September 4, 1672 and Barbe-Thérèse on May 20, 1674. Two years later, on June 27, 1676, a son Chrétien was baptized, but he did not survive infancy and was buried on September 30 of the same year. Finally, the baptism of a daughter Susanne took place on January 27, 1678. The name Savoye also appears in the marriage records of the cathedral of Sint-Baaf in Ghent. In August 1682 Marie-Anne de Savoye was married there to Jacques du Pré.¹³⁸

After leaving Ghent Jacques de Savoye settled at Sas van Gent across the Dutch border, where he spent most of 1686 and part of 1687. He gave as his reason for moving there the intensity of the religious persecution against him.¹³⁹ The Sas lay at the end of the canal which marked Ghent's early attempt to gain an outlet to the Scheldt. Du Ponts were already established there, for a Louis du Pont moved from Sas van Gent to Leyden in October 1683.¹⁴⁰

Savoye's first wife had died by 1686 and it is possible that he met his second wife at the Sas. Marie-Madeleine le Clercq of Tournai was the daughter of Philippe le Clercq and Antoinette Carnoy.¹⁴¹ Her mother, then a widow, became a member of the Walloon church in Amsterdam on May 5, 1686. She does not appear to have been in easy circumstances as she was provided with help in kind from the relief funds of the church on December 11, 1686,¹⁴² receiving a camisole, the gift of Philippe de la Fontaine. It is interesting to note that the merchant Jean Bourla, with whom Antoinette Carnoy had business dealings in 1698 while resident at the Cape, was secretary of the Amsterdam church consistory. He too was from the southern Netherlands.¹⁴³ Alexandre le Clercq, a merchant, who was certainly a member of this family and perhaps Marie-Madeleine's brother, also took refuge in Amsterdam. He married Elisabeth Gilles there in 1710 and in the same year settled in Halle-an-der-Saale in Saxony. There, between 1711 and 1716, Philippe-Alexandre, Marie-Elisabeth and Anne le Clercq were born, the son, and daughter Anne, dying in early childhood.¹⁴⁴

From Sas van Gent Jacques de Savoye went to Middelburg, where his

wife gave birth to a son Jacques and, it would seem, to a daughter Jacquette, baptized on April 12, 1687. It was from the Zeeland capital, after a public sale of household goods, that Jacques and his family left for the Cape of Good Hope.¹⁴⁵

Two points remain to be discussed in this sketch of Jacques de Savoye's European background. The first is that the Simonds cannot have been unacquainted with the Savoyes before they reached the Cape and probably knew something of Jacques's earlier life in Flanders and Hainaut. Not only had Anne de Bérault spent some time in Middelburg, but Pierre Simond was also on friendly terms with Pierre de Joncourt, the former pastor of Clermont in the Beauvaisis who had been called to Middelburg in October 1677.¹⁴⁶ Joncourt regarded Savoye as a man of fiery temper, quick to take offence.¹⁴⁷ The Simonds may also have been acquainted with the Le Clercq and in that connection it is interesting to note that a Madeleine le Clercq was received as a member of the Leyden church with attestation from Zierikzee at Easter 1688.¹⁴⁸

The second point concerns the link between Leyden and the Du Pont and Savoye families. At the time that Jacques de Savoye moved from Ghent to the Sas, both families had a long association with the Dutch university city and Jacques's connection with Leyden was a particularly close one. He was to declare at a later date that his son-in-law settled in the city about the year 1690,¹⁴⁹ but the names of André du Pont and Jeanne de Savoye appear as signatures at a baptismal ceremony there as early as August 5, 1685.¹⁵⁰ They were not then necessarily permanent residents, however. A further link concerns Jacques's brother Jean de Savoye who, like Jacques, was born in Ath and married a Du Pont. The baptism attended by André du Pont and his wife in 1685 was that of Jean, son of Jean de Savoye and Julienne du Pont, born that same day. Jean de Savoye had married Julienne at Leyden on September 12, 1681. At that time he was a joiner and living on the Langegracht in the city. His wife, also from Ath, was a daughter of Benoist du Pont and Jeanne Dué, who lived in the Paardesteeg. Their son Jean died in infancy, but at least two of their daughters reached marriageable age: Jeanne, born on August 19, 1682, and Marie, born on March 14, 1688. Their father died on January 5, 1692, when the family lived in Leyden's Donkersteeg.¹⁵¹ It is worthy of note, in the context of Jacques de Savoye's financial problems, that the Cape settler owed his brother money at the time of the latter's death.¹⁵²

Julienne du Pont clearly left Ath as a child to settle in Leyden with her parents, to whom several other children were born between 1657 and

1667. The surname Du Pont is, in fact, to be found in local records as early as 1600. That the Savoyes were at least visitors to Leyden before 1670 may be inferred from the fact that Jacques de Savoye, probably the Cape settler, was a witness at the baptism of Benoist's son Jean on September 3, 1664 and Jean de Savoye at that of Benoist's daughter Abigaïl on January 9, 1667. Interesting too, in the light of Jacques de Savoye's marriage into the Le Clercq family is the choice of Jeanne Carnoy as godmother to Benoist du Pont's son Denis on March 9, 1661.¹⁵³

Why then did Jacques de Savoye not settle in Leyden after he left Ghent? It is true that the employment situation in the United Provinces was difficult at a time when thousands of French-speaking refugees were flooding across the frontiers, but there he would have found a wide circle of friends and relatives to help him establish himself. The prospect of life in a distant settlement controlled by a company jealous of its trading privileges can scarcely have fired the merchant class among Calvinist refugees with enthusiasm. Nor is there anything in Savoye's earlier career to suggest that agricultural pursuits would attract him. On the other hand, although the prospect of ploughing, planting, building and raising livestock in an unknown land may have caused him some misgivings, especially as he was no longer a young man, he may have seen the end product of a fine farm as a rural paradise in which to spend his last days. That at least was the burden of the letter of recommendation concerning him sent out from Rotterdam.¹⁵⁴ There is also, however, the evidence of financial difficulties and it was perhaps these which played a major part in his decision to begin a new life in a new sphere far from Europe.

North-west of Ath is Courtrai in Flanders, a town on the Lys associated with the Des Prez family which reached the Cape on the *Schelde* in 1688.¹⁵⁵ Courtrai was held by the French between 1668 and 1678. We are indebted to the researches of two South African descendants, J.W. du Preez¹⁵⁶ and more recently, M.H.C. du Preez,¹⁵⁷ for much information concerning their ancestors in Europe. The Des Prez party consisted of Hercule des Prez, born about the year 1645, his wife Cécile (Cecilia) Datis, some five years his junior, and six children: Hercule, Elisabeth, Jacquemine (Jacomina), Marie-Jeanne, Philippe and François-Jean.¹⁵⁸ The place of origin of the Des Prez family is uncertain, but Athis south-west of Mons may provide a clue to the earliest beginnings of the Datis family. Later generations would certainly not have remained confined to the village from which they presumably took their name and it is interesting to find in the church registers of Oostburg in the United

Provinces a reference in 1748 to the marriage there of a Marie-Catherine Dathée (*sic*) from the Saint-Quentin generality of Picardy.¹⁵⁹

It is, however, certain that the Des Prez family was living in the Courtrai district when the town was a French possession. The daughter Elisabeth was baptized in the Sint-Maartens church there on August 31, 1670, with Charles Loridon and Ludovica (Louise) Pittens as godparents. In the same church on July 4, 1677 François-Jean was christened, taking the name of his godfather François Loridon. The godmother on that occasion was Jeanne, or Johanna van Neste, of a family well represented in the local church registers.¹⁶⁰ It is probable that, as with other French-speaking settlers from Flanders, the Des Prez party was at home in the Flemish language.

The family must also have lived at some time in Béthune in the province of Artois, since it is known that Marie-Jeanne des Prez was born there. If the date of her birth, 1675, is correct, this would indicate a temporary move there from Courtrai.¹⁶¹ It is possible that Philippe des Prez was also born in Béthune, as he gave the name Artois to his farm in the Land van Waveren.¹⁶² On the other hand, this could be taken to indicate that the Des Prez family had its origins in that province. It is also evident that Hercule des Prez and his wife were once resident in Lille, where Jacquemine was born.¹⁶³ Graham Botha gives Courtrai as the birthplace of both Hercule des Prez and his son of the same name, but no confirmation of this has been discovered.¹⁶⁴

Hercule des Prez and his family were at Flushing in Zeeland by 1686, together with his wife's brother Nicolas Datis. On August 29 of that year the two men applied to the municipal authorities to join the Sint-Jans guild of tailors without payment of the usual charges. The request points to the necessity of guild membership for obtaining remunerative employment as an artisan, as well as to the financial difficulties in which so many refugee families found themselves. It also provides evidence of the trade followed by the Cape settler, an occupation in keeping with his background in the textile centres of the north-east. The Flushing authorities were prepared to accept the applicants as paying members and to admit them to citizenship when they had taken the required oath.¹⁶⁵

The refuge in Flushing enabled Hercule des Prez and his wife to practise openly the Calvinist faith and on February 11, 1688, eight days before they sailed with their children on the *Schelde*, they were given an attestation of membership by the minister and elders of the Walloon church in Flushing. They had, in the words of the document, "fait

ouverte profession de la Religion Reformée, et vescu avec edification au milieu de nous, frequentant les saintes assemblées et participant au Sacrement de la sainte Cene du Seigneur". The attestation was signed by the pastor André Lombard and, in the name of his colleagues, by the church elder Daniel de Groot.¹⁶⁶

A word about Lombard will not be out of place. Born at Nîmes in 1635, he trained at Geneva and in 1663, soon after his admission as a minister, went to London where he was attached to the Savoy church. He returned to France five years later and served at Nîmes and briefly in Lyons before deciding to settle again in England. On his way north early in 1680 he was arrested in Paris and imprisoned in the Bastille until January 1681. He then rejoined the staff of London's Savoy church, but later moved to the United Provinces. Before his appointment to the Flushing church he served at Middelburg and Copenhagen.¹⁶⁷

The voyage to the Cape on the *Schelde* brought the Des Prez and Prévost families close. Elisabeth des Prez stood godmother at the shipboard baptism of Jacob Prévost, with the ship's captain as godfather; Philippe des Prez was later to marry Charles Prévost's daughter Elisabeth.¹⁶⁸

The name Des Prez and the variant Du Pré are to be found at the Cape after 1672. One Du Pré, Jacob, served as a ranger for more than fifteen years after 1701. His place of origin was Ellezelles, south-east of Courtrai across the Scheldt.¹⁶⁹ An assistant mate aboard the visiting Amsterdam East Indiaman *Spierdijk* in 1688 was Jan du Pré of Flushing.¹⁷⁰ Du Prés from Menin, near Courtrai, made their way into the Empire in the late seventeenth century, among them Agnès-Marguerite du Pré, wife of a former army chaplain under William of Orange, Jacques de la Porte. She died at Hameln on the Weser in 1741.¹⁷¹ It is interesting to note that Abraham Vivier of Normandy, who married Jacquemine des Prez, called his farm of 1714 Menin.¹⁷² There was also a Jean-Gabriel Dartis (*sic*) in the company's service at the Cape after 1714.¹⁷³ Could this surname be Datis, thus providing a family link with Hercule des Prez's wife?

Mouscron, south-west of Courtrai and today on the Franco-Belgian frontier near Tourcoing, was formerly a Flemish town, but has now been transferred to the province of Hainaut. It was here on February 4, 1674 that the Cape settler Jacques Potier was baptized, the son of Antoine Potier and Marie Herpiel. This would appear to have been an illegitimate birth. Antoine Potier was later married to Jeanne Mar-

chant, who presented him with sons André and Charles in 1679 and 1683, and a daughter Marie-Jeanne, baptized on January 10, 1684.¹⁷⁴ Jacques Potier reached the Cape in 1699 as a soldier on the East Indiaman *Westhoven* from Zeeland. He became a Drakenstein burgher in 1704.¹⁷⁵

The place of origin of the burgher Jean Rogier, who arrived in Table Bay in 1699 as a twenty-six year old soldier aboard the Ceylon-bound *Zion*, was perhaps the Flemish village of Moorseele, west of Courtrai on the Heulebeek, although Moresnet towards Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) may be intended. There was a flourishing Calvinist church in this area, with a temple at Vaals. Rogier, promoted to corporal in 1703, obtained his discharge on October 13, 1711.¹⁷⁶

South-west of Ghent in Flanders is the village of Nazareth, given in Cape documents as the home of Louis de Péronne, sometimes confused with Louis de Béault, Pierre Simond's brother-in-law. Suggestions that Nazareth is a corruption of Mazères, or of Saint-Nazaire, seem inappropriate.¹⁷⁷ There is much about this settler's contacts to suggest that he came from the region discussed in this chapter. The surname had been encountered among fugitives from the neighbourhood of Sedan¹⁷⁸ and the town of Péronne on the Somme in Picardy may indicate the original family source.

Péronne sailed for the Cape as a soldier on the *Eemland* in 1687, leaving the company's service four years later. He was for a time a shepherd with Hans Claasen and on October 19, 1692 married Marie le Fèvre, widow of Charles Prévost and of Heinrich Eekhoff of Essen.¹⁷⁹ Péronne must also have been previously married. He was described as having a wife and three children in 1690. Did he perhaps leave his family in Europe? It was reported in May 1694 that he had, as a company servant, made provision for a wife in the United Provinces, although he denied all knowledge of this.¹⁸⁰ Was there perhaps a wrong entry in the books of the company's pay department?

Another settler to arrive as a company soldier was Amand Véron, born about 1661. He sailed on the *Boswijk* in 1687 and was discharged three years later. Véron evidently lived at Malines, between Brussels and Antwerp, before joining the Dutch East India Company.¹⁸¹ As he was named for a Flemish saint¹⁸² we may perhaps assume that he was born in the southern Netherlands. On the other hand his birthplace is given as Saint-Thomas. This could be the West Indian island, or a faulty transcription of some other locality, Saint-Amand on the Scheldt, west of Malines, perhaps, or even Saint-Omer in Artois. The place of origin of

another settler of later date, Elisabeth Eliard, or Ellard, has been recorded as Ninove, west of Brussels, but this does not seem to be borne out by later investigations. She married at the Cape in 1747.¹⁸³

A French speaker from Brussels was Louis-François Bureau, alias Lodewijk Francen, son of a lawyer Charles Bureau and his wife Madeleine Lelou. Born about the year 1649 he had, according to his own account, been employed in the Paris postal service and had later joined Charles, duke of Lorraine, as a trooper in Germany and had fought against Turenne. Disappointed in his hopes of promotion, Bureau went to Amsterdam and enlisted as a soldier with the Dutch East India Company, reaching the Cape in 1674. He there transferred to the shore establishment as a clerk and in April 1680 was appointed *dispensier*, or victualler. He was, however, speedily suspended from his duties and accused of certain irregularities. He reappears in the Cape records as a free burgher, but in 1685 the visiting commissioner general Van Reede tot Drakestein recommended his deportation. It seems likely that it was he, and not as Botha suggests, Louis de Bérault, who married Alexandrina Maxwell, widow of Johannes Coon of the council of policy. This would appear to have been a second marriage for Bureau.¹⁸⁴

Ministers of religion, although company servants, were closely associated with the settler community and in this the former Catholic monk turned reformed pastor, Engelbertus Franciscus le Boucq, was no exception, despite the short period of his service at the Cape. A son of Jean le Boucq and Philippina Steegh, he was born in 1675 at Tubize in the duchy of Brabant. He reached the settlement in 1707 from Batavia and as a man of mixed French and Flemish descent might have been expected to provide valuable services for both French and Dutch speakers at Drakenstein, where he was appointed to follow Henricus Beck, Simond's successor there, lately transferred to Stellenbosch. He refused to serve the Drakenstein congregation however, because of poor amenities, and proved to be such a troublesome eccentric that his behaviour angered the authorities and he was sent back to Batavia on the *Vrijburg* in September 1708. He would only see the Cape again as a passing visitor.

But if Le Boucq failed the burghers of Drakenstein, he sided openly with all who opposed government authority and enjoyed considerable support in the country districts, which he toured on horseback armed with sword and pistols and accompanied by two slaves carrying iron-shod sticks in order to drum up support for his views. The burghers had justifiable complaints in the campaign which toppled the governor,

Willem Adriaen van der Stel, but as not infrequently happens in popular uprisings, the anti-establishment faction was capable of going to excessive lengths in its fight against authority. Le Boucq's appearance on the Cape scene was inopportune.¹⁸⁵

Two settlers of earlier date, Jacques Brackenij (Braquenet, perhaps) and Jacob Bourbonnais, came from Mons, capital of Hainaut. The former was one of the first Cape burghers, obtaining his release from company service on August 15, 1658.¹⁸⁶ Bourbonnais began his career in the settlement as a sailor and in 1692 was working for the Stellenbosch colonist, Pierre le Fèvre.¹⁸⁷

The problem of identifying French speakers from areas chiefly Flemish, Dutch or German in language is not always an easy one. Names are no infallible guide and the forms in which they sometimes appear in contemporary documents add to the uncertainty. The Olivier brothers from Ouwerkerk in Zeeland, Hendrik and Ockert, who were at the Cape within the first twenty years of settlement, were evidently Dutch-speaking, but perhaps descendants of French-speaking immigrants.¹⁸⁸ The same may be true of Dirk Coetsee of Kampen, son of Gerhard Coetsee.¹⁸⁹ Others probably in this category are Martin Pouisseon, at Stellenbosch in 1685,¹⁹⁰ Guillaume Frisnet of Bergen-op-Zoom,¹⁹¹ the burgher councillor and member of the orphan chamber Paulus Artois of Amsterdam,¹⁹² the Cape butcher Gijsbert le Fèvre of Overschie, active in several spheres of burgher life,¹⁹³ and Gabriel Doman, born in Hamburg in 1675, who arrived as a sailor on the *Noortgouw* in 1695 and became a free baker four years later.¹⁹⁴

The movement from the United Provinces to the Cape of settlers probably of French language origin long continued. Among them were Simon du Plooy of Krommenie, Hendrik du Plooy of Soest, Jean-Baptiste Laroche from Utrecht, Jacobus de Hennion of Rotterdam, Louis Picard from Amsterdam and the lawyer Carl Izak Courtonne de Brosa(e)rt, who reached the Cape in the *Huijs te Reijnsburg* in 1741, became a master of the orphan chamber and applied to emigrate to Batavia two years afterwards.¹⁹⁵ The burgher Nicolas Piltie, or Pillietie, who died in 1743, had perhaps French as his first language.¹⁹⁶ The majority of eighteenth-century colonists were initially in company service. Hendrik du Plooy was a soldier before 1703, Jacobus de Hennion arrived as a book-keeper on the *Huijs ten Donk* in 1726 and Louis Picard, murdered in 1757 in Hottentots Holland, reached the Cape as a gunner on the *Scheijbeek* in 1746.¹⁹⁷

The regions of Flemish speech in what is now Belgium, with an overspill

into north-eastern France, present particular difficulties. Some settlers from towns and villages here may not have spoken French at all; others were perhaps bilingual.¹⁹⁸ Are we justified in following Botha by including the Bevernagie family among the French speakers, even though closely associated with that group? Joost Bevernagie, born about the year 1680, arrived in 1700 as a colonist on the *Helmeet*. With him at the Cape was a younger brother Theunis, born about 1691, and an older sister Francina, mentioned earlier in connection with Jacques Mouton. She was known to the author Otto Friedrich Mentzel before 1740 as a lively old lady in her seventies. The Bevernagies were from Nederbrakel, east of Courtrai, and their names suggest a Flemish background.¹⁹⁹ A Jan Bevernagie is also listed at the Cape in 1706.²⁰⁰

There were several burghers at the Cape from Flanders and Brabant, especially in the first decade of settlement, who by their names might possibly be considered among the French speakers. One of the earliest was Peter Visagie of Antwerp, given burgher status on December 15, 1657. On March 13 of the following year Carel Melin of Bruges was similarly released from company service, as was Pieter Cassier of Furnes on November 30, 1658. Pieter de Puijt of Ypres became a burgher on April 12, 1660 and Bastiaan Castier of Ostend on July 23 of the same year. Louis Rijckart (Richard, perhaps) of Brussels was admitted to burgher status at the Cape on December 3, 1659.²⁰¹

The Cape baker Maximiliaan de Huvetter of Bruges, born in 1695, the son of Jacob de Huvetter, came to the Cape in 1719 as a soldier on the *Barbestejn* and married Madeleine, daughter of the refugee Hercule Verdeau. A free burgher by 1723, he was, however, almost certainly a Fleming.²⁰² Although no permanent addition to the burgher force, mention may be made of the stowaway Rosaria le Fèvre of Ypres. Le Fèvre and a companion, disguised as soldiers, embarked in 1743 on a company vessel in the United Provinces, but were discovered while the ship was still in the North Sea. 'Josephus' le Fèvre, as she called herself, was deported from the settlement.²⁰³

There remains, in this survey of settlers from north-eastern France and the lands beyond the border, the Mouy family. Pierre Mouy sailed on the *Donkervliet* in 1699. With him in the settlement were Jeanne and Marie Mouy, presumably his daughters.²⁰⁴ Marie, born on May 15, 1685, became the wife of François Rétif in 1700 and their youngest child, Madeleine, baptized on December 22, 1720, lived to be almost ninety-seven years of age, dying on April 10, 1817.²⁰⁵ C.C. de Villiers

spoke of a portrait of her still in existence at Paarl in the later nineteenth century.²⁰⁶

The Mouys were said to have come from Saint-Amant and it has been assumed that this is Saint-Amant on the Scheldt. There are, however, other alternatives in the region: Saint-Amant-les-Eaux, near Valenciennes, Saint-Amant, in the vicinity of Arras, and on the Belgian side of the modern border, Saint-Amant, north-east of Charleroi. The family has not yet been identified in Europe, although the surname has been encountered in Dauphiné.²⁰⁷ There are moreover many towns and villages in France named Saint-Amant, Saint-Amant or Saint-Amans, and it is possible that the Mouys came from one of them. Their inclusion in this chapter is therefore somewhat arbitrary.

It is difficult to estimate with any degree of accuracy the number of Calvinists from the north-eastern borders of France and the lands which lay beyond who decided to emigrate in the latter part of the seventeenth century. It is also probable that the social and economic problems of life in a region of frequent military conflict induced many French speakers, not all of them members of the reformed church, to move to other countries, particularly the United Provinces. Something of the movement of Calvinists from Mons in Hainaut to Hesse can be seen in the church records of Maastricht for 1686.²⁰⁸ Only the Calaisis and the Boulonnais of northern Picardy lay outside the frontier zones at this period, but it is clear that there existed close links between the Calvinists who worshipped at Guines and their co-religionists of Artois and Flanders, as well as ties of trade and family between the Calais region and both the United Provinces and England.

Military conquest, economic distress and religious persecution may perhaps have driven from home as many as 60% of the Calvinists from the region discussed in this chapter between 1675 and the end of the century.²⁰⁹ This could mean that about 3 000 emigrated from the Calaisis and the Boulonnais, perhaps as many as 11 000 from Sedan and Metz, and some 2 000 more from the scattered Protestant communities of north-eastern France and the southern Netherlands, a total of perhaps 16 000 in all.²¹⁰ It would appear that this region provided the largest contingent of settlers of French speech at the Cape in this period, comprising about 30% of the total. Between a third and a half of them were attached to the Guines congregation in the Calaisis.²¹¹

When the emigrants from France discussed in the previous chapter are added to the total, it is evident that more than 40% of the French speakers who came to the Cape in the last quarter of the seventeenth

century had their origins in eastern and north-eastern France, or in communities beyond the frontier. So far as the borderland and the Spanish Netherlands are concerned, it would seem that a relatively high proportion of emigrants came from those urban centres particularly associated with textile production. Those from Flanders would doubtless have been conversant with the Flemish language. This fluency must have helped to advance the process of integration in the Cape environment.

To limit this history to the background of those who made a home at the Cape of Good Hope is to do less than justice to the theme of early contacts with French speakers there. For to the Cape, half-way stage on many a long ocean voyage and a link in the chain of empire, came many another French speaker, or descendant of one. Some were birds of passage, making no permanent mark upon the development of the refreshment station and colony; others were closely connected with its administration at various levels. We turn therefore to a discussion of some of the French-speaking visitors and company men who helped to make the Cape a meeting-place of the nations during the first hundred years or so of rule by the Dutch East India Company.

REFERENCES: CHAPTER NINE

1. MOURS, *Protestantism en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 60; 61.
2. HAZARD, *European mind*, pp. 114-142.
3. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 60-61; 214-221.
4. J. DE HULLU, 'Registers of the Protestant churches of Lille 1708-1713, Béthune 1711-1712, and Mons 1713-1715', *Proceedings HSL*, XVI, 1, 1938, p. 99.
5. VC 107, Specification of provisions supplied to French refugees, 1689 (1688)-1690 (copy) (CA); FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelingen', II, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 194, Nov. 27, 1925, p. 21. See also BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 60; 61; 77.
6. M 42, Miscellaneous documents: July 18 (CA).
7. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, p. i.
8. NAERT, 'Huguenots du Calaisis', *BSHPF*, LXIV, Jan.-April 1915, pp. 424-427; May-Aug. 1915, p. 537; MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, p. ii. There were links before 1685 with the French church

- at Canterbury (W. MINET, 'The Church at Calais and its poor fund. 1660-1681', *Proceedings HSL*, VI, 2, 1899, p. 144). For Flemings from the Calaisis (1616-1661) see J. DE HULLU and W. MINET (eds), *Register of the Walloon church at Cadzand in Holland 1685-1724*, Publications HSL, XXXVI, list A, p. 61.
9. NAERT, 'Huguenots du Calaisis', *BSHPF*, LXIV, Jan.-April 1915, pp. 403-404; MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. ii; iv; v.
 10. NAERT, 'Huguenots du Calaisis', *BSHPF*, LXIV, Jan.-April 1915, pp. 408; 440 and n.; MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, p. iv; MINET, 'Church at Calais', *Proceedings HSL*, VI, 2, 1899, p. 146 and n.
 11. LANDRIN (ed), *Voyage à Calais*, pp. 13-15; 23-24: Oct. 8-22.
 12. NAERT, 'Huguenots du Calaisis', *BSHPF*, LXIII, July-Dec. 1914, p. 332n.; LXIV, Jan.-April 1915, pp. 416n.; 417; 419; BAIRD, *History of the Huguenot emigration*, II, pp. 98; 98-99n.; MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, pp. 79; 80; 81; MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. vi; 50; 108; 203; W(EISS), 'Fugitifs du Calaisis et du Boulonnais', *BSHPF*, LXVI, Oct.-Dec. 1916, p. 297: Trouillart's property, including a house and land in the lower town of Calais.
 13. NAERT, 'Huguenots du Calaisis', *BSHPF*, LXIII, July-Dec. 1914, pp. 332n.; 336-337; LXIV, Jan.-April 1915, pp. 421-422.
 14. 564¹, Collection Auzière, Ile-de-France, Eglises, A-K: pp. 63; 136 (Bibl. Prot., SHPF); MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. iv-v; 277.
 15. On this congregation see J. DE HULLU, 'De Waalsche kerk van Cadzand, 1686-1809', *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, N.S., IX, 1912, pp. 1-58, and DE HULLU and MINET (eds), *Register of the Walloon church*.
 16. See W. MINET, 'The Fourth foreign church at Dover, 1685-1731', *Proceedings HSL*, IV, 2, 1893, pp. 93-217, and F.A. CRISP (ed.), *Registers of the French church at Dover, Kent*.
 17. MINET, 'Fourth foreign church', *Proceedings HSL*, IV, 2, 1893, pp. 103-107; DE HULLU, 'Waalsche kerk van Cadzand', *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, N.S., IX, 1912, pp. 9-11.
 18. He first preached there on Dec. 16, 1685 (DE HULLU, 'Waalsche kerk van Cadzand', *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, N.S., IX, 1912, p. 7).
 19. NAERT, 'Huguenots du Calaisis', *BSHPF*, LXIV, Jan.-April 1915, p. 419; MINET, 'Fourth foreign church', *Proceedings HSL*, IV, 2, 1893, pp. 114-115: Consistory, March 20, 1691/2; HOVENDEN (ed.), *Registers*, part II, p. 315.
 20. The main source is MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 1-227. This record has been used, sometimes inaccurately, by BOTHA (*French refugees*, pp. 60-90; 99). It is further analysed in M.

- BOUCHER, 'The Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis; a re-examination', *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, pp. 6-10; 14-17.
21. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 54; 61; 210; BOUCHER, 'Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis', *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 9; BOTH A, *French refugees*, pp. 63-64.
 22. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 61; 71; 75; 113; 127; 175; 180; 240; 274; BOUCHER, 'Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis', *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 9; BOTH A, *French refugees*, pp. 63-64.
 23. FWK: Caucheteux (Bibl. wall.); TT 1, Généralité d'Amiens, 1686-1733: pp. 188-189; 192-193 (AN); W(EISS), 'Fugitifs du Calaisis et du Boulonnais', *BSPHF*, LXVI, Oct.-Dec. 1916, pp. 293; 296; HOVENDEN (ed.), *Registers*, part II, p. 389; Nov. 11, 1708 (Pierre Caucheteur (*sic*)); part III, p. 531; Feb. 13, 1686/7 (Pierre Albert of Marck).
 24. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 41; 61 (baptism, Nov. 20, 1672); 77; 110 (baptism, Oct. 26, 1675); 135 (baptism, March 14, 1677); 211 (baptism, Feb. 9, 1681); BOUCHER, 'Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis', *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 10; BOTH A, *French refugees*, p. 84.
 25. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 55; 222; 243; BOUCHER, 'Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis', *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 10. It is possible that Daniel des Ruelles was a son of Gilles des Ruelles and Antoinette de le Val (Duval).
 26. BW 782, Zierikzee, Livre de la recette et de la dépense de l'argent des pauvres, 1680-1689: various entries, Nov. 24, 1686-March 14, 1688 (Bibl. wall.).
 27. AB Ze Zie dtb, Zierikzee, Doop, 1653-1737 (copy) (CBG).
 28. *French refugees*, pp. 84-85. See VC 115, Documents relating to French refugees, 1690 (and 1691) (copies): 1, Financial aid to needy French, April 18 and 19, 1690, p. 85v. Aid was provided for Des Ruelles, his wife and daughter Anne, his elder daughter Esther having married Etienne Bruère.
 29. See BOTH A, *French refugees*, pp. 84-85.
 30. C 416, Inkomende brieven, 1685-1687 (1688): Middelburg, ff. 1019-1019v. (CA). See also BOTH A, *French refugees*, pp. 138; 139. The link between the Nourtiers and Jacques de Savoye is mentioned later in this chapter.
 31. FWK: Nourtier.
 32. C 652, Dagregister, Stellenbosch en Drakenstein, 1740-1745; Swellendam, Oct.-Dec. 1745: June 12, 1743, pp. 426-427 (CA); MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, p. 22; BOTH A, *French refugees*, p. 79; BOUCHER, 'Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis', *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, pp. 14-15. Botha's source is VC 56, Lijst, Kamer Zeeland, 1718-1791 (CA).
 33. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 43; 125; 145; BOTH A, *French refugees*, p. 80; BOUCHER, 'Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis', *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 15; MINET, 'Fourth French church', *Proceedings HSL*, IV, 2, 1893, appendix III, A, 177, p. 209.

34. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, p. 231; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 90.
35. MINET, 'Fourth French church', *Proceedings HSL*, IV, 2, 1893, appendix III, A, 177, p. 209.
36. FWK: Vitu; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 74; 90.
37. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 75; 125; 226; 248; BOUCHER, 'Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis', *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 14.
38. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 21; 29; 30; 61; 200; BOUCHER, 'Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis', *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 14; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 62.
39. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 9 (baptism, Dec. 20, 1668); 10; 29 (baptism, July 22, 1670); 42 (baptism, Sept. 27, 1671); 75 (baptism, Oct. 15, 1673); 146 (baptism, Oct. 31, 1677); 204; 248 (baptism, Oct. 23, 1683); BOUCHER, 'Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis', *Familia*, XII 1, 1975, p. 14; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 71-72. The Elsie Jacob(s) in BOTHA (*French refugees*, p. 72) was not a French refugee (HOGE, 'Kanttekeninge', *TWK*, Nuwe Reeks, I, 2, Dec. 1940, p. 150).
40. C 502, Uitgaande brieven, 1688-1690: to Middelburg, June 14, 1688, ff. 193v.-195 (CA); BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 8-9, but with reference to deaths aboard.
41. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, p. 75; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 81; BOUCHER, 'Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis', *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 15.
42. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 100 (baptism, March 17, 1675); 154; 180 (baptism, June 18, 1679); 212 (baptism, Feb. 23, 1681); 253 (baptism, Nov. 14, 1683); 272; BOUCHER, 'Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis', *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 15; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 81. For the birth of Jacob at sea on the *Schelde* see G 1, 1/1, Kaapstad, Notule, 1665-1694: p. 35 (NGKA). BOTHA (*French refugees*, p. 81) erroneously gives the name as Charles and the birth as taking place in Table Bay.
43. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 4; 157; 253; 262; 263.
44. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 50; 108; 116; BOUCHER, 'Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis', *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 15. The family came originally from Rotterdam.
45. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 42; 127; 156; 159; 202; 268; BOUCHER, 'Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis', *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 15.
46. TT 1, Généralité d'Amiens: p. 140.
47. AB Ze Zie dtb, Zierikzee, Doop (klapper), 1594-1810 (copy): Feb. 16, 1687; Aug. 21, 1689 (CBG); A.J. ENSCHEDÉ, 'Le Refuge à Ardenbourg en Hollande (1685-1686)', *BSHPF*, XXXVI, Feb. 15, 1887, p. 84.
48. HOVENDEN (ed.), *Registers*, part III, p. 531.

49. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 60. His will gives Calais as his place of origin (MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten, 1689-1712: 86, Aug. 6, 1704 (CA)).
50. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 14; 27; 162; 257.
51. TT 1, Généralité d'Amiens: pp. 192-193; W(EISS), 'Fugitifs du Calais et du Boulonnais', *BSHPF*, LXVI, Oct.-Dec. 1916, p. 292; HOVENDEN (ed.), *Registers*, part III, p. 537: July 24, 1690; LART and WALLER (eds), *Registers*, pp. 14; 44 (LART).
52. HOVENDEN (ed.), *Registers*, part I, p. 295.
53. AB Ze Oost dtb, Oostburg, Doop, 1686-1795 (copy): pp. 58; 69; Lidmaten, 1691-1716 (copy): Pierre Bleuzet (Bleuset) from Cadzand, 1691 (CBG). A Pieter Bleuszé (*sic*) of Dordrecht sailed as a steward on the *Huijs te Assenburg*, calling at the Cape in 1727 (CJ 3180, Attestatiën, scheeps consumptie, 1708-1752 (with omissions): March 29, 1727, p. 400 (CA)).
54. MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten: 86, Aug. 6, 1704; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 77. As with Bleuset, the birthplace is given as Calais. BOTHA's Jean Magnet (*French refugees*, pp. 76; 77) is indeed Jean Manié.
55. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, p. 60: marriage of Pierre Ma(g)nié to Marie de Fief, Nov. 6, 1672; p. 143: baptism of Jacob Dournel(le), Sept. 5, 1677. See also BOUCHER, 'Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis', *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 15.
56. W(EISS), 'Fugitifs du Calais et du Boulonnais', *BSHPF*, LXVI, Oct.-Dec. 1916, p. 295.
57. H. PEET (ed.), *Register of baptisms of the French Protestant refugees settled at Thorney, Cambridgeshire 1654-1727*, 1059, p. 61: baptism of Jean, son of Jean Manier (*sic*) and Mary Caillett, March 28, 1687; LART and WALLER (eds), *Registers*, p. 16 (LART).
58. VC 115, Documents: 1, Financial aid, April 18 and 19, 1690, p. 91v.
59. For Zobry and Jean see HOGE, 'Kanttekening', *TWK*, Nuwe Reeks, I, 2, Dec. 1940, p. 155.
60. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 94; 117; 127. For the Zobry-Jean marriage see also BOUCHER, 'Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis', *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 15.
61. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 109 (baptism, Sept. 15, 1675); 139, (baptism, June 7, 1677); 173 (baptism, Jan. 18, 1679); 197 (baptism, April 23, 1680); 262; 263. See also BOUCHER, 'Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis', *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 16.
62. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 14; 33; 71; 80; 99; 184; 189; 210; 263; BOUCHER, 'Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis', *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 16.
63. MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten: 28, July 26, 1698; HOGE, 'Kanttekening', *TWK*, Nuwe Reeks, I, 2, Dec. 1940, p. 155; MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 78; 138; 211; BOUCHER, 'Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis', *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 16.
64. FWK: Des Obry (*sic*); MINET, 'Fourth foreign church', *Proceedings*

- HSL*, IV, 2, 1893, appendix I, p. 140; appendix III, A, 74-77; 101; 135-140, pp. 205; 206; 207.
65. M 46, Miscellaneous documents: Vrijbrieven, Pieter Mon van Calis (*sic*) (CA); G 3, 3/1, Paarl, Doop, 1694-1745: godfather at baptism, Aug. 24, 1698, p. 8 (NGKA); MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 294; 313.
 66. Waalse Gereformeerde gemeente, Rotterdam, 1653-1811, 288 dtb Rott 122, Doopboek, 1653-1699: Jan. 18, 1688, p. 108 (GA Rotterdam); AB Ze Oost dtb, Oostburg, Lidmaten: Dec. 13, 1696.
 67. P. BEUZART, 'Les Fugitifs protestants devant le parlement de Flandre depuis la révocation jusqu'à la mort de Louis XIV', *BSHPF*, LXXIII, April-June 1924, p. 192.
 68. MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten: 56, July 22, 1702; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 71. The transcription of some of the names in this will is clearly in error. See also LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Requesten (Memorials)*, I, p. 1: 8, Jan. 25, 1718 (Angeret (*sic*)).
 69. PA 201, Archieven der Bestuuren gevormd door de Waalse gemeente in Amsterdam tot 1943, 46b, Livre des membres depuis 1629: Nov. 29, 1690 (GA Amsterdam); Fichier, Amsterdam, dtb: Aug. 14, 1700 (GA Amsterdam); Stellenbosch, 18/3, Testamenten, 1708-1714: 3, Nov. 20, 1708 (CA); DU PLESSIS, 'Jean Prieur du Plessis', *Proceedings HSL*, XXII, 3, 1973, pp. 267-268; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 62; 66.
 70. 564², Collection Auzière, Ile-de-France, Eglises, L-Z: Avertissement pastoral, Sedan, Nov. 15, 1682, pp. 127-128v. (Bibl. Prot., SHPF); MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 79; GONIN and DELTEIL (eds), 'Révocation . . . vue par les informateurs', *BSHPF*, CXVIII, Jan.-March 1972, 111, pp. 141-143; 141-142n.: Carpentier, Soissons, Nov. 24, 1685.
 71. Archief der Waalse gemeente te Maastricht, 1, Register van resoluties van het consistorie, 1646-1733: Oct. 27, p. 50 (GA Maastricht).
 72. FF 7049, Etat des biens saisis . . . (1685-1687): ff. 45v.-46 (Bibl. nat.).
 73. See Ms. 859-860, Extraits des observations séculaires de Paul Ferry sur l'histoire de Metz, par un religieux bénédictin de Saint-Arnould, XVIII^e siècle (Bibl. mun. Metz).
 74. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 148.
 75. M. THIRION, *Etude sur l'histoire du Protestantisme à Metz et dans le Pays messin*, p. 274.
 76. TRIBOUT DE MOREMBERT, *Réforme à Metz*, II, p. 304.
 77. Collection Antoine Court, 48, Mémoires: Villes et pais où l'exercice public de la religion réformée peut et doit être rétabli indépendamment de l'Edit de Nantes, n.d., p. 54 (Bibl. pub. et univ.).
 78. GONIN and DELTEIL (eds), 'Révocation . . . vue par les informateurs', *BSHPF*, CXVIII, Jan.-March 1972, 97, p. 120.
 79. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 204-205; TRIBOUT DE MOREMBERT, *Réforme à Metz*, II, pp. 307-325.
 80. THIRION, *Etude*, p. 298; TRIBOUT DE MOREMBERT, *Réforme à*

- Metz, II, pp. 309-310; MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, pp. 80; 81; HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, I, p. 82 (Ancillon); p. 221 (Bancelin).
81. TRIBOUT DE MOREMBERT, *Réforme à Metz*, II, p. 303.
 82. C 230, Requesten en nominatiën, 1723: 41 (CA); FRANKEN, 'Huisonderwys', *Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, XII, B, 1, July 1934, pp. 20-21. The date of arrival in BOTHA (*French refugees*, p. 95) is in error.
 83. 867³, Collection O. Cuvier, Extraits des registres de l'état civil des Protestants (Metz). Table alphabétique des noms mentionnés, 1561-1685 (Bibl. Prot., SHPF); HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, VIII, pp. 6-7.
 84. A. THORELLE (ed.), 'Extrait et estat général des habitants de la ville de Metz qui font profession de la religion prétenduë reformede (sic)', *Annuaire de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie lorraine*, III, 1891, pp. 348-370.
 85. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 160b; MURET, *Geschichte*, pp. 134; 136; 320-321; R. BÉRINGUIER, *Die Colonieliste von 1699. Rôle général ...*, 83, p. 4; HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, VIII, pp. 7-8.
 86. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 95.
 87. 'Huisonderwys', *Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, XII, B, 1, July 1934, p. 21.
 88. BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 38; 69.
 89. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Requesten (Memorials)*, II, p. 835: 36, 1766.
 90. BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 95; 160b.
 91. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Requesten (Memorials)*, I, p. 4: 83, 1737-1738 (Aucam); DE VILLIERS and PAMA (eds), *Genealogies*, I, p. 14.
 92. Jacobsz. and his wife were repatriated to the United Provinces in 1665 "over haer oneenigh schandelijck leven" (A.J. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Dagregister en brieven van Zacharias Wagenaar 1662-1666*, Suid-Afrikaanse Argiefstukke, Belangrike Kaapse Dokumente, II, p. 193 and n.: Jan. 26).
 93. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 91; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 307.
 94. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 38.
 95. 'Huguenote-families uit Noord-Frankryk', *Bulletin, Huguenot Society of South Africa*, 4, 1966, p. 13.
 96. H. 283° D 1/I, Registre des personnes reçues ou admises à la Ste Cène dans l'église wallonne de Bois-le-Duc, I, 1633-1694 (copy): 872, p. 69 (GA 's-Hertogenbosch). Original in B.I.D. 41, 's-Hertogenbosch (Bibl. wall.).
 97. PA 201, Archieven, 47a, Livre contenant les noms des membres, 1680-1689 (GA Amsterdam); FWK: Du Toit.
 98. 'Huguenote-families uit Noord-Frankryk', *Bulletin, Huguenot Society of South Africa*, 4, 1966, p. 14.
 99. Tabellion, 1762: Jean-Michel Dubar, 1684, 76, Oct. 28; Tabellion, 1868: Gilles Dubois, 1672, 57 (Guillaume Du Thoi(c)t); Ms. Tables, Lille, BMS,

- XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles: vols 14, 16 and 21 (AD Nord). On Bruno see also DE VILLIERS, 'Notes on Huguenot families', *Proceedings HSL*, V, 2, Nov. 1894-May 1895, p. 246.
100. G 2, 7/1, Stellenbosch, Huweliksregister en lidmaatregister, 1700-1788: May 12, 1709, p. 4; Oct. 11, 1711, p. 6 (NGKA); MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten:74, Jan. 1711; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 63; 91; DE VILLIERS and PAMA (eds), *Genealogies*, I, p. 398.
 101. BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 67; 75; HOGE, 'Kanttekeninge', *TWK*, Nuwe Reeks, I, 2, Dec. 1940, p. 150. De Haas entries at Lille include an Isabeau de Ha(a)s in 1651 (P. DENIS DU PÉAGE (ed.), *Notes extraites des archives communales de Lille*, p. 387).
 102. FWK: Delporte; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 74.
 103. G 3, 3/1, Paarl, Doop: p. 13; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 74; 106.
 104. BW 766, Tholen, Registre des résolutions du consistoire, etc., 1693-1759: Jan. 22, 1696 (Bibl. wall.).
 105. FWK: Delporte.
 106. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, p. 342: April 14, 1699.
 107. CJ 2752, Procuratiën, 1701-1704: Feb. 24, 1702, pp. 151-152; MOOC 14/212, Fragmentary estate papers, 1674-1729: entry of July 18, 1714 in account book, 1713-1719 (CA).
 108. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 91; J. HOGE, 'Aantekeninge oor Hugenote', *TWK*, Nuwe Reeks, VI, 1, Nov. 1945, p. 18.
 109. G 2, 7/1, Stellenbosch, Huweliksregister: April 22, 1709, p. 4.
 110. The first name suggests Scandinavia, however.
 111. FWK: (De) Lanoy; DE VILLIERS and PAMA (eds), *Genealogies*, I, p. 27.
 112. For Madeleine's birthplace see G 2, 7/1, Stellenbosch, Huweliksregister: May 12, 1709, p. 4. The farm Steenwerk (*sic*) reflects the place of origin (Old Stellenbosch freeholds, II, 1, 1704-1723: July 15, 1720, f. 2, p. 170 (DO)). See also C. DE VILLIERS, 'Wie was Maria de Villiers, oorl. plus/minus 1700?', *Familia*, II, 1, 1965, pp. 15-17; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 63; 78; 124; HOGE, *Bydraes*, p. 95. The children are listed in CJ 2604, Testamenten en codicillen, 1727-1730: Nov. 9, 1728, pp. 165-166 (CA).
 113. H.C.V. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Journal, 1699-1732*, p. 260: Sept. 1, 1714.
 114. Eglise wallonne d'Arnhem, I, Livre des Actes du Consistoire, 1684-1819: Sept. 11 (GA Arnhem). See also DE VILLIERS, 'Wie was Maria de Villiers?', *Familia*, II, 1, 1965, pp. 15-17.
 115. *French refugees*, p. 74.
 116. 'Kanttekeninge', *TWK*, Nuwe Reeks, I, 2, Dec. 1940, p. 150.
 117. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 292; 296; 309; 318.
 118. PA 201, Archieven, 285k, Livre des charges, 1683-1697 (GA Amsterdam); AB Ze Zie dtb, Zierikzee, Doop. A Marie de Lanoy was accepted by the Middelburg church on June 30, 1686 (FWK: (De) Lanoy).

