The second region to be discussed in this survey of the origins of French-speaking settlers at the Cape covers a wide area. It is bounded on the west by the Atlantic coast facing the Bay of Biscay from southern Brittany to the Spanish frontier; to the south by the mountain barrier of the Pyrenees and the Lion Gulf of the Mediterranean Sea as far as the western edge of the Rhône delta. This river, with its tributary the Saône to Thoissey, south of Mâcon, represents, with one small deviation, the eastern boundary, while to the north and north-east the Loire provides an approximate line of demarcation, extended along the south-western border of Burgundy. The provinces through which the Loire flows in its westward course have been discussed in the previous chapter; that part of the Nivernais which lies on the left bank of the river is also excluded here.

In the north and north-east of the region lie the former provinces of
Poitou, Berry and the Bourbonnais; to the east is the Lyonnais, straddling the river boundary at Lyons. The central provinces are Auvergne, Limousin and Marche. Midway along the Atlantic coast, from the northern shore of the Gironde estuary to the mouth of the Sèvre Niortais above La Rochelle, are Saintonge and the Pays d'Aunis, with the Angoumois behind them. The lands of Languedoc, including Velay, Gévaudan and the Vivarais, are situated in the south-east, with the country of Foix and a late acquisition, Roussillon, won from Spain in 1659, to the south. Béarn adjoins Spain to the west of these, while the remainder of the south-west belongs to French Navarre and the various
territories which together make up Gascony and Guyenne. Those in Gascony include Armagnac and Bigorre; among those in Guyenne are Périgord, the Agenais, Quercy and Rouergue.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some statistics for the six colloquies which made up the synodal prov-
inces of Lower Languedoc and the Cévennes, united until 1612, will
give an idea of the Calvinist preponderance at local level. In about forty parishes south of Nîmes the population was almost 90% Protestant; two-thirds of those living in the villages west and south-west of Uzès were Calvinists; in the Anduze colloquy of the Cévennes province more than 80% of the population followed the reformed faith and most Catholics lived in a single town, Alès. On the other hand it must be remembered that these areas of dominant Protestantism were not thickly populated. The inhabitants, Catholic and Calvinist, of all three districts mentioned numbered only about 70,000.4

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

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

Among those who sailed from Goeree on February 3, 1688 aboard the Oosterland of the Zeeland chamber were the surgeon Jean Prieur du Plessis (Plessis), born in Poitiers about the year 1638, and his wife Madeleine Menanteau of the same town. Du Plessis had taken the oath of loyalty required of emigrants together with other male members of the Oosterland party on January 8, 1688 in Middelburg, having moved
to the Zeeland capital from Amsterdam. A son Charles was born to the couple on the voyage and christened aboard the ship on April 18, 1688.

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

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

The exact date of arrival of Jean Prieur du Plessis and Madeleine Menanteau in the United Provinces is uncertain, but they became members of the Walloon church in Amsterdam on September 28, 1687, with attestation from the church at Saint-Thomas. This may reinforce the argument in favour of a period of residence in the West Indies. Du Plessis became a citizen of Amsterdam on September 30, 1687. Three Menanteaus, Antoine, Marguerite and Marie, were members of the Walloon church in Amsterdam in August 1688, while in the previous month Denis Martineau du Plessis, a schoolmaster from Fontenay, possibly Fontenay-le-Comte, had reached the city. He married there a few months later. In Amsterdam at an earlier date was a wine-merchant, Jean du Plessis of Saint-Germain-en-Laye near Versailles, birthplace of Louis XIV. One Du Plessis from Poitiers made his way to
Wolfenbüttel in Brunswick before the revocation: Joseph du Plessis, a former Catholic priest. There was also a Louis du Plessis, minister of the French church at Bremen, whose daughter Louise was baptized in Amsterdam in September 1686, and a Michel du Plessis, reader of the church at Bergen-op-Zoom and father of a large family. The further history of Jean Prieur du Plessis, who was to return to Europe for some years, is recounted elsewhere in this study.

