
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 prophesies 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-

maining 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 Valckener 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. Savoj 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 Languedoc 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

Savoie 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 Savoie, born at the Cape in 1689, and Barbe-Thérèse de Savoie'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 Savoie 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 Savoie, 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 Savoie 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 Savoie 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 Savoie 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 *Westerdijhorn* 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 Savoie 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 *Westerdijhorn* 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 Courtilliat, 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 Bénézet 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 Tallefert 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 adoreteurs*, 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 Calvisson 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 judgements 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 kindness 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 briewe*, 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 Indiaman *Heathcote*: "When anchored ye pinnis came aboard with muten and greens: allso giveth an account that ye Inhabitanance (*sic*) of ye place are much troubled 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. BOESEKEN, 'Die Kaap voor die koms van die Franse vlugtelinge', *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; BOESEKEN (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, *Hugene-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 schepenkenissen, 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 schepenkenissen, 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 schepenkenissen, 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, *Hugeneote-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 schepenkenissen, 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 schepenkenissen, 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 vlugtelingen', 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 schepenkenissen, 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 vlugtelingen', 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 verwagt 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 schepenkenissen, 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, 'Kanttekening', *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 (Jub-bels).
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 brieve: 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 schepenkenntnissen, 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-briefjes', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 384, Aug. 9, 1929, p. 43.
79. BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 57; 60.
80. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters despatched*, p. 144: 12, Amsterdam, March 1, 1700; BOTHA, *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 schepenkenissen, 1699-1700*.
82. FWK: Bénézet.
83. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Letters despatched*, p. 258: Middelburg, March 28, 1705; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 49; 75; 105; 108.
84. SR 7, *Transport en schepenkenissen, 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; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 57; 64; FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelingen', VII, *Die Huisgenoot*, XII, 298, Dec. 9, 1927, p. 39.
86. BÖESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies*, IV, p. 255; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 64; FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelingen', VII, *Die Huisgenoot*, XII, 298, Dec. 9, 1927, p. 39.
87. G 3, 4/1, *Paarl. Lidmaatregister*: p. 4; BOTHA, *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; BOTHA, *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.; BOTHA, *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; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 70; 112; FRANKEN, 'Franse vlugtelingen', 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', *BSHPP*, CXVI, Oct.-Dec. 1970, p. 609.
95. CJ 3220, Notulen, gecomitteerdens, 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 nakomelinge 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: Florian 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 schepenkennissen, 1688-1690 – 1701-1702 (DO)); BOESEKEN, *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 schepenkennissen, 1695-1696: Anne Catharina Popinck, April 5, 1695, pp. 110-111).
 106. SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1699-1700: Jan. 6, 1700.
 107. See RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, pp. 57-58.
 108. See RAVENHART (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: Bérau(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', *BSHPP*, 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 schepenkennissen, 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 (BOTHA, *French refugees*, facing p. 58), the widow of the former Cape pastor used the spelling Béraut, 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, Minuutacten, 1714: 225, will of Etienne Fizeaux, June 14; 42, Obligatie, 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 Delpesch, 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, pp. 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 Calais 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, Civiele 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 Hugenote op die Afrikaanse volkskarakter en kultuur', *Historiese Studies*, I, 3, 1939-1940, pp. 1-14. There has also been consider-