119. HANDS and SCOULOUDI (eds), *French Protestant refugees*, p. 118; COLYER-FERGUSON (ed.), *Registers*, III, p. 30j.
120. C 252, Requesten, 1753: 55, pp. 133-134; CJ 364, Criminele processtukken, 1755: 13, July 10 (civil action) – 31, pp. 507-516; CJ 2485, Inkomende brieven, 1729-1759: J.F. Vermoons, Robben Island, Aug. 2, 1755, f.180; CJ 2983, Particuliere verklaringen en attestatiën, 1754-1756: Barbara Klank *et al.*, April 28-June 17, 1755, pp. 123-143; CJ 3637, Diverse processtukken, 1731-1754: J.A. Hitzman, Sept. 19, 1754, p. 1021 (CA); J.H. REDELINGHUYS (comp.), *Die Afrikaner-familienaamboek; sketse en besonderhede omtrent die voorgeslagte van bekende Afrikaner-families*, p. 264.
121. 'Franse vlugteling', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 211; 214; XI, 216, April 2 and 30; May 7, 1926.
122. See BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 85; 138; 139.
123. C 416, Inkomende brieven: Kamer Rotterdam, Dec. 23, 1687, ff. 1031v.-1033; FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 211, April 2, 1926, p. 21.
124. G.C. DE WET, 'De Savoye, Jacques', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, III, p. 210.
125. For a Moïse de Savoye from the Cambrésis in Amsterdam in 1586 see FWK: (De) Savoye.
126. CJ 3023, Gemengde notarieële stukken, 1686-1700: May 27, 1693, pp. 68-69 (CA); FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 214, April 30, 1926, p. 17.
127. Kerkelijke ondertrouw, 195, 1575-1710: Sept. 12, 1681 (GA Leyden).
128. BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 79; 85; 138; 139.
129. See FWK: (De) Savoye.
130. He was not in Ghent in June 1686 (FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 214, April 30, 1926, p. 15).
131. See P. CARSON and G. DANHIEUX, *Ghent; a town for all seasons*, pp. 97-107.
132. C 420, Inkomende brieven, 1692-1693: copies of letters, with Dutch trans., Simon, March 13, 1692; Lecourt, March 7, 1692; Des Obry, March 1, 1692, in *Patria*, June 10, 1692, ff. 375-387v. (CA); FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 214, April 30, 1926, pp. 13-15. On Simon see R. MAZAURIC (ed.), 'Lettres de Jacques Couët-du-Vivier à Paul Ferry', *BSPHF*, CXXI, Oct.-Dec. 1975, p. 537.
133. VC 115, Documents: 5, letter Simond, n.d., p. 581v.; FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 211, April 2, 1926, p. 21.
134. FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 214, April 30, 1926, p. 15.
135. FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 214, April 30, 1926, pp. 15-17.
136. Not. arch., 256, Cornelis Winter, 6720, Minuutacten, 1701: pp. 397-398 (GA Amsterdam).
137. MOOC 15/2, Cash vouchers, 1718-1724: 1719 (CA).

138. G, S. Jacobus, Geboorten, A-Z, 1601-1700: pp. 115v.; 117v.; 119; 120v.; 122v; 124v.; O, Sint-Jakops (*sic*), Overlijdens, A-Z, 1635-1799: pp. 285; 286; H, Sint-Baafs, Huwelijken, A-Z, 1618-1700: p. 126v. (SA Ghent). See also J. Decavele to G.C. de Wet, Aug. 4, 1972 (copy) (Misc. sources).
139. FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelingen', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 214, April 30, 1926, p. 15.
140. FWK: Du Pont.
141. BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 62; 85.
142. PA 201, Archieven, 46b; 285k.
143. PA 201, Archieven, 47a; 285k; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 62. Bourla and his wife Marguerite le Blanc joined the Amsterdam Walloon church on Jan. 25, 1682.
144. FWK: Le Clercq.
145. FWK: (De) Savoye; FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelingen', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 214, April 30, p. 15.
146. DRESSELHUIS, *Waalsche gemeenten in Zeeland*, p. 41.
147. VC 115, Documents: 5, letter Simond, n.d., p. 588v.; FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelingen', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 211, April 2, 1926, p. 23.
148. Eglise wallonne de Leyde, I C 25, Registre des membres, 1671-1772 (GA Leyden).
149. FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelingen', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 214, April 30, 1926, p. 15.
150. Waals, Dopen, 1599-1811, 89 (GA Leyden).
151. Kerkelijke ondertrouw, 195; Waals, Dopen, 89; Huwelijken, Waalse kerk, R-Z, 5: p. 530; Bruiden, 1575-1811, 39: p. 34; Begraafdata, 20, 1686-1695 (GA Leyden).
152. MOOC 3/3, Inkomende briewe, 1690-1714: Orphan Chamber, Leyden to Orphan Chamber, Cape, May 1692 (CA).
153. Waals, Dopen, 1599-1811, 77 (GA Leyden).
154. C 416, Inkomende brieven: Dec. 23, 1687, f. 1031v.; FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelingen', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 211, April 2, 1926, p. 21.
155. BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 9; 65.
156. *Du Preez gedenkboek*, p. 80.
157. *Die Herkoms van die du Preez-familie in Suid-Afrika*. See also by this author: 'Die Du Preez's as Huguenote', *Bulletin, Huguenot Society of South Africa*, 10, 1972, pp. 26-28; 'Die Eerste du Preez-gesin', *Familia*, IX, 2, 1972, pp. 34-37.
158. BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 9; 65) gives four children only.
159. See D. OLLIER (ed.), *Eglises wallonnes de la barrière: Tournai, Armentières, Menin, Ypres et Namur; registres . . . , XVIII^e siècle*, appendix, p. 525.
160. Doop, A, Eerste reeks, 1, Sint-Maartenskerk, 11, 1662-1671: p. 1983v.; 13, 1676-1681: p. 2180v. (RA Kortrijk (Courtrai)); DU PREEZ (ed.), *Du Preez gedenkboek*, p. 80.
161. See M. NATHAN, *The Huguenots in South Africa*, appendix II, p. 150; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 65.

162. Old Stellenbosch freeholds, II, 1: Aug. 4, 1714, f. 2, p. 96; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 123.
163. G 2, 7/1, Stellenbosch, Huweliksregister: marriage of Jacomina des Prez, widow of Abraham Vivier, to Abraham Bleuset, Feb. 14, 1714, p. 8.
164. *French refugees*, p. 65.
165. MOOC 14/195, Bylae by boedelrekeninge, 1683-1740 (CA); FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', I, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 192, Nov. 13, 1925, p. 25.
166. Reproduced in DU PREEZ, *Herkoms van die du Preez-familie*, frontispiece, and DU PREEZ, 'Du Preez's as Hugenote', *Bulletin, Huguenot Society of South Africa*, 10, 1972, p. 27.
167. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, April-June 1968, p. 315 and n.; DRESSELHUIS, *Waalsche gemeenten in Zeeland*, pp. 42-43; 54-55; 119.
168. G 1, 1/1, Kaapstad, Notule: p. 35; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 65; 81.
169. VC 40-41, Generale monsterrollen, 1701-1715; 1716-1725 (copies) (CA); DU PREEZ, *Herkoms van die du Preez-familie*, p. 10; DU PREEZ, 'Eerste du Preez-gesin', *Familia*, IX, 2, 1972, p. 36.
170. Scheepssoldijboeken, 1633-1795: 79, *Spierdijk*, 1687-1688, f. 6 (ARA).
171. BEULEKE, *Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, 3, p. 28.
172. Old Cape freeholds, II, 2, 1708-1717: Aug. 28, 1714, f. 2, p. 268 (DO); BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 122 (Menie or Menin).
173. G 1, 13/1, Kaapstad, Huwelik (en lidmaatregister), 1713-1756: attestation, Jean-Gabriel d'Artis, Oct. 1, 1714 (NGKA); LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Requesten (Memorials)*, I, p. 352: 2, Jan. 24, 1719.
174. Registres paroissiaux, Mou(s)cron, I, B, 1649-1735: 127, Feb. 4, 1674; 531, Nov. 8, 1679; 736, Jan. 19, 1683; 800, Jan. 10, 1684 (AdIE, Tournai).
175. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 81.
176. Rosier in BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 82. His promotion is in VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: 46, 1703. His name is not in BW 805, Liste des personnes qui composent le troupeau . . . à Vaals, 1663-1797 (Bibl. wall.).
177. BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 60-61; 61n.; 80; 98; HOGE, 'Kanttekening', *TWK*, Nuwe Reeks, I, 2, Dec. 1940, p. 151.
178. TOLLIN, *Geschiede*, II, p. 9.
179. CJ 294, Criminele processtukken, 1692: statement, March 13, p. 149 (CA); BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 80.
180. C 504, Uitgaande brieven, 1693-1695: to Batavia, May 8, 1694, ff. 607-607v. (CA); G.M. THEAL, 'Le Refuge au Cap de Bonne-Espérance', trans. A.J. ENSCHEDÉ, *BSHPF*, XXXI, Sept. 15, 1882, p. 420. See also BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 60-61; 61n.
181. Stellenbosch, 18/5, Testamenten, 1720-1726: 39, July 31, 1723; CJ 2751, Procuratiën, 1695-1700: Feb. 4, 1700, pp. 452-454 (CA); BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 92.
182. Saint Amand (feast-day, Jan. 6).
183. COLENBRANDER, *Afkomst der Boeren*, pp. 56-57; A. SMITS, *Betrekkingen tussen Vlaanderen en Zuid-Afrika*, Suid-Afrika Reeks, 3, 94, p. 24; DE VILLIERS and PAMA (eds), *Genealogies*, I, p. 171. Marthinus

- Eliaert of Ninoven was, however, at the Cape in 1788 (LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Requesten (Memorials)*, I, p. 435: 41, 1788).
184. CJ 285, Criminele processtukken, 1678-1681: Nov. 13, 1680, p. 523; CJ 286, Criminele processtukken, 1680-1686: Jan. 11, 1681ff., pp. 43-43v.; 281 (CA); A.J. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, II, Suid-Afrikaanse Argiefstukke, Kaap No. 2, p. 328: April 8, 1680; p. 337 and n.: Oct. 31, 1680; A. HULSHOF (ed.), 'H.A. van Reede tot Drakes-tein; journal van zijn verblijf aan de Kaap', *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, LXII, 1941, p. 49. For BOTHA and the marriage see *French refugees*, p. 61. J.A. HEESE builds on this probable error in 'Louis de Bérault en 'Juffrouw Coon', *Familia*, XIII, 3, 1976, pp. 70-71.
 185. A.J. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, IV, Suid-Afrikaanse Argiefstukke, Kaap No. 4, p. 1: June 8, 1707; pp. 8-14: July 12, 1707; pp. 17; 18-20: Aug. 28, 1707; pp. 21-22: Aug. 29, 1707; p. 47: Jan. 10, 1708; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Journal, 1699-1732*, pp. 124-155; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Letters despatched*, p. 390: Sept. 4, 1708; SPOELSTRA, *Bouwstoffen*, I, 19-21, pp. 63-119: letters of 1708; ENGELBRECHT, *Kaapse predikante*, pp. 38-49.
 186. LOUWRENS, *Immigrasie*, appendix II, p. 244. For an alternative spelling Braequerie (Braquerie, perhaps) see BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, II, p. 55n.: Feb. 4, 1671.
 187. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 61.
 188. KANNEMEYER, *Hugenote-familieboek*, pp. 253-254.
 189. DE VILLIERS and PAMA (eds), *Genealogies*, I, pp. 144-145.
 190. BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 95-96.
 191. G 1, 13/1, Kaapstad, Huwelik (en lidmaatregister): June 27, 1715.
 192. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VIII, p. 71 and n.: Dec. 8, 1729; p. 119: Dec. 7, 1730.
 193. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VIII, p. 63 and n.: Oct. 18, 1729; p. 70: Dec. 8, 1729; pp. 157-158: May 8, 1731; p. 194: Feb. 21, 1732; p. 388: Dec. 20, 1734. He signed La Fèbre.
 194. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VI, p. 15 and n.: Feb. 6, 1720. Note also Philippus Simon Constant, died 1737 (DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VIII, p. 39 and n.: May 31, 1729), and Jan Charle, mentioned in C 650, Dagregister, Stellenbosch en Drakenstein, 1729-1736: May 15, 1736, pp. 754-755 (CA).
 195. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VIII, p. 70 and n.: Dec. 8, 1729 (J. de Hennion); p. 274 and n.: Feb. 11, 1733 (S. du Plooy); *Resolusies*, VII, p. 25 and n.: Feb. 17, 1724 (H. du Plooy); p. 334 and n.: March 11, 1727 (Jan de la Roche); LM 15, Leibbrandt manuscripts, P-R: 59, 1746, p. 862 (L. Picard)(CA); LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Requesten (Memorials)*, I, p. 374: 24, 1743 (C.I. Courtonne de Brossart). For Brossart's wife Sara Maria d'Ailly see the next chapter.
 196. CJ 1059, Civiele processtukken, 1746: notes of Jan. 10, 1743 and July 6, 1741, pp. 193-194 (CA).

197. DE VILLIERS and PAMA (eds), *Genealogies*, II, p. 690 (Picard); DE WET, (ed.), *Resolusies*, VII, p. 25 and n.: Feb. 17, 1724 (H. du Plooy); *Resolusies*, VIII, p. 70 and n.: Dec. 8, 1729 (J. de Hennion).
198. SMITS would seem to exaggerate when he states: "Wij mogen niet vergeten dat de meeste Frans-Vlamingen alléén Vlaams spraken" (*Betrekkingen*, pp. 16-17).
199. VC 56, Lijst, Kamer Zeeland; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 61; O.F. MENTZEL, *A Geographical and topographical description of the Cape of Good Hope*, trans. H.J. MANDELBROTE, part I, Van Riebeeck Society, 4, p. 12.
200. See FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelinge', VII, *Die Huisgenoot*, XII, 298, Dec. 9, 1927, p. 39.
201. LOUWRENS, *Immigrasie*, appendix II, pp. 244-246. The name Cassier appears at Furnes. See Parochieregisters: Veurne, 201 (RA Brugge (Bruges)).
202. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VII, p. 213 and n.: Jan. 15, 1726.
203. C 361, Attestatiën, 1744: 50, Dec. 13, 1743, p. 204 (CA). See also LOUWRENS, *Immigrasie*, p. 155 (Rosiena le Fèbre).
204. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 79.
205. DE VILLIERS and PAMA (eds), *Genealogies*, II, pp. 776; 778: Retief.
206. 'Notes on Huguenot families', *Proceedings HSL*, V, 2, Nov. 1894-May 1895, p. 240: Rétif.
207. 2 E 5400, David Marcel, Actes, Pontaix, 1666: Feb. 9, pp. 34-37; Feb. 12, p. 37v.; Feb. 20, p. 49; March 1, p. 60; March 18, p. 62 (AD Drôme). One was a Pierre Mooi (*sic*), wool carder of Pontaix.
208. Archief der Waalse gemeente te Maastricht, 1, Register: 4 and 6 March, pp. 53-54.
209. STOYE (*European unfolding*, p. 367) suggests that nearly 50% of all Calvinists in Picardy left the country.
210. Based on MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 60-61, for northern Picardy, Sedan and Metz.
211. SMITS (*Betrekkingen*, p. 17) indicates that about one-third of the "French" refugees at the Cape were French Flemings. This proportion comes close to the percentage of settlers from the region considered in this chapter, but by no means all were Flemings.

CHAPTER TEN

Some company men and callers at the Cape



Few company servants at the Cape of Good Hope in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have left an enduring record of their careers. The soldiers, sailors and artisans of the garrison carried out their duties, kept out of trouble for the most part and before their departure for other stations or for the homeland were no more than names on the general muster roll. A few, as we have seen, remained to join the small burgher colony; some emerge briefly from obscurity in connection with their duties as hired hands on the farms; others occasionally achieved an unwelcome immortality for misdemeanours which caused their names to be registered in official documents.

The majority of company employees from the governor downwards were of Dutch Calvinist background, but the manpower requirements of an extensive trading enterprise were considerable and men of many nationalities and of other shades of religious belief were to be found in

its service.¹ French speakers were by no means uncommon at the Cape and although perhaps the largest contingent came originally from the southern Netherlands, many had been born in France or Switzerland. To attempt a complete list would be a difficult task, but the names of a few of the rank and file will serve to illustrate the many regions of French speech which provided the Dutch East India Company with men to serve in its southern African outpost.

Surnames are not always an accurate guide to the home language of company employees from Flanders in particular, but among those from the southern Netherlands at the Cape in the early eighteenth century who were probably French-speaking were the soldiers Jean Rombout from Malines, Louis Claude of Ath in Hainaut, Gilles de Marly and Pierre (Pieter) Carré of Brussels, Arnaud Friese of Liège, Jean and Michel Thibaut of Bruges, Simon Baljé (*sic*) of Tournai, Joseph Lusson of Antwerp and Jacques Bourgeois, whose place of origin was almost certainly Dottignies, near the modern French frontier east of Tourcoing.² Others from this part of Europe included the smith Lambert Launier from Liège, the Brussels cutler Jean-Baptiste Marchal, the drummer from the same city Charles Dujardin, an Ostend sailor Antoine Faille and the masons of 1728: Reynier Danbat from Namur, Cyprien Delvoie of Tubize and Pierre (Pieter) Latenelle of Saint-Gilles, probably Saint-Gilles-lès-Bruxelles.³ An earlier company employee later to move to Batavia was the master tanner Jean du Pré of Tournai, who reached the Cape on May 20, 1671 aboard the *Ternate*. His namesake Pierre of Namur, a soldier, was numbered among the criminal element after 1725, as was Guillaume Chavin of Brussels more than twenty years later. A convict Thomas d'Autrepon of Verviers succeeded in escaping from the hospital in 1740. Other prisoners were Joseph Mariton of Mons and Pieter (Pierre) Wibbo, doubtless Wibaut, of Tournai, both sentenced to relatively short terms in 1728, and Jean Baptiste of Bruges, who was sent to Batavia on the *Huijs ten Donk* in 1731 after the expiration of his year's sentence. Wibaut was perhaps connected with a family mentioned in an earlier chapter.⁴

From Switzerland in 1693 were Jacques Levett(e) and Jean Orle of Lausanne, both soldiers.⁵ Swiss members of the garrison between 1710 and 1727 included Antoine Roux, Arie Chaparel and Antoine Porret from Geneva, and Jean Restou and Jean-Georges Dubois of Neuchâtel.⁶

Frenchmen in the service of the Dutch East India Company came from many parts of the kingdom, although the problem of identifying them

by name and locality is sometimes made difficult by transliteration and translation in the records. There were Dutchmen resident in France, but it would seem likely that the corporal of 1702, Nicolaas van den Heuvel of Montpellier in Languedoc was in fact Nicolas Dumont⁷ and that the wagoner Jan van Daalen of Normandy was a Jean Duval.⁸ Some at the Cape lurked behind disguises, but care must be taken. A soldier doubtless enjoying a rest from his duties in hospital in 1733 seems to have called himself "Aimable Loisir", but in that year he signed as Amable Lusy when taken on as a servant by the burgher André Mellet. He was apparently from Riom in Auvergne, or Rion in south-western France.⁹

From western and north-western France in the first half of the eighteenth century came the corporal Pierre Nicolas of La Rochelle, his namesake Antoine of the same town and a sailor Mathieu Gatier of Saint-Malo in Brittany. Antoine Nicolas worked on the battery as a prisoner for six months in 1744.¹⁰ The cook to governor Chavonnes in 1718 was Isaac Fristeau of Orleans,¹¹ while the gunner Joseph Arsan-deau, employed as a teacher in the country districts between 1734 and 1736 was probably from Les Sables-d'Olonne on the Vendée coast.¹² Many years before, in 1697, a soldier Pierre de Lormel of Dieppe, on the point of departure, was required to settle an outstanding debt to the minister Pierre Simond on arrival in the United Provinces. The money was to be paid either to an Amsterdam merchant Nathanaël Gautier, or to the French pastor at Gouda, Salomon Bernard.¹³ This minister provides another link with Simond's homeland, for in happier times he had served the congregation at Venterol in Dauphiné, near his Cape colleague's birthplace.¹⁴

A convict working on the battery was Jacob le Sueur, sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment in 1744. Le Sueur was a native of the province of Berry. Soldiers from Languedoc at the Cape included Antoine Campenon of Montpellier and Pierre Meyer of Nîmes, while the company brewer André Carbonnel was also from this province.¹⁵ Emmanuel Melgard, who worked as a prisoner on the Cape battery for six months in 1740, was possibly from Castelnau; the soldier Jean de Camau of Toulouse acted as schoolmaster to the children of the settler Pierre Jaubert (Joubert) in 1706.¹⁶

Two sailors at least from Marseilles in Provence served at the Cape, Antoine Godefroy and Michel Pascal;¹⁷ the burgher Jacques de Savoye employed a soldier Martin Nicolas of Nice on contract.¹⁸ Nice was not then a part of France. Another of Savoye's contract workers was Pieter

Olivier (Pietro Olivieri, perhaps) from Moncalieri near Turin.¹⁹ From Dauphiné came the drummer Antoine Gouvé and the soldier Joseph Latour. The wagoner Jean-Baptiste Nicolaï hailed from Lyons and the soldier Jean Marchal from Besançon in Franche-Comté.²⁰

Among soldiers on the muster-roll from Paris after 1720 were Philippe de Soul(l)y, Louis Pelleux, Jean-Baptiste Pierre and Jacob Donat. Soul(l)y arrived in 1724 as a sick man from Batavia, Pierre laboured for eighteen months on the battery after sentence in 1736 and Donat, then a drummer, had originally been deported from Batavia in 1731 for attempted suicide.²¹ The craftsman Joseph Lépine was a native of Champagne and the blacksmith Claude Valentin was from Lorraine.²² Picardy, and French Flanders and Hainaut were well represented. Among the company employees who worked for the minister Pierre Simond was a soldier Jean Troullat of Valenciennes, loaned on contract from 1694 to 1696.²³ From Péronne on the Somme came the soldier of 1704, Jean Leys, while the soldier Charles le Roux and the wainwright Jean-François Gadinne were from Lille. François Ed(o)uard of Dunkirk, who worked on the battery, received a life sentence in 1731, but ran away within four years. The Cape attracted him, however, and he came back in 1736 as a cook on the *Noordwolfsbergen*, only to be recaptured and returned to his labours in chains.²⁴ On the military establishment in 1747 was Jean-Mathieu Oin of Abbeville,²⁵ while Calais was the home of the sailor Jacob Durand and the soldiers Jan (Jean) Bastiaan and Marc Pilart.²⁶ The registers of the Guines temple list Pilarts before the revocation.²⁷ Finally the gardener of 1685, Pierre Couchet from Amiens, may be considered here. He had formerly worked in the gardens designed by Le Nôtre at Saint-Cloud, home of Louis XIV's brother Philippe, duke of Orleans.²⁸

These are but a few of the French-speaking employees of junior rank in the company's service at the Cape in the later seventeenth century and the early years of the eighteenth century. Their presence, together with those from the United Provinces and Germany, as well as from such other parts of Europe as Scandinavia, Spain and the Italian states, gives some idea of the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the Cape from the earliest days of settlement. Of others a little more may be said before turning to officials of higher rank in the company's service.

One of the first Frenchmen to come to the Cape was Jonas de la Guerre of Havre-de-Grâce (Le Havre) in Normandy, who arrived as a cadet on the *Salmander* in 1653. He went to Batavia in 1658, but returned in 1662 as a corporal on the *Malacca*. During his turn of duty at the Cape

he had shown himself a man of resource and it was as a result of his skill with the gun and his good knowledge of the Cape hinterland that he was promoted sergeant in 1663 and was chosen later in that year to lead an expedition into the land of the Namaquas.²⁹

In the year of La Guerre's first arrival at the Cape four Frenchmen left on an island in Saldanha Bay as a punishment by the captain of a French ship were taken into company service. Martin Cordier of Abbeville and Nicolas Raine were enrolled on November 17, 1653 as gunners; Daniel Mulot of Dieppe and Louis Raine were accepted as ordinary seamen. Ten years later Jean Casseur of Saint-Denis reached the Cape as a soldier. In 1664 he was engaged upon agricultural work in the company's grain store, but was sentenced in February 1665 to three years in chains for attempting to abscond with stolen money.³⁰

Another soldier in the service of the Dutch East India Company who found himself in difficulties with the authorities was Jean Fort of Nuits-Saint-Georges, north-east of Beaune in Burgundy. Fort, fearing reprisals for illegal dealings in livestock, absconded on December 1, 1670 and lay low until an opportunity presented itself for him to get aboard a French ship in the harbour. He was, however, apprehended and brought back on shore, although he later escaped before sentence could be passed on him.³¹ In 1689 the authorities had reason to be grateful to a French-speaking soldier, Jean de la Motte, for revealing a conspiracy involving French prisoners then held at the Cape, together with a compatriot in the garrison.³²

In 1698 a soldier Isaac Currée (Curie, perhaps) from Paris made a brief appearance at the Cape before being sent on to Batavia. A watchmaker by trade he had sailed from the United Provinces on the *Gent* and had been retained on the orders of Simon van der Stel. This arbitrary action was not to the liking of the Batavian authorities, who resented the loss of a skilled artisan intended for the garrison there.³³

Another Parisian, Philippe-Thomas Pillart, was on the Cape muster roll as a soldier in 1701.³⁴ He had seen service with the company in the Moluccas and reached the Cape aboard the *Overrijp* in 1700. In that year he was accused of seeking to desert to the English company. The unsigned and undated letter attributed to him asked quaintly "sy lia moyent de randre service a messieur(s) les anglais" and was written by "un garsont quy a servy la Compagny au landaise quators ans".³⁵ Pillart denied authorship, but it is significant that he joined the Walloon church in Amsterdam on December 4, 1686, bringing an attestation from The Hague, where he had abjured the Catholic faith on Septem-

ber 24 of that year.³⁶ Fourteen years' service with the Dutch East India Company, as mentioned in the letter, would accord with these facts.

A Calvinist from Bazoches-en-Dunois was the Cape insurrectionist Etienne Barbier. A sergeant in the company's service in 1738, he defected and took refuge with a widow Cellier in the Drakenstein valley before placing himself at the head of a band of farmers embittered at what they considered harsh treatment from government. Arrested by the authorities, Barbier was tried, found guilty of a number of crimes, including sedition, and executed on November 14, 1739.³⁷

There were French Calvinists with London connections in the Dutch service and others employed by the British company, or serving on naval vessels. The clerk Jacques Courton of London reached the Cape as a cadet aboard the Dutch East Indiaman, the *Spiering*, in March 1716, while François d'Abbadie, captain of the British vessel, the *Nep-tune*, which lost two anchors in Table Bay in 1742, was doubtless of French birth or descent.³⁸

The colonial struggle between Britain and Spain which began in 1739 merged into a European contest for the Austrian succession and a further indecisive tussle for supremacy in the Americas and India between Britain and France, with the United Provinces playing an auxiliary rôle on the British side. It was during the war that a French-speaking soldier, Jacob le Fort of Dieppe, joined the Cape garrison from the ship *Huijs te Foreest*. Early in 1744 Le Fort had been in French military service at the house of the governor of the port of Dunkirk and had overheard a conversation at a dinner party at which the guests had included the brilliant military commander Maurice de Saxe and the Stuart Pretender Charles Edward. Also present was a naval captain from Flushing in French pay who spoke of the Walcheren defences as well as of the possibility of taking the settlement at the Cape, the importance of which the captain fully appreciated as he had previously been employed by the Dutch East India Company. There was no mention in the deposition Le Fort made at the Cape on the conversation of Stuart plans for an uprising in Britain and the dinner party clearly took place after the cancellation of the invasion scheduled for 1744. French interest in Dutch defences was, however, of immediate concern and the Cape authorities took due note of Le Fort's communication.³⁹

One French exile in England was detained at the Cape through no fault of his own. The great storm of June 1722 caused the destruction of all ten British and Dutch ships then lying in Table Bay with heavy loss of

life and property. On the London East Indiaman the *Nightingale* was an army sergeant Jacob de Banc. Although he lost practically all his possessions, he managed to swim naked to the shore with a shirt, his watch and seven *écus* tied round his waist. He then had to walk a considerable distance to the settlement in high wind and rain. On June 25, 1722 he wrote to England requesting assistance for his family and announced his intention of returning to London by the first available ship.⁴⁰ The births of several children to Jacob and Marie-Elisabeth de Banc (née Hayer) are recorded in the registers of the French church of Hungerford Market in London,⁴¹ served by the refugee minister Philippe Jouneau from Barbezieux in the Angoumois.⁴² Other children were born at Fort St George in India.

Frenchmen signed on as soldiers and sailors on many Dutch East Indiamen from an early date and one at least, Thomas Senge of Marseilles, died at the Cape on such a voyage in August 1662. A soldier on the *Hoff van Zeelandt*, he was among several suffering from scurvy who were unable to continue the journey to Batavia.⁴³ The chief mate of the *Buijenskercke* in 1666 was Michel Cardan of Dieppe,⁴⁴ while the *Wapen van Rotterdam*, on her maiden voyage from the United Provinces two years later, lost a couple of French-speaking crew members before reaching the Cape. One stabbed the other to death in a fight and the survivor was thrown overboard with the body of his victim.⁴⁵

The persecution of Calvinists in France brought more refugees from that country to the service of the Dutch East India Company and several sailed on vessels of the outward-bound fleet of 1688 associated with the arrival of the earliest parties of French-speaking refugees at the Cape. It is widely held that the first vessel carrying refugees to make a South African landfall was the *Voorschooten* of Delft, which was compelled to put into Saldanha Bay on April 13, 1688 and later transferred her French passengers to the Cape aboard the coaster *Jupiter*. In the meantime, on April 25, the Zeeland East Indiaman *Oosterland* had brought more colonists direct to Table Bay.⁴⁶ But were these groups the first to reach the Cape? There is some evidence to support Franken's suggestion that they were not.⁴⁷

The Hoorn chamber sent out fourteen French-speaking refugees at this time. Were they not aboard the *Honsholredijk* of that port, which anchored in the Cape roadstead on April 11, 1688?⁴⁸ Company records, alas, are silent on the question and the registers of the Hoorn Walloon church, presided over by Philippe le Noir from Blain in Brittany, north-west of Nantes, have not been preserved. Hoorn was one of the first

Dutch towns to offer special concessions to French Calvinist refugees after the revocation.⁴⁹

Again, were all the fifteen refugees from Amsterdam aboard the *Borsenburg*, which did not arrive until May 12? Did some perhaps sail with Hendrik Pop on the *Langewijk*, which anchored on April 19, or on the *Java*, which reached the Cape with the *Honsholredijk*?⁵⁰ There were other Frenchmen aboard both the *Langewijk* and the *Java*. On the former was a former Rouen merchant Jacob Pelgrom and French speakers of lower rank included a sailor Jacques Gouduin of Oloron (Oléron, perhaps) and a soldier David Couil from Dauphiné. The *Java* was the flagship of the fleet, carrying the senior merchant Balthasar Coyett of Formosa, and it was to this vessel that Simon van der Stel went to offer assistance to the refugees then arriving. Several of her complement were French, among them the soldier Daniel Chavin from Saintonge and the sailor Pierre Carpentier of La Rochelle. Her captain, Jan Gerritsz., came from Bordeaux.⁵¹ He may have been Dutch, although his name could equally be a French one in northern disguise.

Frenchmen continued to sail on Dutch ships round the Cape and we can do no more than mention a few of them here. Aboard the *Vaderland Getrouw*, which had a stormy passage from Galle in Ceylon to the Cape early in 1713, was a soldier from Calais, Isaac Pancier. Another soldier, Henri de Baussai of La Rochelle, reduced from the rank of ensign and repatriated from Ceylon aboard the *Loosdregt* for insubordination, made an unsuccessful application at the Cape in March 1716 to be allowed to plead his cause in Batavia.⁵² Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, a deserter from the *Padmos* who spoke little Dutch, was apprehended in the Swellendam district in 1747, while the engineer and surveyor from Artois on the *Herstelling*, Jean-François Masson, married Gezina Kock at the Cape in April 1732 before continuing his voyage to Batavia. He had to change ship as the *Herstelling* was diverted to Madagascar for slaves.⁵³ Among boatswains and boatswain's mates on outward-bound East Indiamen between 1733 and 1751 were David Gossier of Dieppe, Jean-Baptiste Dugué of Bayonne, Elie Gusto (*sic*) of La Rochelle and one who signed his name in a Dutch form, Jacob Montenaar of Marseilles. To these may be added Paul Messon of Brussels, steward on the *Prattenburg* in 1733, and Isaïe Bessière of Lausanne, gunnery officer of the *Huijs te Reijnsburg* in 1741. Jean Belliveau of the *Herstelder*, which brought Van Imhoff to the Cape in 1743, was from Rochefort in Saintonge and spoke Dutch imperfectly. He took an active part in the surveys which formed the basis of the governor general's report on the settlement.⁵⁴

No stranger to the Cape was Louis de la Croix, or as he called himself in Batavia, Louis Lacourt. An army sergeant and staff cook, he was aboard the return ship *Zandenburg* which called at the Cape in January 1710 with governor general Joan van Hoorn aboard.⁵⁵ La Croix was again in Batavia in 1714 and on November 27 of that year wrote to Steven Faber (Etienne Fabre, perhaps), chief superintendent of the hospital at the Cape. La Croix wanted Faber to sell his slave Alexander van Balij for him, as he was finding him expensive to keep and felt that Alexander had been completely spoiled during his master's recent absence in Bengal. He was, as La Croix put it, "un garson (*sic*) qui ne cherche que pour ses put(a)ins", but his wenching apart, had much to commend him. He was a skilled carpenter and La Croix was taking the liberty of sending him to Faber with the tools of his trade, placing him in the care of Hedding van Nooij, captain of the East Indiaman *Doornik*. La Croix did not expect a fortune for Alexander – an aum of red muscadel, perhaps, "et sil Reste quelque argent vous pouver (*sic*) me lenvoyer en duc(c)atons ou en vin selon vostre propre volonté". In appreciation of the favour he hoped Faber would do him he sent with Van Nooij small presents, including a piece of gold-fringed muslin.

Payment, however, was not made and La Croix gave Jan de Heij, captain of the vessel *Huijs ter Leede*, a power of attorney to act for him at the Cape. The result was that Alexander was returned to his master in Batavia. Faber, a native of Idstein in Hesse, was in any case on the point of leaving for Europe. His request for repatriation was granted on March 3, 1716.⁵⁶

The La Croix case is valuable in the light it throws on contacts between the Cape and Batavia, as well as in the context of slavery in the company period. The letter sent to Faber is also revealing. It is fluent, obviously written by a practised hand and suggests that the writer was a man of intelligence and some education. La Croix had clearly fallen on hard times. He speaks of "la mauvaise fortune que j'ay Rencontrez (*sic*)", making a return to Europe out of the question. La Croix does not elaborate, but he adds that the situation "m'a fait a moitié fou". Moreover, in assuring Faber that he will always do any service the latter might ask of him, he concludes: "Quoique j'aye perdu la pluspart de mon bien ny l'honneur ou (*sic*) le courage n'est (pas) perdu".⁵⁷ It would be instructive to know more about the man and his background. La Croix is a surname common in the Guines registers of the reformed church.⁵⁸

A French Calvinist who reached the Cape in unusual circumstances was

Guillaume Chenu de Chalezac de Laujardière, scion of a Guyenne family later to command a regiment in the army of Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia. Born on November 1, 1672, Chenu was only thirteen years of age when he sailed on the *Saint-Joseph* from Bordeaux on March 22, 1686 for Madeira, where he was to embark on another ship for the United Provinces in order to rejoin his brother Jacques in Brandenburg. Plans were, however, made in Madeira to convert him to Catholicism, or to repatriate him to France. Chenu therefore decided to escape, taking passage as a cabin-boy on October 4, 1686 aboard an English vessel sailing from London to the Indies.

The voyage was a hazardous one. Soon after leaving Santiago in the Cape Verde Islands the ship was attacked by pirates and the captain killed. As a result of faulty navigation the vessel failed to sight the Cape and landfall was made on the coast beyond it. Chenu and seven companions were sent ashore to reconnoitre, but his comrades were killed by tribesmen through a tragic misunderstanding. After spending many months in the wilds, Guillaume Chenu was at last rescued by the crew of the *Centaurus* and brought to Table Bay in February 1688. There he signed on for three years as a sailor aboard the locally based galliot, the *Noord*. He was thus present at the Cape when many of the French refugees arrived from Europe.