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

Jacob Labat took refuge in Hesse at Cassel, where he married Anne de Lèze of Paris on June 12, 1687. Their eldest son Louis was christened there in May of the following year. It seems that an early visit to London proved unrewarding and Jacob had to be helped back to the United Provinces in 1690 from the poor-box of St James's, Westminster. Jacob returned to England with his wife and four children and on July 14, 1700 presented himself for membership of the Savoy church in London. His son Louis was married at the French church in West Street to Madeleine de l'Ecluse on April 12, 1710. The Laurent family of Fontenay-le-Comte was also represented in London. Nicolas Laurent left the United Provinces for the English capital in May 1694.

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

Nicolas Labat of Drakenstein married Elisabeth Vivier, daughter of Jacob Vivier, in June 1717 and died on December 30 of the same year. His brother Jacob in London laid claim to the estate and on October 12, 1724 produced witnesses in support of his right to inherit. All were from Fontenay-le-Comte and resident in the British capital. Their
names, or those of members of their families, are recorded in the registers of the temple there: Jean Hudel, minister of a London congregation; Daniel Taillepain; Benjamin Moquet, probably the indigent brazier who was assisted from the poor-box at Threadneedle Street in 1681; Daniel Paillou, godfather at a Fontenay baptism in 1682; Daniel Pain, perhaps the son of the pastor of Fontenay-le-Comte of this name.

A deposition was made before the London lawyer Jacques de Brissac, another refugee from Poitou, but it was not until June 9, 1726 that steps were taken to recover the inheritance. On that date Brissac drew up a power of attorney appointing François Guillaume, shortly to come put to the Cape, to collect whatever was due to Jacob Labat. The money was to be paid over to the Amsterdam merchant Jean Barbesorre, also a native of Fontenay-le-Comte and a refugee of 1682. The Barbesorres were Amsterdam furriers.

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

There was also a Jacques Labat at the Cape and Botha has equated him with the London refugee Jacob. Jacques, however, was at the Cape as late as 1701 and there are reasons for thinking that he came from a different region. A tentative answer is given in the next chapter.

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

The refugee blacksmith Pierre Barillé eludes certain identification in European records. There were Barrillets at Niort before the revocation, while on March 20, 1707/8 a Peter Baraille, son of Pierre
and Marie Baraille of Rouergue, obtained naturalization in England. Despite the variations in spelling, one of these families may perhaps provide a link with the Cape settler.

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

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

Jean Migault’s wife had died in 1683 and eight years later he married Elisabeth Cocuad, a widow from Nantillé in Saintonge. Their son François-Louis was christened at Amsterdam on January 4, 1694 and in 1696 accompanied his parents and an elder sister Madeleine to Emden in German Friesland, where Jean taught the children of the local Huguenot community. François-Louis Migault joined the service of the Dutch East India Company as a soldier, reaching the Cape of Good Hope as a young man of nineteen aboard the Strijkkebolle in 1713. There, like his father, he became a teacher for a number of years. His return to Europe is discussed in a later chapter. Migault has been confused with the burgher Johannes Frederik Carolus Michault, who reached the Cape in 1727 from Batavia. They were probably not related, however.

The former Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle in which Jean Migault was held captive had lost much of its former greatness by the time of the revocation. In the years following its reduction in 1628 it had become an
unauthorized refuge for Calvinists, but apart from the persecution of 1661 religious life was not seriously interfered with until the approach of the revocation. From 1675, however, there was a considerable increase in abjurations from what was described there as "la R.P.R. autrement dite lheresie de Calvin".\(^52\) In March 1685 the temple was demolished, but before that event the pastors Jacques de Tandebaratz, Daniel-Henri de Laizement, Théodore le Blanc and Jacques Guybert had suffered imprisonment in the Bastille and had been compelled to make public apology for their alleged errors.\(^53\) Tandebaratz and Guybert found a refuge in Switzerland; Laizement and Le Blanc went to the United Provinces, where the latter served first at Groningen and later ministered to Huguenot communities in Copenhagen and Altona.\(^54\) The United Provinces had a consul at La Rochelle, Arnoldus van Herselay, whose reports in the last months before October 1685 describe the growing pressures upon Calvinists there.\(^55\) The coast was watched by the French authorities, who were kept informed of escape plans, but many shared Migault’s good fortune and managed to make their way to safety.