Chenu sailed on this ship in company with Pierre Simond's brother-in-law Louis de Bérault in October 1688 to search for survivors along the south-east coast from the *Stavenisse*, wrecked off Natal, and to explore Delagoa Bay. He returned in February 1689 and shortly afterwards took part in a naval action in Table Bay. Through the intercession of his family, however, he was released from service with the Dutch and left for Europe on the *Spierdijk* in June 1689. While waiting for the return fleet to sail he lodged with Simon van der Stel, to whose kindness he was later to pay high tribute.⁵⁹ Another Chenu served with the Dutch East India Company in these years. When the Amsterdam yacht the *Sillida* reached the Cape from Europe in April 1688 she reported that she had been accosted on February 12 by two French ships looking for Calvinist refugees. One such sailor was removed from the Dutch vessel. His name is given as Guillaume Chenu(t) d'Arone (perhaps Arove, near the Pyrenees).⁶⁰

Henri du Quesne's ill-starred scheme to found a new Eden for Calvinist refugees in the Mascarenes falls largely outside the scope of this study, but the expedition which landed a handful of settlers for a brief period on Rodriguez has its place in the history of the Cape in the late

seventeenth century and of the Frenchmen associated with the colony. Of the quarrelsome party of ten which reached Table Bay from Texel in January 1691 aboard Antoine Valteau's *Hirondelle*, three at length returned there in February 1698 on their way back to Europe from Batavia: the author François Leguat from Bresse in Burgundy, later to settle in England, Paul Benelle, son of a Metz merchant, and Jacques de la Case, also a merchant's son from Nérac and a former officer in the Brandenburg army. The *Hirondelle* certainly made her presence felt at the Cape in 1691. A cannon-ball had accidentally been left in one of the guns when she fired the customary salute on arrival and the shot struck the castle wall. Nor was this all. The intending settlers and the ship's pilot, Pierre Thomas of La Tremblade, south of La Rochelle, accused Valteau of being a renegade whose sympathies still lay with the French; Valteau in turn, with the support of most of his men, described the colonists aboard as blackguards.⁶¹ The Cape authorities had to pour oil on these troubled waters and the quarrelsome nature of passengers and crew seemed to the Dutch to be yet another example of that contentious spirit already observed among the French-speaking settlers at the Cape.⁶²

One of the sailors on the *Hirondelle* was Jean de Seine, twenty-five years of age in 1695, who is described as coming from Grisons. It has generally been accepted that he was therefore from that part of Switzerland adjoining the republic of Venice. He described himself as an Italian, however, and it is possible that his place of origin was Grisol, the modern Crissolo, in the marquisate of Saluzzo in Savoy. This Alpine region on the French border was the home of many Calvinists. Seine was among those left on Rodriguez, but he deserted to the Cape, where he was allowed to live with the colonist Pierre Rochefort.⁶³

One day in 1695 he was discussing the possibility of a French landing with the settlers Jacques Labat, Pierre Meyer and Pierre Vivier. Seine was the typical mercenary, prepared to work for the devil if there were money in it, and his attitude to a French invasion was one of "vive le plus fort". The Dutch authorities, not unnaturally in time of war, took no lenient view of this seditious talk and sentenced Seine to be scourged and banished in chains for ten years. After an escape from custody and recapture, he was sent to serve an extended sentence on the island of Mauritius. There he escaped again and with others tried to reach the French on the island of Bourbon (Réunion) in a stolen boat. A storm drove them back to Mauritius, where Jean de Seine was shot by the pursuing party. His companions were captured and sent to the Cape for trial. The commander on Mauritius, Roelof Deodati from Dordrecht,

of an Italian family with German connections, was later censured for having Seine shot out of hand.⁶⁴

One of his companions in crime was a soldier Christophe Planque (Planck), sometimes described as from Brussels, but evidently a Frenchman from Rheims in Champagne. His story is closely connected with that of Seine and is also associated with the Du Quesne expedition, since he came to the Cape on the *Swarte Leeuw*. This ship, originally the *Droite*, had been intended to accompany the *Hirondelle*, but Du Quesne had been forced to limit the scope of his scheme and had sold the ship to the Dutch East India Company which transferred her under her new name to the Cape station.⁶⁵

Planque deserted early in 1695, was harboured for some weeks by Pierre Rousseau, was apprehended and sentenced to hard labour in chains, but escaped from the hospital where he lay sick. He again went into the interior and found shelter with the settler Mathieu Amiel, living in his kitchen. He met another deserter there, Jan Pieter from "Coupet", perhaps Jean Pierre from Coupetz, south of Châlons-sur-Marne in Champagne. Pieter (Pierre), also a soldier, had jumped ship in April 1695, when the *Gent* lay at anchor in Table Bay. There followed a tale of illegal trade with the Khoikhoi and double-dealing with colonists not averse to lending the fugitives a little assistance. In the course of his illegal activities Planque met Jean de Seine, similarly engaged and on the run. Planque was captured and sentenced to hard labour on Mauritius. After the attempted escape to Bourbon he was condemned to death.⁶⁶

This account of desertion and vagrancy points to a considerable degree of lawlessness on the outer confines of the Cape settlement in which members of the farming community, including some of the French speakers, were clearly implicated. In addition to Rousseau and Amiel, the names of Pierre Grange, André Pellanchon, Jean Jourdan and Pierre Jourdan enter the picture of barter with the indigenous inhabitants. The Jourdans mentioned here were probably those from Saint-Martin-de-la-Brasque in Provence. Another who was involved was Jan Jurgen, or Jan de Switzer, who was sentenced to hard labour for life on Mauritius. Pierre Rousseau, in whose house Planque was first arrested, was well aware that the latter was a deserter and compounded his fault by offering bribes to hush the matter up. As a result he was sentenced to a flogging, confiscation of his goods and "3 Jaren in de kettingh". Was the punishment carried out in full? Perhaps not. Jurgen, despite his sentence, was quietly released on Mauritius to earn his own living.⁶⁷

The Cape was both a port of call for ships carrying undesirables back to Europe from the east and a prison for wrongdoers sent there from Ceylon and Batavia. In the first category was Antoine-Nicolas Tarin of Paris, an elderly soldier in Ceylon, who was compulsorily repatriated as a sailor for dereliction of duty in 1741. Sentenced to five years in chains at the Cape was the soldier Jean-Baptiste Espligant (Esplegent) of Antwerp. A deserter from both the French and Dutch services, he was set to work on the battery after disembarking from the *Ouwerkerk* in 1740 when she arrived from Batavia. The sailor Philippe Minné of Ghent was sent to the Cape in 1740 on the *Westhoven* as a common malefactor after service in the Carnatic. He was sentenced to death in 1747 for homosexuality. Bertram (Bertrand) de Merre of Villeneuve, a soldier in Ceylon, was sentenced to thirty-five years on Robben Island for stealing company property. He escaped from detention, however, when the *Crabbendijk* anchored in Table Bay in 1751 and does not appear to have been recaptured.⁶⁸

In 1715 there occurred a flight by sea involving three continents. The chief mate François Desnoyers had, as reported by Châteauneuf, French envoy at The Hague, first seen the Indies in 1701, when he was sent to Pondicherry. He later sailed in a small vessel for the Maldive Islands, but the ship had failed to find an anchorage and had made for Ceylon, where Desnoyers was arrested for attempting to smuggle cinnamon. The ship, it would seem, had been confiscated and Desnoyers sent to the Cape as a branded prisoner. He succeeded in escaping from the hospital and was taken aboard a French vessel which sailed in March 1715 for Europe. When she touched at Todos-os-Santos Bay in Brazil, Desnoyers transferred to the Danish East Indiaman *Salvator Mundi*, travelling aboard her to Tranquebar and doubtless lying low when the ship called at the Cape in November 1715. He then made his way to Pondicherry and eventually to Bengal. The full story of his movements was not known at the Cape until 1718, but he had by that time presented the French authorities with a detailed plan on how best to break through the Cape defences and make themselves masters of the settlement. His memorandum, however, was not acted upon as France and the United Provinces were then at peace.⁶⁹

We have so far only discussed in this chapter soldiers and seamen of French language, birth or extraction, and these mainly in the lowest ranks. There were, however, several with a French language background on the Dutch company's shore establishments at the Cape and elsewhere, from modest clerks to those holding high office in the administration. Among officials who touched at the Cape on journeys

to further destinations were Abraham Patras of Grenoble, governor general of the Indies from 1735 to 1737, who came out as a soldier on the *Hobre* in 1690, and the baron Isaac de l'Ostal de Saint-Martin, born in Béarn in 1629 and commander-in-chief of the company's forces. He was aboard the *Goudensteijn* of the return fleet of 1683 and was also at the Cape on the *Bantam* two years later. Elie Guillot from Bordeaux also travelled to the east on the *Standvastigheid* in 1714 and rose to become governor of Coromandel in 1733. Guillot had relatives in London and a brother Jacob who was an Amsterdam druggist.⁷⁰

One company employee who sailed for the Cape and Batavia in 1736 as a clerk on the *Rithem* deserves at least a passing mention. Hieronimus Franciscus de Hauteperne de la Tour of Louvain reached Middelburg from Holland in July 1735. His claim to be of ancient French royal lineage, the adversities he had suffered and his apparent detestation of the Catholic religion evidently impressed the Zeeland directors, who offered him employment. After the *Rithem* had sailed, however, it became clear that La Tour was a plausible rogue and certainly no sincere convert to the reformed faith. The Batavian authorities were warned to keep an eye on this undeserving recipient of Zeeland's generosity.⁷¹

Lieutenant Jan Baptist Dubertin, clearly of French extraction, had a brief connection with the Cape which, through the influence of the commissioner and councillor-in-ordinary Rijckloff van Goens the younger, took him to a seat on the council of policy. He arrived from Ceylon on the *Sumatra* in 1680, intending to return to Europe, but stayed on. Appointed port captain in 1684, he was soon afterwards found guilty of dishonesty and banished to Mauritius on the yacht *Westerwijck*. There he was ill-used by the officer in charge, Isaak Johannes Lamotius, but succeeded in getting away to the United Provinces.⁷²

Another man with Cape connections was Jacques de Bucquoi, who became director at Surat in 1680. The son of Daniel de Bucquoi, a merchant in the Moluccas, and his wife Marie Auxbrebis, he was doubtless related to the soldier Jakob de Bucquoi, born in Amsterdam in 1693, who was appointed surveyor and cartographer at the new trading post established on Delagoa Bay on December 10, 1720.⁷³ Bucquois from France had settled at Lüneburg, south-east of Hamburg, after the revocation although the name is encountered as early as 1677 at 's-Hertogenbosch, when a Hubert de Bucquoi arrived there from London.⁷⁴ Jakob de Bucquoi was taken captive by the pirates George

Taylor and the Frenchman from Calais, Jean la Buse (Olivier le Vasseur), when they withdrew with the captured *Caab* hooker after their successful attack on the Delagoa Bay settlement in 1722. Bucquoi was later to publish his further adventures.⁷⁵ Delagoa Bay was then commanded by the French speaker Jean Michel; also on the garrison staff were the soldier from Paris, Louis le Fèvre, and the engineer Samuel Augier.⁷⁶ There is another connection between the Surat director, Jacques de Bucquoi, and the Cape. His mother Marie Auxbrebis became the wife of the Dresden-born Cape commander Zacharias Wagenaer and her daughter Marie de Bucquoi lived with them in the settlement. Marie Auxbrebis died at the Cape on June 14, 1666.⁷⁷

There were, however, family ties with the French-speaking world among Cape commanders and governors from the very beginning of European settlement. Jan van Riebeeck's first wife Maria de la Queillerie was descended on her father's side from an old Picardy family whose origins can be traced to the fourteenth century. Her grandfather Chrétien de la Queillerie, a Walloon clergyman born probably in Celles, south-east of Courtrai, married Marie Polle. The Cape commander's wife was also descended from French speakers on her mother's side. Her father Abraham, born in Dordrecht, married Marie du Bois of the same town, the daughter of a soldier Noé de Bois and his wife Agnèle de Vallée.⁷⁸ Abraham van Riebeeck, son of the first commander and future governor general of the Dutch East Indies, spent part of his boyhood in Rotterdam with his mother's youngest brother Abraham de la Queillerie.⁷⁹

Wagenaer's successor as commander in 1666, Cornelis van Quaelbergh, dismissed within two years, remarried after his departure. His second wife was Henriette Chastelain of La Rochelle.⁸⁰ Simon van der Stel's wife Johanna Jacoba Six did not accompany him to the Cape when he was chosen as commander in 1678. A member of an influential Amsterdam family, she was doubtless descended from emigrants from Picardy or Flanders, where the name is not uncommon.⁸¹ The administrator Samuel Elsevier, appointed by Van der Stel in 1697, had been married to Anna Maria Six de Chantelier, who died at the Cape in 1689 when the family was on the way back to Europe from the east. Elsevier's third wife of 1703, Maria Wasteau, was evidently of French language descent.⁸² The administrator Joan Cornelis d'Ableing, acting governor after Willem Adriaen van der Stel's fall from grace in 1707, was also related to the Six family. Born in Haarlem in 1663, he could trace his ancestry to the French-speaking Tournai region of Hainaut in the southern Netherlands. His first wife was Louise Soury.⁸³

The Chavonnes family which played a notable part in the history of the Cape settlement in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was of noble French origin. Joachim Pasque(s), marquis of Chavonnes, fled from France to the northern Netherlands after the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day in 1572. There his son Pierre married Jeanne de Savorin. Their youngest son Mauritz (Maurice) Pasques de Chavonnes, born at The Hague in 1654, served as governor of the Cape of Good Hope from 1714 to 1724. In 1689 he married Baltasarina Kien, daughter of Rochus (Rocques) Kien and Maria van Beaumont. Baltasarina had been admitted a member of the Walloon church of The Hague on July 1, 1685. The son of the Cape governor, Pieter Rocques Pasques de Chavonnes, born in Bergen-op-Zoom in 1697, began his career with the Dutch East India Company at the Cape as an ensign and became director general of India in 1743. The governor's nephew Dominique Marius Pasques de Chavonnes, murdered in the Dutch East Indies in 1718, was appointed captain of the Cape garrison in 1713. The son of Dominique Pasques de Chavonnes and Maria Lamy, he followed in his father's footsteps, for the elder Dominique had commanded the Cape garrison from 1686 to 1689. It has been suggested that the Cape governor had in part a Catholic background and in this connection the abjuration of a Marie de Chavonnes is noted in the records of the Walloon church at The Hague on January 7, 1680.⁸⁴

The administrator Jan de la Fontaine, Cape governor in 1737 and acting governor for two periods after 1724, was born in Amsterdam in 1684, the son of Jacques de la Fontaine and Barbara van der Burgh.⁸⁵ The La Fontaines were a noted Calvinist family and several members were associated with the Walloon church of Amsterdam, including the Philippe de la Fontaine whose generosity assisted Jacques de Savoye's mother-in-law.⁸⁶ The name Maria van Beaumont has appeared in the history of the Chavonnes family. The Cape fiscal appointed in 1711, Cornelis van Beaumont, was born in Breda in 1690. The surname was perhaps originally "de" Beaumont, since at the baptism of a sister Isabelle in the Walloon church at Breda, the father is described as Corneille de Beaumont, an infantry major married to Catherine (de) Becker.⁸⁷ The Beaumonts were an old Dordrecht family, evidently of Huguenot origin.

The names of several officials of rather lower rank in the company's administration at the Cape suggest a French language background. Those of two – Poulle and Thibault – are linked in the registers of the Walloon church of Naarden near Amsterdam, where the death of Louise Thibault, wife of the church deacon François Poulle, is re-

corded on May 12, 1671.⁸⁸ Abraham Poulle of Amsterdam came to the Cape from Batavia and was secretary to the council of justice in 1707. Three years later he returned to the east in company service.⁸⁹ François Poulle of The Hague reached the Cape in 1708 as a soldier after a long voyage via Brazil on the *Generale Vrede*. He became clerk to the fiscal in 1717.⁹⁰ Daniel Thibault of Amsterdam, secretary to the council of justice and junior merchant, arrived at the Cape in 1705. A Daniel Thibault and his wife Elisabeth Miget were living in Amsterdam in 1690.⁹¹ The clerk Jacques Chapelou of Amsterdam reached the Cape in 1712.⁹²

From the French side of the modern border between France and Belgium came Josephus de Grandpreez of Valenciennes, the son of Noël-Joseph de Grandpreez and his wife Bernardine Mousson de la Grenieurie. A cultivated man and fluent in Dutch, which he spoke with a marked French accent, Grandpreez was always in demand as a translator. He arrived on the *Linschoten* in 1720 as a soldier and was appointed to the Cape secretariat two years later, rising to become a merchant and secretary to the council of policy. The governor, Hendrik Swellengrebel, found him a bumptious man, whose conceits caused frequent offence. Swellengrebel also disapproved of the way in which he tried to enlist the support of his brother-in-law, Daniël Nolthenius, the Cape commissioner of 1748, in his unsuccessful attempt to become deputy governor.⁹³ Pierre Mazot, long in military service, was appointed secretary for Stellenbosch and Drakenstein on May 11, 1729.⁹⁴ His place of origin is given as Clermont and his surname suggests that he was from that locality north of Grenoble in Dauphiné, or perhaps from Clermont-l'Hérault in Languedoc.

Pieter (Pierre) la Fon of Amsterdam, who died in 1749, was book-keeper in the company's butchery and useful to the authorities for his knowledge of English. A few years before his death he married Catharine Louisa, daughter of the butcher Gijsbert le Fèvre. La Fon's mother Madeleine Braine, or Brun, perhaps, was living in Amsterdam in 1748, but was born in Bordeaux.⁹⁵ The clerk Rodolphe le Camus of Geneva reached the Cape in 1735 as a corporal aboard the *Petronella Alida*. The son of Jean le Camus and Marie-Madeleine Guainier, he asked to return to the Indies in 1737 with his former military rank, sailing in that year to Ceylon.⁹⁶

A company employee who served at the Cape as a book-keeper was Daniel Rousselet-Brousson, who married the widow Maria Anna Grové there in 1744. He took part in the Madagascar slave-trade and is

known to have spoken Malay, presumably the Bazaar Malay which was the lingua franca of Chinese throughout the Indies. Born in Amsterdam, Rousselet-Brousson was the son of a merchant Jean Rousselet and, from the records of the Walloon church in that city, of his wife Madeleine Brousson, to whom a daughter Jeanne Rousselet was born in March 1717.⁹⁷ The place of origin of the Rousselet family has not been positively identified, although the name is to be found in such localities as Crouy, near Soissons in the Ile-de-France, at Châlons-sur-Marne in Champagne and at Chef-Boutonne in Poitou. Esaïe Rousselet from the Crouy region became the first mayor of the Huguenot township of Friedrichsdorf in Hesse-Nassau in 1687.⁹⁸ It seems very likely that Madeleine Brousson was a member of the family of that name who were merchants at Nîmes with connections in Marseilles. This hypothesis suggests a link with the Calvinist martyr, the lawyer Claude Brousson of Nîmes. There was a Jean Brousson, merchant druggist, living with his wife Catherine de Gamon in Marseilles in 1672. Ten years later the marriage of a Pierre Brousson of that city took place. He was the son of Jean Bousson of Nîmes and Marie de Meyniac. Furthermore a Jean Brousson, merchant of Nîmes, abjured in Marseilles after the revocation.⁹⁹

The evidence for a southern origin of the Broussons of Amsterdam is strong. The names of two of the children of Daniel Brousson of that city are given in 1690 as Claude Brousson and Jeanne Broussonne, the latter surname in the contemporary feminine form used in the south of France. Jeanne was probably godmother to Jeanne Rousselet in 1717.¹⁰⁰ It is interesting too to see the use of the hyphenated surname of the Netherlands by Daniel Rousselet-Brousson. In the eighteenth century descendants of French refugees in Europe, as at the Cape, also followed the new custom of married women assuming the surnames of their husbands. Rousselets and Broussons in the United Provinces were not confined to Amsterdam; both names appear in the records of Bergen-op-Zoom in the early eighteenth century. There were also Broussons in Germany. A David Brousson of Marsillargues in Languedoc moved from Magdeburg to Berlin before the close of the seventeenth century.¹⁰¹

Of French background was the junior merchant Jean d'Ailly of Amsterdam who came to the Cape as a cadet on the *Generale Vrede* in 1708. He was joined later by his wife Johanna, daughter of David de Potter and Susanna d'Ailly. The couple were living in Haarlem in 1705. Also on the *Generale Vrede* was Johannes Godefridus d'Ailly, pastor at the Cape. Another member of this Amsterdam family, David d'Ailly, came

to the Cape in 1713 on the same vessel and, like Jean, rose to the position of junior merchant. A niece of the Cape minister, Sara Maria d'Ailly, whose father-in-law was a Lieutenant N. Cercheau, spent some time with her uncle at the Cape before returning to Europe on the *Meijnden* in 1721. She would seem to have become the wife of Courtonne de Brossa(e)rt, mentioned in the previous chapter. Her mother's name is given in 1742 as Catharina le Ménager. An expression of pride in French ancestry is found in the request for a farm made by the great-grandson of Jean d'Ailly, Jan Benjamin, in 1803, during the rule at the Cape of the Batavian republic. He speaks of the persecution and flight of his family from France and of the loyal service of those at the Cape to the land which gave them shelter.¹⁰²

Mention has been made of the hospital superintendent Faber. The superintendent in 1710 was Jean-Baptiste Poignes, clearly of French language background.¹⁰³ Among the medical staff at the Cape was François Guiteau (Guto), who came out as a junior surgeon on the *Nederland* in 1699 and was promoted to senior surgeon on the shore establishment in 1710. Guiteau was born in Poitou about the year 1672 and emigrated to the United Provinces in his youth, living in Amsterdam.¹⁰⁴ There was a François Guit(e)au in that city in 1691, married to Marthe Guidon. The godmother at the baptism of their child Marc in June of that year was Susanne Guit(e)au. At Rotterdam in 1693 lived Pierre Guiteau and his wife Marguerite Piaux.¹⁰⁵

Renaud-Berthault de Saint-Jean, chief surgeon at the Cape, where he retired, was born after the revocation to Marie Doné at Sancerre in Berry, north-east of Bourges, the provincial capital. Saint-Jean settled in Amsterdam and in 1712 sailed to Batavia in the *Unie* as junior surgeon. In 1717 he set up in the United Provinces as a merchant perfumer, but two years later reached the Cape as a junior surgeon aboard the *Meijnden*, transferring to the hospital service ashore. On March 12, 1720 he was granted permission to bring out his wife Anne Fourdrinier and their son Renaud-Berthault, born in Amsterdam and later to become a book-keeper with the company. On the death of Anne Fourdrinier, Saint-Jean married Marthe, daughter of Durand Soullier, in December 1721. His mother was still living at Sancerre in 1726.¹⁰⁶

Anne Fourdrinier of Leyden was perhaps connected with the Dieppe refugees of that name, although there were also Calvinist Fourdriniers in south-western Picardy. The surname is not uncommon in the Wal-

loon church registers of Amsterdam and Leyden,¹⁰⁷ and Fourdriniers from Dieppe were associated with the textile industry of Enkhuizen.¹⁰⁸

Frenchmen were occasional passengers on Dutch vessels. One who proved troublesome reached the winter anchorage of the mid-eighteenth century in Simon's Bay aboard the *Arnesteijn* in 1747. Jean-Thomas-François Villejosselin de la Motte of Saint-Malo took passage on this ship from Bengal after visiting India "pour une affaire d'honneur". Despite his protestations of innocence on arrival at the Cape and complaints of "cruautéz sans pareilles", it would seem that it was his pugnacious manner and expressed contempt for his hosts which led them to put him in irons and, until the ship's surgeon intervened on health grounds, in chains as well. He was transferred to the *Polanen* to continue his voyage to Europe.¹⁰⁹

These then were some of the men and women of French birth, descent or speech who formed part of the military or civil establishment at the Cape before the middle of the eighteenth century, together with some others whose contact with the settlement was of a more transient nature. There remains another important group, the callers aboard ships sailing to and from France and the southern Netherlands. Again, in a long period of contact, we can do no more than isolate a few of the more significant visitors, with particular emphasis upon those of the late seventeenth century, when the bulk of the French-speaking colonists reached the Cape.

French interest in the southern African coast long preceded the arrival of the Dutch and continued well into the eighteenth century, despite the development of bases in Madagascar and the Mascarenes. Desnoyer's plans of 1716 were not the only ones of their kind submitted to the French naval authorities on the Cape and its approaches; some extracts from the logs of British vessels even found their way into French hands¹¹⁰ and, where possible, on the spot surveys were made, with particular attention to Saldanha Bay. Etienne de Flacourt of Orleans published the first reliable account of the bay area in 1658. Sent out to Madagascar by an early French East India Company, he spent twelve days there in October 1648 on his outward voyage from La Rochelle in the *Saint-Laurent* and three weeks in March 1655 on his way back to France in the *Ours*.¹¹¹

Colbert's initiative led to the founding of a new company in 1664¹¹² and renewed interest in the possibilities of Saldanha Bay as an anchorage. From December 1666, when officers aboard the *Saumacque* planted a pillar with the royal arms on the shore there, until the outbreak of the

Dutch War in 1672, the French maintained a tenuous right of possession, contested by the Dutch.¹¹³

French vessels were early visitors to the little settlement on Table Bay. When the *Maréchale* from Nantes put into the anchorage with three consorts in March 1656, the presence of so many foreigners caused no small anxiety. The *Maréchale* was back twelve months later with survivors from the Dutch galliot the *Tulp*, lost off Madagascar. Some aboard the stricken vessel, among them Robert la Grieve of Hesdin in Artois, elected to remain with the French on that island.¹¹⁴ The *Maréchale* returned to the Cape in May 1660, under the command of a Calvinist from La Rochelle, Simon Véron, whose crew numbered many co-religionists from that port. The vessel was, however, wrecked in heavy weather in the bay and some of those aboard her spent several months at the Cape, many of the crew being placed on the pay-roll of the Dutch company. Among those on the *Maréchale* were Pierre Gelton, a lieutenant intended to set up a trading station on Madagascar, and several missionaries including the Lazarist prefect apostolic Nicolas Etienne, later to suffer martyrdom on Madagascar. During his long stay, Etienne became a close friend of the Van Riebeecks, but was not permitted to compromise the official Calvinism of the settlement by celebrating Mass ashore. He was repatriated in 1661 on the *Malacca* with the Lazarist surgeon Philippe Patte, also to die with him on Madagascar.¹¹⁵

December 1666 saw the arrival of the new French company's fleet from La Rochelle, bringing François Lapis de Montdevergue on the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* to his command as lieutenant general on Madagascar. This was a colonizing and commercial expedition of considerable size, designed to establish the French presence throughout the Far East. Aboard the *Saint-Charles* of the fleet was the merchant François Caron, a Calvinist from Brussels who had previously served the Dutch company in Japan. His son of the same name had touched at the Cape six years earlier on the *Musquaetboom* on a voyage to Batavia and a career in the church at Amboyna. Commander Van Quaelbergh entertained the Frenchmen royally, but the banquet he enjoyed aboard the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* cost him his post when the Lords Seventeen got to hear of it. Montdevergue was also interested in Saldanha Bay and it was he who sent the *Saumacque* party there to annex it. The viceroy was to see the Cape again when he called there aboard the *Marie* on his return voyage to France.¹¹⁶

The arrival in the second half of 1670 of Louis XIV's so-called Persian

squadron from Rochefort under Jacob Blanquet de la Haye caused trouble both at Saldanha Bay and at the Cape settlement. The Dutch resented the reassertion of French rights at Saldanha Bay and there were also problems with French deserters and angry exchanges over protocol concerning the royal ship the *Julle*, on which Caron was to lose his life off Lisbon in 1673. Vessels of the French company from Port-Louis at the mouth of the Lorient roadstead had joined the royal squadron. One was the *Phénix*, which called at the Cape for assistance on November 8, 1670, having lost more than half those aboard on the voyage and with so many sick that she was unable to furl her sails. No sooner had she arrived than a heavy storm blew up in Table Bay which caused so much damage that she could not sail until January 2, 1671.¹¹⁷ This was the vessel on which Jean Fort tried to escape.

Fort hoped to join the staff of the vicar apostolic of Tonkin and titular bishop of Heliopolis, François Pallu of Tours, returning on the *Phénix* to those missionary endeavours in the Far East which were allied to the French drive for commercial and political advantage in that region. A man of sound learning and wide experience, responsible for Catholic missions over an extensive area of China and a promoter of the *Société des Missions étrangères*, he seems to have made a good impression on the Cape commander Pieter Hackius.¹¹⁸ Pallu shows himself in his correspondence to be a man of broad vision. He spoke highly of La Clide, Calvinist captain of the royal ship the *Indienne*, in Table Bay at that time, and also commended the Dutch at the Cape to whom those aboard the *Phénix* owed their lives. Pallu entertained Hackius and his principal officers on board, but considering this civility insufficient recompense, sent the commander “un petit chandelier d’argent à deux branches et trois autres pieces fort curieuses de la valeur de cent escus ou environ”.¹¹⁹

Several French vessels called in 1671, among them the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* from Port-Louis, bringing out the Lyons merchant Barthélemy Blot to join Caron at Surat. The ship, destined to join the squadron of the previous year, anchored in Table Bay on July 7, but adverse weather prevented Blot from setting foot on shore. Once again the problem of deserters came to the fore. Two men hid themselves on land and reappeared after their ship had sailed. Arrangements had, however, been made to place them in confinement until the arrival of another French ship.¹²⁰

The Dutch War of 1672-1678 necessarily brought contact between French and Dutch at the Cape to an end; it also resulted in a major

disaster to France in the dispersal and destruction of the 1670 squadron. Among the losses were the *Phénix*, taken by the Dutch off Trincomalee in Ceylon on May 31, 1672 without a shot being fired, and the *Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, captured in port there in July of that year, some hours before the French base in Trincomalee Bay, established in the previous March, capitulated to the forces of the Dutch East India Company.¹²¹

The interval of peace before the outbreak of the War of the League of Augsburg in 1688 brought more French ships to the Cape. The *Soleil d'Orient*, which sailed from Port-Louis for Surat and Bantam on February 1, 1679, called in May. The voyage marked a return to eastern commerce by a French company which had been too fearful of losses to send out more vessels. The *Soleil d'Orient* sprang a leak shortly after leaving Table Bay and had to return for repairs. It was an ill omen. On her return voyage in 1681 with ambassadors from the Siamese court to that of Louis XIV she foundered off the Madagascar coast.¹²² Siamese envoys seem to have been particularly vulnerable. Others were marooned at the Cape in 1686 when the Portuguese vessel *Nossa Senhora dos Milagres* was wrecked near Cape Agulhas.¹²³

This period inaugurated a new approach by France in the Far East: the cultivation of relations with Siam. It was given considerable impetus by the arrival in France of Siamese mandarins in 1684, sent to enquire about the missing ambassadors to the French court, and was a major concern of Colbert's East India Company, reconstituted by his son Seignelay on March 3, 1685. On the day the new company came into being two royal vessels sailed from Brest to make the first official contacts in what it was hoped would prove a fruitful relationship between France and Siam and to extend French influence in the Chinese empire. The ships were L'Aulnay de Vaudricourt's *Oyseau* and the *Maligne*, commanded by harbour lieutenant Joyeux.¹²⁴

On the *Oyseau* were the emissaries from Siam and the recently appointed ambassador to that country, Alexandre de Chaumont-Quitry, a convert from Calvinism born near Magny in the Ile-de-France. With him was his deputy, the Parisian François-Timoléon de Choisy, abbé and reformed transvestite, who took holy orders before leaving the Far East. Among Chaumont's retinue was a naval lieutenant Claude de Forbin from Gardanne, near Marseilles, who had seen considerable fighting on land and sea and had been a witness at Louis XIV's secret marriage to Madame de Maintenon in 1684.¹²⁵

There was also a scientific aim to this expedition, and a religious one. Aboard the *Oyseau* were several missionaries and possible recruits for

that service, and six priests of the Company of Jesus, five of whom would travel on into China. Their selection owed much to the enthusiasm of Louis XIV and his confessor La Chaize, as well as to the desire for reinforcements in China expressed by the veteran Jesuit missionary and astronomer there, Ferdinand Verbiest from Flanders.¹²⁶

The Jesuits on the *Oyseau* were accomplished scholars and were supplied with memoranda and astronomical instruments by the *Académie royale des Sciences* in Paris. They were designated mathematicians to the king in the Indies and China before setting out on the voyage.¹²⁷ As superior was Jean de Fontaney,¹²⁸ a forty-two year old professor of mathematics at the famous Jesuit Collège de Clermont in the capital, re-named Louis le Grand in 1682. Fontaney was a Breton from the diocese of Saint-Pol-de-Léon, perhaps from Le Conquet on the Atlantic coast. The others, all Louis le Grand men, were Choisy's "fort joli petit homme" Claude de Visdelou,¹²⁹ another Breton from Trébry, south-east of Saint-Brieuc, Jean-François Gerbillon from Verdun-sur-Meuse, Louis-Daniel le Comte of Bordeaux, Joachim Bouvet, brilliant student in mathematics and astronomy at the Jesuit college of La Flèche, whose family came from Conlie in Maine, and finally Guy Tachard, a native of Marthon in the Angoumois, who had been to the Antilles with the military and naval expedition led by Jean d'Estrées in 1676. Choisy was greatly impressed by the Jesuits and particularly praised Visdelou's abilities and the preaching of Fontaney and Le Comte.¹³⁰

Tachard does not appear to have been given a specific scientific task and was not destined to travel to China, but the others made themselves responsible for enquiries in particular fields of study in that country, in addition to their spiritual activities. The programme bears witness to the new spirit of scientific enquiry in late seventeenth-century Europe. The history of the China mission need not concern us here, but three points are not without relevance in Cape history. In the first place it was Fontaney who was the acknowledged expert in astronomical science. He had already published scientific findings and had worked with the great astronomers of the age, Jean Picard, the elder Cassini and the Dane, Roemer, as well as with the geometrist Philippe de la Hire. It is clearly Fontaney, rather than Tachard, who must be considered the father of Cape astronomy.¹³¹ Secondly, the activities of the Jesuits in the Far East greatly stimulated an interest in things oriental in Europe and in the acquisition of *chinoiserie*, examples of which found their way into the homes of burghers and officials at the Cape of Good Hope.¹³² Finally, it was through the encouragement of Joachim Bouvet that France inaugurated in 1698 a direct challenge to the English monopoly

of the China trade, a venture which again brought the French into contact with the Cape settlement.¹³³

The non-Jesuit missionaries and prospective missionaries on the *Oyseau* included Bénigne Vachet of Dijon, no stranger to the mission field and in charge of the returning Siamese emissaries,¹³⁴ Jean Basset and François de Langlade du Chayla. Basset, with whom Choisy discussed theology on the voyage to the Cape,¹³⁵ was born in Lyons and studied at the Saint-Sulpice seminary in Paris. Ordained priest after his arrival in the east in 1686, he served the *Missions étrangères* in China.¹³⁶ Du Chayla did not long remain in the Far East and after his return to France in June 1686 was active in his native Gévaudan as a missionary among former Calvinists. In 1687 he founded a seminary at Saint-Germain-de-Calberte to train priests in this field. He was killed by insurgent Calvinists in 1702 at Le Pont-de-Montvert, home of the Gauch family, in the action which precipitated the Camisard insurrection, having first refused an offer of clemency if he would abjure Catholicism.¹³⁷

The *Oyseau* and her consort anchored in Table Bay on May 31, 1685, remaining there until June 7.¹³⁸ The published accounts of Chaumont, Choisy, Forbin and Tachard, all of whom were to see the Cape again, throw interesting light on the contemporary scene at the settlement.¹³⁹ Le Comte, who revisited the Cape in 1693 aboard a Danish ship, was later to point out how easy it would be to break through the local defences.¹⁴⁰ The Dutch authorities regarded the Jesuits in particular as a political and spiritual threat.¹⁴¹ They were, however, recognised as men of culture and were politely received by Simon van der Stel, as well as by the commissioner general Van Reede and the French-born commander Saint-Martin, both then on their way to the east. The presence of cultivated society at the Cape was evidently a surprise to the French visitors.¹⁴²

The main purpose of the Jesuits at the Cape was to make astronomical observations, with special reference to a closer determination of longitude at that point. For this purpose a lodge in the company's garden was placed at their disposal. The beauty of the garden greatly impressed the French. It was there that they met Couchet, the gardener who had learned his trade at Saint-Cloud. Couchet, to whom they gave a letter addressed to missionary directors in Paris, was later sent away from the Cape as a security risk. The same fate overtook another friend the French made there, the artist and apothecary Heinrich Claudius of Breslau, who knew something of the Cape interior at first hand.¹⁴³

Tachard provides evidence of the many Catholics at the Cape, among them Frenchmen and Flemings. Although burghers and company servants were not permitted to hear Mass on shipboard, nor could the sacrament be brought on shore, the Jesuits gave what spiritual comfort they could to those who sought it.¹⁴⁴ Their impact on Protestants was limited to conversions among the *Oyseau's* crew. Two Calvinist sailors abjured before Fontaney on the voyage to the Cape. Choisy says of them: "ils estoient bien prédestinez, car si on l'avoit sceu on ne les auroit pas embarquez".¹⁴⁵

The full story of the embassy to Siam lies outside the scope of this study. Tachard, with others of the original party, including Chaumont, Choisy, Vachet and Du Chayla, embarked on the *Oyseau* for France on December 22, 1685, bringing new Siamese emissaries and proposals for further French economic and political penetration of that country. The Jesuits were to be allowed to advance their scientific studies there and to build a church and college. The *Oyseau*, again accompanied by the *Maligne*, touched at the Cape from March 13 to March 26, 1686 and Tachard was promised the use of the lodge in the garden for an observatory when he returned with another party of Jesuit scholars. The two French ships reached home on June 18, 1686.¹⁴⁶

Before returning to French contacts with Siam, the visit of another French vessel in September 1685 may be briefly mentioned. This was the *Royale*, bound from Port-Louis for Surat, with Pilavoine, the new director at Surat aboard, bringing out the news of the reconstruction of the French company. Pilavoine was to replace the Parisian François Martin, appointed to administer the company's affairs on the Coromandel coast, in Bengal and in Siam. Travelling to Surat with Pilavoine was Martin's wife Marie Cuperly, daughter of a *maîtresse harengère* and herself a market fish-wife. With her was her second daughter Marie.¹⁴⁷

There was a strong suspicion at the Cape that several slaves and criminals had taken refuge on the *Royale*; one of the former had certainly sought permission to go aboard her in order to attend Mass, a request refused by the German captain of the garrison, Jeronimus Cruse of Bielefeld. Pilavoine, then staying ashore because of ill-health, was approached by the Cape authorities to order the return of any fugitives. It was pointed out to him that after the *Oyseau* and the *Maligne* had sailed for the east, deserters had been rounded up and taken to the vessels, then outside the bay, "met een expres vaartuigh". Courtesy demanded reciprocal action by the present visitors. Desertion, in both directions, was ever a problem at the Cape. Three absentees from the

French vessel the *Saint-Antoine*, which called at the Cape in April 1685 on a return voyage from Surat to Port-Louis, had also been caught by the Dutch.¹⁴⁸

The enthusiasm of Tachard for the Siamese adventure communicated itself to Louis XIV, to Seignelay and to the directors of the French East India Company. Two official envoys were designated to return with the Siamese ambassadors and a considerable expedition was assembled at Brest, including a military force under Desfarges and a missionary contingent of which the largest part was a group of fifteen Jesuits, again described as mathematicians to the king.¹⁴⁹ Tachard was in charge of this party, which included such eminent scholars as Abraham le Royer from Domfront in Normandy, Jean-Venant Bouchet, future pioneer of missionary work in the Carnatic who hailed from Fontenay-le-Comte in Poitou, the elderly and delicate Jean Richaud of Bordeaux, Louis Rochette of Lyons, author of a text-book on astral navigation, and Charles-François Dolu, scion of a distinguished family from Alsace connected with the Hapsburgs and Montmorencys. Several others, as well as Tachard himself, were later to fall temporarily into Dutch hands. They included Marcel le Blanc, professor of rhetoric in his native Dijon, Claude de Bèze from Nevers, botanist and teacher of grammar in Orleans, and Patrice Comilh of Bordeaux, whose teaching fields included rhetoric and the humanities.¹⁵⁰

The Jesuits were distributed on various vessels in the fleet,¹⁵¹ Tachard, Bèze, Le Blanc and Comilh sailing on the *Gaillard*, the flagship commanded by Vaudricourt. General Desfarges also embarked on this ship, as did the abbé and vicar apostolic Artus de Lionne of the *Missions étrangères*, later to serve in China. Lionne, whose family origins lay in Dauphiné, was a son of Hugues de Lionne, Mazarin's successor in the foreign affairs department of state.¹⁵²

The *Oyseau* also sailed with this fleet, carrying the French and Siamese envoys. One of the former was a political nominee, Simon de la Loubère of Toulouse; the second was a director of the French East India Company responsible for trade negotiations, Claude Céberet du Boulay. The *Oyseau* was commanded on this occasion by Abraham du Quesne-Guiton, cousin of Henri du Quesne of the *Hirondelle* expedition and grandson of the Calvinist mayor of La Rochelle, Jean Guiton. The *Maligne* accompanied the fleet as far as the Cape; the other vessels destined for the east were the *Loire*, the *Normande* and the *Dromadaire*.¹⁵³

The fleet sailed on March 1, 1687, the *Loire*, commanded by Joyeux,

reaching Table Bay on June 9, two days ahead of the other vessels.¹⁵⁴ Their appearance impressed the Dutch authorities, who described them as “alle klokke en wel gemonteerde Schepen”. They brought many sick, however, and although the commander and council of policy took special precautions in view of the military nature of the expedition, the French sought only relaxation and the restoration of health. The Jesuits again carried out observations from their makeshift observatory, Fathers Le Banc and Bèze climbed Table Mountain, Desfarges hunted and Simon van der Stel treated officers and ecclesiastics alike with his customary courtesy.¹⁵⁵ One Stellenbosch burgher, Jean Saint-Jean of Bordeaux, fell foul of the law by imbibing too freely with two French sergeants and paying an unauthorized visit to the *Dromadaire*.¹⁵⁶

The *Gaillard* and her companions, briefly delayed by calms, raised anchor on June 27, 1687 for a long voyage to Batavia which caused many deaths in the fleet, including that of Father Rochette.¹⁵⁷ An extended period of rest in the Dutch eastern capital would have been welcome, but the French received no cordial greeting. Although Tachard insisted that Calvinists in France had been treated by the king “avec toutes sortes d’égards, et de témoignages de bonté”, the Batavian authorities looked with disfavour upon these representatives of the nation which had revoked the Edict of Nantes.¹⁵⁸ The fleet therefore sailed for Siam on September 7. There, despite the signing of a commercial treaty, undercurrents of opposition to the French soon began to manifest themselves, the first signs of the palace revolution of May 1688 which wrecked French hopes.¹⁵⁹

Tachard, however, left before the disaster, still supremely optimistic of a happy outcome to French intervention. With La Loubère, three new Siamese envoys and five young princes to be educated at the Collège Louis le Grand, he embarked for France on the *Gaillard*, which sailed on January 3, 1688, in company with the *Loire* and the *Dromadaire*. All three vessels touched at the Cape, the *Gaillard* and the *Loire* anchoring on April 21, two days after the departure of the *Oyseau*, which was returning to France with Céberet and Forbin aboard.¹⁶⁰

The French ships remained at the Cape until May 1 and it is from Tachard’s account of his second voyage to the east and back that we have a glimpse of the arrival of some of his fellow-countrymen as refugees from religious persecution. When due allowance is made for the nationality and religious convictions of the Jesuit observer, there is still reason to accept Tachard’s comment that some at least of the French settlers he met were homesick, unhappy and dissatisfied with

their lot.¹⁶¹ The Jesuits of the Siamese expedition of 1687 had already been in contact with the effects of the revocation. There were certainly secret Calvinists and former members of the reformed faith, now reluctant *Nouveaux Catholiques*, among the soldiers and sailors in the fleet. Before the *Dromadaire* reached the Cape on the outward voyage, the Jesuits had secured at least one full conversion and the belated abjuration of another who had fallen sick with scurvy.¹⁶² Some members of the order were later to regard the method adopted to extirpate heresy in France as a model to be followed in combating non-Christian religious practices in Pondicherry, an attitude which lost them much support there.¹⁶³

Tachard, who returned to the east and did much to promote educational advance in India before his death at Chandernagore in 1712, was regarded with considerable suspicion by the Dutch. He took an active part in the defence of Pondicherry in 1693 and after its surrender was repatriated to Europe for a period in a vessel of the Dutch East India Company which touched at the Cape in 1694.¹⁶⁴ His captors were later to express fears that he might have taken special note of weaknesses in the Cape defences.¹⁶⁵

Continuing Dutch mistrust of French Catholic missionaries may be seen in the instructions from Batavia in 1706 regarding the surveillance in Table Bay of five of these “finely sharpened blades” who were being sent back to Europe from the Far East.¹⁶⁶ The Franciscans François Drion and Jacques Hartel, and the Jesuits Gilbert Bordes from Auvergne, Michel Pernet of Boulogne-sur-mer and Jacques de Prémilly from Poitou had been travelling on the English ship the *Charleton*, outward-bound from London, when they were held as prisoners-of-war in Batavia. They were repatriated on separate ships.¹⁶⁷ More than a quarter of a century later a Jesuit priest, Claude-François Loppin, on his way to the China mission aboard the *Duc de Chartres*, lodged in 1739 with a French refugee at the Cape, where he and two companions said Mass in secret during Holy week. Their host was clearly not in their confidence.¹⁶⁸

Guy Tachard long continued to promote efforts to secure a French presence in Siam,¹⁶⁹ but his expectations of final success were not shared by all. Forbin was unenthusiastic;¹⁷⁰ so too was L'Estrille, captain of the warship *Ori flamme*, sent out from Brest to support the Siam mission of 1687, but destined to take part in the evacuation of French troops there and ultimately to go down off the coast of Brittany on February 27, 1691. The *Ori flamme* anchored in Table Bay on May 18,

1688 and her captain presented Simon van der Stel with a portrait of Louis XIV engraved on a golden medallion. Although the Lords Seventeen were displeased that the commander should have accepted the gift, it was richly deserved as some recognition of Van der Stel's unfailing kindness to foreign callers in time of peace. L'Estrille, doubtless of Huguenot origin, announced that he would not be averse to settling at the Cape if ever he should leave the French service.¹⁷¹

While the political situation in Siam was deteriorating, so too was that in Europe and in November 1688 France declared war on the United Provinces. The *Normande* of the Siam squadron had remained in the east and reached Pondicherry early in 1689. Another French vessel, the *Coche*, had sailed from Port-Louis on March 12, 1688 and after visiting Siamese waters, had brought the news of revolt in Siam to the French agent in Pondicherry, François Martin, in January 1689. These two ships were freighted with goods from the Coromandel coast and Bengal and sailed for home on February 16, with instructions to leave word at the Cape for an anticipated French squadron that it should not go to Siam, but should proceed instead to Pondicherry. The instructions were to prove their undoing, for news of the European conflict reached the Cape before the captains of the French ships got to hear of it.¹⁷² The French castaway Guillaume Chenu was involved in the action which followed

The *Normande* sailed unsuspectingly into Table Bay on April 26, 1689 and was promptly seized, her captain, Courcelles, and the ship's company being taken prisoner. The prize remained at anchor in the bay, French flag and mast-head pennants flying, to act as a decoy. This manoeuvre at first deceived the *Coche* when she entered the roads on the evening of May 5. Her captain, Armagnan, grew suspicious, however, and began to prepare for action, with the result that all the ships in harbour opened fire on her. The captain of the *Coche* was killed and the survivors of the fight surrendered to join their compatriots already in captivity.¹⁷³

The *Normande*, renamed the *Goede Hoop*, was consigned to the company's Zeeland chamber. She had a short life as a Dutch East India-man. Driven on shore in Table Bay by a severe gale in June 1692 she became a total wreck.¹⁷⁴ The *Coche*, rechristened the *Africa*, was sent to Amsterdam. Those aboard the French ships were divided into two groups and sent to Europe and Batavia.¹⁷⁵ They included a number of men who had sailed with the Siam fleet of 1687. One was a captain in the Siam regiment, Sainte-Marie, who asked to be included in the

Batavia contingent as he faced a manslaughter charge in France;¹⁷⁶ another was the Jesuit Marcel le Blanc who had sailed for Siam in 1687 with another member of his order, Father Colusson, and has left us a lively picture of the action in Table Bay. He returned to Europe in a party which included Courcelles of the *Normande*, who died on the voyage.¹⁷⁷ Le Blanc was imprisoned in Middelburg until March 1690, returning afterwards to the teaching profession in Dijon before sailing again for the Far East to meet his death at Mozambique Island in May 1693 after a shipboard accident in heavy weather.¹⁷⁸

The retention of large numbers of prisoners at the Cape was not in the best interests of company administration. That there were potentially disloyal elements in the garrison is indicated by the conspiracy involving some of those aboard the French ships revealed by the soldier Jean de la Motte.¹⁷⁹

The brief period of peace after 1697 saw a resumption of visits by French ships at the Cape. Pondicherry was restored to France in 1699 and the French trading company slowly began to regain lost ground.¹⁸⁰ On January 19, 1698 the East Indiamen *Phélypeaux* and the *Etoile d'Orient* sailed for Bengal from Port-Louis. They anchored in Table Bay in April, where John Dorrill of the homeward-bound English vessel the *Charles II* saw them. They were his "2 french Ships, which was formerly the *Seymore* (*Seymour*) and *Success*, who brings out the Joyful news of peace over all Europe".¹⁸¹

In June 1698 the *Amphitrite* called at the Cape with four other French ships bound for the Indies. The *Amphitrite's* destination was Canton and her voyage followed the suggestions of the Jesuit Bouvet for the inauguration of a direct French commercial link with China. Bouvet sailed on her with a party of Jesuit recruits for the China mission.¹⁸² The names of three of these visitors to the Cape are worthy of note: the sculptor, architect and painter Charles de Belleville from Rouen, a fellow-Norman and sinologist of distinction, Joseph-Henri-Marie de Prémare of Cherbourg, and Dominique Parrenin from Franche-Comté, linguist and cartographer.¹⁸³ The arrival of this French fleet sparked off another attempted escape by company servants and one by a Frenchman among the visitors.¹⁸⁴ A contemporary account of the voyage of the *Amphitrite* mentions the presence at the Cape of French Calvinist refugees, although they are described rather inaccurately as for the most part peasants from Languedoc and Gascony.¹⁸⁵

The *Phélypeaux*, in the company of a new vessel, the *Perle d'Orient*, called at the Cape in 1700 on a voyage from Port-Louis to Pondicherry.

There they met the *Agréable* and the *Mutine* frigate, royal ships taking reinforcements to the east from Brest. There was a noticeable cooling in relations with the Dutch and extra precautions were taken in view of the large contingent present. Even the sick were not allowed permanently on shore and the French ships had to call at Johanna in the Comoros in order to restore those on board to full health.¹⁸⁶

European peace was short-lived and the Spanish succession struggle broke out in 1702, a war which again adversely affected the French position in the Indies. The French trading company declined sadly and by the end of the war the eastern commerce of that nation was largely a monopoly of Saint-Malo shipping interests.¹⁸⁷

Contacts with the Cape were resumed in 1713, when the *Mercure* and the *Jason* of the royal Guymont du Coudray squadron arrived from Cadiz at the end of September. The voyage had originally been planned in 1711 as a privateering and trading venture and the chief beneficiaries were to be a Parisian merchant Louis Bille and his associates, with the French company taking a 10% cut.¹⁸⁸ The peace treaty between France and the United Provinces was, however, signed in April 1713 and the expedition no longer had a warlike objective. The *Mercure*, with the third ship of the squadron, the *Vénus*, touched at the Cape on January 29, 1715 on the return voyage from Bengal and Pondicherry. It was on the *Mercure* that the prisoner François Desnoyers made his escape to Brazil. With these ships in 1715 was the *Saint-Louis*, returning to France after circumnavigating the globe on another voyage which had begun during the late war with enemy shipping and commerce as its twin objectives.¹⁸⁹ Saint-Malo's share in the eastern trade is reflected in the visits to the Cape in April 1715 and March 1716 of the *Comte d'Amelot* on the China run.¹⁹⁰

The amalgamation of all French trading companies into a single *Compagnie des Indes* in 1719 was followed by a period of reorganization and the development of new bases after Mauritius, abandoned by the Dutch, had been taken over by France in 1715 and rechristened the Ile de France.¹⁹¹ A decision not to use the Cape in ordinary circumstances had been foreshadowed more than twenty-five years before when the *Oriflamme* called there.¹⁹² The captain of the *Bourbon*, Magon de la Villebague of a noted Saint-Malo mercantile family, made it clear when he called at the Cape in January 1724 that his visit was entirely against orders, but forced upon him by circumstances. After encountering a hurricane in the Mascarenes his ship was unseaworthy and he needed to replace unserviceable pumps and defective rigging. The Cape author-

ities were, however, then forbidden to provide equipment for foreign vessels which might be required by Dutch East Indiamen and his request was turned down.¹⁹³ Food and water, on the other hand, were available to the sick of all nations. Refreshment was therefore supplied in 1725 and 1726 to the *Minerve* and the *Saint-Louis*, both under the command of the Breton Jean-Baptiste-Ives Garnier du Fougeray, in March 1728 to Jonchée de la Goletrie's *Mars* and in February 1747 to Baudran de la Mettrie, senior captain of the Nantes privateers *Apollon* and *Anglesea*, the latter originally a British fifth rate. These two naval craft on loan to private interests had been on convoy duty to the Ile de France (Mauritius) where, it was claimed, a swarm of locusts had led to food shortages. La Mettrie was hesitant to call at the Cape in view of the close relations between Britain and the United Provinces during the Anglo-French war of 1744-1748, although it was suggested that the Frenchmen were more interested in British shipping in the vicinity than in obtaining water and provisions.¹⁹⁴

There was a decline in the number of foreign callers at the Cape between 1725 and 1741, but there were few years in which no French vessel put into Table Bay in our period. A visitor in March 1739 was the *Marie*, commanded by Jean-Baptiste-Charles Bouvet de Lozier of a Breton family with a long seafaring tradition. Awarded the cross of Saint-Louis for skilful tactics against the British in the Indian Ocean in 1748, he later became governor of Bourbon. This voyage off Antarctica gave Bouvet Island its name. The *Saint-Géran* was at the Cape in January 1740. Wrecked with heavy loss of life off the Ile de France in August 1744 her fate was to provide a later visitor to southern Africa, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, with the background to the most poignant episode in his novel *Paul et Virginie*. The destruction off Cape Agulhas in January 1750 of Guillaume de la Buttefrérot's returning company ship the *Centaure* brought several hundred stranded French crew members and passengers to the settlement. Among them was a servant, Charles Porlé de Montigny, who was injured in one of those drunken brawls not infrequent in the port township. Other arrivals in 1750 were Captain l'Oby's *Achille*, in recent years the most powerful vessel in La Bourdonnais's striking force in eastern waters, and the *Villefrix*, carrying the distinguished Jesuit scholar, Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot of Toulon. The botanist and administrator, Pierre Poivre of Lyons, brought slips of exotic plants to the Ile de France from the Cape on the *Montaran* in 1749. The provisioning of the Ile de France and Bourbon from Cape sources was also an objective of some French visitors.

Finally, the Abbé Nicolas-Louis de la Caille from Rumigny in Cham-

pagne, who was to spend almost two years at the Cape in the pursuit of his astronomical observations, arrived in April 1751 aboard the *Glorieux*, captained by J.-B.-Nicolas-Denis d'Après de Mannevillette of Havre-de-Grâce, author of the *Neptune oriental* and the foremost marine cartographer of his age. The captain, who as a lieutenant on the China run had visited the Cape as early as 1737 aboard the *Prince de Conti*, was again in South African waters early in 1752. In command of the *Treize Cantons*, he sailed from the Ile de France with a brig, the *Nécessaire*, to undertake a coastal reconnaissance which gave rise at the Cape to fears of a French occupation. Several men from the *Nécessaire* were accidentally marooned on shore at Algoa Bay in February 1752 and two survivors, an officer Jacques-Thomas Perrot and a boatswain François Rubion, were saved by August Friedrich Beutler's party, then exploring the eastern Cape border. The *Treize Cantons* and her consort reached Table Bay before the rescue.¹⁹⁵ It may be added, in connection with French visitors, that foreigners were welcome to the burghers, who enjoyed a permitted trade with them and also derived profit from the boarding-house business.¹⁹⁶

The slave-trade flourished in the eighteenth century and although British ships dominated it, the French were not inactive. Robert-Richard de la Marre's *Saint-Albin* of Havre-de-Grâce called at the Cape in July 1722, bound for the Mascarenes and probably intending to purchase slaves in the course of her voyage. She had discharged a similar cargo two years earlier at Cap-Français (Cap-Haïtien) on Hispaniola in the Antilles.¹⁹⁷ Another slaver, and possibly also an interloper, was the *Comte de Toulouse* of Dunkirk, bound for Madagascar and thus far from her authorized run from the Guinea coast to the French West Indies. She visited the Cape in 1722. Her captain was an Irishman, Edmund Burke, and the ship was built in Britain. There was, moreover, a strong suspicion that the *Comte de Toulouse* was trading on behalf of Flemish commercial interests and had been freighted at Ostend. The captain was given the benefit of the doubt, however, in order to avoid "alle moeilijkheden met de Croon van Vrankrijk". It is nevertheless known that Burke enjoyed good relations with the European pirates who then infested Madagascar and caused serious difficulties on the ocean trade routes. Commerce with them was popular with the captains of many unauthorized ships.¹⁹⁸

These interlopers were vessels outside the control of the accepted mercantile interests: the crown of Portugal and the national trading companies of the United Provinces, Britain, France and Denmark. The problem of unauthorized trade took a new turn after the close of the

War of the Spanish Succession when commercial interests in what was then the Austrian Netherlands began to look to the formation of a Flemish company to trade in the east under Austrian protection. Pioneer voyages began in 1715, financed in part by foreign capital, using ships built abroad and employing a large number of expatriates, often with considerable experience in eastern markets.¹⁹⁹ Not surprisingly, the appearance of these newcomers on the trade routes was looked on with hostility by the national monopolies. As the British president at Fort William (Calcutta), Samuel Teake, told the London company in 1718, he would be angry indeed if he should “ever ketch (*sic*) any of them tempering (*sic*) with people so directly against the Comp^s Interest”.²⁰⁰

The brief history of the Ostend traders and of the company which was formed in 1723 to combine their activities is not without interest in the history of French contacts with the Cape, since many of those associated with these voyages were from France, or were French speakers from the southern Netherlands. The first of these vessels to call at the Cape was the sixteen-gun *Charles*, which left Ostend in March 1715 to trade on the eastern coast of Africa and at Goa and Malabar. Commanded by Matthijs Guerrebrants, she anchored in Table Bay in June 1716 with a cargo of pepper and other goods which was discharged at Cadiz and Gibraltar. The captain's request for assistance and refreshment was grudgingly granted by the Cape authorities.²⁰¹

Attitudes had hardened when the next Ostender reached Table Bay in March 1718 after a successful pioneer voyage to Borneo and China. The ship was the *Empereur* and her captain was obliged to leave the harbour immediately.²⁰² It is interesting to note that it was information from the log of this vessel which enabled the English astronomer Halley to confirm the inaccuracy of the measurement of Cape longitude made by Fontaney and his Jesuit companions in 1685.²⁰³

A third independent Ostend trader reached the Cape later in 1718 after a visit to India which had resulted in the founding of a factory on the Coromandel coast. This ship, the *Charles VI*, formerly the English *Griffin*, had been equipped by a consortium headed by an Englishman, Thomas Ray, and a Frenchman from Saint-Malo, Gollet de la Merveille. The command had been entrusted to La Merveille's son Godefroid. The *Charles VI*, like the *Empereur*, was told to leave port without delay, but Godefroid de la Merveille was not a man to be easily discouraged. After sheltering for some weeks in Saldanha Bay under French colours, he again entered Table Bay on Christmas Eve 1718, hoping to enlist the support of one or other of the foreign ships then at anchor

there. In this he failed, but the gunfire from the *Ostender* and a visiting Frenchman, the *Grand Danycan*, which shattered the peace on successive nights in January 1719, suggests collusion between fellow-countrymen to irritate the local authorities.²⁰⁴ The French vessel, commanded by François Chauvet de Maget des Illettes, was bound from Madagascar for Saint-Malo and it has been established that there was some sympathy for the newcomers among French captains and crews, whatever the official attitude of the French government towards Ostend traders might have been.²⁰⁵

These visits to the Cape by Ostenders not only indicate that the Dutch did not welcome them, but also point to the problems encountered by the interlopers in finding a suitable refreshment station, particularly on the homeward run.²⁰⁶ They also show how vulnerable the Cape was when large numbers of foreign vessels lay at anchor there and the Dutch fleets were absent. The Flemish traders were evidently regarded locally as the gay adventurers of the southern seas. They certainly carried away a few deserters and were seen in some quarters as providing a possible way of escape for Cape wives dissatisfied with married life.²⁰⁷

The creation of an official Ostend East India Company in 1723 was greatly resented, particularly in Britain and the United Provinces. Political manoeuvres led to the suspension of trade by the company in 1727 and to its abolition four years later. Two ships were permitted to sail to the east to wind up the company's affairs and one of them, the *Concorde*, commanded by Jacob Larmes, called at the Cape in March 1734 to effect repairs after her voyage from Bengal.²⁰⁸

It will be seen from this survey that the Cape was more than a home for a handful of French-speaking burghers, but was defended and administered by a garrison staff which included at various times a not inconsiderable number of French speakers. The Cape settlement was moreover a link in the chain of trading empire and the French were, from the earliest period, no strangers to it. Their early political aspirations in the region largely faded, but new alignments among European powers in the eighteenth century were ultimately to bring them to the Cape in force.²⁰⁹ These later developments, however, do not concern us here.

REFERENCES: CHAPTER TEN

1. For a Catholic from Saxony in company service in 1689, named as Lode-wijck Liebrecht, see CJ 291, Criminele processtukken, 1689: May 27, p.355 (CA). He was questioned in connection with contacts with French officers held at the Cape.
2. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen, 1701-1715: 1701, p. 10; 1702, p. 39; 1703, p. 55; 1704, p. 81; 1710, p. 161; 1712, p. 219; 1714, p. 261; 1715, p. 294; VC 42, Generale monsterrollen, 1727-1739: 1731, p. 34; VC 103, Monsterrol, 1705: pp. 876; 882 (CA). Names here and elsewhere have been corrected from the original entries, where clearly in error.
3. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: 1704, p. 66; 1710, p. 167; 1712, p. 206; VC 103, Monsterrol: p. 863; VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1728, p. 7; VC 41, Generale monsterrollen, 1716-1725: 1723, p. 18 (CA).
4. CJ 666, Minuut criminele processtukken, 1740: July 14, pp. 402-406; CJ 3188, Bandieten rollen, 1728-1795: pp. 4-5; 33-34; 48-49; 171-172; 368-369; 471 (CA); J.L.M. FRANKEN, 'Bydraes tot die Afrikaanse kultuur en taalgeskiedenis', III, *TWK*, VI, 1927-1928, pp. 199-201; DU PREEZ, 'Eerste du Preez-gesin', *Familia*, IX, 2, 1972, p. 36; DU PREEZ, *Her-koms van die du Preez-familie*, p. 10.
5. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 97.
6. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: 1710-1711, p. 183; 1715, p. 290; VC 41, Generale monsterrollen: 1718, p. 27; VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1727, p. 38; 1728, p. 30.
7. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: p. 24.
8. VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1727, p. 8.
9. VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: p. 34; CJ 2884, Contracten, 1733-1734: July 6, 1733, pp. 78-79 (CA). Lusy later served other masters.
10. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: 1712, p. 209; VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1732, p. 39; CJ 3188, Bandieten rollen: pp. 307-308.
11. VC 41, Generale monsterrollen: p. 5.
12. J. HOGE, 'Privaatskoolmeesters aan die Kaap in die 18de eeu', *Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, XII, B, 1, July 1934, appendix, p. 58. He was employed by Philippe Meinard (Minnaar).
13. SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1697: June 18, pp. 205-205v. (DO). His name is in BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 97: 1693.
14. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, April-June 1968, p. 311.
15. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: 1710, p. 168; VC 41, Generale monsterrollen: 1719, p. 17; VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1727, p. 3; CJ 3188, Bandieten rollen: pp. 305-306.
16. CJ 3188, Bandieten rollen: pp. 231-232; FRANKEN, 'Huisonderwys', *Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, XII, B, 1, July 1934, p. 22.
17. VC 41, Generale monsterrollen: 1722, p. 25; VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1734, p. 38.
18. CJ 2870, Contracten, 1692-1694: Dec. 16, 1693, pp. 243-244 (CA);

- FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelingen' IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, XI, 216, May 7, 1926, p. 13.
19. See FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelingen', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, XI, 216, May 7, 1926, p. 13. He was a soldier in 1696 (BOTHAS, *French refugees*, p. 97) and in CJ 303, Criminele processtukken, 1699-1700: p. 595 (CA), he is described as a wood-cutter from "Montkallier in piemont".
 20. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: 1714, p. 264; VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1732, p. 39; 1734, p. 38; 1735, p. 10.
 21. VC 41, Generale monsterrollen: 1722, pp. 19; 20; VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1734, p. 38; 1736, p. 35; CJ 3188, Bandieten rollen: pp. 169-170; C 1125, Bijlagen, 1724: Batavia, Nov. 14, 1723, p. 228; C 133, Bijlagen, 1732: Batavia, July 4, 1731, pp. 163-165 (CA).
 22. VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1728, p. 5; 1733, p. 6.
 23. CJ 2871, Contracten, 1694: May 12, pp. 44-45 (CA); FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelingen', V, *Die Huisgenoot*, XI, 226, July 16, 1926, p. 35. Troullat is also in BOTHAS, *French refugees*, p. 97.
 24. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: 1704, p. 73; 1712, p. 209; 1715, p. 276; CJ 3188, Bandieten rollen: pp. 48-49; 122-123; 143-144; 165-166.
 25. CJ 2890, Contracten, 1747-1748: 29, June 22, 1747, pp. 73-74 (CA).
 26. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: 1710, p. 160; VC 42, Generale monsterrollen: 1730, p. 35; 1734, p. 39.
 27. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 298; 323.
 28. STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, p. 160: Chaumont, 1685; RAVENHART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 297: Chaumont, 1685; LEIBBRANDT, *Rambles*, p. 22.
 29. A.J. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, I, Suid-Afrikaanse Argiefstukke, Kaap No. 1, p. 56: July 17, 1655; p. 296: March 31, 1663; p. 308: Sept. 27, 1663.
 30. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, I, p. 25. See also p. 69: May 1, 1656 (French sailors). On Casseur see A.J. BÖESEKEN (ed.), Ms. Uit die Raad van Justisie, 1652-1672, p. 279: Feb. 16 (Misc. sources).
 31. See the letters concerning his abscondence in SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1670-1671: Jan. 1 and 2, 1670 (1671), pp. 4-5; 9-11 (DO). See also H.C.V. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Journal, 1671-1674 and 1676*, pp. 1-2; 3-4: Jan. 1-3; Jan. 14-15, 1671.
 32. CJ 291, Criminele processtukken: May 27, p. 357; LEIBBRANDT, *Rambles*, pp. 33-34n.
 33. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Letters received*, p. 183: 99, Batavia, Feb. 21, 1698; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Letters despatched*, p. 79: 123, April 30, 1698; H. DEHÉRAIN, *Le Cap de Bonne-Espérance au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 124-125. Soldiers with a trade were in demand. Jean-Baptiste Aubron from Picardy, on the Cape garrison roll, earned his living in town as a wigmaker (CJ 355, Criminele processtukken, 1747: Aug. 22, p. 209 (CA)).
 34. VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: p. 13.

35. CJ 303, Criminele processtukken: April 19, pp. 513-517v.; letter between pp. 835v. and 837.
36. AB ZH Gra dtb, 's-Gravenhage, Lidmaatschap, ens., 1621-1893: 1075, p. 64 (CBG); PA 201, Archieven der Bestuuren gevormd door de Waalse gemeente in Amsterdam tot 1843, 47a, Livre contenant les noms des membres, 1680-1689 (GA Amsterdam).
37. See V. DE K(OCK), 'Barbier, Estienne', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, I, pp. 53-54. Cf. Ch. 5 for Cellier.
38. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Requesten (Memorials)*, I, p. 233: 61, May 15, 1717; p. 373: 22, 1742. The future British admiral, Peter Denis, who visited the Cape with Anson aboard the *Centurion* in 1744, was the son of a French refugee pastor in England, Jacob Denis.
39. C 361, Attestatiën, 1744: 156, Nov. 25, pp. 711-714 (CA).
40. W. TURNER (ed.), *The Aufrère papers; calendar and selections*, Publications HSL, XL, section III, I, p. 214; BOUCHER, 'Huguenot refugees', *Historia*, XX, 1, May 1975, p. 60. See also R. VIGNE, 'The De Bancs and the Simonds – a link with the Cape', *Africana Notes and News*, XXIV, 3, Sept. 1980, pp. 103-104.
41. MINET and MINET (eds), *Register of the church*, pp. 19; 20; 21; 25.
42. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 95.
43. H.C.V. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Journal, 1662-1670*, pp. 12; 14: July 25; Aug. 18, 1662.
44. BOESEKEN (ed.), *Dagregister . . . Wagenaer*, p. 394.
45. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Journal, 1662-1670*, p. 237: Feb. 9, 1668.
46. A.J. VAN RENSBURG, 'Aankomsdatum van Hugenote; onsekerheid nou finaal uit die weg geruim', *Die Huisgenoot*, XXXII, 1363, May 7, 1948, p. 47. See also RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 335; COERTZEN, *Franse Hugenote in Suid-Afrika*, pp. 150-154. Entries for shipping in 1688 in Raven-Hart and Coertzen make use of Microfilm 313, *Dagregister*, 1688 (CA).
47. 'Franse vlugtelinge', I, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 192, Nov. 13, 1925, p. 23.
48. See BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 135-136; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 335. For the chambers of origin of the outward-bound fleet of 1688 see W.P. COOLHAAS (ed.), *Generale missiven van gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, V, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Grote Serie, 150, XVI, p. 195: Batavia, Dec. 27, 1688; XX, p. 296: Batavia, Dec. 30, 1689.
49. *Amsterdamsche Dingsdagse Courant*, Nov. 20, 1685; MOURS, 'Pasteurs' *BSHPF*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 86. See Ms. 76, Extraits concernant l'église wallonne de Hoorn; A 106, Uittreksel uit het doopregister en het trouwregister van de Nederd. Hervormde gemeente te Hoorn van personen van Walsche afkomst en van Fransche vluchtelingen, 1661-1721 (Bibl. wall.).
50. Scheepssoldijboeken, 1633-1795: 91, *Langewijk*, 1687-1688, f. 2 (ARA);

- BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 8; 135-136; COERTZEN, *Franse Hugenote in Suid-Afrika*, pp. 152-153; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 335.
51. Scheepssoldijboeken: 91, *Langewijk*, ff. 36; 101; 92a, *Java*, 1687-1688, ff. 2; 68; 138 (ARA); COERTZEN, *Franse Hugenote in Suid-Afrika*, p. 164; W. WIJNAENDTS VAN RESANDT (comp.), *De Gezaghebbers der Oost-Indische Compagnie op hare buiten-comptoiren in Azië*, Genealogische Bibliotheek, II, pp. 35-36.
 52. C 510, Uitgaande brieven, 1710-1713: to Middelburg, April 4, 1713, f. 1109 (CA); BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, IV, pp. 307-309: March 5, 1713; DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, p. 43 and n.: March 10, 1716.
 53. G 1, 13/1, Kaapstad, Huwelik (en lidmaatregister), 1713-1756: April 27, p. 25 (NGKA); DE WET, (ed.), *Resolusies*, VIII, p. 212: April 30, 1732; pp. 215-216: May 13, 1732. On Rousseau see C 450, Inkomende brieven, 1746-1747: 85, J.T. Rhenius, Appelsvalleij, Feb. 10, 1747, f. 516 (CA).
 54. C 142, Bijlagen, 1740-1741: p. 416; C 528, Uitaande brieven, 1743: to Lords 17, Amsterdam, March 15, f. 186; C 710, Instructiën hier gelaten door Gouv. Gen. van Imhoff met bijlagen, 1743: to Swellengrebel, copy, Feb. 25, p. 7; CJ 3180, Attestatiën, scheeps consumptie, 1708-1752 (with omissions): pp. 628; 696; CJ 3182, Attestatiën, scheeps consumptie, 1731-1736: pp. 74; 81; 181; Attestatiën, scheeps consumptie, 1736-1745: pp. 178; 247 (CA). See also M.P. DE CHAVONNES and G.W. VAN IMHOFF, *Reports . . .*, Van Riebeeck Society, 1, pp. 54; 130-131.
 55. SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1710: Jan. 25, p. 183 (DO).
 56. CJ 1029, Civiele processtukken, 1716: Aug. 31, pp. 318-321; letter, pp. 362-364 (CA); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, p. 30.
 57. CJ 1029, Civiele processtukken: letter, pp. 362-364.
 58. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 291; 309. There is a reference to Louis de la Croix, permitted to take two children to the Indies from Amsterdam in 1742 (KA 434, Register op die resolutien van de kamer Amsterdam zeedert 1603 tot 1743: Nov. 29, p. 539 (ARA)).
 59. N. WEISS (ed.), 'Les Aventures de Guillaume Chenu de Chalezac, seigneur de Laujardière, au pays des Cafres, 1686-1689', *BSHPF*, LXX, Jan.-March - Oct.-Dec. 1921; E.C. GODÉE MOLSBERGEN, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse tijd*, III, De Linschoten-Vereeniging, XX, pp. 87-89n.; V.S. FORBES, 'Africana in the Sloane collection, British Museum', *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library*, VI, 1, Sept. 1951, pp. 9-13; 'Willempie', *Bulletin, Huguenot Society of South Africa*, 2, 1964, p. 14; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 53-54.
 60. COOLHAAS (ed.), *Generale missiven*, V, XVI, p. 195: Batavia, Dec. 27, 1688.
 61. On the expedition see E. RAINIER, *L'Utopie d'une république huguenote du marquis Henri du Quesne et le voyage de François Leguat*, trans. A. GARNIER; P. OLIVER (ed.), *The Voyage of François Leguat of Bresse to Rodriguez, Mauritius, Java, and the Cape of Good Hope*, 2 vols, The Hakluyt Society, LXXXII and LXXXIII; STRANGMAN, *Early*

- French callers*, pp. 215-223; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, pp. 374-376. See also VC 169, Franse vlugtelingen, 1690-1702: (c), pp. 639-644v.; 695-696v. (CA).
62. C 503, Uitgaande brieven, 1691-1692: to Amsterdam, June 29, 1691, ff. 111-111v. (CA); FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelingen', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 211, April 2, 1926, p. 25.
 63. CJ 298, Criminele processtukken, 1695: May 17; June 20 (sentence), pp. 181; 193v.-195 (CA). BOTHA gives "Grisson on the Italian border" (*French refugees*, p. 57).
 64. CJ 298, Criminele processtukken: May 17-June 20, 1695, pp. 177-181v.; 193v.-195v.; CJ 299, Criminele processtukken, 1696: March 30, pp. 275-277; CJ 301, Criminele processtukken, 1698: April 1, pp. 99-141 (CA); RAINIER, *Utopie d'une république*, pp. 95; 179-190; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 57-58. See also LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters despatched*, pp. 15-16: 18, to Mauritius, July 11, 1696; p. 91: 153, to Mauritius, June 30, 1698; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters received*, p. 136: 31, from Mauritius, Aug. 7, 1697; pp. 195-196: 11, from Mauritius, Feb. 5, 1699.
 65. RAINIER, *Utopie d'une république*, p. 28.
 66. CJ 299, Criminele processtukken: Jan. 26-March 30, 1696, pp. 9-325v.; CJ 301, Criminele processtukken: April 1, 1698, pp. 99-120v.; 127. On Planque and Seine see also J.L.M. FRANKEN, *Taalhistoriese bydraes*, pp. 12-13.
 67. CJ 299, Criminele processtukken: Jan. 26-Feb. 24, 1696, pp. 11; 169-169v.; 301v.; 319-325v.; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 58; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters received*, p. 213: 78, from Mauritius, Sept. 1699.
 68. CJ 3188, Bandieten rollen: pp. 254-255; 267-268; 368-369; 496; CJ 2563, Vonnissen, personen van Batavia en Ceijlon, 1736-1742: pp. 331; 342-345; 414-416; CJ 2565, Vonnissen, personen van Batavia en Ceijlon, 1749-1755: pp. 177; 180-185; CJ 3186, Annotatie boek, bandieten, 1722-1757: pp. 27; 31; 129 (CA).
 69. C 511, Uitgaande brieven, 1714-1717: to Amsterdam, March 30, 1715, ff. 399v.-401v.; C 512, Uitgaande brieven, 1718-1720: to Amsterdam, April 4, 1718, ff. 25-27; C 603, Dagregister, 1715-1716: Nov. 10, 1715, p. 171; C 794, Inkomende brieven in duplo en triplo, 1668-1714: 134, Lords 17, Amsterdam, Oct. 9, 1714, no p. no. (CA); L. VIGNOLS, 'Un Projet français formé en 1716 pour enlever aux Hollandais leur colonie du Cap et leur flotte des Indes', *Revue de Géographie*, XXVII, 1890, pp. 43-48; P. KAEPPELIN, *Les Escales françaises sur la route de l'Inde 1638-1731*, pp. 50-51; BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, pp. 19-20.
 70. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, pp. 246-248; 298; 520; WIJNAENDTS VAN RESANDT (comp.), *Gezaghebbers*, p. 110. Claes Bichon, at the Cape as commander of the return fleet of 1698, had family origins at Blaye on the Gironde.

71. C 799, Gemengde stukken, 18de eeuw: Middelburg, May 6, 1736 (CA). At least one Catholic served at this period at high administrative level in the essentially Protestant Dutch East India Company, as is evident from a report by G.W. van Imhoff in 1743 (C 710, Instructiën hier gelaten . . . : to Lords 17, Amsterdam, Feb. 25, p. 170).
72. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, p. 14: March 15, 1681; p. 47 and n.: Aug. 31, 1682; p. 51: Oct. 26, 1682; p. 56: Dec. 11, 1682; p. 100: Dec. 13, 1684; p. 116 and n.: Oct. 5, 1685.
73. WIJNAENDTS VAN RESANDT (comp.), *Gezaghebbers*, p. 285; DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VI, p. 86.
74. H 283° D 1/1, Registre des personnes reçues ou admises à la Ste Cène dans l'Eglise wallonne de Bois-le-Duc, I, 1633-1694: 863, p. 69: Sept. 1677 (GA 's-Hertogenbosch). Original in B.1.D. 41, 's-Hertogenbosch (Bibl. wall.); BEULEKE, *Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, 877, p. 137: Abraham and Jean de Bouquoï/Boucquoy.
75. C.G. COETZEE, 'Die Kompanjie se besetting van Delagoabaai', *Archives Year Book for South African History*, XI, II, 1948, pp. 247-251; G.M. THEAL (ed.), *Records of south-eastern Africa*, facsimile ed., VI, pp. 438-443; BOUCHER 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, p. 16 and n. J. DE BUCQUOI published his *Aanmerkelyke ontmoetingen* at Haarlem in 1744. He returned to Europe in 1735 as secretary to the admiral of the return fleet, Joan François de Witte van Schooten, sailing on the *Hillegom* (C 136, Bijlagen, 1735: p. 145 (CA)).
76. Jean Michel's report on Delagoa Bay, "in de Fransche tale overgelevert", was considered by the Cape authorities on Oct. 31, 1724 (DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VII, p. 96). On Augier see DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VII, p. 219: Jan. 16, 1726. Le Fèvre reached the Cape in 1719 on the *Nederhoven* (C 125, Bijlagen: Delagoa, Aug. 21, 1724, pp. 679-680).
77. WIJNAENDTS VAN RESANDT (comp.), *Gezaghebbers*, pp. 143-144; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Journal, 1662-1670*, p. 184.
78. W.C. MEES, *Maria Quevellerius, huisvrouw van Jan van Riebeeck en haar omgeving*, pp. 8-23.
79. G.J. S(CHUTTE), 'Van Riebeeck, Abraham', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, I, p. 837.
80. WIJNAENDTS VAN RESANDT (comp.), *Gezaghebbers*, p. 207.
81. A.J. B(ÖESEKEN), 'Van der Stel, Simon', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, I, p. 816. He came to the Cape with his sister-in-law Cornelia Six. On the Six family note the Guines entry in BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 80.
82. A.J. BÖESEKEN, 'Elsevier, Samuel', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, III, p. 272; BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, p. 314 and n.: May 23, 1697. See also MOOC 7/1/1, Testameten, 1689-1712: 37, May 18, 1705 (CA).
83. G.J. S(CHUTTE), 'D'Ableing, Joan Cornelis', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, II, p. 154.