La Rochelle seems to have had more significance in the history of the Cape refugees as a possible escape route from France than as a place of origin. Although Pierre, Jacob and Abraham de Villiers are described as coming from the port, it is by no means certain, despite the searches of D.P. de Villiers,\(^56\) that they were born in this western region of France. A tentative solution to the question of their French background is offered in a later chapter. David du Buisson, schoolmaster to the children of Pierre Jaubert (Joubert), is also stated to have come from La Rochelle,\(^57\) although this has not been confirmed. The only David du Buisson whose name has been found in Dutch records was from Rouen and was married to Marie Gressier of Dieppe at Rotterdam in August 1696.\(^58\) Several children were born of the marriage. There is an undated receipt in Cape records signed by an Esther du Buisson, wife of Jan Hendrik Carnak, for goods sent to the Cape burgher Johannes Pfeiffer in 1712.\(^59\)

The places of origin of several French-speaking colonists at the Cape remain difficult to determine with any degree of certainty, but one of a later period whose name perhaps suggests an original family home in the west or south-west of France is Gédeon Courtilliat of Lübeck.\(^60\) He reached the Cape in 1725 as a sailor in the service of the Dutch East India Company and was accepted as a burgher in 1732.\(^61\)

Claudine, Susanne and Jeanne Seugnet, probably sisters, brought attes-
tations from Amsterdam to the Stellenbosch church in April 1689.\textsuperscript{62} They came from the province of Saintonge, but the precise locality has not been established. They may have been related to Elie Seugnet and his wife Anne Baudouin, whose names are to be found in Amsterdam records. Anne Baudouin of Saintonge was naturalized there on October 17, 1709 after Elie Seugnet's death. Her son Elie also became a Dutch citizen. Susanne Seugnet was still living in 1741, the widow of François Dutoit, to be discussed in a subsequent chapter.\textsuperscript{63}

Marie Gautier of Marennens in Saintonge was the wife of André Mellet and doubtless the niece of Gilles Sollier, two men whose background remains to be touched upon. The daughter of Jacques Gautier and Marie Roulain, she and her husband reached the Cape in 1731, where she died in 1745. Anne Roulain was Sollier's wife and also from Marennens.\textsuperscript{64} The name Roulain is not uncommon in the region. There were Roulains at Saint-Genis-de-Saintonge, north-west of Jonzac, who were using the temple at Cognac in the Angoumois for baptisms in 1684.\textsuperscript{65} The surname is also encountered among refugees from Jonzac and Saujon in England.\textsuperscript{66} An Anne Roulain of Saintonge, wife of the younger Ruvigny's equerry Jean Nicolas, was in London in 1691.\textsuperscript{67}

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

In the colloquy of Nay in the synodal province of Béarn was the Calvinist congregation of Pontacq, on the confines of Bigorre.\textsuperscript{70} It is possible that this was the place of origin of the family of the schoolmaster and farmer Pieter Labuscaigne, since he gave the name Pontak to his farm at Paarl, granted in 1723.\textsuperscript{71} Described as from Enkhuizen, he came out as a drummer in 1710 and was for some years employed on contract to teach the children of farmers and sometimes to undertake other jobs required of him. His children Jan, Frans and Johanna Beren-
dina accompanied their mother Anna Maria Bacat when she joined her husband in 1717. Sexton and messenger at the Drakenstein church, he subsequently farmed on his own account. His son Frans was apprenticed to a shoemaker. Pieter Labuscaigne may perhaps have been a descendant of earlier immigrants to the United Provinces. The surname appears in the Amsterdam records of the Walloon church in 1718 with the baptism of Samson, son of Samson Labuscaigne and Louise Teulon.