84. See G.C. DE W(ET), 'De Chavonnes, Dominicus Marius Pasques' and 'De Chavonnes, Mauritz Pasque(s)', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, II, pp. 167-169; DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VI, p. 131 and n.: Sept. 23, 1721; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 97; KANNEMEYER, *Hugenote-familieboek*, pp. 43-45. See also AB ZH Gra dtb, 's-Gravenhage, Lidmaatschap: 854; 939, p. 50.
85. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VII, pp. xxiii-xxiv; G.C. DE W(ET), 'De la Fontaine, Jan', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, I, pp. 213-214.
86. PA 201, Archieven, 285k, Livre des charges, 1683-1697: Dec. 11, 1686 (GA Amsterdam).
87. AB NB Bre dtb, Breda, Doop, 1607-1876: Aug. 25, 1689 (CBG); MOOC 7/1/3, Testamenten, 1721-1725: 90, proved July 7, 1724 (CA); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VI, p. 10: Jan. 16, 1720.
88. AB NH Naar dtb, Naarden, Registre des sépultures, 1653-1818: p. 95 (CBG).
89. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, IV, p. 17 and n.: Aug. 28, 1707. He was a company surgeon in Batavia in 1699.
90. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VI, p. 86 and n.: Dec. 10, 1720.
91. PA 201, Archieven, 35f, Livre de baptême, 1686-1692: Sept. 23, 1690; Nov. 25, 1691 (GA Amsterdam); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, p. 47 and n.: March 16, 1716.
92. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, p. 80 and n.: May 19, 1716.
93. VC 156(a), H. Swellengrebel to Rademacher, Cape, April 5, 1749 (CA); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VI, p. 229 and n.: Dec. 15, 1722. See also O.F. MENTZEL, *Life at the Cape ...*, trans. M. GREENLEES, Van Riebeeck Society, 2, p. 116. Grandpreez, like many company men and burghers, understood the simple Portuguese widely spoken in the Indies (FRANKEN, *Taalhistoriese bydraes*, p. 52).
94. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VIII, p. 34 and n.: May 3, 1729. He came out in 1718 from Zeeland as an ensign (C 121, Bijlagen, 1718-1719: appointments, 1717, pp. 161; 200 (CA)).
95. MOOC 7/1/7, Testamenten, 1746-1751: 54, Nov. 9, 1748; CJ 352, Criminele processtukken, 1745: John Bennet(t), testimony, Sept. 29, pp. 771-773v. (CA).
96. CJ 2969, Attestatiën rakende particuliere zaken, 1727-1739: July 13, 1736, p. 82 (CA); G 1, 13/1, Kaapstad, Huwelik (en lidmaatregister): p. 33; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Requesten (Memorials)*, II, p. 672.
97. PA 201, Archieven, 35h, Livre de baptême, 1707-1717: 38, March 1 (birth) (GA Amsterdam); C 661, Scheeps en andere journalen, 1707-1753: Dagregister, Dec. 25, 1742, pp. 235-326; CJ 3089, Gemengde notarieële stukken, 1740-1742: 70, Oct. 25, 1741, pp. 140-141 (CA); BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 96.
98. EC, Châlons, Protestants, BMS, 1592-1683: Jan. 25, 1670; Aug. 11, 1670 (AD Marne); 4 E² 64, Chef-Boutonne, Protestants, BMS, 1593-1685: April 22, 1674 (AD Deux-Sèvres); C.F. ROUSSELET, 'La Colonie hu-

- guenotte de Friedrichsdorf', *Proceedings HSL*, V, 4, Nov. 11, 1896, p. 466.
99. 202 E 296, Velaux, Protestants, BMS, 1669-1684: Dec. 2, 1672; Dec. 6, 1682 (AD Bouches-du-Rhône); BOURRILLY, 'Révocation', *BSHPF*, LIV, Jan.-Feb. 1905, p. 26; Nov. 9, 1685.
 100. PA 201, Archieven, 35f: July 30, 1717; 35h: 38, March 7 (baptism).
 101. Q^o 16, Registre des baptêmes administrés dans l'église wallon(ne) de Berg(ues)-op-Zoom depuis sa séparation d'avec la flamande, 1686-1806: April 5, 1705, p. 24 (Jacques Rous(s)elet); Oct. 13, 1720, p. 33 (Daniel Brousson) (Bibl. wall.); TOLLIN, *Geschichte*, II, appendix I, p. 464: Dec. 1692.
 102. CJ 2977, Particuliere verklaringen en attestatiën, 1740-1743: March 5, 1742, p. 86 (CA); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, p. 128 and n.: Oct. 17, 1724; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Requesten (Memorials)*, I, pp. 409-410: 42, 1803; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 93; KANNEMEYER, *Hugenote-familieboek*, pp. 15-16.
 103. CJ 1026, Civiele processtukken, 1710-1712: April 30, 1710, p. 29 (CA).
 104. CJ 1023, Civiele processtukken, 1708; 1711: Aug. 9 and Dec. 10, 1707, pp. 495; 505 (CA); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, p. 237 and n.: Dec. 14, 1717.
 105. Waalse Gereformeerde gemeente, Rotterdam, 1653-1811, 288 dtb Rott 122, Doopboek, 1653-1699: Dec. 6, 1693, p. 170 (GA Rotterdam); PA 201, Archieven, 35f: June 7, 1691.
 106. MOOC 7/1/3, Testamenten: 25 and 26, Nov. 8, 1717 (Amsterdam); proved Nov. 7, 1721 (Cape); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VI, p. 28 and n.: March 12, 1720; VII, p. 144 and n.: April 13, 1725; DE VILLIERS and PAMA (eds), *Genealogies*, III, p. 934; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 96. Place of birth given incorrectly in Botha and De Wet.
 107. Waals, Dopen, 1599-1811, 38: André Fourdrinier, Dec. 17, 1659; children of Etienne Fourdrinier and Madeleine le Nin (Nain), 1697-1709 (GA Leyden). Amsterdam entries include Pierre and Jacques Fourdrinier (PA 201, Archieven, 35f: Aug. 16, 1691; Feb. 3, 1692). See also I 14, Prouville, BMS, 1683-1684: June 14, 1684: Jean and Marie Fourdrinier (AD Somme).
 108. BOONACKER, 'Fransche gemeente te Enkhuizen', *Studiën en Bijdragen op 't Gebied der historische Theologie*, III, 1876, pp. 370-371; 378-379.
 109. C 296, Memoriën en rapporten, 1745-1747: May 1-Aug. 10. 1747, pp. 212-245; C 451, Inkomende brieven, 1748-1749: 65, Lords 17, Amsterdam, Sept. 14, 1748, f. 338 (CA). The Swiss planter in the Indies, Jean-Pierre Purry of Boudry in Neuchâtel, son of Henri (de) Purry and Marie Ersel, also visited the Cape in 1718 as a junior officer on the *Hooogermeer*, although he did not, as has been suggested, introduce viticulture (ERNST and SCHEURER (comp.), *History of the Swiss in southern Africa*, p. 21). Failing to interest the Dutch in colonization schemes in Australia and southern Africa, he at length established a Swiss settlement in South

- Carolina. On his visit to the Cape in 1718 see C 121, Bijlagen: from Batavia, Feb. 6, 1718, p. 53.
110. Archives de la Marine, 4 JJ 86, 1666-1758: 10, *Grantham*, J. Acton; 25, Feb. 25, 1745, English vessel; 26, Jan. 12-16, 1745, *Pelham* (AN).
 111. H. FROIDEVAUX, *Reconnaissances et projets d'établissements français sur la côte occidentale de l'Afrique australe sous le règne de Louis XIV (1666-1670)*, pp. 4-5; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 72-85; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, I, pp. 29-31.
 112. KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 1-7.
 113. FROIDEVAUX, *Reconnaissances*, pp. 6-27; KAEPPÉLIN, *Escales françaises*, pp. 37-42; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, I, pp. 94-101. See also BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, I, p. 352: Dec. 16, 1666; II, pp. 59-60: Feb. 16, 1671.
 114. H.B. THOM (ed.), *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*, II, trans. J. SMUTS, pp. 24-25: March 25, 1656; pp. 105; 107: March 31, 1657.
 115. THOM (ed.), *Journal*, III, trans. C.K. JOHNMANN and A. RAVENSCROFT, pp. 217-339: May 10, 1660-March 2, 1661; BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, I, p. 242: May 24, 1660; p. 243: June 5, 1660; pp. 255-256: March 2, 1661; H. FROIDEVAUX, 'Madagascar du XVI^e siècle à 1811', in HANOTAUX and MARTINEAU (eds), *Histoire des colonies françaises*, VI, pp. 51-52; S.E. HOWE, *The Drama of Madagascar*, pp. 41; 43-44; S.R. WELCH, *Portuguese and Dutch in South Africa 1641-1806*, pp. 110-111.
 116. KAEPPÉLIN, *Escales françaises*, pp. 37-38; KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 12-13; 47-51; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, I, pp. 94-99. See also BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, I, p. 352 and n.: Dec. 16, 1666; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Journal, 1662-1670*, pp. 203-209: Dec. 12, 1666-Jan. 9, 1667; THOM (ed.), *Journal*, III, p. 244: July 14, 1660; BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Dagregister . . . Wage-naer*, p. 277n.
 117. KAEPPÉLIN, *Escales françaises*, pp. 38-40; KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 28-30; 80; 97; appendix, p. 654; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Journal, 1662-1670*, pp. 322-344: Aug. 23-Dec. 31, 1670; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Journal, 1671-1674 and 1676*, pp. 1-2: Jan. 1 and 2, 1671; BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, II, pp. 47-51: Oct. 10-25, 1670; THEAL, *Chronicles*, p. 166.
 118. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Journal, 1662-1670*, p. 339: Nov. 13, 1670.
 119. A. LAUNAY (ed.), *Lettres de monseigneur Pallu . . . principal fondateur de la Société des Missions étrangères*, I, XLVI, p. 113: to Directors of seminary, Missions étrangères, Cape, Dec. 27, 1670; II, IV, pp. 204-205: to Chapelier, Compagnie des Indes orientales, Cape, Dec. 28, 1670. La Clide must surely be the Jean l'Estrille de la Clide, the captain of a French warship who came to London in 1681 and was the first warden of the French church of Thorpe-le-Soken in Essex in 1683 (HANDS and SCOULDON (eds), *French Protestant refugees*, pp. 15; 129).

120. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Journal, 1671-1674 and 1676*, pp. 19; 20-21: July 7, 15 and 18, 1671. On Blot's appointment as a director of the French company in Jan. 1671 see KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, p. 32.
121. KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 93; 94.
122. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, II, pp. 298-299: June 26, 1679: RAVENHART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, I, p. 211; KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 131; 137 and n.; appendix, p. 655.
123. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, p. 143: Aug. 9, 1686; pp. 144-145: Sept. 11, 1686; LEIBBRANDT, *Rambles*, p. 19; THEAL, *Chronicles*, pp. 269-270.
124. KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 189; 193-198; appendix, p. 655; RAVENHART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 271; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 95-97.
125. STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 95-96; 123-125; 144-145. On CHOISY's ordination see his *Journal du voyage*, pp. 300-303: Dec. 8-10, 1685.
126. STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 95-96. Verbiest's view was made known in France by the returning Jesuit missionary Philippe Couplet of Malines in the southern Netherlands. On the background to the expedition see G. TACHARD, *Voyage de Siam des peres Jesuites, envoyez par le roy aux Indes et à la Chine . . .*, pp. 1-23.
127. TACHARD, *Voyage de Siam*, pp. 7-11; 13-15; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, p. 96.
128. On the Jesuits see J. DEHERGNE, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S.I., XXXVII, 106, pp. 33-34; 326, pp. 97-98; 360, pp. 108-109; 456, pp. 146-147; 821, p. 263; 895, pp. 294-295.
129. *Journal du voyage*, p. 27: March 26, 1685.
130. *Journal du voyage*, p. 13: March 13, 1685 (and STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, p. 126); p. 28: March 26, 1685 ("Le Fontenei (*sic*) et le Visdelou laissent les autres bien loin derriere"); p. 40: April 15, 1685; p. 43: April 20, 1685; p. 101: July 8, 1685.
131. See M. BOUCHER, 'Night illumined; astronomers in South Africa today and yesterday', *Kleio*, X, 1 and 2, June 1978, pp. 60-65. In addition to articles in the *Journal des Sçavans* and the *Mémoires* of the Academy of Science, FONTANEY published his *Observations sur la comète de l'année M.DC.LXXX. et M.DC.LXXXI.* in Paris in 1681. Tachard's significance as an astronomer is over-estimated in P. MOORE and P. COLLINS, *The Astronomy of southern Africa*, pp. 21-26.
132. For a later example of Chinese porcelain reaching the Cape see DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VIII, pp. 347-348: April 30, 1734; BOUCHER, 'Cape and company', *Kleio*, IX, 1 and 2, June 1977, p. 63. Excellent imitations of China ware were being produced in Europe in the late seventeenth century to meet the demand (LISTER, *Journey*, pp. 140-141).

133. C. MADROLLE, *Les Premiers voyages français à la Chine; la Compagnie de la Chine 1698-1719*, pp. xxxi-xxxiii.
134. STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 95-96.
135. *Journal du voyage*, p. 25: March 24, 1685; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, p. 128.
136. F. BONTINCK, *La Lutte autour de la liturgie chinoise aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Publications de l'Université Lovanium de Léopoldville, 11, p. 283; BOUCHER, 'Night illumined', *Kleio*, X, 1 and 2, June 1978, p. 65.
137. LADURIE, *Paysans de Languedoc*, I, pp. 624-626; BOUCHER, 'Night illumined', *Kleio*, X, 1 and 2, June 1978, p. 65. Du Chayla was uncertain of his vocation in the eastern mission field (CHOISY (M.L.D.C.), *Journal du voyage*, p. 27: March 25, 1685).
138. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, pp. 261; 298.
139. In addition to TACHARD's *Voyage de Siam* (Cape, 1685, pp. 60-112) and CHOISY's *Journal du voyage* (Cape, 1685, pp. 68-76), CHAUMONT published his *Relation de l'ambassade* in Paris in 1686, while FORBIN's *Mémoires* appeared at Amsterdam in 1730. Excerpts in English trans. on the Cape visit of 1685 are in STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 98-111 (Tachard); pp. 130-134 (Choisy); pp. 152-153 (Forbin); pp. 158-160 (Chaumont), and RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, pp. 261-264 (Forbin); pp. 265-270 (Choisy); pp. 271-194 (Tachard); pp. 295-297 (Chaumont).
140. KAEPPPELIN, *Escapes françaises*, p. 45.
141. HULSHOF (ed.), 'H.A. van Reede tot Drakestein', *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, LXII, 1941, p. 162.
142. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 275 (Tachard); STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, p. 101 (Tachard).
143. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, pp. 275-276; 281 (Tachard); p. 297 (Chaumont); STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 102-103; 107-108 (Tachard); pp. 159-160 (Chaumont); LEIB-BRANDT, *Rambles*, pp. 22-23.
144. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.) *Cape Good Hope*, II, pp. 279-281; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 106-107.
145. *Journal du voyage*, pp. 58-59: May 13, 1685.
146. For the return, with special reference to the Cape, see RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, pp. 299-306 (Chaumont, Choisy and Tachard); STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 139-143 (Choisy); pp. 120-122 (Tachard); pp. 162-163 (Chaumont). See also KAEPPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 206-207; appendix, p. 655.
147. KAEPPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 197 and n.; 245.
148. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, pp. 112-113: Sept. 10, 1685; HULSHOF (ed.), 'H.A. van Reede tot Drakestein', *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap*, LXII, 1941, pp. 39; 41; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 257.
149. KAEPPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 206-208; 208n.; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, p. 164.

150. On the Jesuits see DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, 101, pp. 31-32; 191, p. 59; 454, pp. 145-146; 465, p. 150; 695, p. 224; 821, p. 263; C. SOMMERVOGEL *et al.* (eds), *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, I, cols 1864-1866; III, col. 123; VI, col. 1813; and other entries. See also BOUCHER, 'Night illumined', *Kleio*, X, 1 and 2, June 1978, pp. 62-63, ROCHETTE's *Traité des instrumens qui servent à observer en mer la hauteur des astres; et de la manière de s'en servir* was published at Marseilles in 1686. Tachard supplanted Vachet as the director of French missionary activity in Siam (A. LAUNAY, *Histoire de la mission de Siam 1662-1811*, I, p. 64).
151. For the distribution of the passengers see G. TACHARD, *Second voyage ... au royaume de Siam ...*, pp. 15-16.
152. See BOUCHER, 'Night illumined', *Kleio*, X, 1 and 2, June 1978, pp. 61-62.
153. KAEPPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 207-208; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 164-165; 165n.
154. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 316.
155. C 501, *Uitgaande brieven*, 1685-1687: to Amsterdam, July 9, 1687, f. 865v. (CA); BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, pp. 165-166: June 11 and 16, 1687. For the visit see RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, pp. 317-333 (La Loubère, Tachard, Mesurier and Le Blanc); STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 167-175 (Tachard); LEIBBRANDT, *Rambles*, pp. 21-24. See also TACHARD, *Second voyage*, pp. 46-74.
156. CJ 289, *Criminele processtukken*, 1687: June 30, pp. 209-211v. (CA). For a similar case concerning Cornelis Heermans, *equipagiemeester*, see BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, pp. 166-167: June 19, 1687.
157. TACHARD, *Second voyage*, p. 80; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, p. 175.
158. TACHARD, *Second voyage*, p. 94; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, p. 180.
159. STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 165-166.
160. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 335; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 165-166; 181.
161. TACHARD, *Second voyage*, pp. 378-379; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 353; STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 213-214. See also FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelinge', I, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 192, Nov. 13, 1925, pp. 21; 23.
162. TACHARD, *Second voyage*, pp. 40-43.
163. KAEPPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 558-563.
164. KAEPPPELIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 282n.; 309-314; 338; DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, 821, p. 263.
165. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters received*, p. 32: 68, Amsterdam, Jan. 21 and 25, 1695.
166. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters received*, p. 431: 57, Dec. 16 (1706).
167. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters received*, p. 431: 57, Dec. 16

- (1706); pp. 438-439: 71, Batavia, Jan. 15, 1707; p. 440: 78, Batavia, Feb. 15, 1707; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Letters despatched*, p. 330: to Batavia, May 25, 1707. On the Jesuits see DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, 102, p. 32; 629, p. 201; 661, pp. 210-211.
168. Quoted by B. DOYLE, *The Irish contribution to the Catholic church in South Africa, 1820-1900*, unpubl. M.A. dissertation, National Univ. Ireland, 1963, p. 34. See also (D.J. GOMES), 'Die Katolieke kerk in die geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika', *Die Brug*, XIII, 11, Nov. 1964, p. 8. On Loppin see DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, 492, p. 156. His name appears in CJ 2976, Particuliere verklaringen en attestatiën, 1737-1739: March 23, 1739, p. 154 (CA), as a witness to a document.
169. KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 337-338.
170. STRANGMAN, *Early French callers*, pp. 146-147.
171. KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 223, 264-267; 271-272; BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, pp. 191-192: May 19, 1688; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 354. L'Estrille would seem to have been of the same family as the Calvinist La Clide of the *Indienne*, at the Cape in 1670 (HANDS and SCOULOUDI (eds.), *French Protestant refugees*, pp. 15; 129).
172. KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 213; 218-219; 252-253; 263-266.
173. THEAL, *Chronicles*, pp. 296-297.
174. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, p. 209: May 14, 1689; p. 254: June 16, 1692; pp. 258-259: Aug. 11 and Sept. 4, 1692; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 389.
175. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, p. 208: April 27, 1689.
176. C 502, *Uitgaande brieven*, 1688-1690: to Middelburg, June 20, 1689, f. 441 (CA).
177. See the extract in English trans. from his *Histoire de la révolution du royaume de Siam* (Lyons, 1692) in RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, pp. 358-366.
178. DEHERGNE, *Repertoire*, 454, p. 146; SOMMERVOGEL *et al.* (eds.), *Bibliothèque*, IV, cols 1621-1622.
179. LEIBBRANDT, *Rambles*, pp. 33-34n.
180. See KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 438-467.
181. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 439; KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, p. 363.
182. MADROLLE, *Premiers voyages*, pp. xxxi-xxxiii; 3-5; KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 363-364.
183. DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, 96, p. 30; 611, pp. 195-196; 660, pp. 209-210.
184. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Letters despatched*, p. 99: 10, to Amsterdam, March 18, 1699. The other vessels were the warships *Bon Indien*, *Zélande* and *Castricum* of the Des Augiers fleet (KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, appendix, pp. 659-660; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Letters despatched*, p. 86: postscript, June 5, to 132, to

- Amsterdam, June 3, 1698). The *Amphitrite* arrived on May 31, 1698, followed by the warships on June 5.
185. MADROLLE, *Premiers voyages*, pp. 8-9.
 186. KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 468-469; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters despatched*, pp. 155-156: 45, to Amsterdam, June 1, 1700. DEHÉRAIN (*Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, p. 130) quotes a report of June 6, 1700 from the *Agréable* on the signing on of Cape deserters, some of them Catholics who said they were Flemings.
 187. KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 565-599.
 188. C 510, *Uitgaande brieven*: to Batavia, Oct. 24, 1713, f. 1245; C 511, *Uitgaande brieven*: to Amsterdam, Jan. 9, 1714, ff. 3; 7; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Journal, 1699-1732*, p. 257: Sept. 27, 1713; KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, pp. 590-591; appendix, p. 660.
 189. C 603, *Dagregister*: p. 12; KAEPPÉLIN, *Compagnie des Indes orientales*, p. 623; BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, pp. 4; 19-20.
 190. C 603, *Dagregister*: April 12, 1715; March 9, 1716, pp. 55; 254.
 191. P. CRÉPIN, 'Les Iles de France et de Bourbon', in HANOTAUX and MARTINEAU (eds), *Histoire des colonies françaises*, VI, pp. 321-322. An abortive attempt was made by Mahé de la Bourdonnais, governor of the Ile de France (Mauritius), to establish trade links with the Cape. His suggestion was brought to the settlement by Captain Bart of the visiting French company's ship the *Triton* in 1744 (C 449, *Inkomende brieven*, 1744-1745: 11, Dec. 7, 1743, ff. 53-54 (CA)). Bart gave wood suitable for cabinet-making to certain individuals who sold some of it to the company. The Lords 17 were not then interested, however, although they raised the question of importing ebony from the island in 1749 (C 450, *Inkomende brieven*: 11, Lords 17, Middelburg, Sept. 6, 1745, f. 72; C 451, *Inkomende brieven*: 135, Lords 17, to Batavia, May 3, 1749, f. 717; C 529, *Uitgaande brieven*, 1744: Lords, 17, Middelburg, April 15, ff. 388-393 (CA)).
 192. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 354: May 20, 1688.
 193. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VII, pp. 8; 9-10; appendix 1, pp. 463-464: Jan. 11 and 12. The name is given as La Villebagne in this source. See also BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, p. 28n.
 194. C 450, *Inkomende brieven*: 70 and 71, La Mettrie, *Apollon*, Feb. 1, 1747, ff. 427; 431; C 451, *Inkomende brieven*: 65, Lords 17, Amsterdam, Sept. 14, 1748, ff. 335-336; DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VII, pp. 141-142; 266; 402-403; appendices 2 and 3, pp. 464-465: April 13, 1725; May 16, 1726; March 22, 1728. The *Anglesea's* captain was Gervais de la Mabonnais.
 195. C 615, *Dagregister*, 1738-1739: March 3 and 31, 1739, pp. 194; 205; C 616, *Dagregister*, 1739-1743: Jan. 15 and 26, 1740, pp. 235-236; 243; C 620, *Dagregister*, 1746-1751: March 9, 1750, p. 790; April 19, 1751, p. 1011; C 367, *Attestatiën*, 1750: 19, Feb. 3, pp. 73; 79-80; 83-95; CJ 676, *Minuut criminele processtukken*, 1750: March 8, ff. 77 and v. (Pollai de Montilly)

- (CA). See also H. WEBER, *La Compagnie française des Indes (1604-1875)*, pp. 352; 537-538; V.S. FORBES, 'The French landing at Algoa Bay, 1752', *Africana Notes and News*, XVI, 1, March 1964, pp. 3-19. Another example of violence involving a Frenchman occurred when the *Philibert* called at the Cape in 1739 on a voyage to the Indies. A sailor, apparently Lucien Rossel, died of wounds after an attack on shore (CJ 3172, Secretariaal annotatie boeken, 1705-1756: March 1, 1739, p. 130 (CA)). For French callers in the period see C. BEYERS, *Die Kaapse patriotte gedurende die laaste kwart van die agtiende eeu en die voortlewing van hul denkkeelde*, 2nd ed., appendix G, pp. 333-334, and for Amiot, DEHERGNE, *Répertoire*, 35, pp. 12-13.
196. On trade and lodging see F. VALENTYN, *Description of the Cape of Good Hope with the matters concerning it*, ed. P. SERTON *et al.* and trans. R. RAVEN-HART, Van Riebeeck Society, 2nd Series, 2, part I, pp. 204-209; MENTZEL, *Geographical and topographical description*, part II, Van Riebeeck Society, 6, pp. 78; 80-83. See also BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, pp. 22-23.
 197. C 604, Dagregister, 1717-1722: July 21, p. 1040-1041 (CA); J.-C. NARDIN, 'Encore des chiffres; la traite négrière française pendant la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle', *Revue française d'Histoire d'Outre-mer*, LVII, 209, 1970, appendix 7, p. 445. See also BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, pp. 8-9.
 198. C 604, Dagregister: April 12 and 15, pp. 938; 943-944; DE WET, (ed.), *Resolusies*, VI, pp. 181-182: April 16; BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, pp. 9; 11 and n.
 199. On the Ostend traders and the later company see N. LAUDE, *La Compagnie d'Ostende et son activité coloniale au Bengale (1725-1730)*, Institut royal colonial belge, Section des Sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires, XII, 1.
 200. India Office Records, E/4/20, Letters received from Bengal, 1709-1742: Dec. 24, p. 155 (FCO).
 201. C 603, Dagregister: June 2, pp. 379-381; DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, pp. 84-85: June 2 and 9; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Journal, 1699-1732*, p. 269: June 2; BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, p. 10; M. BOUCHER, 'Flemish interlopers beyond the Cape of Good Hope, 1715-1723', *Historia*, XXI, 2, Sept. 1976, p. 124.
 202. C 604, Dagregister: March 25 and 26; April 1, pp. 232; 235; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Journal, 1699-1732*, p. 275: March 27; April 1; BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, p. 10; BOUCHER, 'Flemish interlopers', *Historia*, XXI, 2, Sept. 1976, p. 125.
 203. E. HALLEY, 'An Observation of the end of the total lunar eclipse ...', *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, XXX, 361,

- June-Aug. 1719, pp. 992-993. See also BOUCHER, 'Night illumined', *Kleio*, X, 1 and 2, June 1978, pp. 60-61.
204. C 604, Dagregister: Oct. 29, Nov. 5 and Dec. 24, 1718; Jan. 13-17, 1719, pp. 326; 328-329; 355-356; DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, p. 324; Jan. 14, 1719; LAUDE, *Compagnie d'Ostende*, pp. 16-19; BOUCHER, 'Flemish interlopers', *Historia*, XXI, 2, Sept. 1976, pp. 125-126; BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, p. 10.
205. C 604, Dagregister: Dec. 21, 1718, p. 343. On presumed support for the Ostenders from the French (and the Danes) see India Office Records, E/4/299, Letters received from Madras, 1709-1742: Joseph Collet *et al.* to East India Company, Fort St George, Oct. 10, 1719, p. 157 (FCO). On the friendly relations between the French and the Ostenders, based in part on a common Catholic heritage, see F. PRIMS, 'Les Rapports entre coloniaux français et belges au temps de la Compagnie d'Ostende ... (1724-1730)', *Revue de l'Histoire des Colonies françaises*, VI, 1932, pp. 515-526. See also under BOUCHER, 'Flemish interlopers', *Historia*, XXI, 2, Sept. 1976, pp. 130-131; 131n.
206. The problem continued to vex the Ostend chartered company (LAUDE, *Compagnie d'Ostende*, pp. 63-67).
207. CJ 1034, Civile processtukken, 1720: July 17, 1720, p. 275 (CA). See also BOUCHER, 'Flemish interlopers', *Historia*, XXI, 2, Sept. 1976, p. 126; BOUCHER, 'Cape and foreign shipping', *South African Historical Journal*, 6, Nov. 1974, p. 11.
208. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VIII, p. 343; March 30, 1734; LAUDE, *Compagnie d'Ostende*, pp. 218-219; G.B. HERTZ, 'England and the Ostend company', *The English Historical Review*, XXII, 86, April 1907, pp. 273-276. See also BOUCHER, 'Cape and company', *Kleio*, IX, 1 and 2, June 1977, pp. 63-64. The company lingered on.
209. See E.A. WALKER, *A History of southern Africa*, 3rd rev. ed., pp. 103-104 and the biography of Pierre-André de Suffren Saint-Tropez by G.J. SCHUTTE (DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, I, pp. 222-223) for the period 1781-1783.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

No permanent refuge



For the great majority of Calvinist refugees in the United Provinces who chose to make a new home at the Cape of Good Hope, the Dutch East India Company's distant refreshment station was to become a country of permanent exile. For many too it was to become a land of promise fulfilled, however difficult the initial period of adjustment may have been for them. The problems encountered cannot be underestimated, but they were perhaps less serious for them than they were for those who remained in the urban centres of Europe. It is true that those of the first generation of Cape Huguenots had to surmount the language barrier in most cases and had also to accustom themselves to new habits of life and work. On the other hand they enjoyed a healthy climate and endemic sore eyes and the great smallpox epidemic of 1713 notwithstanding,¹ were probably less subject to disease and chronic ill-health than their compatriots who crowded in their thousands into poorer quarters of such cities as Amsterdam and London.

Infant mortality was relatively low and the sad story of the merchant jeweller Pierre Layre from Soleirols in the Cévennes who lost twelve of his fourteen children at an early age at Augsburg in Bavaria finds no striking parallel at the Cape.² Moreover the Cape of Good Hope was a society in the making and one in which the French speakers were far from being a submerged minority. It provided opportunities for material advancement, albeit in a restricted agricultural and commercial field, which would probably have been denied most of the settlers had they chosen to remain in Europe.

The Cape of Good Hope was not, however, a paradise, although its major social shortcomings – the lack of a wide diversity of trades and professions; limited educational facilities; inefficient government by a trading monopoly; cultural isolation – probably did not weigh heavily with many of the early colonists. Its cultural deficiencies – and the presence of a handful of men like the erudite secretary of the council of policy, Johannes Willem Grevenbroek, cannot be said to redress the balance here³ – may not have been absent from Pierre Simond's thoughts when the minister applied to return to the United Provinces, but his background and training place him in a different class from that of his fellow-colonists of French origin.

There can have been few, however, who did not occasionally look back nostalgically to the land of their birth. Others too must have hoped that Louis XIV would change his anti-Calvinist policy. Even though these hopes were dashed by his refusal to compromise on the religious issue after the end of the War of the League of Augsburg in 1698, they revived again during the subsequent War of the Spanish Succession, when it became known that Anne of England and Friedrich of Prussia were prepared to work for the restoration of Protestantism in France.⁴ The Utrecht settlement, however, brought no relief.

Some echoes of the prophecies of the minister Pierre Jurieu from Mer in the Loire valley must also have reached the Cape. The former Sedan professor preached the overthrow of Antichrist and the triumphant return of the faithful from his Rotterdam retreat and his influence was present in the protracted Camisard insurrection which suggested that force of arms might reverse the revocation edict of 1685. The Camisard war, however, led to no general Calvinist uprising in France and the visionary nature of the religious outlook of many of the insurgents gained them little sympathy at home or among the leaders of French Protestantism in exile.⁵

But although a return to the homeland and the free exercise of religion

there remained an improbable dream, there were other circumstances which brought settlers at the Cape of Good Hope back to Europe and in some cases influenced them to travel further east. Ties of family provided an inducement, for Cape refugees had relations not only in the United Provinces but also in other countries of refuge, notably England and the German states. A few may have hoped to restore family fortunes and to claim inheritances; others found the obstacles to progress in a youthful settlement greater than they had expected and looked for material success elsewhere. One or two fell foul of authority and their return to Europe was not therefore necessarily a voluntary act. And for some no doubt there was the call of Europe itself: the chance to enjoy the animation of its towns and cities, or to share the established community life of its villages; the satisfaction of seeing around them the evidences of a continuing cultural tradition; the opportunity of rejoining one of the flourishing French language congregations in the lands of European exile, congregations which in many cases were to retain their special exclusiveness far longer than would the church at Drakenstein and which helped to perpetuate an expatriate cohesion, sometimes on a purely regional basis.

Yet it cannot be said that the Cape refugees displayed a greater degree of restlessness than might be expected of immigrants in general. Franken has estimated that some 12% of the French speakers who arrived between 1688 and 1700 left the colony for good.⁶ The figure errs perhaps on the generous side. The fact that France was closed to them unless they abjured or became non-practising Calvinists doubtless restrained some from leaving; the provision too of a Calvinist church under a French pastor made for stability in the early years of settlement. The Cape must, however, have offered positive rewards beyond the spiritual and it is some commentary on the general satisfaction with conditions that only one family accepted the grant of a passage to Europe on reasonable terms at the end of the stipulated five year period of residence. None seems to have sought the permission to return which could be granted at an earlier date.⁷

Moreover, the family which returned at the end of five years did not sever its connection with the Cape. It was the surgeon Jean Prieur du Plessis of Poitiers who decided to leave in 1693 with his wife Madeleine Menanteau and their sons Charles and Jean-Louis. Although the historian G.M. Theal has suggested that Jean Prieur returned to Europe to look into the family fortunes,⁸ Du Plessis himself stated in April 1693 that his departure was occasioned by an inability to earn sufficient money either as a farmer or in his professional capacity. He hoped to do

better in the United Provinces and in view of his lack of funds, he and his family were not required to pay immediately for their passages aboard the *Sirjansland*, which sailed under the command of Jan Geritsz. with the return fleet of June 1693. The captain was doubtless the man from Bordeaux who brought the *Java* into Table Bay in April 1688.⁹

The movements of the family after reaching the United Provinces are uncertain, but it is known that a daughter Judith was born in Ireland – or possibly England – in 1694.¹⁰ Du Plessis may have joined the Irish settlement scheme for French refugees undertaken at this period,¹¹ or perhaps had English family connections. The surname is not infrequent among refugees there: François du Plessis was the first chaplain to the Protestant Hospital in London which opened in 1718; Philippe du Plessis, like Jean Prieur a surgeon, lived in the Tower liberty of the English capital in 1702.¹²

Menanteaus, perhaps relatives of Jean Prieur du Plessis's wife, were still living in Amsterdam in 1699, while at Delft on May 6, 1691, the child Louis, son of Charles Marette and Judith (du) Plessis, was baptized. Charles, with his brother Louis, had come from Laons, near Dreux, with Gédéon Malherbe in 1687, abjuring Calvinism in order to escape.¹³ Could his wife have given her name to Jean Prieur du Plessis's daughter? This family connection is merely conjectural, but what is certain is that Jean Prieur du Plessis was in Amsterdam by 1700 and that his wife Madeleine Menanteau had died by that date. His subsequent marriage to Marie Buisset in the Nieuwe Kerk of Amsterdam suggests that his wife's family had been long resident in the United Provinces.¹⁴ It is clear from Walloon church records, as at Groningen, that there was a tendency for French speakers to move into the Dutch churches when they were fluent in the language of the country of their adoption.¹⁵ At the time of her marriage Marie was in her early twenties and her husband over sixty years of age.

Jean Prieur du Plessis, his children and Marie Buisset returned to the Cape, where the eldest son Charles followed in his father's footsteps as farmer and surgeon.¹⁶ Marie Buisset was not the only member of her family to emigrate. Christophe Buisset stood godfather to her daughter Anne in 1704 and the company's sword maker Jacob Buisset of Sedan must also have been related.¹⁷ The marriages of the children of Jean Prieur du Plessis and Marie Buisset indicate the process of assimilation through which the Huguenots at the Cape ceased to be an exclusive section of the population.¹⁸ While there are instances of families re-

maintaining 100% French in composition, if not in language, well into the nineteenth century,¹⁹ these are very much the exception. The Du Plessis family history also illustrates the movement of settlers into the interior. By the end of the eighteenth century branches of the family were farming in the Tulbagh, Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet districts, as well as in the south-western Cape.²⁰

The name Du Plessis survives in South Africa; so too does that of Roux, although not in the line of Pierre Roux of Cabrières-d'Aigues. He, like Jean Prieur du Plessis, left the Cape, but later returned to the settlement. Roux sailed with the return fleet commanded by Wouter Valckenier in March 1700²¹ and on December 1 of that year was received as a member of the Walloon church in Amsterdam.²² He reappears only briefly in the next forty years and it is possible that he took service with the Dutch East India Company. On April 22, 1718 he is recorded in the Amsterdam church records as having left for the Indies, a geographical expression embracing the Cape of Good Hope.²³ He was evidently at Drakenstein in 1725, since on November 9 of that year he left with his Amsterdam certificate of church membership to go to Batavia. He returned to the United Provinces, however, and on February 24, 1730 was given permission to settle once again at the Cape.²⁴ Towards the end of his life he was living with the heemraad Daniel Malan on the farm Morgenster in Hottentots Holland. In his will, drawn up on September 17, 1739, some three years before his death, he appointed Malan as his heir, on condition that he take care of him in his last years.²⁵

Pierre Simond's brother-in-law Louis de Bérault, Cape deacon and Drakenstein elder, became a free burgher after taking part in the *Noord* expedition.²⁶ A slave-holder,²⁷ he turned to farming and in 1692 provided contract employment to a soldier, Pierre Mourel.²⁸ In 1693, however, he is again described as a sergeant and evidently sailed to Batavia on the *Bantham*. In March of that year he was given a power of attorney by a French-speaking soldier in the company's service, Joseph Coulon of Grenoble, to collect a debt which a fellow-soldier at Batavia, Coenrad Staal, had incurred in Paris on May 20, 1689.²⁹ Louis de Bérault returned to the Cape, where he seems to have died some ten years later, leaving his assets to his sister, the minister's wife. In his will, witnessed by the refugee Jean Durand, he states that he has long been separated from his friends.³⁰ The Drakenstein settler Zacharie Massion remains an obscure figure. If he is the Zacharias Mession who requested repatriation in 1722 after twenty years in the colony, he would seem to have been twice to Europe, returning finally to the Cape.³¹

Another settler who returned to Europe, but came back to the Cape in his old age was Gilles Sollier. On December 16, 1717 he sold his premises in Table Valley to his compatriot Jean le Sage³² and applied for a passage for himself, his wife Anne Roulain and their surviving son, David. The request was granted on January 25, 1718, the emigrants paying their own fares and obtaining permission to take with them whatever goods could be packed into two large boxes and a sailor's chest. They sailed on one of the twenty-one ships of the return fleet under the command of Haijman de Laver which left Table Bay on April 18, 1718.³³

It was a sad homecoming. David Sollier, who brought a Cape attestation to Amsterdam on December 18, 1718, died there in the following year at the age of twenty and was buried on October 28.³⁴ The Solliers settled at Montfoort, where Gilles became an elder of the Walloon church. Here he displayed something of that flair for financial dealings which was evident during his first years at the Cape of Good Hope. The funds of the charity board of the Montfoort church, administered by the elder Alexandre de Lavaux, showed an alarming decline between 1723 and 1725, and Sollier was asked to take charge of them. He immediately invested the major part of the money entrusted to him in a property in the town, had necessary repairs to it carried out and offered it for rent in order, in the words of the board minutes, "de faire profiter cet argent pour le bien des pauvres".³⁵ The pastor at Montfoort in the earlier period of Sollier's residence there was the erudite Paul Maty from Beaufort in Dauphiné, whose unorthodox theological views led to his suspension from the ministry in 1730. Maty's son Mathieu, born at Montfoort, gained a doctorate in philosophy at Leyden and emigrated to London, where he became principal librarian at the British Museum and foreign secretary to the Royal Society.³⁶

Gilles Sollier, accompanied by his wife, stepson and niece, left for the Cape after obtaining permission to return on September 15, 1730.³⁷ The younger relatives travelling with him were André Mellet and Marie Gautier, whose marriage must have taken place about this time. The Solliers rejoined the Cape congregation on December 15, 1731, bringing an attestation from Montfoort. They settled again in Table Valley, where Sollier died between 1745 and 1746. Anne Roulain survived him by more than four years. Mellet, a baker, was in trouble with the authorities for receiving stolen company goods and was compulsorily repatriated to the United Provinces on the *Suijderburg* in 1748. Also exiled from the colony at a later date was Jacob Taillard of Tournai. Both left descendants at the Cape.³⁸

Pierre Simond's adversary, Jacques de Savoye, farmer, slave-holder,³⁹ heemraad and captain of the Drakenstein militia, also returned to the United Provinces for a period, accompanied by his wife Marie-Madeleine le Clercq and his mother-in-law Antoinette Carnoy. The Le Clercqs in Europe seem to have lost touch with the Cape settlers, but Alexandre le Clercq, the merchant in Germany, took steps to find out what had happened to Savoye's mother-in-law. News of her was brought to Amsterdam for him in December 1710 by three men who had left the Cape the previous April: the independent merchant Jacobus Weijers, a corporal Jan Carl Binges and the Lion's Head signaller, Hendrik Ehlers, all of whom had spent some years in the settlement. They had seen Antoinette Carnoy shortly before their departure and described her as "een seer oude Vrouwe van omtrent of meer als tagtigh jaere, wonende aldar ter huijse van haer schoon soon Monr. Savoijs Vrij burger aen de Caap".⁴⁰ Was the signaller a family connection? The first husband of Barbe-Thérèse de Savoye was the baker, Christiaan Ehlers.⁴¹

Much suggests that Jacques de Savoye's finances were in as precarious a state at the Cape as they had been in Europe. He was heavily indebted to the company⁴² and in dealings with individuals he displayed, as Anna Böeseken has indicated, a marked reluctance to make prompt payment.⁴³ This was equally the case in family matters, as the delays in the recovery of his debt to the estate of his brother Jean in the United Provinces indicate.⁴⁴ By 1700 he planned a change in his way of life, purchasing premises – from Pierre Simond! – in Table Valley.⁴⁵ In the following year the company insisted on repayment of its loan and Savoye decided to give up full scale farming.⁴⁶ He was able to raise some cash by selling his Drakenstein farm *Vrede en Lust* to his son-in-law Ehlers, accepting a mortgage bond for the balance of the sale price. And in this transaction it becomes evident that Savoye was then in debt to his old opponent Pierre Simond, since the bond was immediately transferred to the minister. Ehlers sold out to the farmer Willem van Zijl in two stages from January 1702 and Simond was presumably reimbursed before he left the colony.⁴⁷ Land on the Cromme River in Wagenmakersvallei which had come into the ownership of the family in 1699 was leased to other agriculturalists, Jacques Therond of Langedoc among them. This farm, promised to Marie-Madeleine le Clercq by Simon van der Stel, was held in trust for her minor son Jacques, who evidently died young. Savoye only retained a third interest in it and does not appear to have derived much profit from its operations. Nor did he succeed in the commercial venture to which he turned at the

Cape, dealing presumably in agricultural produce. Both farm and business were sold in 1708.⁴⁸

Savoye did, however, play his part in burgher life as an elder of the church⁴⁹ and as a leading opponent of officialdom in the quarrel with Willem Adriaen van der Stel's administration which came to a head in 1706. Like his sons-in-law Pierre Meyer of Dauphiné, husband of Aletta de Savoye, born at the Cape in 1689, and Barbe-Thérèse de Savoye's second husband, the former sailor and clerk in the company's pay department, Elias Kina of Amsterdam, he suffered imprisonment for his stand before burgher rights were vindicated. Jacques de Savoye therefore takes his place alongside such men as the Du Toits, the younger Hercule des Prez and Abraham Bleuset among the French speakers at the Cape as a champion of the burgher cause.⁵⁰

On February 2, 1712 an application for a free passage back to the United Provinces for Savoye, his wife and her mother was considered by the council of policy. A parsimonious government would not go so far as that, but in view of their age and indigence they were allowed to travel at half-fare as deck passengers on Cornelis de Geus's ship, the *Samson*.⁵¹ Their house in Table Valley was not sold until April 1713, however, and Savoye and his wife were admitted to membership of the Walloon church in Amsterdam with a Cape attestation on December 16, 1714.⁵² Antoinette Carnoy had evidently died before that date. Was Jacques de Savoye too proud to ask for help from his sons-in-law in paying for return passages? His three daughters were all married and living in the colony in 1712; Marguerite-Thérèse was then the wife of Henning, a son of the settler François Villion.⁵³

Jacques de Savoye and his wife were given a certificate by the Amsterdam church authorities on April 20, 1715, prior to departure.⁵⁴ Their son Philippe-Rodolphe, christened at Drakenstein on August 29, 1694 and named for his godfather, the Stellenbosch burgher Rodolf Pasmann from Mörs in the Rhineland, was sent to Europe in his youth, evidently for his education. He returned to the Cape in 1715, taking passage on the *Westerdijxhorn* as a soldier and subsequently joining the shore establishment where he rose to the rank of junior merchant.⁵⁵ Philippe's return may have induced his parents to leave the United Provinces again. They were admitted as members of the Cape congregation on March 16, 1716 and on September 15 of the same year Jacques presented his son, then twenty-two years of age, for church membership.⁵⁶ According to Botha, Jacques de Savoye was buried in October 1717 and his wife in May 1721.⁵⁷

We have already noted some movement of settlers to Batavia; one of them made two journeys to the eastern capital. Marguerite de Zobry of Calais, married for the second time in 1699 to Pieter (Peter) Göbbels of Cologne, left with her husband for Batavia in 1706, but returned with him in 1723 aboard the *Herstelling*. He opened a bakery at the Cape, but the couple left again for the east in 1743. Marguerite had a daughter of the same name by her first husband, Anthonie Tippels, who married Jan Colomber in Batavia.⁵⁸

Before discussing those who returned voluntarily to Europe, we may note some others who, like André Mellet and Jacob Taillard, fell foul of the authorities and were exiled from the colony, or who simply disappeared. In the first category, although not French-speaking refugees, were two who were closely connected with that group. Johanna (Adriana) Julius, wife of Pierre Jourdan of Saint-Martin-de-la-Brasque in Provence, was found guilty of adultery in August 1708. A woman of notoriously loose morals she was sent to the house of correction in Batavia for five years aboard the *Vrijburg*. Jourdan obtained a divorce.⁵⁹ The widow of André Gauch from Le Pont-de-Montvert, Jeanne de Klerk, found her second husband Peter Becker of Königsberg a sore trial. A man of violent temper he was exiled to Mauritius in 1701 for dangerously aggressive behaviour at a military parade.⁶⁰ He escaped, however, and made his way back to the settlement, but in 1710 was banished to Europe for a murderous attack on a slave girl, Maria van Ceijlon. A second return to the Cape seven years later led to his imprisonment on Robben Island. Not surprisingly, his wife had some difficulty in raising her family and her testimony against her husband in 1710 was scarcely flattering to him, although she too does not seem to have been above reproach.⁶¹ Her marriage to the immigrant blacksmith Gauch took place in August 1691; his death in somewhat mysterious circumstances occurred early in 1698 outside his home.⁶²

The sentence of banishment passed on Pierre Cronier for the shooting of two Khoikhoi women on his farm in March 1707 was not carried out,⁶³ but the authorities were disinclined to be lenient with Mathieu Frachas in 1710. Frachas had been associating with ne'er-do-wells and had been in trouble for stock theft. In conversation with his friend Pierre Dumont he gave vent to his fury against the government. He had been in jail, he said, but he would not be caught again. The Dutch had better take care. There were French ships lying off the coast to threaten the settlement from the sea; he would make up a party to cross the mountains and attack if from the rear. Asked by Dumont how he planned to survive in the interior, he announced that he would turn

robber. There were, he pointed out, sheep and cattle on the farms for the taking.