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

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

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

Gilles Sollier, the colonist whose business ability made him a useful intermediary in the Table Valley settlement for the legal and commercial transactions of inland farmers, joined the Cape church on October 4, 1697. The surname is common in Languedoc, but it would seem that he came either from Clermont-l'Hérault, then known as Clermont-de-Lodève, or more probably from Nîmes. His parents had died before
March 1699. His sons by Anne Roulain—David, baptized at the Cape on October 25, 1699, and Pierre, christened there on November 12, 1702—provide no definite lead through their names to a Nimes background, but on the other hand the records of the Walloon church at Leyden mention a refugee David Soli (sic) from Clermont in Languedoc who was first given assistance in the Dutch town in October 1687. The Gilles Soulier (sic) who died a Catholic at Bernis, south of Nimes, in 1701, could be related to the Cape refugee.

It is known, from an incident in the struggle between the Cape burghers and Willem Adriaen van der Stel, that Gilles Sollier had served in the French army during the Dutch War which ended in 1678. He had been present at the siege of Charlemont on the Meuse. Sollier was certainly in the United Provinces by 1686, when he became a member of the Walloon church at Gorinchem (Gorcum). He moved to Amsterdam in 1692, where he was received by the Walloon congregation on May 31. He would appear to have been in the service of the Dutch East India Company and was perhaps a French army deserter, of whom several were helped by the Walloon church of Arnhem after the revocation.

Botha, who confuses the families of Gilles Sollier and the settler Durand Soullier, is evidently correct in assuming that the two men were brothers, despite the different spellings of the surname. Appropriately enough, Durand was a shoemaker who, with his wife Marthe Petel, became a member of the Table Valley church at the same time as Gilles. A daughter Susanne was baptized there on June 28, 1699 and her sister Marthe on New Year’s Day, 1702. After the death of his wife Durand Soullier married Elisabeth, daughter of Pierre de Villiers, who joined the Cape church in April 1716. Like Gilles, Durand Soullier was a responsible member of burgher society and an elder of the Table Valley congregation, although he does not seem to have had Gilles’s educational background. Had he already been abroad with the Dutch East India Company? On March 3, 1697 a Durand Soullier was received at the Walloon church in Amsterdam with a membership entry which suggests that he had come from the Indies. If this is so, he must have left very promptly for the Cape of Good Hope.

We shall have more to say about Gilles Sollier later in connection with the arrival at the Cape in 1731 of André Mellet and Marie Gautier. Mellet was from Nîmes, the son of Claude Mellet, baptized on June 4, 1666 and still living in the French city in 1740. The surname Sollier is also of frequent occurrence in the Nîmes registers of the reformed church. Also from Nîmes was the refugee Jean Imbert, who suffered
blindness in later life. He reached the Cape at an early date, perhaps as a soldier on the *Oosterland*. There is also a reference at the Cape to a “Pieter” Imbert, then unknown, but owing money to the Dutch East India Company.

The name Imbert occurs frequently in documents from the Nimes area. Although the birth of a Jean Imbert has not been discovered, that of a Pierre Imbert, son of Jean Imbert and Jeanne Sanière, took place on December 24, 1660. The father was a husbandman. This is perhaps the Imbert family of the village of Saint-Césaire, south-west of the city, of which the *travalheur* (sic), or farm worker Jean Imbert was a member in 1679. An Etienne Imbert of Saint-Césaire was assisted at Geneva early in 1686. It was probably the Cape settler who was helped with money and food by the Walloon Church in Leyden during September and October 1687. Imberts from Nimes also settled in the English colonies of Virginia and Pennsylvania in North America.

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

Also apparently from Nimes was the Cape burgher Jacques Therond, who reached the Cape as a soldier aboard the *Oosterland* in 1688.
certain information has been learned about his departure from France or his arrival in the United Provinces, but he must have been in Middelburg prior to embarkation. A merchant Jacques Therond from Montpellier settled in Amsterdam in 1687 and there was a Calvinist of that name at Boisseron, between Montpellier and Nîmes, before the revocation. He not only farmed there, but also traded in oil and other merchandise out of Frontignan to Messina in Sicily. There may be a family connection here, although the name Therond is frequently encountered in the region. Another possible reference to the Cape settler in the Netherlands appears in the records of the 's-Hertogenbosch church, where a Jacob Touron (sic), a soldier in the Walloon regiment, brought an attestation from Saint-Antonin, presumably the Calvinist centre of that name north-east of Montauban. This is at a considerable distance from Nîmes, but the entry does not entirely rule out the possibility that we are dealing here with the Cape refugee, despite the variation in names.

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

There are other details in the letter which lend credibility to its contents: family history and the evident advanced age of Jacques's father; the fact that another son was living in the Prescheurs suburb, easily identifiable from a map of the period; comment on the private devotions of Calvinists; the mention of galley-slaves; a probable reference to the former Protestant centre of Calvisson, where worship was banned in August 1685 and the great temple demolished after the revocation, to rise again in modern times on the same site. If, as seems likely, it is this place-name which is disguised by a faulty spelling, there is no reason to accept Franken's suggestion that the Theronds might have
had aristocratic connections. Finally there is the Fisquet who brought news to Languedoc of the Theronds in exile at the Cape. Is this not perhaps Jean Fisquet of the Cévennes, a corporal in the service of the Dutch East India Company there in 1715?

The contents of this letter enable us to make a cautious evaluation of the Therond entries in Protestant registers at Nîmes and Calvisson. Jacques Therond had a brother Moïse and an uncle of the same name; another uncle was Pierre. There were also nephews Moïse and Daniel. Jacques's father was spending his declining years in Daniel's house, where the letter was written. However, the abundance of Theronds in the Nîmes and Calvisson registers, the incomplete nature of the entries and the existence of other temples in the neighbourhood of Nîmes where family details might have been recorded make positive identification difficult. Moreover we are confronted by other problems. Pieter François Theron has indicated that Jacques's father was also named Jacques. If this is so the extant registers at Nîmes and Calvisson reveal little. Secondly we have it on record that Jacques Therond of the Cape was born in mid-May 1668. This cannot be confirmed from the baptismal entries at Nîmes.

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

The closest entry of the birth of a Jacques Therond in the baptismal registers of Nîmes was made exactly a year before the date recorded at the Cape, namely on May 18, 1667. This was the child of a *travalheur* Sauvaire Therond and his wife Isabeau Contesse, whose marriage had taken place on October 22, 1663. Sauvaire (Saviour) is a Christian name of local usage. The child was presented at baptism by a silk-mercer Jean Martin, acting for his son Jacques. It seems possible that Sauvaire Therond was the son of Jacques Therond, whose wife Marie
Imberte died in January 1676. This would bring the Theronds and the Imberts, represented at the Cape, into a close relationship.

Here is a family in which the Christian names Moïse, Pierre and Daniel are to be found and one moreover with a clear link with Calvisson. On April 27, 1659 Moïse Therond of Nîmes married Marie Vidalle of Calvisson. They settled in the wife's birthplace, where a son Sauvaire was born to them in June 1670. Members of the Therond family were mainly agricultural workers and artisans, although there was a Jean Therond practising medicine in Calvisson. A Pierre Therond, possibly the brother of Sauvaire Therond of Nîmes, was a shoemaker, but of sufficient standing in local society to be chosen as consul, or municipal officer. Another Moïse Therond was married to Isabeau Massipe. Like Sauvaire a labourer, he and his wife chose as godfather to their daughter Sara in 1685 a gardener Pierre Martin, another link perhaps with the godfather of 1667. A son Daniel was born to this couple in March 1683. Further investigation of contemporary documents, particularly in the legal field, will doubtless reveal more about these involved family relationships, but much suggests that we are at least dealing with the family of the Cape settler.

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

Uzès, in the opinion of the visiting Englishman John Locke, was 75% Calvinist in 1676, when Protestants lost their municipal representation there. The name Martin was fairly common in the community and we have it on record that the one-handed Cape refugee Antoine Martin came from the town, where he was born about the year 1664. The baptismal registers for Uzès provide a probable identification. Antoine, son of the lawyer Pierre Martin and his wife Marie Barbansanne, was born on November 12, 1664 and christened on December 9. If, as seems likely, this is the Cape settler, he came from a higher social level than the majority of the French-speaking Cape colonists. A connection between Theronds and Martins has already been noted and it is not...
beyond the bounds of possibility that Jacques Therond and Antoine Martin were related.