Thieves and vagrants, some of them foreign sailors who had jumped ship, were becoming a menace in the colony. Moreover, talk of sedition in time of war could not go unpunished. The sentence was therefore particularly harsh. Considered a rebel and a good-for-nothing, Frachas was ordered to be deprived of his possessions and to pay the costs of the case. He was further to be whipped and branded before being taken to Robben Island to await perpetual banishment to Europe, or to such other place as governor Louis van Assenburgh and his council should decide.⁶⁴ Listed as an exile in the contemporary Drakenstein records,⁶⁵ it seems probable that Frachas sailed for Europe on one of the vessels of the return fleet of March 1711, under the command of Pieter de Vos. His wife Jeanne Cordier and his daughter Susanne certainly returned to the United Provinces. Jeanne was living there in 1713, when her brother Jacques Cordier at the Cape left her twenty-five guilders in his will, and Susanne in 1718, the year in which the farmer from Provence Mathieu Amiel bequeathed a hundred guilders, Indian valuation, to her. She was then residing in Amsterdam with her cousin François Ree, a circumstance which suggests that her parents had died.⁶⁶ The possibility that the spelling of the cousin's surname given here might be a variant of another form has been discussed earlier.

The Frachas case in an interesting one, throwing considerable light upon social conditions at the Cape in the period and upon the legal processes of the time. It is worthy of record that the Dutch authorities were prepared to accept the evidence of Khoikhoi as proof that Frachas was guilty of stock theft. It is also clear from the summing up by the Stellenbosch landdrost Samuel Martini de Meurs of Dordrecht that French-speaking settlers were generally anxious to dissociate themselves from the anti-Dutch sentiments of any of their number. Whereas Pierre Cronier did not have to face the music alone, no one seems to have come forward to defend Frachas.⁶⁷

The teacher François-Louis Migault, who for a period gave instruction in Dutch, French and the Christian religion in a school in Table Valley,⁶⁸ was also compelled to leave the colony. Before becoming a burgher he had taught on contract in the homes of farmers, among them the French settler Etienne Niel of Dauphiné, whose daughter Marie-Madeleine he married in 1719. He was, however, a drunkard and a gambler, and after his wife's death he was compulsorily repatriated to the United Provinces, sailing on the *Hildegonda* towards the end of

March 1727.⁶⁹ Members of the Migault family were widely scattered in the lands of refuge. François-Louis's half-brother Gabriel, born in Poitou in June 1669, was taken to Celle in Hanover by the Mauzé pastor Louis Suzanet de la Forest de Puycouvert. He became a wig-maker and died at Celle in March 1752.⁷⁰ The Cape burgher's sister Madeleine ended her days at Farve in Holstein. Her baptism in Amsterdam on February 24, 1692 is worthy of note as her godfather was François Guiteau, a name already encountered among company men at the Cape of Poitevin background.⁷¹ Madeleine died in August 1749 and her death forged links between the Migaults of Germany, the United Provinces and the Cape of Good Hope. François-Louis had left a daughter Marie-Elisabeth in the colony and in 1759 the Cape orphan chamber received letters which indicated that she had inherited from her aunt's estate. By that time, however, Marie-Elisabeth Migault had also died.⁷² The long delay in contacting the Cape authorities after Madeleine's death at Farve suggests that the colonial branch had proved difficult to trace.

Disappearances do not necessarily indicate a return to Europe, but unauthorized departures by ship did take place and this avenue of escape from the colony cannot be ruled out in such cases. One who vanished was the Wagenmakersvallei farmer Jean Duthuilé, who was involved with Christian Uker of Pomerania in a vicious attack which began on the night of December 4, 1707 and resulted in the deaths of Duthuilé's slave Andries and his Khoikhoi labourer Caffer. The two men were savagely beaten and kicked on the pretext that one of them had stolen his master's keys. Uker was perhaps the more sadistic of the two, but Duthuilé, whose immediate reaction was to run away, appears in little better light. Both were found guilty of the crime and sentenced to death by shooting.⁷³

Duthuilé, however, had been tried in his absence and sentence was never carried out. He had been summoned to appear before the administrator Joan Cornelis d'Ableing and the council of justice on December 22, 1707, but excused himself on the grounds of indisposition. Instead he wrote a long letter giving his version of the affair, in which he laid the major part of the blame at Uker's door. He requested the authorities – in his own words and spelling – “den faire enquete juste et de mordonner ce quil leur plaira que jes fasse”.⁷⁴ He did not wait to hear their opinion, however, and vanished without trace. His possessions were confiscated and his farm sold to François, youngest son of Hercule des Prez, senior. When an inventory of his goods was taken on February 13, 1708, it appeared that most of the contents of his house had been

removed or stolen. A considerable quantity of grain, twenty horned cattle, one hundred and sixty sheep, a mare and a filly were found, however, and his remaining slaves François and Sjambok were also listed in the inventory. It later transpired that Mathieu Frachas had purloined some of his cattle and it would seem that Duthuilé's liabilities exceeded his assets in 1708.⁷⁵

Did Duthuilé make for the lands beyond the limits of European settlement? He would not have been the only man who, to use the expression of a later age, "went native" in the wilds. In February 1715 Roeland Roos of the coastal galliot the *Postlooper* found four European polygamists in coastal Natal. One, Dr François Gardian, was a Frenchman from Montpellier who had four wives and five children.⁷⁶ Was Duthuilé perhaps murdered by Khoikhoi, or did he join one of the gangs of thieves and vagabonds infesting the colony? Or was he able to make a clandestine escape by sea? Extra crew members were often in demand and an English captain might have asked no questions. The burgher Pierre Sandoz seems to have taken this course in April 1754, after falsely claiming to have discovered gold. The name Duthuilé appears in London Huguenot records for 1718 and 1719 and the signature, with one spelling variation, is markedly like that of the Cape farmer's. The Jean Dutuillé (*sic*) who worshipped at La Patente de Soho in the capital was married to Marguerite Champagne. Their names suggest that they came from the Dreux region of France.⁷⁷

Mystery also surrounds the disappearance of Philippe Foucher, son of the first settler of that name. Eight horned cattle and a sucking calf belonging to him were valued for the orphan chamber by Jacob de Villiers, Jean Légeret and Antoine, son of Pierre Lombard, and the figure arrived at was communicated to the authorities on November 27, 1711 in a letter almost certainly the work of Pierre Jourdan of Cabrières-d'Aigues. Jourdan was married to Anne Foucher and the letter mentions that Philippe was the writer's brother-in-law "que lon croix (*sic*) mort ou perdu depuis 13 ou 14 moys". Philippe Foucher must therefore have vanished in September or October 1710. Again, it is not impossible that he ran off to sea, although there is nothing to substantiate this hypothesis. His father was then dead and the livestock in question probably stemmed from a gift made to him by his mother Anne Souchay in December 1708 for his help to her. His brother Etienne was similarly rewarded at that time.⁷⁸ Etienne was born at the Cape, as would seem to have been the case with Philippe, unless he was the second child of this name born in France.

Perhaps the first of the French-speaking refugees of 1688 and 1689 to leave the settlement permanently was Pierre Batté, who was able to pay for a passage back to the United Provinces in 1696.⁷⁹ Pierre Bénézet and Pierre Sabatier sailed for Europe at the same time as Pierre Roux in 1700.⁸⁰ Bénézet sold his farm Languedoc to his neighbour Jean Garde on February 25, 1700.⁸¹ The name Pierre Bénézet appears in Dutch and German records between 1721 and 1757⁸² and we shall have occasion to refer to this surname again with reference to a connection between England and the Cape. Two more refugees emigrated in 1705: Louis Barret and Paul Lefebvre. The latter was accompanied by his wife Elisabeth Sézille and their children Marie-Madeleine and Gédéon. Marie-Madeleine married a David Taillefert of the Château-Thierry family and another daughter, born at Goes in Zeeland, became the wife of a certain Jacques Benoist.⁸³ Barret and the Lefebvres must have embarked on a vessel of the return fleet which was at anchor in Table Bay when Paul Lefebvre negotiated the sale of a slave belonging to him on March 18, 1705.⁸⁴

In 1708 Daniel Bouvat took passage for the United Provinces, the only French settler whose voluntary departure followed shortly on the quarrel between the burghers and Willem Adriaen van der Stel. Bouvat was among those who signed the testimonial in favour of the then governor. He became a naturalized Dutch subject at Amsterdam on June 20, 1711.⁸⁵ Paul Couvret, whose application for a return passage for himself, his wife Anne Valette and their four children was granted on February 9, 1712, had taken a hostile stand against the former governor six years earlier. The Couvrets evidently left the Cape with the same fleet as the Savoyes and Antoinette Carnoy.⁸⁶ Jean Légeret, another supporter of Willem Adriaen van der Stel, had been in the colony for more than twenty years before he decided to return to Europe. He and the Stellenbosch burgher Dirk Bakhuijs made successful applications for passages to the United Provinces on March 17, 1716. Two days before, Légeret had been given a certificate of membership of the Drakenstein congregation and had indicated his intention of emigrating to Germany to settle in Hamburg.⁸⁷

Three widowers were allowed passages to Europe in 1718, the year of Sollier's departure: Jean Caucheteux, Gérard Hanseret and Salomon de Gournay. Caucheteux's application of 1717 for accommodation in the gunner's room of a vessel of the fleet sailing in the following March was favourably considered on January 4, 1718.⁸⁸ Then thirty-five years of age, he had spent almost his entire life at the Cape and must have considered himself more Dutch than French. Hanseret's request was

approved by the council of policy on January 25, 1718, together with those of Sollier and a soldier Jan Fredrik Werkmeester, who had served aboard the *Westerdijxhorn* with young Philippe-Rodolphe de Savoye in 1715.⁸⁹ It seems very possible that Hanseret, who wanted to see home again before his death, returned to Saint-Omer where his daughter Marie-Gabrielle lived.

Salomon de Gournay's application for a passage to Europe with accommodation in the gunner's room was accepted on January 11, 1718. An upholder of burgher rights against gubernatorial privilege in 1706, he had spent almost thirty years at the Cape, but now wished to join his brother Jean in England.⁹⁰ On January 20, 1718 he was given a certificate of citizenship before leaving the colony and early in the following month sold his slave Jantje van Macassar to Cécile Datis.⁹¹ Although the date of his arrival in London is uncertain, a marriage celebrated in 1719 at the French Artillery church in the capital would seem perhaps to refer to the former Cape settler. On July 21 of that year Marthe Lormier, daughter of Jean Lormier and Rachel de Senne of Dieppe, became the wife of Salomon de Gournay. The celebrant was Michel Colombe, minister of the neighbouring congregation of La Patente in Spitalfields. The bridegroom's signature resembles that found in Cape documents and the form of the entry suggests the marriage of an older man.⁹²

It was largely a Norman, and indeed a Dieppe affair, at a church with a high proportion of members from that town and province. Jean de Gournay and Jean Lormier were witnesses; so too was the elder, Thomas de la Haize of Dieppe. The Lormiers were a noted Dieppe family and one of their number, the deacon Isaac Lormier, was imprisoned in his own house when the dragoons entered the town in November 1685.⁹³ The anti-Calvinist campaign drove many members of the family to seek escape in flight and Lormiers from Dieppe were soon to be found from Jersey in the Channel Islands to Groningen in the United Provinces. It was, however, London which chiefly attracted them and they became firmly established in the silk manufacturing district of Spitalfields.⁹⁴

We note in passing the return to the United Provinces in 1739 of a later Cape settler of French descent, Gédéon Courtylliat, and recall again the departure more than a decade later of another, the Swiss burgher Pierre Sandoz, perhaps to escape his creditors.⁹⁵ However, there remains to be discussed in this survey of those for whom the Cape was no permanent home one important family of earlier date, the Simonds. It

is no exaggeration to state that the arrival of Pierre Simond was of crucial importance to the small community of French-speaking refugees at Drakenstein. He thought at one time of remaining in the settlement and his departure undoubtedly hastened that inevitable process of integration which led to the fairly rapid extinction of the French language at the Cape.⁹⁶

Pierre Simond's clash with Jacques de Savoye had its wider implications, but it was in part a clash of personalities. The minister's fault in that particular quarrel was summed up during its course by Johannes Boudaen, director of the Middelburg chamber of the company, when he called for greater charity in human relationships.⁹⁷ There is, however, reason to suppose that Simond enjoyed the support of the majority of the French-speaking community.⁹⁸ He pressed for the establishment of a Drakenstein congregation and gained his point, despite Simon van der Stel's opposition and fears that ecclesiastical separatism would prove to be a stepping-stone to political autonomy for the French. He obtained land in 1694 on which the first humble Drakenstein church was built and seems to have worked on good terms with his consistory from the time of the appointment of the first members in 1691, when Claude Marais and Louis Cordier joined Simond's brother-in-law Louis de Bérault as elders and Pierre Meyer, Abraham de Villiers, Pierre Bénétzet and Pierre Rousseau served as deacons.⁹⁹

Nor were his efforts on behalf of his flock confined to their spiritual guidance. He early saw the dissatisfaction of the settlers with the land allocated to them and the failure of all, save Charles Marais senior and his future adversary Savoye, to make a success of their farming. His approaches to the authorities led at least to a partial solution to the problem of land settlement. Simond also played a leading part in securing financial help for the Cape refugees from Batavia and supervised the distribution of the money received in April 1690.¹⁰⁰ He was also able to help at least one settler, the blacksmith Gauch in 1694, with a personal loan.¹⁰¹ Simond was, as was then customary among those who could afford it, a slave-holder,¹⁰² but was alive to the possibility of civilizing the Khoikhoi, an outlook which places him in advance of his time in the field of race relations.¹⁰³ The father of the Marais family, Charles, was killed within a year of his arrival in the colony by the Khoikhoi Edissa, who attacked him with stones on his farm.¹⁰⁴

Simond was a farmer as well as a minister of religion, living on the farm Bethléem beyond Helshoogte, near the source of the Dwars River. A pioneer of share-cropping at the Cape, a method of farming which

enabled him to work his land in a manner which would not seriously interfere with his official duties, he evidently derived a substantial income from his labours. His salary as a minister was increased to a hundred guilders a month in 1695, but it is clear from the sums he remitted to his friend and colleague in the United Provinces, Pierre de Joncourt, and to Johannes Boudaen of the Dutch East India Company, that farming greatly added to his financial resources.¹⁰⁵ He also owned a property in Table Valley.¹⁰⁶ Did Anne de Bérault bring a personal fortune to the marriage? No indication of this has come to light, but her family background and the fact that the Béraults left France comparatively early and may have succeeded in transferring funds abroad suggest this as a possibility. Pierre Simond would not have been alone among reformed church ministers in marrying a rich wife.¹⁰⁷

Here then we see a man of wealth, successful in his agricultural pursuits and presiding over a church which, as in other lands of refuge, helped to keep French speakers together and in many ways apart from the rest of the community. The minister was also a man of some learning whose labour of love during his sojourn at the Cape was to work on a new translation of the psalms in French to replace the version by Marot and Bèze.¹⁰⁸ Five children were born to the Simonds between 1689 and 1697. Catherine Simond was baptized in the Cape church on April 17, 1689, with Simon van der Stel as godfather. Pierre, born in 1691, and Jacques-Cléopas and Marie-Elisabeth, born between 1692 and 1694, were all christened at Drakenstein, as was Lydie, baptized on August 25, 1697, with the refugee Isaac Taillefert as godfather.¹⁰⁹

Why did Simond decide to leave the Cape? He was, we know, anxious to place his new version of the psalms before the Walloon Church synod in the United Provinces, but his protestations that delay would cause him financial embarrassment are strangely out of keeping with the known facts.¹¹⁰ He was also to declare later that he left the Cape because of disorders there.¹¹¹ He was perhaps aware therefore of burgher dissatisfaction with administrative practices or was referring merely to the general condition of a society still in process of evolution. On the other hand there is evidence of his personal involvement in the contest between burghers and officials. Petrus Kalden, who came to the Cape as minister in 1695 and went down with Willem Adriaen van der Stel before the burgher attack on privilege and profiteering, found, like Simond, the presence of Jacques de Savoye in his congregation a source of friction. Kalden was of the opinion that Simond's desire to leave Drakenstein was not unconnected with the early quarrel between him and Savoye.¹¹² This contention lends support to the view that Savoye's

attack on Simond was equally an attack on officialdom. What is certainly true, however, is that Simond's departure marked the beginning of the end for the French speaker in the colony as a separate element in the social structure and assured the success of the company's policy of promoting an integrated, unilingual burgher population at the Cape.¹¹³

Pierre Simond first applied to leave with his family in November 1700, but his congregation requested that his services be retained until a successor arrived. This was the view taken by the Lords Seventeen and in March 1702 Simond, greatly disappointed at the delay, petitioned governor Willem Adriaen van der Stel and his council for permission to sail with the return fleet then at the Cape.¹¹⁴ He also made a personal appearance before the council to plead his cause and on the expectation of immediate departure had taken steps to dispose of his property, selling his farm Bethléem to the administrator Samuel Elsevier of The Hague.¹¹⁵ The Cape authorities refused, to Simond's considerable irritation, to override a decision taken in Amsterdam, but the minister did not have long to wait. The new pastor, Henricus Beck, arrived on Thursday, April 13, 1702 and Simond, who had preached a farewell sermon at the Cape church on the previous Sunday, fulfilled a final obligation by standing godfather there to Marie, daughter of Abraham de Villiers and Susanne Gardiolle, on May 7.¹¹⁶ He left for Europe shortly afterwards with his wife and children on the *Abbekerk*, giving a power of attorney to Elsevier and the junior merchant Willem van Putten to clear up his affairs. Final settlement was at length effected through the company and the Amsterdam merchant Nathanaël Gautier.¹¹⁷

Pierre Simond settled in Amsterdam with his family in 1702 and in the following year submitted his revision of the psalms for the consideration of the Walloon church synod meeting in Utrecht. To his disappointment, however, his work reached the authorities too late to be considered, although he was able to publish his version at Amsterdam in 1703 under the title *Les Veillées africaines*. The book is certainly one of the earliest literary compositions to have been written in South Africa. Some years later, in 1707, he published at Haarlem *La Vraye adoration et les vrais adoreurs*, a sermon he had preached at the Cape on January 25, 1699 and again in Amsterdam on October 17, 1706.¹¹⁸

In May 1703 Simond made application to the Utrecht synod for pastoral work. By the early eighteenth century refugee ministers from France were numerous in the United Provinces and he was only able to obtain employment on a contract basis for six months at a time. He preached

regularly in Amsterdam between December 26, 1703 and June 28, 1705, and although he occasionally occupied the pulpit there after that date, he seems to have been attached to the Haarlem congregation from 1706 until 1708. Haarlem gave him a pension in the latter year and by December 1708 he was again in Amsterdam with his family.¹¹⁹

It was at this period that Simond found himself in financial straits and the man who almost twenty years before had censured Savoye for alleged bankruptcy now found himself in the same unfortunate position and was compelled to seek a further pension in March 1709.¹²⁰ A measure of relief, however, was at hand. By 1708 the tide was running strongly against France in the War of the Spanish Succession and before the year was out both the town and citadel of Lille had surrendered to the allies. Calvinist worship was no longer proscribed and services in French and Dutch were speedily provided for members of the reformed faith among the local inhabitants, as well as the occupying troops, some of them French speakers from Switzerland. An army chaplain, Daniel Mousson, was the first minister to the French congregation, but a permanent appointment in Jean-Louis Bonvoust was made in January 1709. The states general of the United Provinces nominated Simond as second pastor to Bonvoust on October 10, 1709 with the rank of army captain. He received, like his colleague, a salary of eight hundred guilders a year and was provided with lodgings in the town and travelling expenses for himself, his wife and five children.¹²¹

Pierre Simond thus found himself on soil which had been French since the peace settlement of 1668 and was to play his part in the brief flourishing of Calvinism in Lille and the villages of the castellany around it. His wife Anne de Bérault and his daughter Catherine were also active in community life. Their names appear as godmothers on several occasions in the church registers and Simond is mentioned as the officiant at baptisms in 1710 and 1712.¹²²

The Utrecht settlement of 1713 restored Lille to France and although the Dutch position in what was henceforth to be the Austrian Netherlands was not finalized until November 1715, such barrier fortresses as Tournai, Ypres, Menin and Furnes were garrisoned by troops of the United Provinces from the year in which Lille was evacuated.¹²³ The news that their town was to revert to France caused consternation among the Calvinists of Lille and the peace settlement led to a further emigration, notably to the garrison forts of the Austrian Netherlands and to the towns and cities of the United Provinces, Middelburg in

particular. Those who chose to remain often made clandestine use of reformed church facilities at Tournai.¹²⁴

On May 3, 1713 Simond and Bonvoust were signatories of a petition addressed to the Walloon synod of 's-Hertogenbosch on behalf of the French-speaking worshippers at Lille and at Armentières, also ceded to France. It was a plea for help at a difficult time. Many wanted to flee to Germany and some had already left for Amsterdam to sail to Königsberg. Prussia, however, would provide no funds for the journey and Hesse, another possible refuge, was only prepared to admit merchants and artisans. Most Calvinists in the French frontier region were poor agricultural workers and unable to meet the requirements of controlled immigration schemes or to pay their own fares.¹²⁵ Synod decided at its session of May 13 to approach the states general and in the meantime exhorted all Dutch congregations to remember their distressed brethren and “de leur accorder les secours prompts et abondans de leur charité”.¹²⁶ The problem of Lille refugees was to exercise the Walloon churches for the next two years.¹²⁷

Bonvoust and Simond were transferred to barrier towns under Dutch military control. The former went to the French church at Ypres, but left in 1714 for Utrecht, where he became a leading opponent of the theological views of Paul Maty. Pierre Simond was appointed on June 13, 1713 to Furnes, the garrison guarding the coastal approaches to the Austrian Netherlands from Dunkirk.¹²⁸ After this the career of the former Drakenstein pastor remains a matter for speculation. A separate Walloon congregation was in existence at Furnes in September 1717, but seems to have been disbanded by 1726.¹²⁹ There were certainly French-speaking officers there in the Dutch service in 1716.¹³⁰ An entry of August 23, 1717 in the register of burials for the Catholic church of Sint-Niklaas in Furnes speaks of a Petrus Simon, but there is no indication that this has to do with the Calvinist minister to the French speakers.¹³¹ Only one reference to Simond has been found after his appointment to Furnes and that within a few days of it. In 1698 he had paid a debt to the widow Anna Catharina Popinck, but as additional proof that payment had been made a copy of the original transaction was sent to the Cape from Tournai on June 22, 1713.¹³²

Pierre Simond may have died at Furnes, or even before he reached it. He may equally have returned to the United Provinces, or perhaps have accompanied his wife and family on their subsequent travels. For although he disappears from the records, much remains to be said about Anne de Bérault and the children Catherine, Pierre, Jacques-Cléopas,

Marie-Elisabeth and Lydie. They all eventually went to England, where their names have been noted after the end of the War of the Spanish Succession. Whether they arrived separately, or as a family group, is not clear, but they soon established themselves among the expatriate Huguenots of London.¹³³ Their history is as typical of the process of adaptation and assimilation in an urban context as is that of the French speakers at the Cape of Good Hope in a rural setting, but with one significant difference. Whereas the French language clearly died out comparatively quickly at the Cape in the first half of the eighteenth century, it is evident that it survived for a longer period in the British capital among many of the refugees and their families. Proximity to France, spiritual and intellectual leadership, the presence of a French-speaking leisured class and the prestige of that language as an international means of communication doubtless contributed to this. The Simonds, like so many other Huguenot exiles, responded to the challenge of their situation and rose in the social scale of what, in the beginning, had been an alien society. And through young Pierre at least, they achieved a success in the business sphere which bears out the remark attributed to T.H. Huxley that "one drop of Huguenot blood in the veins is worth a thousand a year".¹³⁴

In one sense the Simonds were fortunate. They did not come to England as complete strangers, for they were not the first of the family to cross the Channel and the names of several relatives appear as godparents at later family christenings. The Marthe Simond of Zierikzee, for example, probably the young Simonds' aunt, was in London as early as 1690 with her husband Jean-François Nézon. On March 7, 1690/1 she gave birth to a son, christened Pierre four days later and entered in the registers of the Soho church of La Patente.¹³⁵ Nézon was one of William III's many Huguenot army officers, obtaining a cornetcy on February 16, 1693/4. Five years later, after taking the customary communion according to the rites of the Anglican church at St Andrew's, Holborn, he became a naturalized Englishman by an act of parliament which received the royal assent on May 4, 1699.¹³⁶ His son Pierre followed his father's calling. Wounded at Fontenoy in 1745, he was appointed colonel on March 3, 1745/6 and died in 1751.¹³⁷

Another member of the family with a similar background was David Simond, Marthe's brother. The children of Jacques Simond and his wife Elisabeth, they are variously described as coming from Nyons in Dauphiné and from Buis-les-Baronnies to the south of that town.¹³⁸ David was married to Marthe Ytier (Ytière) of a lace-making family from Milhau in Rouergue.¹³⁹ At the baptism of their child Constance, born

on November 10, 1692, the father was a lieutenant in the regiment of the distinguished Huguenot soldier Pierre de Belcastel de Montvaillant, like the Ytiers, a native of Rouergue. The baptismal ceremony is recorded in the registers of La Patente in Soho on November 23, 1692 and it is interesting to note that David's wife had been godmother to Pierre Nézon in the previous year.¹⁴⁰

David Simond later campaigned under Ruvigny and after thirteen years' service in the United Provinces, Flanders and Ireland was discharged in the early months of 1698/9 with a daily allowance of two shillings.¹⁴¹ The War of the Spanish Succession, however, permitted him to resume his active career and by 1706 he had attained the rank of captain.¹⁴² He had been unfortunate in the early years of Anne's reign when a naturalization bill failed, but became a British subject by an act of parliament which received the royal assent on July 9, 1714, less than a month before the accession of George I from Hanover.¹⁴³ In 1716 David Simond was living in the London parish of St Giles in the Fields.¹⁴⁴

There were certainly members of Anne de Bérault's family in England as refugees, but it is difficult to establish relationships. Louise de Challenge of L'Aigle, wife of Christophe de Bérault, is known to have died in Southampton on January 8, 1717/8.¹⁴⁵ A lieutenant Bérault served in Ireland and the Netherlands, and a lieutenant La Maugère figures among William III's pensioners, receiving his discharge in 1692 on health grounds.¹⁴⁶ Among women in receipt of British government pensions for Huguenots were Marie Bérault in 1715 and Louise-Aimée de la Maugère in the following year.¹⁴⁷

Anne de Bérault de la Maugère¹⁴⁸ is first named in the records of a French church in England on August 7, 1719, when she was godmother at Southampton to what was probably her first grandchild, David Caucutsaute. Her daughter Marie-Elisabeth Simond had married Samuel Caucutsaute of Nérac in Guyenne and was then living in the Holy Rood district of the Hampshire seaport. David was born on July 20, 1719.¹⁴⁹ Some years later Anne de Bérault was in contact with the Drakenstein church. Her letter from London of February 1, 1725/6 came into the hands of the pastor at that time, Lambertus Slicher of Middelburg, and requested baptismal certificates for her children. Enquiries were made, but many of the old records had disappeared and entries could only be found in respect of Catherine, christened at the Cape, and Lydie, who had been baptized at Drakenstein. However, some of the oldest inhabitants were able to confirm that Pierre, Jacques-Cléopas and Marie-

Elisabeth Simond had been baptized in the settlement.¹⁵⁰ It seems likely that Anne de Bérault was in receipt of a government pension between 1723 and 1732 and that she died in the latter year.¹⁵¹ She was certainly present on March 19, 1731/2 at the London christening of Cléopas Caucutsaute, a son of Samuel and Marie-Elisabeth born on March 3.¹⁵²

Anne de Bérault's eldest daughter Catherine was godmother on August 9, 1720 at the baptism in Southampton of Marianne Caucutsaute, born to Marie-Elisabeth on July 21 of that year.¹⁵³ Nine years later Marie-Elisabeth Simond named another daughter after her elder sister. Catherine Caucutsaute was born in London on October 7, 1729 and christened at La Patente in Soho on November 12, with her aunt Catherine as godmother.¹⁵⁴ Catherine Simond never married. Long resident in Wardour Street, London, she became blind before 1759 and found in her brother Pierre a kind and devoted support in her affliction. Her will was proved on December 4, 1786 and she was almost certainly the last of the French-speaking Calvinists who knew the Cape of Good Hope before the close of the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁵

Marie-Elisabeth Simond and her husband moved from Southampton to London between September 1721 and August 1722. By that time they had a son and two daughters.¹⁵⁶ A further eight children – four boys and four girls – were christened in London between 1722 and 1732, all but Catherine being registered at the French Castle Street church, not far distant from St Martin's in the Fields, rebuilt in this period. The Caucutsautes lived in St Paul's parish, Covent Garden. The baptism of one of their children indicates a link with a family in the United Provinces known to Pierre Simond of Dauphiné. Willem Caucutsaute was born in London on January 10, 1731 and christened two weeks later. Although unable to be present at the ceremony his godparents were Willem Veth and his wife Constantia Boudaen of Middelburg in Zeeland.¹⁵⁷

The name of the youngest of Pierre Simond's daughters, Lydie, does not appear in the records of the Huguenot churches of London. She was, however, living in Westminster in 1751. Then the widow Frégier, she left her few possessions to Catherine Simond, who had evidently devoted herself to her sister's welfare. Lydie died in July 1758.¹⁵⁸

The younger son of Pierre Simond and Anne de Bérault, Jacques-Cléopas, was godfather to Anne-Marie Caucutsaute on August 21, 1722. He was active in the commercial world and became a British subject by an act of parliament which received the assent of George II on February 20, 1729/30. His place of birth is recorded in this legislation as the Cape of Good Hope "in Affrica".¹⁵⁹ He was the recipient of a

legacy left in 1759 by the Dutch merchant prominent in London, Gerard van Neck, whose wife Marie Reneu was the widow of the wealthy Huguenot financier in the British capital, Sir Denis Dutrey.¹⁶⁰

Jacques-Cléopas's elder brother Pierre was apprenticed by his father to the Amsterdam commercial firm of Fizeaux.¹⁶¹ The merchant Jean Fizeaux of Montpellier in Languedoc had emigrated to Haarlem and moved subsequently to Amsterdam, where he became a burgher in 1707. Two years later he obtained Dutch citizenship. Fizeaux was married to Madeleine-Marie Crommelin, an alliance which linked him with the old Calvinist business world of Saint-Quentin, the noted textile centre.¹⁶² The Crommelins, who had originally fled to this part of France from Alva's reign of terror in the sixteenth century, were connected with two other noted merchant families, the Testarts of Paris and Saint-Quentin, and the Bénézets, merchants of the latter town and of Abbeville. Pierre Testart had married Rachel Crommelin and their daughter Marie-Madeleine became the wife of Jean Bénézet at Lehau-court, site of the temple for Saint-Quentin, in 1682.¹⁶³ This branch of the Bénézets finally settled in London and the family connection was to play a part in young Pierre Simond's later career.

From the United Provinces the Cape minister's son came to London, having first, it has been suggested, spent some time in Edinburgh in commerce.¹⁶⁴ He was naturalized by act of the British parliament on July 5, 1717 and may henceforth be described, to avoid further confusion with his father, as Peter Simond.¹⁶⁵ In March 1720 he was engaged in security transactions through the Amsterdam lawyer Philippe de Marolles and on July 1 of that year founded the London mercantile house of Simond and Bénézet, located near the Royal Exchange.¹⁶⁶ It was as merchant, banker and stock-jobber of Nicholas Lane off London's Lombard Street that Peter Simond would make his mark.¹⁶⁷

The Bénézet part of the firm was probably represented by Jean-Etienne Bénézet, who left Saint-Quentin in 1715 with his wife Judith de la Mégenelle and his children to settle first in the United Provinces and later in London. An Etienne Bénézet was active in the London stock-market in April 1720.¹⁶⁸ The family at length emigrated to Pennsylvania, where their son Antoine, born in Saint-Quentin in 1713, achieved distinction as a leading Philadelphia Quaker and an anti-slavery campaigner.¹⁶⁹ The Bénézets were originally from Calvinsson in Languedoc¹⁷⁰ and it is not impossible that the Pierre Bénézet who left the Cape in 1700 was connected with them. His departure was close to that of the

Simonds and Jean-Antoine Bénézet had a brother Pierre who was an Amsterdam merchant.¹⁷¹

Peter Simond married Susanne Groteste de la Buffière on January 11, 1724/5 at the Spring Gardens chapel of the French church of the Savoy, near London's Charing Cross. The ceremony, performed by the visiting minister Pierre de Tacher under licence of the archbishop of Canterbury, was a union which perhaps illustrates the prestige attaching to success in business among expatriate Huguenots.¹⁷²

The Grotestes were a family of some distinction from Orleans and Susanne was the daughter of Jacques Groteste de la Buffière and Susanne Groteste du Chesnay. Her father was one of the six children of a Paris lawyer of the same name who had married his first cousin Anne Groteste at the Charenton temple, where he served as an elder. Even before the revocation there had been a religious division in the family, but there were strong ties of affection between the various members which neither exile for some of them, nor doctrinal difference, seems to have weakened. Two of the six children became Calvinist ministers: Claude Groteste de la Mothe and Marin Groteste des Mahis. The latter, pastor at Orleans, abjured in 1683 and in 1686 it was reported that he had been instrumental in converting his parents, exiled to Bourges in Berry. Marin was a canon of Orleans cathedral at his death in 1694.¹⁷³

Claude Groteste was minister at Lizy-sur-Ourcq between Meaux and Château-Thierry before the revocation and must have been known to the Tailleferts of the Cape. Like his father the lawyer, one of the secretaries at the last provincial synod for Paris and north-eastern France held at Lizy shortly before the Calvinist dispersal, he was forced to emigrate in 1685 on a French government passport. Granted denization in England on December 16, 1687, he became minister at the Savoy church in London and author of several religious texts. Claude died in 1713, leaving a widow Marie, daughter of a Paris banker Jean Berthe and well-known in London Huguenot circles for her good works. Claude's property in France had been confiscated in 1687 and had reverted to his father.¹⁷⁴

Another of the six children of Jacques Groteste de la Buffière was Abraham, a lawyer for the Paris *parlement* who remained in France as a Catholic. Winifred Turner has described him from his correspondence "as a humorous, mellow old man, whose frank and affectionate relationship with his heretic sister-in-law (Claude's widow) is very attractive".¹⁷⁵ His brother Jacques, Susanne's father, also continued to live in

France, but as a Calvinist. His situation was not an easy one and to protect his daughter from attempts to convert her by force he placed her in the care of her kindly Catholic uncle.¹⁷⁶ Some years after Claude's death in London Susanne, accompanied perhaps by her sister Louise-Marguerite, came over to England to live with her aunt. It was to Marie Berthe that the shipwrecked sailor at the Cape, Jacob de Banc, turned for help in 1722 and in his letter he sent a respectful greeting to her niece.¹⁷⁷ Peter Simond doubtless met Susanne Groteste through her aunt and Abraham in Paris approved of his choice. As he commented in 1726, "les gens d'esprit savent distinguer le vrai mérite".¹⁷⁸

Peter Simond's business ventures prospered and at one stage his younger brother Jacques-Cléopas was a junior partner in the firm.¹⁷⁹ Peter acted as adviser to Marie Berthe in her financial transactions and was closely involved in the complicated question of the Groteste family fortunes. It was in this connection that he visited Paris and Orleans in May and June 1725, travelling freely as a British citizen in the country from which his parents had been forced to flee forty and more years before.¹⁸⁰ Soon afterwards he was to meet an exile from France of a different stamp. Voltaire used the firm of Simond and Bénézet as a postal address while in London in 1728 and accepted the generous offer of the Huguenot merchants to act as a distribution centre for copies of his *Henriade*.¹⁸¹ Voltaire's attack on religious fanaticism was a contemporary success;¹⁸² he was later to espouse the cause of religious tolerance in his successful campaigns to reverse anti-Calvinist legal judgments in France against Jean Calas of Toulouse in 1762 and Pierre-Paul Sirven of Castres in 1764.¹⁸³

Simond was engaged in the West Indian and American sugar and slave trades. Early in 1734 he associated himself with other merchants trading with South Carolina in opposing "an exorbitant Duty of ten pounds per Head . . . imposed and continued (since 1731) on Negroes imported into the said Province".¹⁸⁴ The departure of his partner Bénézet does not appear to have affected the business adversely and a measure of its prosperity in later years is seen in 1783, when it was able to assist the Bank of England to the tune of £30 000.¹⁸⁵ It is interesting to note that among the merchant ships crossing the Atlantic in the mid-eighteenth century was one which bore the name the *Simond*, doubtless owned by Peter.¹⁸⁶ The books of the firm were kept in French until a later period,¹⁸⁷ although on May 1, 1764 Simond took into partnership a young Englishman John Hankey, member of a family active in the commercial world as early as the seventeenth century.¹⁸⁸ In addition to

their transatlantic markets, Simond and Hankey traded in securities, selling British stock in the United Provinces in 1773 through the Amsterdam lawyer Daniel van der Brink.¹⁸⁹

Peter Simond had successfully applied for a coat of arms, granted on June 30, 1760. Its description is as follows: "Azure, a chevron Or, between two roses Argent, barbed and seeded proper, in chief, and a cock in base of the third, combed and wattled Gules. The crest, a cock as in the arms".¹⁹⁰ The Simonds had arrived.

By 1760 too, Peter Simond had reason to congratulate himself on the excellent matches made by his eldest and youngest daughters. Four children – perhaps five – are known to have been born to Peter and Susanne, of whom the names of three appear in the registers of St Martin Orgars, the French church in St Martin's Lane, now Martin Lane, situated near the Monument commemorating the Great Fire which had consumed the original Anglican building so dedicated in 1666. This was Pierre de Tacher's church and like the more famous church of the Savoy, was a conforming congregation, making use of the Anglican liturgy.¹⁹¹

The Simonds' eldest child Susanne-Louise was baptized on November 5, 1725, a second daughter Marianne on November 23, 1726 and a son Pierre-François on November 5, 1727, a week after his birth.¹⁹² A fourth child Louise-Marianne was born on December 22, 1734 and christened on January 14, 1734/5 by Jean-Pierre Bernard of the Castle Street church. Members of the Grotestes of Orleans figure among the godparents. In January 1734/5, for example, Louise Groteste du Chesnay of that city was godmother to Louise-Marianne, although not present at the ceremony.¹⁹³

The parish registers of the Anglican church of St Edmund the King and Martyr in Lombard Street, London contain entries which, despite their English form, evidently refer to the deaths of two of the Simonds' children and possibly to that of a third. Marianne would appear to have been buried on February 1, 1728/9 and Pierre on February 17, 1729/30. A third entry refers to the burial on January 14, 1729/30 of James, the son of Peter and Susannah Simmonds (*sic*).¹⁹⁴

On December 13, 1755, at St Anne's, Soho, Susanne-Louise Simond became the wife of John, 11th baron St John of Bletso in Bedfordshire. She died on October 17, 1805, three years after losing her third son George, an army colonel, who was drowned with his wife, formerly Lavinia Breton-Wolstenholme, and four of their children while sailing

home from Bombay.¹⁹⁵ It is of interest to note that the 20th baron St John, Andrew Beauchamp, lives at Kalk Bay in the Cape, not far from the scenes of his French ancestor's pastoral labours at Drakenstein.¹⁹⁶

The process of assimilation was now at work, taking the Simonds into the upper echelons of British society. Sixteen months after Susanne's marriage, on April 20, 1757 at the London city church of St Peter le Poor, her sister Louise-Marianne married a future member of parliament Sir John Trevelyan, 4th baronet, of Nettlecombe in Somerset. From this alliance are descended the distinguished British historians Sir George Otto and George Macaulay Trevelyan. Louise-Marianne died on February 29, 1772.¹⁹⁷

It may be said of Pierre Simond, the pastor from Dauphiné, that he loved freedom, sympathized with the problems of ordinary people and as F.C. Fensham has put it, "exerted a moral and intellectual influence on the...community".¹⁹⁸ Much the same may be said of his direct descendant George Macaulay Trevelyan and it is tempting to think that these were qualities the historian inherited from a distant past when the Cape was young.

What of Pierre's son, the English merchant? He died at his home in London's Bishopsgate on November 23, 1785 at the age of ninety-four, leaving a considerable estate in England and the West Indies, including plantations and slaves on the island of Grenada. He named as his heirs his surviving daughter Susanne-Louise, his son-in-law Sir John Trevelyan and his partner John Hankey.¹⁹⁹ The firm he founded still exists as Thomson Hankey and Company, whose offices were until recently in Idol Lane, London, a short distance from the street in which it was established in 1720. Thomson Hankey's interests continue to lie in the West Indian trade.

On July 1, 1825, Samuel Henry Peters, "only remaining clerk of the ancient and respectable house of Peter Simond and John Hankey",²⁰⁰ presented a copy of a portrait of the Huguenot founder to John Alexander Hankey. The painter of the original has not been positively identified, but it may have been Jean-Baptiste Vanloo of Aix-en-Provence who spent some years in London during the reign of George II and enjoyed a considerable vogue for his portraiture. The copy is in the keeping of Thomson Hankey and Company and is probably the only surviving likeness of a French speaker resident at the Cape in the late seventeenth century.

Peter Simond is seen in the portrait as a man in his middle years,

bewigged in the fashion of the day and somewhat heavy jowled, but of benign expression in keeping with his known kindliness of manner.²⁰¹ This gentle nature is also reflected in his correspondence, but his letters reveal another side of his character: a single-minded devotion to business. His letter from Paris of May 25, 1725 is largely confined to financial matters and even his reference to war clouds on the horizon serves merely to explain probable stock-market trends. There is not a word about the past and his parents' part in it.²⁰² His preoccupation with share prices is incongruously demonstrated in an invitation of November 21, 1726 to the christening of his daughter Marianne.²⁰³

Peter Simond's death occurred in the centenary year of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The climate of opinion in France during the eighteenth century had shown itself progressively more favourable towards the free exercise of all beliefs and in 1773 a French-speaking visitor from Hesse, Jeannette-Philippine Leclerc, could write of the flourishing Calvinism she witnessed among the Montalbanais of south-western France. Two years earlier Meaux on the Marne had given what was probably the last martyr to the Calvinist cause, as she had provided the first more than two centuries before. On November 17, 1787 Louis XVI signed the Edict of Tolerance, precursor of the full civil liberty accorded to Protestants in France by Bonaparte under the law of 18 Germinal of the year X (April 7, 1802).²⁰⁴

When Peter Simond died in 1785 a new age was dawning. Already the British mainland colonies across the Atlantic with which he had long had trading connections had achieved their independence and had vindicated the right of peoples to overthrow what they felt to be arbitrary foreign government. Within four years of his death a more sweeping revolution was to be initiated in the land of his forefathers which was to destroy the autocracy whose insistence on uniformity and conformity had driven his parents into exile. In the United Provinces to which they had first fled the long alliance with Britain had been broken by the republican Patriots in the War of American Independence and the Dutch had joined France and Spain against their former friends and trading competitors. The United Provinces, politically divided, were to be deeply involved in the revolutionary movement which swept across Europe and in the Napoleonic wars which were its consequence.

The future course of events at the Cape of Good Hope was shaped by these new currents and new political alignments. Simond lived to see not only the decline of the great commercial company which had given employment to his father the minister, but also the growing influence of

France at the southern tip of the African continent. A weakened Dutch East India Company welcomed the defence of the colony by French troops when Suffren sailed into Table Bay in 1781, turning the settlement in Table Valley for a few short years into a Paris in miniature.²⁰⁵ It is in this late period of company rule that the history of another well-known South African family of today begins, for it was on a visit in 1777 that the French naval officer François Renier Duminy from the Breton port of Lorient married Johanna Margaretha Nöthling, great-granddaughter of the Dauphiné settler Pierre Lombard.²⁰⁶

Duminy was not the only French speaker to make the Cape his home in the later years of Dutch East India Company rule. The names of a few others may be appropriately mentioned here. The arrival in 1783 of the Swiss regiment under Charles-Daniel de Meuron from the Neuchâtel canton brought a lieutenant from Aubonne in the Pays de Vaud, Jean-Charles de la Harpe, to southern Africa.²⁰⁷ With him came the engineer from Picquigny on the Somme in Picardy, the famous Cape architect Louis-Michel Thibault.²⁰⁸ Among late eighteenth-century settlers from the southern Netherlands were Pierre-François le Clus of Ghent and Jacob-Joseph Pérot of Liège.²⁰⁹ Although born at The Hague, the lieutenant in the Dutch East India Company service, Jacques-Gédéon Tredoux, who reached the Cape in 1788, was the eldest son of a Swiss immigrant to the Netherlands, Claude-François Tredoux, whose family has associations with Aigle in the Vaud extending over several centuries.²¹⁰ Others too were of French language background. One among them was Abraham Duvinage from Rossow in the Uckermark, near Stettin, who reached the Cape in 1765 as a soldier on the *Nieuw Nieuwekerk* and established himself as a baker. The Duvinage family – then Du Vinage – had a long connection with the Guines congregation in the Calaisis and had its origins in the neighbourhood of Lille and Armentières.²¹¹

Before Peter Simond had died in London, company decline at the Cape had led to renewed burgher demands for greater economic and political freedom, while on the expanding frontier contact with the Xhosa brought new dimensions to South African history as far-reaching in their implications as the changes in government which then lay just round the corner. For within ten years of Simond's death company control was brought to a close by a British occupation of the colony. After a brief restoration of Dutch rule by the Batavian republic, the struggle against Napoleon was to draw the Cape, and ultimately South Africa, into a British imperial connection which would endure for more than a century and a half.²¹²

This period marked the beginning of a new chapter in South Africa and one in which many of the descendants of the French speakers who had found a refuge at the Cape more than a century before would make a notable contribution. The intervening years had, however, greatly changed the nature of Cape society. By 1752 the visiting French astronomer La Caille had noted that the French language in southern Africa was virtually limited to a few newcomers and the children of the late seventeenth-century settlers.²¹³ As mid-century approached only a handful of the earliest colonists from regions of French speech in Europe were still alive and many had reached the Cape in childhood. The names of Francina Bevernagie and Philippe Meinard (Mesnard) are encountered in 1749, the year of Marguerite Gardiolle's death; Etienne Gauch and Marie-Catherine Wibaut are known to have lived into the next decade. Louis Fourié and Elisabeth Prévost died in 1750; Marie Buisset in the following year. 1751 also saw the death of Marie de Haas, whose husband Jean le Roux (Roex) of Normandy died in the next year, 1752. Marie Mouy lived on until 1758; Marie-Jeanne des Prez until 1763. Abraham Prévost is reported to have lived until 1767.

By the time of La Caille's visit the process of integration was far advanced and in 1754 strong disapproval was voiced at an attempt to besmirch the characters of "alle de alhier geEtableerd sijnde brave ingesetenen deses lands van franse afkomst".²¹⁴ By the end of the eighteenth century the descendants of the early French-speaking settlers had quite ceased to be a separate and alien section of the population in speech and background and had become almost indistinguishable from the peoples among whom they had made their homes.²¹⁵ A few possessions jealously guarded no doubt survived from the past; some memories too, handed down from generation to generation, preserved a tenuous link with the first colonists. Treasures, however, decay and are lost; memories, as time passes, mix fact with fancy. What of permanent value remained was the proud heritage of men, women and children who suffered for a cause and took the road to exile to safeguard their spiritual integrity. This was certainly true of the great majority of the refugees and the longing they must often have felt for the country they had left for ever is reflected in the names they chose for the farms they tended among the hills of the western Cape: Languedoc and Provence; La Brie, Calais and Cabrières; and others too which recalled for them the scenes of childhood and the roots from which they had sprung.

REFERENCES: CHAPTER ELEVEN

1. Note the loss through smallpox in 1713 of two sons and a daughter of Gédéon Malherbe and Marie Grillon (MOOC 3/3, *Inkomende brieve*, 1690-1714: M. Grillon to Orphan Chamber, Cape, n.d. (1713) (CA)). Their father died of natural causes on June 27, 1713 (Cf. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 76 (1723); G.H. MALHERBE, *Stamregister van die Malherbes in Suid-Afrika*, pp. 16-17 (uncertainty)). The ravages of the disease at the Cape were recorded by Robert Winn, first mate of the London East Indian *Heathcote*: "When anchord ye pinnis came aboard with muten and greens: allso giveth an account that ye Inhabinatance (*sic*) of ye place are much trubled with ye Smalepox of which many of them dy dayly" (India Office Records, L/MAR/B, Ships' logs, 625B, *Heathcote*, 1711-1713: April 27, 1713 (Old Style) (FCO)).
2. C. DELEUZE, 'Les Réfugiés protestants de quatre paroisses des Hautes-Cévennes après la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes', *BSHPF*, CXIV, April-June 1968, p. 322.
3. Cf. A.J. BÖESEKEN, 'Die Kaap voor die koms van die Franse vlugteling', *Historia*, XXI, 1, May 1976, p. 30.
4. Collection Court, 15, *Lettres et autres pièces*: E. Benoist, Delft, March 4, 1698, f. 114; letter of May 9, 1707, f. 190 (Bibl. pub. et univ.).
5. HAZARD, *European mind*, pp. 108-109; LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, pp. 259-260; 263-267; RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, pp. 189-200.
6. 'Franse vlugteling', I, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 192, Nov. 13, 1925, p. 27.
7. The rules and regulations and oath of allegiance (both printed), together with the interesting Ms. *Reflexions sur le reglement* ... are in Ms. 87 (Bibl. wall.). These are reproduced in SPOELSTRA, *Bouwstoffen*, II, pp. 641-660, with a French version of the regulations. The conditions and oath are also in C 416, *Inkomende brieven*, 1685-1687 (1688): appendix, Delft, Dec. 19, 1687, ff. 1015-1017 (CA). English trans., with French or Dutch originals, are in BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 3-4 (oath); pp. 130-133 (rules and regulations).
8. Information communicated to C.C. DE VILLIERS and reproduced in his 'Notes on Huguenot families', *Proceedings HSL*, V, 2, Nov. 1894 – May 1895, p. 239.
9. FRANKEN, 'Jean Prieur du Plessis', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 382, July 26, 1929, p. 25; DU PLESSIS, 'Jean Prieur du Plessis', *Proceedings HSL*, XXII, 3, 1973, p. 267; BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, p. 268: May 30, 1693; RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 399. For the financial arrangements see C 504, *Uitgaande brieven*, 1693-1695: Amsterdam, April 12 and June 3, 1693, ff. 129; 229v.-231 (CA).
10. MOOC 7/1/4, *Testamenten*, 1726-1735: 40, Feb. 11, 1726 (Ireland) (CA); G 2, 7/1, Stellenbosch, *Huwelijksregister en lidmaatregister*, 1700-1788: March 29, 1711, p. 5 (England) (NGKA). See also BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 66-67.

11. See POWELL, 'Huguenots of Portarlington', *Studies*, LXI, 244, Winter 1972, pp. 343-353.
12. MINET and MINET (eds), *Registres des quatre eglises*, p. 58: Feb. 15, 1701/2 (Crispin Street); A.G. BROWNING, 'On the origin and early history of the French Protestant Hospital (La Providence)', *Proceedings HSL*, VI, 1, 1898, p. 56.
13. PA 201, Archieven der Bestuuren gevormd door de Waalse gemeente in Amsterdam tot 1943, 35g, Livre de baptême, 1692-1706: Aug. 5, 1699 (Paul, Antoine, Marie and Charles Menanteau) (GA Amsterdam); St 52, Waalse kerk, Ic, Livre des Actes de l'Eglise wallonne de Delft, 1668-1761: Sept. 9, 1687, p. 54; 15 Actes de baptême, 1620-1811: p. 104 (GA Delft).
14. Fichier, Amsterdam, dtb: Aug. 14, 1700 (GA Amsterdam); DU PLESSIS, 'Jean Prieur du Plessis', *Proceedings HSL*, XXII, 3, 1973, p. 268; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 62; 66.
15. See Kerkbestuur, 1/1, Handelingen, 1686-1780: March 5, 1688 (GA Groningen). Of two men wishing to join 'l'Eglise flamende (*sic*)', the following decision was taken: "La compagnie croiant qu'ils n'avoient pas fait assez de progres en la langue flamende pour la bien entendre et recevoir toute l'edification necessaire dans la communion de l'Eglise flamende les a renvoiez a un autre temps".
16. See BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 67. He purchased medicines and instruments at the sale of the effects of his fellow-surgeon Gédéon le Grand in 1710 (MOOC 10/1, Vendurollen, 1691-1717: 60, Oct. 10 (CA)).
17. G 2, 4/1, Stellenbosch, Doopregister, 1688-1732: p. 26 (NGKA); HOGE, 'Kanttekening', *TWK*, Nuwe Reeks, I, 2, Dec. 1940, p. 149.
18. DE VILLIERS and PAMA (eds), *Genealogies*, II, p. 710.
19. See HINDE, 'Huguenot settlement', *Proceedings HSL*, V, 2, Nov. 1894 – May 1895, p. 218.
20. KANNEMEYER, *Hugenate-familieboek*, pp. 66-68.
21. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Letters despatched*, p. 114: 12, Amsterdam, March 1, 1700; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 84.
22. FWK: Roux (Bibl. wall.).
23. FWK: Roux.
24. C 131, Bijlagen, 1730: Lords 17, extract, p. 557 (CA); G 3, 4/1, Paarl, Lidmaatregister, 1715-1786: p. 9 (NGKA); BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 84.
25. MOOC 7/1/6, Testamenten, 1738-1745: 86, proved Feb. 21, 1742 (CA); BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 84.
26. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, p. 195: Oct. 12, 1688; p. 215: Dec. 21, 1689; p. 247: Dec. 30, 1691.
27. On Aug. 15, 1690 he purchased Izak (Isak) van Madagascar from Dirk Jacobsz. Mol (A.J. BÖESEKEN, *Slaves and free Blacks at the Cape 1658-1700*, appendix 2, p. 157). Mol, then an army sergeant, was later heemraad at Stellenbosch (BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, p. 231 and n.: Jan. 22, 1691).

28. CJ 2870, Contracten, 1692-1694: Nov. 26, pp. 23-24: Pieter Mo(u)rel (CA). This soldier is mentioned by BOTHA, (*French refugees*, p. 97).
29. SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1693-1694: March 19, pp. 282-284 (DO).
30. Stellenbosch, 18/1, Testamenten, 1687-1699: 2, March 10, 1699 (CA); BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 61.
31. Confusion over the name has already been discussed. For Messon (*sic*) see LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Requesten (Memorials)*, II, p. 739: 15, 1722.
32. SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1717: 120; 121 (DO).
33. LM 16, Leibbrandt manuscripts, Requesten (Memorials), 1715-1806, S-T: 9, Jan. 25, 1718; 24, March 1, 1718, p. 970a (CA); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, p. 252: Jan. 25, 1718; p. 256: Feb. 22, 1718; pp. 259-260: March 1, 1718. David's request to take an additional box was turned down. On the sailing see LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Journal, 1699-1732*, p. 275.
34. PA 201, Archieven, 47c, Kladadmissieregister, 1707-1726 (GA Amsterdam); FWK: Sollier.
35. BW 653, Registre des comptes de la diaconie (Montfoort), 1714-1744: April 5, 1723 – Aug. 8, 1725 (quotation). Sollier asked to be relieved of his duty on Aug. 6, 1726 and signed for the last time on Oct. 29, 1727 (Bibl. wall.).
36. HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, VII, pp. 328-329, placing Beaufort in Provence.
37. KA 296, Register op de resolutien van de verg: van XVII^{ne}, 1602-1736: p. 571 (ARA); C 132, Bijlagen, 1731: Lords 17, extract, p. 244 (CA).
38. C 533, Uitgaande brieven, 1748: Lords 17, Amsterdam, April 20, f. 101; CJ 355, Criminele processtukken, 1747: Eijsch ende conclusie, exhib. April 27, pp. 115-123 (CA). On the Solliers at the Cape see BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 87, and for Taillard, DE VILLIERS and PAMA (eds), *Genealogies*, III, p. 965. For the Solliers from 1741 see CJ 2605, Testamenten en codicillen, 1731-1732: revocation of 1731 will, Dec. 18, 1741, pp. 68-69; VC 52-53, Monsterrollen, 1742-1759: 1742-1751 (CA).
39. Slaves owned by Savoye included Jan van Madagascar and Maria van Bengalen (SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1701-1702: 271, Oct. 11, 1702; 1705-1706: 297, March 22, 1706 (DO)). He also purchased a slave on Nov. 5, 1693 (BÖESEKEN, *Slaves and free Blacks*, appendix 2, p. 163). On offices held by him see BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, p. 228: Dec. 29, 1690; p. 290: May 3, 1695.
40. Not. arch., 238, Joan Hoekeba(c)k, 5918, Minuutacten, Oct.-Dec. 1710: Dec. 8, pp. 1175-1177 (GA Amsterdam).
41. KANNEMEYER, *Hugenote-familieboek*, pp. 51-52.
42. He needed no help from the Batavian fund for needy refugees in 1690, but his debit to the company for initial supplies far exceeded that allowed other newcomers (FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelinge', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 211, April 2, 1926, p. 21).

43. 'The First fifteen farmers in the Wagenmakersvalleij', in J.G. KESTING *et al.* (eds), *Libraries and people; essays offered to R.F.M. Immelman*, p. 116. For these and other cases involving Savoye between 1692 and 1697 see Stellenbosch, 5/1, Notule van verrigtinge in siviele sake, 1686-1697 (CA).
44. MOOC 4/1, Uitgaande briewe, 1691-1720: Orphan Chamber, Cape, to Orphan Chamber, Leyden, March 15, 1699 and May 26, 1700 (CA).
45. SR 7, Transport and schepenkennissen, 1699-1700: Jan. 6, 1700 (DO).
46. BÖESEKEN, 'First fifteen farmers', in KESTING *et al.* (eds), *Libraries and people*, p. 116.
47. SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1701-1702: 125, T 555, Jan. 12, 1702; 132, Jan. 24, 1702; to Van Zeyl (Zijl), T 556, Jan. 14, 1702; T 583, Jan. 11, 1703.
48. CJ 2873, Contracten, 1698-1703: 255, April 19, 1702 (Theron); CJ 2874, Contracten, 1703-1710: Jan. 12, 1704, pp. 40-42 (Louwrense); CJ 310, Criminele processtukken, 1706: 70; 71, March 22, p. 130 (CA). See also FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, XI, 216, May 7, 1926, p. 13. Savoye's wife Marie-Madeleine was his active business partner, holding a power of attorney to act for him at the Cape (SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1691-1692: Dec. 6, 1692, p. 192 (DO)).
49. SPOELSTRA, *Bouwstoffen*, I, p. 83: appendix to 19, Sept. 1, 1707 (Jacobus de Savoye, oud-Ouderling).
50. See L. FOUCHÉ and A.J. BÖESEKEN (eds), *The Diary of Adam Tas 1705-1706*, trans. J. SMUTS, Van Riebeeck Society, 2nd Series, 1, and FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', VI-IX, *Die Huisgenoot*, XI, 251 – XII, 336, Jan. 14, 1927 – Sept. 7, 1928.
51. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, IV, pp. 254-255: "het versogte vertrek met de eerste veraght werdende retourvloot"; DE WET, 'De Savoye, Jacques', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, III, p. 210. On the *Samson* see BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, IV, p. 265 and n.: March 15, 1712.
52. PA 201, Archieven, 47c; SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1699-1700: T 481, April 12, 1713; DE WET, 'De Savoye, Jacques', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, III, p. 210.
53. DE VILLIERS and PAMA (eds), *Genealogies*, III, pp. 1024-1025.
54. FWK: Le Clercq; (De) Savoye.
55. G 3, 3/1, Paarl, Doop, 1694-1745: p. 1 (NGKA); BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 86; 101; KANNEMEYER, *Hugenote-familieboek*, p. 52. P.-R. de Savoye understood the Portuguese spoken in the Indies (FRANKEN, *Taalhistoriese bydraes*, p. 54).
56. G 1, 13/1, Kaapstad, Huwelik (en lidmaatregister), 1713-1756: pp. 3; 4 (NGKA).
57. *French refugees*, p. 86.
58. HOGE, 'Kanttekeninge', *TWK*, Nuwe Reeks, I, 2, Dec. 1940, p. 155; DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VIII, p. 1 and n.: Jan. 6, 1729; LEIBBRANDT

- (comp.), *Precis ... Requesten (Memorials)*, II, p. 603: 124, 1723 (Jubbels).
59. HOGE, 'Aantekeninge', *TWK*, Nuwe Reeks, VI, 1, Nov. 1945, p. 17; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters despatched*, p. 390: Batavia, Sept. 4, 1708.
 60. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Journal, 1699-1732*: pp. 42-43: Nov. 10 and 11.
 61. CJ 314, Criminele processtukken, 1710: July 16 (CA); V. DE KOCK, *Those in bondage; an account of the life of the slave at the Cape in the days of the Dutch East India Company*, 1st ed., pp. 153-154. On her problems regarding care of her children see MOOC 4/1, Uitgaande briewe: A. van Kervel to J. de Klerk, Cape, July 4, 1716 and Aug. 17, 1717.
 62. CJ 301, Criminele processtukken, 1698: March 3, pp. 87-93, on events of Feb. 26 (CA). For the marriage see BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 70.
 63. For the case see BÖESEKEN, 'First fifteen farmers', in KESTING *et al.* (eds), *Libraries and people*, pp. 107-108. He was released on probation, with his brother Etienne and Gilles Sollier standing surety, promising "voortaan na deese sijne detentie, in alle manieren te zullen houden en gedragen als een opregt, vroom, trouw burger en ingezeeten" (SR 7, Transport en schepenkenissen, 1707-1708: 61, April 12, 1707; July 11, 1708 (DO)).
 64. CJ 314, Criminele processtukken: Aug., pp. 186-190v.
 65. Stellenbosch, 13/21, Generale monster rollen, 1700-1716: 1710 (CA).
 66. MOOC 7/1/2, Testamenten, 1712-1720: 37, July 5, 1713 (Cordier, another victim of the "sogenaemde kinderpokken" epidemic of 1713); 117, Aug. 10, 1718, proved, April 8, 1720 (Amiel) (CA).
 67. CJ 314, Criminele processtukken: Eijsch en conclusie, Aug. 1710, pp. 188-190v.
 68. See LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Requesten (Memorials)*, II, p. 738: 132, 1719 (Migaute).
 69. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 95; FRANKEN, 'Huisonderwys', *Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, XII, B, 1, July 1934, pp. 17-20.
 70. MIGAULT, *Journal*, p. xviii; BEULEKE, *Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, 755, p. 122; 832, p. 132.
 71. PA 201, Archieven, 35f, Livre de baptême, 1686-1692 (GA Amsterdam).
 72. FRANKEN, 'Huisonderwys', *Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch*, XII, B, 1, July 1934, p. 20.
 73. See J.L.M. FRANKEN, 'Jean du Tuillet', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 381, July 19, 1929, pp. 33-35; 39; BÖESEKEN, 'First fifteen farmers', in KESTING *et al.* (eds), *Libraries and people*, pp. 111-112.
 74. For the letter see CJ 312, Criminele processtukken, 1708: 27 and 28 (trans.), n.d., and FRANKEN, 'Jean du Tuillet', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 381, July 19, 1929, p. 35.
 75. Stellenbosch, 18/30, Inventarissen, 1687-1847 (CA); BÖESEKEN, 'First fifteen farmers', in KESTING *et al.* (eds), *Libraries and people*, p. 112. On Frachas see CJ 314, Criminele processtukken: p. 388v.

76. GODÉE MOLSBERGEN, *Reizen* III, pp. 198; 208: report, Sept. 8, 1714; log-book of R. Roos, Feb. 16, 1715.
77. RG 4, Non parochial registers, foreign churches, 13 I 4639, Baptisms and marriages, "Le Temple", Soho: April 27, 1718, p. 84v; Dec. 13, 1719, p. 85v. (PRO). See also MINET (ed.), *Registers ... also the répertoire général*, 395; 401, p. 30. Both surnames appear among those abjuring at Dreux on Nov. 16, 1685 (LEHR, *Réforme*, appendix V, p. 564). On Sandoz see D. BAX, *Het Oudste Kaapse zilver 1669-1751*; ..., pp. 91-93, with place of origin Newcastle upon Tyne, England.
78. MOOC 14/1, Bylae by boedel rekeninge, 1700-1722: I, 23, E. Costeux (CA); FRANKEN, 'Nog 'n paar Franse Hugenote-briefies', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 384, Aug. 9, 1929, p. 43.
79. BOTH A, *French refugees*, pp. 57; 60.
80. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters despatched*, p. 144: 12, Amsterdam, March 1, 1700; BOTH A, *French refugees*, pp. 57; 60; 84; 85. Another departing settler at this time was Mahieu de Rijke, perhaps Mathieu le Riche.
81. SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1699-1700.
82. FWK: Bénézet.
83. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters despatched*, p. 258: Middelburg, March 28, 1705; BOTH A, *French refugees*, pp. 49; 75; 105; 108.
84. SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1705-1706: 72; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Journal, 1699-1732*: p. 77: "Farewell dinner to the fleet", March 26, 1705.
85. FWK: Bouvat; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters despatched*, p. 380: Amsterdam, April 18, 1708; BOTH A, *French refugees*, pp. 57; 64; FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', VII, *Die Huisgenoot*, XII, 298, Dec. 9, 1927, p. 39.
86. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, IV, p. 255; BOTH A, *French refugees*, p. 64; FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', VII, *Die Huisgenoot*, XII, 298, Dec. 9, 1927, p. 39.
87. G 3, 4/1, Paarl, Lidmaatregister: p. 4; BOTH A, *French refugees*, pp. 74; 114; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Requesten (Memorials)*, II, p. 660: 56, (1716); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, p. 51 and n.: March 17, 1716.
88. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Requesten (Memorials)*, I, p. 234: 153, 1717; DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, p. 245; BOTH A, *French refugees*, p. 64.
89. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Requesten (Memorials)*, I, p. 1: 8, Jan. 25 (Angeret); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, p. 252 and n.; BOTH A, *French refugees*, p. 71.
90. LEIBBRANDT (comp.) *Precis ... Requesten (Memorials)*, I, p. 351: 5, Jan. 11 (De Gournée); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, V, pp. 246-247; BOTH A, *French refugees*, pp. 70; 112; FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', VII, *Die Huisgenoot*, XII, 298, Dec. 9, 1927, p. 39.
91. C 798, Bannelingen, kerk, slaven en schepen, 1687-1796: Feb. 6, 1718, no

- p. no. (CA); G 3, 4/1, Paarl, Lidmaatregister: p. 2; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 112.
92. RG 4, Non parochial churches, 22 II 4593, Baptisms and marriages, Eglise de l'Artillerie, Artillery St, Spitalfields: p. 20, f. 200 (PRO). See also MINET (ed.), *Register of the church of the Artillery*, 2671, p. 136. The street is now Artillery Lane.
 93. R. GARRETA (ed.), *La Seconde partie de l'histoire de l'église réformée de Dieppe 1660-1685 ...*, p. 207.
 94. There are many references to Lormiers in MINET (ed.), *Register of the church of the Artillery*. See also FWK: Lormier; GUYOT, *Groningue*, II, p. 16; CAUVIN, 'Protestantisme dans le Cotentin', *BSHPF*, CXVI, Oct.-Dec. 1970, p. 609.
 95. CJ 3220, Notulen, gecommiteerdens, 1754-1759: Aug. 12, 1754, p. 5 (CA); DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VIII, p. 272n.; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Requesten (Memorials)*, I, p. 244: 46, 1737-1738.
 96. See also FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', V, *Die Huisgenoot*, XI, 226, July 16, 1926, p. 39. Franken saw another reason to regret his departure, "want die nakomeling van 'n man soos Simond sou ongetwyfeld 'n aanwinst gewees het vir Suid-Afrika".
 97. VC 115, Documents relating to French refugees, 1690 (and 1691): 5, letter Simond, n.d., with letters from Boudaen, pp. 588v.-590v. (CA); FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 211, April 2, 1926, p. 23.
 98. VC 115, Documents: 3, Request of Drakenstein congregation, March 1, 1691; FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', IV, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 211, April 2, 1926, p. 23. Although, as FRANKEN suggests (p. 25), this document bears the stamp of Simond's style, it indicates majority support for him.
 99. See BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 27-29. This deputation for a separate church council consisted of the minister, Jacques de Savoye, Daniel des Ruelles, Abraham de Villiers and Louis Cordier (BOESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, III, pp. 214-215: Nov. 28, 1689).
 100. VC 168, Afschrift van een brief ...: Simond to Lords XVII, Drakenstein, June 15, 1689 (copy) (CA); FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', II, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 193; 194, Nov. 20 and 27, 1925. On the financial help see also BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 13-14.
 101. SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1693-1694: May 14, 1694.
 102. Simond owned more slaves than any other French speaker during his period of residence. The following appear among sales and purchases between 1690 and 1702: Florien van Coromandel; Jacob van Madras (bought in 1693 from William Gutter, captain of the English *Josias*); Jacob van Cochin (bought in 1694 from Jan Kakelaar, captain of the Dutch East Indiaman *Carthago*); Luddi van Bengalen (bought in 1694 from William Macdowall, surgeon on the English ship, *Charles II*); Anthonij de Cola; Phillebe and Matetee van Madagascar (bought in 1696 from Richard Glover, captain of the English vessel, *Amity*); Anthonij van de Cust;

- Claas van Madagascar; Christoffel van Malabar; Aron van Madras; Aron van Madagascar; Judith van Bengalen. In addition to Savoye and Bérault, the following French-speaking settlers are known to have bought slaves in these years: Pierre Barillé; Pierre Dumont; François and Guillaume Dutoit; André Gauch; Daniel Hugot; a Pierre Jourdan; a Jean le Roux; Jacques Mal(l)an; Pierre Meyer; Pierre Rousseau (SR 7, Transport en schepenkenissen, 1688-1690 – 1701-1702 (DO); BÖESEKEN, *Slaves and free Blacks*, Appendix 2, pp. 157-194).
103. VC 168, Afschrift . . . : Simond to Lords XVII, Drakenstein, June 15, 1689: "Ils ne manquent point de raison, ni de docilité, ce qui suffit pour nous faire espérer, qu'avec un peu de soin on pourroit les amener à une forme de via plus raisonnable". See also FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', V, *Die Huisgenoot*, XI, 226, July 16, 1926, p. 35 and n.
 104. CJ 291, Criminele processtukken, 1689: April 20, pp. 273-281, including the post-mortem report of Jean Prieur du Plessis (CA). See also FRANKEN, 'Jean Prieur du Plessis', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 382, July 26, 1929, pp. 25-27. The episode occurred on March 29, 1689.
 105. See FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', V, *Die Huisgenoot*, XI, 226, July 16, 1926, pp. 35-37. Do all the remittances to the United Provinces listed by him on p. 37 represent savings, however? That for April 5, 1695, for example, would seem to be a payment (See SR 7, Transport and schepenkenissen, 1695-1696: Anne Catharina Popinck, April 5, 1695, pp. 110-111).
 106. SR 7, Transport en schepenkenissen, 1699-1700: Jan. 6, 1700.
 107. See RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, pp. 57-58.
 108. See RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope*, II, p. 431: François Leguat.
 109. G 1, 1/1, Kaapstad, Notule, 1665-1694: p. 38 (Catherine); G 3, 3/1, Paarl, Doop, 1694-1745: p. 5 (Lydie, the youngest) (NGKA). For Pierre see F.C. F(ENSHAM), 'Simond, Pierre', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, I, p. 724, and H. WAGNER (comp.), 'The Huguenot refugee family of Simond', *The Genealogist*, New Series, XXIV, Jan. 1908, p. 193. On the Drakenstein baptisms of the other children see SPOELSTRA, *Bouwstoffen*, II, p. 449. BOTHA (*French refugees*, pp. 86-87), gives March 1689 for Catherine's christening. Lydie's baptism is on p. 103.
 110. VC 169, Franse vluchtelingen, 1690-1702: (a), Simond to Van der Stel and Council, March 5, 1702 (copy) (CA); FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugteling', V, *Die Huisgenoot*, XI, 226, July 16, 1926, pp. 37-39.
 111. See F(ENSHAM), 'Simond, Pierre', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, I, p. 725.
 112. See ENGELBRECHT, *Kaapse predikante*, p. 29, with reference to KALDEN's *Afgeperste verweering . . .*, published at Utrecht in 1713. On Kalden see ENGELBRECHT, *Kaapse predikante*, pp. 31-36 and L.B. O(DENDAAL), 'Kalden, Petrus', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, II, p. 354.

113. See HINDE, 'Huguenot settlement', *Proceedings HSL*, V, 2, Nov. 1894 – May 1895, p. 216.
114. VC 169, Franse vluchtelingen: (a), Simond to Van der Stel and Council, March 5, 1702; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Journal, 1699-1732*, p. 33: Nov. 27, 1700; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters despatched*, p. 171: 13, Amsterdam, March 14, 1701; pp. 192-193: 5, Amsterdam, March 20, 1702; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters received*, p. 286: 73, from Middelburg, (Sept. 20, 1701); BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 33.
115. SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1701-1702: 159, Feb. 17, 1702; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters despatched*, pp. 192-193: 5, Amsterdam, March 20, 1702.
116. G 1, 8/1, Kaapstad, Doopregister, 1695-1712: p. 25 (NGKA); LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Journal, 1699-1732*, p. 50: April 9, 1702; FRANKEN, 'Franse vluchtelingen', V, *Die Huisgenoot*, XI, 226, July 16, 1926, p. 39.
117. C 507, Uitgaande brieven, 1701-1702: 31, Amsterdam, May 16, 1702, p. 604; CJ 2752, Procuratiën, 1701-1704: Feb. 23, 1702, pp. 127-130 (CA); LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters despatched*, p. 237: Middelburg, March 31, 1704; FRANKEN, 'Franse vluchtelingen', V, *Die Huisgenoot*, XI, 226, July 16, 1926, p. 37.
118. P 18, Pierre Simond (en die Hugenote): I, Preek (NGKA). See also DEHÉRAIN, *Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, pp. 235-236: May 3, 1703; FRANKEN, 'Pierre Simond', *Die Huisgenoot*, XXIII, 912, Sept. 15, 1939, p. 125; F(ENSHAM), 'Simond, Pierre', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, I, p. 725.
119. Membres de l'église, III, 1687-1734 (Haarlem): Jan. 24 – July 30, 1706 (EW Haarlem); FWK: Béreau(l)t; Simond; F.H. GAGNEBIN, 'Pasteurs de France réfugiés en Hollande', *Bulletin, Commission pour l'Histoire des Eglises wallonnes*, I, 1885, pp. 125-126; F(ENSHAM), 'Simond, Pierre', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, I, p. 725.
120. FRANKEN, 'Pierre Simond', *Die Huisgenoot*, XXIII, 912, Sept. 15, 1939, p. 127; G.J. OBERHOLSTER, 'Die Geskiedenis van die gemeente van Drakenstein, 1691-1795', in J.F. MENTZ *et al.* (eds), *Kwartmillennium-gedenkboek van die Nederduitse Gereformeerde gemeente, Paarl; 'n oorsig van die geskiedenis van die gemeente: 1691-1941*, p. 15; F(ENSHAM), 'Simond, Pierre', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, I, p. 725.
121. DE HULLU, 'Registers', *Proceedings HSL*, XVI, 1, 1938, pp. 99; 100-101; A.J. ENSCHEDÉ, 'La Réforme à Lille durant l'occupation des alliés, 1708-1713', *Bulletin, Commission pour l'Histoire des Eglises wallonnes*, V, 1892, pp. 2, 12.
122. DE HULLU, 'Registers', *Proceedings HSL*, XVI, 1, 1938, pp. 99-100; 104; 108; 109. The choice of names at the baptism in 1712 of Anne-Lidie (Lydie), daughter of Jean Six and Antoinette (Thoinette) Destailleurs of

- Wambrechies on the Ypres road, with Anne de Bérault as godmother (p. 109), suggests a bond of affection between the pastor's wife and the parents.
123. For the Utrecht settlement and the barrier fortresses see R. GEIKIE and I.A. MONTGOMERY, *The Dutch barrier 1705-1719*, pp. 241-320.
 124. DE HULLU, 'Registers', *Proceedings HSL*, XVI, 1, 1938, pp. 99-100; ENSCHEDÉ, 'Réforme à Lille', *Bulletin, Commission pour l'Histoire des Eglises wallonnes*, V, 1892, p. 17; S. MOURS, 'Note sur les Protestants du nord de la France et les églises wallonnes de la barrière', *BSHPF*, CXII, Jan.-March 1966, pp. 157-160.
 125. D 18, Actes et papiers originaux, 1708-1722: pp. 165-167 (Bibl. wall.).
 126. Eglise wallonne, *Articles de nos synodes depuis celui de Naerden en 1705 jusqu'à celui tenu à Deventer en aoust 1734 inclusivement*, V, 10: Bois-le-Duc, May 13, 1713, article XXVIII, pp. 6-7.
 127. See 12 D 2, Livre des Actes ... 1671-1739: April 16, 1715, p. 271 (EW Utrecht).
 128. 12 D 2, Livre des Actes: Oct. 7, 1714, pp. 268-269; DE HULLU, 'Registers', *Proceedings HSL*, XVI, 1, 1938, p. 100; HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, II, p. 399; F.H. GAGNEBIN, 'Liste des églises wallonnes des Pays-Bas et des pasteurs qui les ont desservies', *Bulletin, Commission pour l'Histoire des Eglises wallonnes*, III, 1888, p. 336.
 129. Eglise wallonne, *Articles de nos synodes*, V, 10: Zutphen, Sept. 10, 1717, article XVIII, p. 4; Schiedam, May 4, 1726, article XXX, p. 8.
 130. Notariaat, 597, Veurne, J.F. du Flocq, 1716-1718: March 4 (RA Brugge (Bruges)).
 131. Parochieregisters: Veurne, 201, p. 431 (RA Brugge (Bruges)).
 132. SR 7, Transport en schepenkennenissen, 1695-1696.
 133. For an outline of later Simond family history see M. BOUCHER, 'Pierre Simond and his English descendants', *Familia*, XII, 2, 1975, pp. 32-36, and VIGNE, 'The De Bancs and the Simonds', *Africana Notes and News*, XXIV, 3, Sept. 1980, pp. 103-107.
 134. Quoted by A.J. TOYNBEE, *A Study of history*, II, p. 213n.
 135. MINET (ed.), *Registers ... also the répertoire général*, 40, p. 4.
 136. W.A. SHAW (ed.), *Letters of denization and acts of naturalization for aliens in England and Ireland 1603-1700*, Publications HSL, XVIII, p. 267. The surname was given the English form Naizon, used by Jean-François in a document of Jan. 7, 1724/5 (SJ 158, St John (Melchbourne and Woodford) collection: Articles of agreement (CRO, Northamptonshire)).
 137. C.R.B. BARRETT, *History of the XIII. Hussars*, II, appendix, p. 411.
 138. SHAW (ed.), *Letters ... 1701-1800*, p. 118; MINET (ed.), *Registers ... also the répertoire général*, La Patente de Soho, 96, p. 8.
 139. MINET (ed.), *Registers ... also the répertoire général*, 117, p. 10: baptism of Jean-Jacques Ytier, July 2, 1693.
 140. MINET (ed.), *Registers ... also the répertoire général*, 40, p. 4: March 11,

- 1690/1; 96, p. 8: Nov. 23, 1692. On Belcastel see SMILES, *Huguenots*, pp. 363-364.
141. W.A. SHAW (ed.), 'The Irish pensioners of William III's Huguenot regiments, 1702', *Proceedings HSL*, VI, 3, 1901, f. 298, p. 313. He then had £50 of his own and a family to support.
 142. J 1077, St John papers: certification, Aug. 29, 1713, of captaincy in an infantry regiment, April 12, 1706 (CRO, Bedfordshire).
 143. SHAW (ed.), *Letters . . . 1701-1800*, pp. 41; 118.
 144. J 147, St John papers: Conveyance, Dec. 2, 1716 (CRO, Bedfordshire).
 145. D.C.A. AGNEW, *Protestant exiles from France, chiefly in the reign of Louis XIV. Or, the Huguenot refugees and their descendants in Great Britain and Ireland*, 3rd ed., I, p. 414; PICOT, 'Notice sur Josias Bérault', *Société historique et archéologique de l'Orne*, XXX, 1, 1911, p. 171.
 146. SHAW (ed.), 'Irish pensioners', *Proceedings HSL*, VI, 3, 1901, f. 143, p. 306; ff. 495-496, p. 322.
 147. SHAW, 'English government and the relief of Protestant refugees', *Proceedings HSL*, V, 3, Nov. 1895 – July 1896, appendix B, XVII, p. 398: Aug. 12, 1715; XVIII, p. 404: April 18, 1716.
 148. We may note that although her brother Louis signed himself Bérault (BOTHÁ, *French refugees*, facing p. 58), the widow of the former Cape pastor used the spelling Bérault, adding, in modern style, her late husband's surname (SJ 158, St John (Melchbourne and Woodford) collection: Articles of agreement, Jan. 7, 1724/5).
 150. G 3, 1/1, Paarl, Notule, 1715-1730: Nov. 3, 1726; April 5 and May 4, 1727, pp. 105; 109 (NGKA); SPOELSTRA, *Bouwstoffen*, II, pp. 448-450.
 151. SHAW, 'English government', *Proceedings HSL*, V, 3, Nov. 1895 – July 1896, appendix B, XXIII; XXIV, pp. 417; 421: June 3, 1723; Oct. 29, 1726; Oct. 31, 1727; March 25, 1731, with name Anne de la Mauclère (*sic*).
 152. At the Castle Street church (MINET and MINET (eds), *Register of the church of Hungerford Market*, p. 26).
 153. GODFRAY (ed.), *Registre des baptêmes*, . . . , p. 77.
 154. MINET (ed.), *Registers . . . also the répertoire général*, 481, p. 34.
 155. Wagner collection: Huguenot wills, C 305/541, March 20, 1759, with codicils, 1778, 1784 and Nov. 11, 1785 (HSL Library); WAGNER (comp.), 'Huguenot refugee family of Simond', *The Genealogist*, New Series, XXIV, Jan. 1908, p. 193.
 156. The second daughter, Marthe, born on Aug. 24, 1721, was christened at Southampton on Sept. 14 of that year, with Jean-François Nézon and his wife Marthe Simond as godparents, although not present at the ceremony (GODFRAY (ed.), *Registre des baptêmes*, . . . , p. 78).
 157. MINET and MINET (eds), *Register of the church of Hungerford Market*, p. 26. In addition to Willem, Cléopas and Catherine, the baptisms of the following children appear in the records of this church: Anne-Marie, born Aug. 19, 1722 and christened on Aug. 21 (p. 22); Isabelle-Lidie (Lydie), born Aug. 14, 1724 and christened on Aug. 29 (p. 23); Eunice, born Oct. 15, 1725 and christened on Oct. 27 (p. 24); Pierre, born

- Feb. 5 and christened on Feb. 19 (p. 25); Samuel, born Sept. 27, 1728 and christened on Oct. 19 (p. 25).
158. J 161, St John papers: Will, May 4, 1751, in French with English trans., and attestation, Aug. 11, 1758, by the Rev. Lewis Marcombes and her brother, Peter Simond (CRO, Bedfordshire). Lydie (here, Lidia) thanks her sister "for the care and trouble she has often had with me".
 159. SHAW (ed.), *Letters . . . 1701-1800*, p. 134.
 160. C. WILSON, *Anglo-Dutch commerce and finance in the eighteenth century*, pp. 111-112, 113; H. WAGNER, 'Peter Lombard of Nismes and his immediate descendants', *The Genealogist*, New Series, XXXV, 1919, p. 54n.
 161. PERRY, 'Voltaire's London agents', *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth Century*, CII, 1973, p. 276.
 162. FWK: Fiseaux (Fizeaux). See also Not. arch. 289, Philippe de Marolles, 7964, Minutacten, 1714: 225, will of Etienne Fizeaux, June 14; 42, Obligation, Jean Fizeaux, July 9 (GA Amsterdam).
 163. I E 1070/3, Eglise réformée du bailliage de Saint-Quentin, BMS, 1668-1685: Aug. 16 (AD Aisne); FWK: Bénézet.
 164. Information communicated to the author at the firm of Thomson Hankey and Co., Ltd, London (Misc. sources). There is, however, no confirmation of this in other sources.
 165. SHAW (ed.), *Letters . . . 1701-1800*, p. 122.
 166. WILSON, *Anglo-Dutch commerce*, appendix B, p. 206: March 16; PERRY, 'Voltaire's London agents', *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth Century*, CII, 1973, p. 287. On the Marolles of Vitry-le-François see A. CARTER, 'Some Huguenots in professional and administrative functions in the Netherlands in the eighteenth century', *Proceedings HSL*, XXI, 5, 1970, pp. 564-567.
 167. PERRY, 'Voltaire's London agents', *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth Century*, CII, 1973, pp. 288-289. The firm later moved to Mincing Lane, off Fenchurch Street. Something of Simond's banking activities is revealed in A 8, Wallington papers: J. Trevelyan to Thomson Hankey, Bath, July 17, 1816 (CRO, Northumberland).
 168. WILSON, *Anglo-Dutch commerce*, appendix B, p. 208: April 30.
 169. On this family see PANNIER, *Antoine Bénézet*.
 170. PANNIER, *Antoine Bénézet*, p. 5.
 171. PERRY, 'Voltaire's London agents', *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth Century*, CII, 1973, p. 270.
 172. W. and S. MINET (eds), *Registers of the churches of the Savoy, Spring Gardens and Les Grecs*, Publications HSL, XXVI, p. 160. By the articles of agreement of Jan. 7, 1724/5, it appears that Peter Simond brought £4 000 to the marriage, together with household goods, linen and silver plate to the value of about £700. Susanne Groteste's fortune in cash, South Sea Company stock, lottery orders and jewelry amounted to £2 850. Witnesses for Simond included his mother, his brother Jacques (now James), David Simond and Francis Naizon (SJ 158, St John (Melchbourne

- and Woodford) collection). The lawyer who drew up this contract, Isaac Delpech, was concerned in the Labat inheritance (See BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 52, and DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VII, p. 357: Aug. 28, 1727). The surname is incorrectly transcribed in both sources.
173. GONIN and DELTEIL (eds), 'Révocation . . . vue par les informateurs', *BSHPF*, CXIX, Jan.-March 1973, 199, pp. 376-377 and n.: Gourville to Condé, Paris, Jan. 14, 1686; MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, pp. 81; 90 and n.; HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, V, pp. 371-373; BOUCHER, 'Huguenot refugees', *Historia*, XX, 1, May 1975, p. 60.
 174. TURNER (ed.), *Aufrère papers*, section III, F, p. 75; MOUSSEAU, *Aux sources françaises . . . la Brie protestante*, pp. 153-158; SHAW (ed.), *Letters . . . 1603-1700*, p. 198; HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, V, pp. 371-372; BOUCHER, 'Pierre Simond', *Familia*, XII, 2, 1975, p. 34; BOUCHER, 'Huguenot refugees', *Historia*, XX, 1, May 1975, p. 60; 61.
 175. *Aufrère papers*, section III, F, p. 76.
 176. TURNER (ed.), *Aufrère papers*, section III, F, p. 92: Jacques Robethon, Paris, to Jean Robethon, Hanover, 1714.
 177. TURNER (ed.), *Aufrère papers*, section III, I, p. 214. See also BOUCHER, 'Huguenot refugees', *Historia*, XX, 1, May 1975, p. 60.
 178. TURNER (ed.), *Aufrère papers*, section III, F, p. 105: to Marie Berthe, Paris, April 24, 1726. See also BOUCHER, 'Huguenot refugees', *Historia*, XX, 1, May 1975, p. 61. On Louise-Marguerite see J 163, St John papers: Will, May 13, 1769 and probate, July 16, 1771 (CRO, Bedfordshire). She lived in Westminster.
 179. PERRY, 'Voltaire's London agents', *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth Century*, CII, 1973, p. 286.
 180. *Aufrère papers*, III 63: Peter Simond to Anne Berthe, Paris, May 25, 1725 (HSL Library). The date 1726 in BOUCHER, 'Huguenot refugees', *Historia*, XX, 1, May 1975, p. 61, is in error.
 181. PERRY, 'Voltaire's London agents', *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth Century*, CII, 1973, p. 265.
 182. G. LANSON and P. TUFFRAU, *Manuel illustré d'histoire de la littérature française*, pp. 398-399.
 183. RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, pp. 289-291.
 184. E. DONNAN (ed.), *Documents illustrative of the history of the slave trade to America*, IV, 153, pp. 284-285.
 185. Documents (Thomson Hankey and Co., Ltd, London).
 186. PERRY, 'Voltaire's London agents', *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth Century*, CII, 1973, p. 294.
 187. Documents: ledger, mid-eighteenth century.
 188. PERRY, 'Voltaire's London agents', *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth Century*, CII, 1973, p. 296.
 189. WILSON, *Anglo-Dutch commerce*, appendix D, p. 218: Jan. 1, 1773. The purchaser was J. van Herzeele.
 190. WAGNER (comp.), 'Huguenot refugee family', *The Genealogist*, New

- Series, XXIV, 1908, p. 193; J. FOSTER (comp.), *Grantees of arms named in docquets and patents between the years 1687 and 1898, preserved in various documents*, ed. W.H. RYLANDS, Harleian Society, LXVIII, p. 335. Simond is described as of Austin Friars, London.
191. For this church and its records see MINET and MINET (eds), *Register of the church of Saint Martin Orgars*.
 192. MINET and MINET (eds), *Registers of the church of Saint Martin Orgars*, 248, p. 14; 262, p. 15; 279, p. 16.
 193. MINET and MINET (eds), *Register of the church of Hungerford Market*, p. 27. This baptism is also recorded in the appropriate Anglican parish records (W. BRIGG (comp.), *The Register book of the parish of St. Nicholas Acons, London. 1539-1812*, p. 47).
 194. W. BRIGG (comp.) *The Parish registers of St Edmund the King and Martyr, Lombard Street, London. 1670-1812*, p. 105.
 195. See SJ 244 and 245, St John (Melchbourne and Woodford) collection: copies of will of Susanna Louisa St John, proved Nov. 29, 1805 (CRO, Northamptonshire); J 149, St John papers: Conveyance, Aug. 2, 1826, reciting the will of Susanna St John, July 26, 1804 (CRO, Bedfordshire). See also WAGNER (comp.), 'Huguenot refugee family', *The Genealogist*, New Series, XXIV, 1908, p. 193; *Burke's peerage*, 103rd ed., p. 2147; BOUCHER, 'Pierre Simond', *Familia*, XII, 2, 1975, p. 34; BOUCHER, 'Huguenot refugees', *Historia*, XX, 1, May 1975, p. 61. Peter Simond gave his daughter a dowry of £20 000 (SJ 157, St John (Melchbourne and Woodford) collection: Marriage settlement, Dec. 11, 1755 (CRO, Northamptonshire); J 135, St John papers: Abstract of settlement (CRO, Bedfordshire)). She lived at Bath in later life.
 196. 'Diary', *The 1820*, XLIX, 6, June 1976, p. 25.
 197. WAGNER (comp.), 'Huguenot refugee family', *The Genealogist*, New Series, XXIV, 1908, p. 193; *Burke's peerage*, pp. 2429-2431; BOUCHER, 'Pierre Simond', *Familia*, XII, 2, 1975, pp. 34-35; BOUCHER, 'Huguenot refugees', *Historia*, XX, 1, May 1975, p. 61. Peter Simond also settled £20 000 upon this daughter (A 8, Wallington papers: J. Trevelyan to Thomson Hankey, Bath, July 17, 1816). Louise-Marianne, whose portrait by Arthur Devis (in a family group) hangs at Wallington, Northumberland, the Trevelyan seat, left a charming last letter to her children, advising them to lead good Christian lives, remembering that "the cheif (*sic*) end that riches are given to you for, is to do good to your Brethren in distress". Her further advice was: "Meddle not with state affairs if you can help it" (Ms. letter, Aug. 20, 1771, in album Wallingtoniana (Wallington)).
 198. 'Simond, Pierre', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, I, p. 725.
 199. WAGNER (comp.), 'Huguenot refugee family', *The Genealogist*, New Series, XXIV, 1908, p. 193; PERRY, 'Voltaire's London agents', *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth Century*, CII, 1973, pp. 293; 296; BOUCHER, 'Pierre Simond', *Familia*, XII, 2, 1975, pp. 34; 35. His will of May 8, 1782 (codicil, 1785) was proved on Dec. 7, 1785. For the Grenada

- plantations and vast slave holdings in 1824 see the schedule to the conveyance of Aug. 2, 1826 (J 149: St John papers). See also W. MUSGRAVE (comp.), *Obituary prior to 1800 (as far as relates to England, Scotland, and Ireland)*, ed. G.J. ARMYTAGE, Harleian Society, XLVIII, V, p. 276.
200. Inscription on portrait (Thomson Hankey and Co., Ltd, London) (Misc. sources). See also PERRY, 'Voltaire's London agents', *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth Century*, CII, 1973, p. 287n.
 201. See also PERRY, 'Voltaire's London agents', *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth Century*, CII, 1973, p. 287n.
 202. Aufrère papers, III 63: to Marie Berthe.
 203. Aufrère papers, III 78: to Marie Berthe (HSL Library). See also Aufrère papers, II 20 and 21: to Marie Berthe, n.d. (HSL Library).
 204. RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, pp. 296-310. See also LÉONARD, *History of Protestantism*, II, p. 97.
 205. WALKER, *History of southern Africa*, p. 104.
 206. On this family see J.L.M. FRANKEN (ed.), *Duminy diaries*, Van Riebeeck Society, 19, pp. 1-63.
 207. For a genealogy see D.F. DU T. MALHERBE, *Family register of the South African nation*, 3rd ed., pp. 220-222.
 208. See H.F.(RANSEN), 'Thibault, Louis Michel', in DE KOCK *et al.* (eds), *Dictionary of South African biography*, I, pp. 786-789; H. ROY DE PUYFONTAINE, *Louis Michel Thibault, 1750-1815; his official life at the Cape of Good Hope*.
 209. DE VILLIERS and PAMA (eds), *Genealogies*, II, pp. 465; 689.
 210. See G. TREDoux, 'Die Familie Tredoux', I, *Familia*, XI, 2, 1974, pp. 54-57.
 211. For this family see H. DU VINAGE, *Die Du Vinage, Duvinage, Duvenage 1331-1933; Geschichte und Urkunden*; J. HOGE, 'Abraham Duvinage', *TWK*, XV, 1, 1936, pp. 1-4. With reference to the family in the Calaisis see also TT 1, Généralité d'Amiens, 1686-1733: pp. 117-118; 370; TT 261, XXX, Picardie, 1687: p. 958 (AN); MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 44; 58; 72; 81; 124; 164; 236; 250; 265; W(EISS), 'Fugitifs du Calaisis et du Boulonnais', *BSHPF*, LXVI, Oct.-Dec. 1916, p. 290. See also LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Requesten (Memorials)*, I, p. 390: 128, 1768-1770 (Duvenaar (*sic*)).
 212. WALKER, *History of southern Africa*, pp. 100-124.
 213. *Journal historique du voyage fait au Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, pp. 170-171: Drakenstein, May 19.
 214. CJ 1069, Civile processtukken, 1754: Eijsch ende conclusie, David de Villiers contra Jurgen Jansz. Schoeman, husband of Jeanne de Villiers, Oct. 24, p. 265v. (CA). The Schoeman marriage ended in a separation.
 215. On the continuing influence on the Afrikaner see F.C.L. BOSMAN, 'Die Invloed van die Hugonote op die Afrikaanse volkskarakter en kultuur', *Historiese Studies*, I, 3, 1939-1940, pp. 1-14. There has also been consider-

able intermarriage of descendants with English speakers; nor can miscegenation in the formation of the Coloured community be left out of the South African picture.

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Note: The particle “De” has been retained *before* the surnames of Dutch and South African authors *only*.

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CC 49-51, Pièces justificatives des comptables, 1678-1688.

GG 1, Registre des naissances, mariages et décès, 1686-1718.

Dreux (Eure-et-Loir)

GG 22, BMS, Saint-Pierre, 1685-1692.

Grenoble (Isère)

GG 206, Regi(s)tre des baptêmes, mariages et enterrements de l'Eglise Réformée de Grenoble de l'année 1670.

Lourmarin (Vaucluse)

EC, Cultes réunis, BMS, 1669-1692.

b. Archives départementales (AD)

Aisne

IE 1070/2-3, Eglise réformée du bailliage de Saint-Quentin, BMS, 1668-1685.

Alpes-de-Haute-Provence

IV E 338, Manosque, Eglise réformée, BMS, 1669-1684.

Aube

4 E 34/1, Bar-sur-Seine, Catholiques, 1615-1700.

4 E 187/1, Landreville, Catholiques, 1608-1691.

4 E 187/7-9, Landreville, Eglise réformée, 1613-1679.

4 E 350/1, Saint-Mards-en-Othe, Eglise réformée, BMS, 1668-1683.

Bouches-du-Rhône

202 E 296, Velaux, Protestants, BMS, 1669-1684.

Calvados

i 33, Basly, BMS, 1644-1666.

i 35, Géfosse; Trévières; Vaucelles, BMS, 1675-1684.

i 59-60, Saint-Pierre-sur-Dives, Délibérations du consistoire; BMS, 1664-1684.

Charente

2 E, Champagne-Mouton, Protestants, BMS, 1638-1671; Cognac, Protestants, BMS, 1649-1684; La Rochefoucauld, Protestants, BMS, 1608-1680.

Charente-Maritime

I 38-60, La Rochelle, BMS, 1638-1684.
I 102-112, Dompierre, BMS, 1636-1684.
I 113, Ciré, BMS, 1668-1683.
I 134, Saint-Jean-d'Angély, BMS, 1599-1682.
I 139, Soubise, BMS, 1666-1679.
I 153, La Jarrie, BMS, 1677; 1684.

Côte-d'Or

EC, Arnay-le-Duc, Protestants, BMS, 1674-1680; Buncey, Protestants, BMS, 1671-1684; Volnay, Protestants et Catholiques, BMS, 1576-1720.

Deux-Sèvres

4 E² 64, Chef-Boutonne, Protestants, BMS, 1593-1685.
4 E² 133, La Mothe-Saint-Héray and Exoudun, Protestants, BMS, 1618-1654; 1675-1678; 1681.
4 E² 202, I-III, Niort, Protestants, BMS, 1622-1683.
4 E² 289, Saint-Maixent, Protestants, BMS, 1637-1685 (4 registers).

Drôme

B 764; 783; 798; 802, Archives civiles, 1670-1689.
2 E 5399-5400; 5411-5413, David Marcel, Actes, Pontaix, 1660-1689.
2 E 5414, Jean-Antione Marcel, Actes, Pontaix, 1690-1691.
4 E 384; 389, Loriol, BMS, 1614-1668; 1668-1684.
4 E 386; 390, Montélimar, BMS, 1650-1671; 1668-1684.
4 E 388, Beaumont-lès-Valence; Châtillon-en-Diois; Die, BMS, 1669-1685.
4 E 391, Vinsobres; Venterol; Poët-Laval; La Charce, BMS, 1671-1788.
1 Mi 317, Montjoux, BM, 1608-1669.
5 Mi 35 R7, Dieulefit, 1646-1659.
5 Mi 212 R9, Plan-de-Baix, 1638-1711.
5 Mi 292 R13, Vinsobres, paroissiaux protestants, 1663-1682.

Eure

E 1533, Notaires et tabellions, Antoine de la Gombaude, 1611.
E 1947, Féodalités, 1597; 1627.
2 E 469, Etat civil, Pont-de-l'Arche, 1586-1700.

Eure-et-Loir

EC, Authon-du-Perche, BMS, 1659-1684; 1742-1787; Bazoches-en-Dunois,

BMS, 1671-1679; Châteaudun, BMS, 1591-1683; Dangeau, BMS, 1643-1683; La Fontaine-sous-Prémont, BMS, 1654-1682.

Gard

II E 39/386-387, Etude Lamau, Jean Aubanel, 1676-1680.

5 E 6/3, Aimargues, Protestants, BMS, 1675-1682.

5 E 7/21, Alès, Protestants, BMS, 1671-1685.

5 E 57/4, La Calmette, Protestants, BMS, 1680-1684.

5 E 58/5, Calvisson, Protestants, BMS, 1670-1684.

5 E 187-188, Nîmes, Les Prêcheurs, BMS, 1670-1671.

5 E 331/13, Uzès, Protestants, BMS, 1675.

UU 97-105, Nîmes, Protestants, BMS, 1637-1685.

UU 114, Nîmes, Protestants, BMS, 1668; Nouveaux convertis, 1713-1726.

Hautes-Alpes

Accessions 746²/F 3883², M. Brès, Embrun, Protestants (XVII^e siècle).

2 E 47/14, Eglise réformée, Embrun, BMS, 1633-1684; 1788-1790.

2 E 48/5, Eglise réformée, Eourres, BMS, 1669-1683.

2 E 59/7, Freissinières, Protestants, 1680-1682.

2 E 66/7, Guillestre, Protestants, 1682-1683.

2 E 125/1, La Rochette, Catholiques, 1693-1792.

2 E 173/1, Trescléoux, Protestants, 1680-1685, with later Catholic entries.

H supp. 95 (B 45), Hospice d'Embrun; consistoires supprimés, Embrun, 1625-1685.

H supp. 380-384 (B 110-114), Gap, BMS, 1625-1645; 1668-1684.

Hérault

3 E 28⁴³, Bédarieux, Catholiques, BMS, 1669-1684.

3 E 149⁴, Actes du consistoire de Ganges, 1669-1684, with Lunel Catholic records.

3 E 177⁵²⁻⁵³, Montpellier, Protestants et Catholiques, BMS, 1668-1704.

Isère

5 E 40/1, Besse, Culte protestant, BMS, 1672-1680.

5 E 227/1-3, Mens-en-Trièves, Protestants et Catholiques, BMS, 1591-1792; Registre du consistoire, 1650-1665; 1679-1685.

5 E 270/1, La Mure, Protestants et Catholiques, BMS, 1668-1699.

5 E 417/1, Saint-Marcellin, Catholiques, BMS, 1670-1709.

Loir-et-Cher

i 2, Séquestre des biens saisis sur les Protestants: administration, ville et élection de Blois, 1687-1693.

i 4, Registre des avis du consistoire de l'église réformée de Blois, 1665-1677.

i 6-15, Blois, BMS, 1598-1685.

i 16-19, Marchenoir; Lorges, BMS, 1624-1683.

i 20-27, Lorges, consistoire, 1652; 1684-1685; BMS 1651-1683.

- i 28-30, Marchenoir, BMS, 1673-1685.
i 33-39, Mer et Aulnay, BMS, 1608-1683.
i 40, Chéreau, BMS, 1620-1672.

Marne

- C 1936, Protestants, 1700-1762.
EC, Châlons-sur-Marne, Protestants, BMS, 1592-1683; Chaltrait, Protestants, BMS, 1660-1684; Compertrix, Protestants, BMS, 1680-1682; Heiltz-le-Mau-rup, Protestants et Catholiques, BMS, 1628-1707.

Nord

- Tabellion, 1762: Jean-Michel Dubar, 1684; 1868: Gilles Dubois, 1672.
Ms. Tables, Lille, XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles, vols 14; 16; 21.

Oise

- EC, Clermont, Eglise réformée, BMS, 1649-1685.
G 3361-3365, Abjurations, 1681-1686.

Orne

- I 28-31, Bellême, 1684-1686.
I 35-37, L'Aigle, BMS, 1668-1685.

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- RP, Lintot, 1668-1681; Criquetot-l'Esneval, 1653-1685; 1772-1790; Sanvic, 1628-1665.

Somme

- I 7-9, Amiens, BMS, 1667; 1670-1685.
I 11-12, Herly, BMS, 1668-1674; 1680-1684.
I 13, Neuville, BMS, 1682-1683.
I 14, Prouville, BMS, 1683-1684.
Ms. M. Rosenberg, Protestants d'Amiens et environs 1601-1607.

Var

- 7 E 77/1, Le Luc, Eglise réformée, BMS, 1670-1679.

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- E, Lourmarin, Catholiques, 1654-1660; 1664-1674; 1686-1690; 1693-1714; Prot-estants, BMS, 1669-1683; Mérindol, Catholiques, 1670-1671; Culte protestant, BMS, 1669-1684.
Etude D'Ailhaud-Castelet, 303, Pierre Bernard, 1675-1680; 305, Georges Guei-dan, 1660-1665; 344, Joseph Bernard, 1681-1689.
Fonds Enjoubert, 267-268, Louis Roux, 1672-1682; 298, J. Lafourest, 1682-1685.
J 140, 1-3, J. Sambuc, Extraits généalogiques des registres paroissiaux d'Apt concernant les familles Sambuc et alliées.

Vendée

I 1, Breuil-Barret, BMS, 1680-1683.

I 4, Registres protestants, Fontaney-le-Comte, 1643-1685.

J 17, P. Romane-Musculus, Feuilles protestantes du Bas-Poitou.

Vienne

2 E, Civray, Protestants, BMS, 1674-1675; 1680-1681; 1788; Lusignan, B, 1661-1669; 1670-1672; 1676-1685; Consistoire, 1679; M, 1671-1681; Catholiques, 1737-1780.

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B, Ecoeu, Pièces du greffe, 1678-1685.

c. Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Paris (AMAE)

143-157, Correspondance politique, Hollande; Hollande, correspondance et documents divers; avis secrets, 1685-1688.

d. Archives nationales, Paris (AN)

TT 1-2; 4; 6; 8; 10; 14-15; 19; 26-28; 52; 216-218; 230-231; 236-237; 241; 243; 247; 252-254; 256; 258-262; 264-267; 271; 274-276; 453, Affaires et biens des religieux fugitifs.

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e. Bibliothèque du Protestantisme, Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français, Paris (Bibl. Prot., SHPF)

168, Eglise réformée de Châtillon-sur-Loing, B, 1608-1675.

419, Collection F. Teissier, Cévennes et Bas-Languedoc; état civil, extraits.

420, Collection F. Teissier, Vigan (Gard), XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles.

446, Languedoc, Affaires locales, III, 1583ff.

469², Registre du consistoire de Riez, Ro(u)moules et annexes, 1625-1683.

469², Papiers concernant l'église de Riez, Ro(u)moules et annexes, 1626-1711.

564¹-564², Collection Auzière, Ile-de-France, Eglises.

867³, Collection O. Cuvier, Extraits des registres de l'état civil des Protestants (Metz). Table alphabétique des noms mentionnés, 1561-1685.

1520, Registres de l'église réformée de Luneray, 1623-1681, I-III.

f. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (Bibl. nat.)

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FF 7044-7047, Collection de pièces authentiques sur les Protestants, depuis 1669 jusqu'au rétablissement de la tolérance en 1788.

FF 7049, Etat des biens saisis et régis sur la frontière de Champagne, apparte-

nant aux religionnaires ou nouveaux convertis de ladite frontière, qui se sont absentez du royaume depuis l'année 1685 (1685-1687).

FF 7050-7055, R.P.R.: Papiers de M. de la Reynie.

g. Bibliothèques municipales (Bibl. mun.)

Blois (Loir-et-Cher)

A. Trouëssart (comp.), Ms.:

T 6, Copie des registres municipaux de la ville de Blois, 1637-1733.

T 38-44, Les Familles blaisoises d'après les registres paroissiaux.

T 47, Registres de Saint-Honoré, III, B, 1640-1690.

T 55, Registres de Saint-Martin, II, B, 1656-1791.

T 72, Registres de Saint-Sauveur, B, 1568-1791.

T 75, Registres de Saint-Solenne, B, II, 1652-1696.

T 81, Registres des Protestants, Eglise réformée de Blois, 1590-1685.

Caen (Calvados)

Ms. 150 (In-f^o 103), Registre, au quel sont contenus les noms de ceux et celles, qui après avoir fait profession de la Religion prétenduë reformée, quictant, detestant, et abiurant l'heresie, Reviennent au Giron de l'église Catholique, Apostolique, et Romaine, sans la quelle personne ne peut estre sauvé, 1637-1675.

La Rochelle (Charente-Maritime)

Ms. 150, Documents XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles.

Ms. 779, Papier des conversion(s) (abj^s du Protestantisme) du 9 novembre, 1628 au 16 octobre 1692.

Ms. 870, Documents divers sur le Protestantisme, notamment pour le Poitou, ..., XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles.

Meaux (Seine-et-Marne)

Ms. 122, Nicolas Payen, ancien lieutenant général au bailliage de Meaux (1665-1687), Recueil, II.

Metz (Moselle)

Ms. 859-860, Extraits des observations séculaires de Paul Ferry sur l'histoire de Metz, par un religieux bénédictin de Saint-Arnould, XVIII^e siècle.

Ms. 861, Miscellanea, Paul Ferry, XVII^e siècle.

Troyes (Aube)

Ms. 2301, Notes historiques sur Troyes, depuis 1535 jusqu'à 1699 inclusive-ment.

3. NETHERLANDS

a. Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague (ARA)

11178; 11181; 11184, Staten-Generaal, Inkomende brieven, Vrankryk, ... , 1685-1687.

KA 296, Register op de resolutien van de verg: van XVII^{de}, 1602-1736.

KA 434, Register op de resolutien van de kamer Amsterdam zeedert 1603 tot 1743.

KA 4004, 12, Rolle der vrijluijden (Cabo), Dec. 31, 1689; 13, Specificatie, April 1690 (See also Cape Archives for ARA documents relating to the Cape).

KA 4390, Uitloopboekje van schepen van 1701 tot met 1803.

KA 4390a, Register van voor de verschillende kamers der V.O.C. uitgevaren schepen naar Indië, ... , 1688-1803.

KA 4401b, Journaal, *Vosmaar*, 1696.

KA 4402k, Journaal, *Driebergen*, 1698.

KA 4403b; f; 1; n, Journalen, *Belois*; *Abbekerk*; *Hen*; *Donkervliet*, 1699.

Scheepssoldijboeken, 1633-1795: 79, *Spierdij(c)k*, 1687-1688; 81, *Tamen*, 1687-1688; 84, *Chilida (Sillida)*, 1687-1688; 90a, *Java*, 1687-1688; 91, *Langewijk*, 1687-1688; 99 *Borssenburg(h)*, 1688; 114, *Spierdijk*, 1690-1691.

b. Bibliothèque wallonne, Amsterdam (Bibl. wall.)

A 31, Utrecht, Liste des réfugiés, 1686-1730; Liste des pasteurs réfugiés, 1686-1719; Liste des Catholiques reçus ... , 1681-1722; 1740-1773; 1797.

A 33, Extrakt uit een gedeelte van eenen kerkboek der stad Veurne, Provincie Westvlaanderen, 1715-1782.

A 35, J.L. Roulet and R.F. de Gras (comp.), Extraits des Actes du Consistoire de l'Eglise wallonne de Bois-le-Duc, 1632-1687.

A 88, Vlissingen, Collectie van extracten, 1617-1800.

A 91, Nota betreffende de Franche gemeente te Weesp, 1688-1704.

A 106, Uittreksel uit het doopregister en het trouwregister van de Nederd. Hervormde gemeente te Hoorn van personen van Walsche afkomst en van Franche vluchtelingen, 1661-1721.

A 206, Actes des consistoires tenus en l'Eglise Réformée d'Imécourt depuis l'an 1666 (copy).

B.I.D. 32, Livre des actes du consistoire de l'église française de Bois-le-Duc, 1649-1712.

B.I.D. 41, 's-Hertogenbosch, Registre des personnes ... , 1633-1810.

BW 476, Aardenburg, Livre des Actes du Consistoire ... , 1687-1727.

BW 529, Gorcum, Registre des Actes du Consistoire, 1686-1726.

BW 535, Gorcum, Noms des communians de l'église wal(1)onne ... , 1693-1731.

BW 554, Gouda, Registre des résolutions du consistoire, 1682-1738, et pièces concernant la fondation de l'église.

BW 567, Groede, Extraits des actes, 1629-1754.

BW 590, Leeuwarden, Registre des Actes consistoriaux, 1659-1773.

- BW 653, Montfoort, Registre des comptes de la diaconie, 1714-1744.
BW 697-698, Oostburg, Registre des résolutions du Consistoire, ... , 1678-1756.
BW 766, Tholen, Registre des résolutions du consistoire, etc., 1693-1759.
BW 770, Veere, Registres des actes du consistoire, 1686-1729.
BW 782, Zierikzee, Livre de la recette et de la dépense de l'argent des pauvres, 1680-1689.
BW 805, Liste des personnes qui composent le troupeau ... à Vaals, 1663-1797.
BW 836, 's-Hertogenbosch, Ontfangh en uytgaaff ten behoeve van de franse Vluchtelingen sedert den 22 Octob. 1685 tot den 6 Januarij, 1689.
D 18, Synode, Actes et papiers originaux, 1708-1722.
Q⁰ 16, Registre des baptêmes administrés dans l'église wallon(n)e de Berg(ues)-op-Zoom depuis sa separation d'avec la flamande, 1686-1729.
Q⁰ 17, Registre des annonces publiées dans l'église wallonne de Bergues-op-Zoom, 1691-1802.
Ms. 76, Extraits concernant l'église wallonne de Hoorn.
Ms. 87, Orde en Reglement; Eedt, Oct. 20, 1687 (printed); Ms. Reflexions sur le Reglement de la Compagnie des I.O. du 20^e Octob. 1687.
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Fichier, Waalse kerken (FWK).

c. Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, The Hague (CBG)

- AB F Arm dtb, Armentières, BM, 1711-1713.
AB F Roue dtb, Rouen-Quevilly, BMS, 1609-1685; 1746-1788.
AB NB Berg dtb, Bergen-op-Zoom, Doop, 1686-1806; Trouw, 1691-1802.
AB NB Bre dtb, Breda, Doop, 1607-1876.
AB NB Her dtb, Bois-le-Duc, Lidmaten, 1633-1810.
AB NH Ams dtb, Vluchtelingen uit Rouen-Quevilly.
AB NH Naar dtb, Naarden, Registre des sépultures, 1652-1818.
AB NL dtb, Montauban (microfiches; index).
AB UT Ut dtb, Utrecht, Lidmaten, 1681-1804.
AB Ze Oost dtb, Oostburg, Doop, 1686; 1771; 1686-1795; Trouw en begrafenissen, 1710-1787; Trouw, 1686-1795; Lidmaten, 1691-1716.
AB Ze Veed dtb, Veere, Actes du consistoire, 1686-1729; Doop, 1686; Lidmaten, 1714.
AB Ze Vlis dtb, Vlissingen, Doop; Trouw, 1619-1800; Lidmaten, 1641; 1670-1678; Témoignages, 1629-1800.
AB Ze Zie dtb, Zierikzee, Trouw, 1630-1696; Doop, 1653-1737; Doop (klapper), 1594-1810.
AB ZH Brie dtb, Brielle, Doop en Trouw, 1625; 1673-1825; Registre des personnes examinées et reçues à la communion, 1671-1828; Attestations, 1716-1824.
AB ZH Delft dtb, Témoignages, 1585-1643; 1698-1744.

AB ZH Gra dtb, 's-Gravenhage, Lidmaatschap, ens., 1621-1893.

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d. Eglises wallonnes (EW)

Haarlem

Actes du Consistoire, II-IV, 1625-1747.

Membres de l'Eglise, II-III, 1627-1734.

Utrecht

12 D 2, Livre des Actes du Consistoire ... 1671-1739.

e. Gemeentearchieven (GA)

Amsterdam

PA 201, Archieven der Bestuuren gevormd door de Waalse gemeente in Amsterdam tot 1943:

1e Acta, 1670-1725.

4b, Correspondance, 1715-1797.

35 f-i, Livre de(s) baptême(s), 1686-1749.

46b, Livre des membres depuis l'an 1629.

46c, Membres (et sorties), 1694-1746.

47a, Livre contenant les noms des membres, 1680-1689.

47c, Kladadmissieregister, 1707-1726.

50d, Sorties, 1684-1723.

180a, Losse stukken, 1660-1792.

285k, Livre des charges, 1683-1697.

289a, Bijlagen bij de acta, 1700-1822.

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Notarieel archief (Not. arch.):

238, Joan Hoekeba(c)k, 5918, Minuutacten, Oct.-Dec. 1710.

256, Cornelis Winter, 6720, Minuutacten, 1701.

289, Philippe de Marolles, 7962-7965, Minuutacten, 1713-1714.

Arnhem

Eglise wallonne, I, Livre des Actes du Consistoire, 1684-1819; II, Comptes des diacres, 1686-1690.

Delft

St 52, Waalse kerk:

1c, Livre des Actes ... , 1668-1761.

15, Actes de baptême, 1620-1811.

27e, Actes synodaux, 1662-1688.

40c, Livre des receptes, 1669-1691.

42a, Livre de mises extraordinaires, 1685-1725.
50, Mémoire des deniers, 1683ff.
62, Legs et dons faits aux pauvres, 1593-1698.
Gerecht, Trouwboeken, 133-135, 1682-1699.

Groningen

Kerkbestuur, 1/1, Handelingen, 1686-1780.

's-Hertogenbosch

H 283° D 1/I and II, Registre des personnes reçues ou admises à la Ste Cène
... , I and II, 1633-1810.

Leyden

Archives de l'Eglise wallonne:

I C 23; 25, Registre des membres, 1660-1817; 1671-1772.

I C 27, Livre des témoignages donnés aux membres partants, 1667-1733.

I E 44-45, Actes du consistoire, 1658-1740.

II F 159-160, Registres concernant les réfugiés, 1685-1688.

Attestatiën, 12, 17^e-19^e eeuw.

Begraafdata, 20, 1686-1695; 22, 1696-1710.

Bruiden, 1575-1811, 39.

Huwelijken, Waalse kerk, R-Z, 5.

Kerkelijke ondertrouw, 195, 1575-1710.

Waals, Dopen, 1599-1811, 38; 77; 89.

Maastricht

Archief der Waalse gemeente:

1. Register van resoluties van het Consistorie, 1646-1733.

7. Ingekomen en uitgegane brieven, alsmede diverse akten, verklaringen en rekeningen, 17^e-18^e eeuw.

14. Register van trouwbeloften, 1645-1781.

16. Begraafsregister, 1692-1781.

18. Register van rekeningen van ontvangsten en uitgaven, 1655-1724.

22; 32; 39, Pastorele registers, Waalse gemeente, ens.

Rotterdam

Waalse Gereformeerde gemeente, 1653-1811:

1-2, Archief van de Kerkeraad, 1652-1715 (Registers van notulen).

15, Kerkeraad, Stukken ingekomen.

288 dtb Rott 122, Doopboek, 1653-1699.

290 dtb Rott 124, Doop- en trouwboek.

293 dtb Rott 127, Trouwboek, 1654-1721.

Schiedam

3755, Registre de Recéte des deniers des pauvres de l'Eglise françoise wallonne
... , 1686-1691.

4. SWITZERLAND

a. Archives d'Etat, Geneva (AE Geneva)

Archives de l'Eglise de Genève:

R 15-16, Procès verbaux des séances de la compagnie des pasteurs, 1683-1690.

R 65-66, Procès verbaux des séances du consistoire, 1682-1688.

Archives hospitalières:

Ka 6-7, Délibérations des diacres de la Bourse française et livre de mémoires, 1680-1699.

Kg 3, Grand livre de comptes de la Bourse française, 1646-1702.

Kq 5-10, Distributions de deniers à la semaine, 1683-1695.

Kq 47, Distribution des hardes et des souliers, 1691-1706.

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EC, Bossey, 1-3, BMS, 1601-1778.

EC, Céligny, 1-2, BMS, 1571-1743.

EC, Choulex, 2, Catholiques, BMS, 1686-1756.

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5^e; 7^e; 8^e; 30^e; 33^e, François Joly, 1687; 1689; 1690; 1697; 1698.

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15, Lettres et autres pièces.

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5. UNITED KINGDOM

a. County Record Offices (CRO)

Bedfordshire

St John papers:

J 135, Abstract of marriage settlement, John St John and Susanna Louisa Simond, Dec. 11, 1755.

J 147, Conveyance to David Simond, Dec. 2, 1716.

J 149, Conveyance, Aug. 2, 1826, reciting will of Susanna Louisa St John, July 26, 1804, with schedule of Grenada plantations and slaves.

J 161, Will and administration of Lidia Frégier, née Simond, May 4, 1751, attested Aug. 11, 1758; administration to Catherine Simond, Aug, 26, 1758.
J 163, Probate of Louisa Margaret Groteste, May 13, 1769, proved July 16, 1771.

J 1076, Certificate of service, Lt David Simond, May 23, 1702.

J 1077, Certificate of captaincy, David Simond, April 12, 1706.

Northamptonshire

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SJ 157, Marriage settlement, John St John and Susanna Louisa Simond, Dec. 11, 1755.

SJ 158, Articles of agreement, Peter Simond, Susanna Groteste de la Buffière and Mary Groteste de la Mothe, Jan. 7, 1724/5.

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b. Foreign and Commonwealth Office, London (FCO)

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E/1/1, Miscellaneous letters received, 1701-1709.

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c. Library of the Huguenot Society of London (HSL Library)

Aufrère papers.

Lart, C.E. (comp.), Ms. registers, L'Aigle, Athis, Bellesme and Ercé, I and II.

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Minet, W. (comp.), Ms. Guisnes registers and maps.

Research Department, Genealogical material (17 boxes).

Wagner collection: Huguenot wills; miscellaneous documents; pedigrees.

d. Public Record Office, London (PRO)

RG 4, Non parochial registers, foreign churches, 13 I 4639, Baptisms and marriages, "Le Temple", Soho; 22 II 4593, Baptisms and marriages, Eglise de l'Artillerie, Artillery Street, Spitalfields.

e. Thomson Hankey and Co., Ltd, London

Documents; portrait and inscription.

f. Wallington, Northumberland

Ms. letter, Louisa Trevelyan, Aug, 20, 1771, in "Wallingtoniana".

B. SOUTH AFRICA**a. Cape Archives, Cape Town (CA)**

(C and CJ items also available on microfilm)

C 29-45, Resolutiën, 1735-1753 (old numbers).

C 120-155, Bijlagen, 1716-1754.

C 223-252, Requesten/ . . . en nominatiën, 1715-1753.

C 292-298, Memoriën en rapporten, 1726-1751.

C 329-368, Attestatiën, 1676-1751.

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C 661, Scheeps en andere journalen, 1707-1753.

C 678-679, Eed boeken, 1696-1793.

C 710, Instructiën hier gelaten door Gouv. Gen. Van Imhoff met bijlagen, 1743.

C 794, Inkomende brieven in duplo en triplo, 1668-1714.

C 798, Bannelingen, kerk, slaven en schepen, 1687-1796.

C 799, Gemengde stukken, 18de eeuw.

CJ 285-355; 364, Criminele processtukken, 1680-1747; 1755.

CJ 664-677, Minuut criminele processtukken, 1738-1751.

CJ 834, Civiele regts rollen, 1740.

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CJ 2485, Inkomende brieven, 1729-1759.

CJ 2562-2565, Vonnissen, personen van Batavia en Ceijlon, 1722-1755.

CJ 2597-2612; 2655-2661, Testamenten en codicillen, 1691-1754; 1737-1755.

CJ 2750-2756, Procuratiën, 1686-1717.

CJ 2870-2892, Contracten, 1692-1752.

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CJ 2969, Attestatiën rakende particuliere zaken, 1727-1739.

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CJ 3220, Notulen, gecommiteerdens, 1754-1759.
CJ 3635-3637, Diverse processtukken, 1688-1754.
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675459, Aigues-Vives, Renonciations, 1685.
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798080, Calvinsson, Testaments, 1670-1676.

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25, Cape church members, 1665-1901.

27, Cape church marriages, 1665-1839.

109, Paarl church baptisms, 1694-1790.

114, Paarl church members and marriages, 1715-1859.

133, Stellenbosch church baptisms, 1688-1827.

135, Stellenbosch church members, 1693-1900.

136, Stellenbosch church marriages, 1696-1860.

(Originals in the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk Archives, Cape Town)

f. Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk Archives, Cape Town (NGKA)

G 1, 1/1, Kaapstad, Notule, 1665-1694.

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G 2, 7/1, Stellenbosch, Huwelikregister en lidmaatregister, 1700-1788.

G 3, 1/1, Paarl, Notule, 1715-1730.

G 3, 3/1, Paarl, Doop, 1694-1745.

G 3, 4/1, Paarl, Lidmaatregister, 1715-1786.

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i. Transvaal Archives, Pretoria (TA)

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C. MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES

Access to the following material is gratefully acknowledged:

Correspondence and other material on Joubert family origins: Prof. W.A. Joubert, Pretoria.

Correspondence concerning the De Villiers family origins and other material: Mr J. de Villiers, Pretoria.

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Note: The names of all ships, and of many persons and geographical locations of minor significance, have been omitted. For surnames beginning with the particle “*De*” see the following word.

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