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

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

It is possible that François was the son of Jacques Guilliaumé and Marie Bordasse, born on November 29, 1680 and baptized at Aimargues five days later, or perhaps of a related couple François Guilliaumé and Isabeau Ducroze, married at Aimargues on December 6, 1675. The Cape settler was in exile by 1700 and settled in Berlin as a tailor with his wife Claudine Eloy, whose place of origin will be discussed in the next chapter. Their son Mathieu, who worked with him in the nascent silk industry at the Cape and was later employed as a blacksmith, was born in Berlin on February 20, 1712. His daughters Jeanne, Marie and Anne were doubtless also born in Germany. The Guilliaumés were
in Amsterdam by May 1726\textsuperscript{150} and it would be interesting to know how François came to be chosen to act for Jacob Labat. Did he perhaps visit London? Where too had he acquired his skill as a silk maker? It was a flourishing industry in Languedoc, showing phenomenal growth in Nîmes during the seventeenth century. Much of the raw silk came from the Cévennes and Calvinists from that mountain region were encouraged to bring their techniques to the papal Comtat Venaissin across the Rhône in order to increase production there.\textsuperscript{151}

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

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

Much that was said about settlers from the west and north-west of France applies equally to those from other regions, this one included. The same range of occupations is seen here, with the addition of a new sphere, that of teaching. The level of intellectual development would seem to have varied considerably in this field: Migault, whatever his personal failings, was clearly a man of parts.\textsuperscript{156} There is also a similar variation in standards of literacy generally, although it would appear from an examination of church registers and other documents that the level was rather higher in the north than in the south and, it may be added, higher among men than among women. Franken, whose valuable researches brought to light so many fragments written in French and Dutch by the French-speaking pioneers at the Cape, has suggested that rather more than 50\% of the men were at least able to sign their names.\textsuperscript{157} It would seem that the percentage of women able to do so would be somewhat lower.
Once again in this survey we find evidence of contact, slight perhaps, between the settlers at the Cape and kinsfolk in France or in the European lands of refuge. The Therond letter is of particular interest here. There is less emphasis among the refugees from this region, however, on an emigration in groups with family connections, or on Calvinists coming from the same town or district. On the other hand we have been considering a part of France much greater in extent and one from which a proportionally small number of Calvinists emigrated. Moreover it is a region much less homogeneous than the first, both in physical features and in the composition of its population. Poitou, Aunis and Saintonge have much more in common with the area north of the Loire than they have with, say, Languedoc, whose closest associations outside the south-west are with Provence to the east. This is reflected in the prevalence of surnames among those worshipping in the various Calvinist temples. In the north we may note the Fouchers, numerous in both the Loire valley and Poitou.158

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

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

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

The population drain from rural Languedoc cannot be entirely divorced from the decline in agriculture which Le Roy Ladurie has noted be-
between 1679 and 1686. A series of hot, dry summers caused widespread ruin. Water supplies dwindled, stock suffered and crops withered. Moreover two cold winters destroyed many olive trees. The revocation may have provided a final impetus to flee to a peasantry already enduring economic hardship. Nevertheless, in comparison with other regions, the tide of emigration flowed sluggishly in Languedoc.

Calvinism resisted sporadic attempts to eradicate it in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was here in the Cévennes that the protracted Camisard revolt took place, spearheaded by Abraham Mazel’s attack to free Calvinist prisoners in 1702 at Le Pont de Montvert, home of the Gauch family. Here too, as the Therond letter indicates, private devotions kept the faith alive and it was in Languedoc that the pastors of the Desert were especially active, bringing the consolation of the reformed religion to those who continued to reject Catholicism and endeavouring to keep isolated congregations together in some semblance of synodal unity. For it was the absence of spiritual leadership which led to the excesses of the Camisard revolt, with its mystic and prophetic undertones, and the use of the old Protestant liturgical language, French, by latter-day saints who “spoke in tongues.” In this regenerative work, both in the field and in the creation of a theological seminary at Lausanne in Switzerland, Antoine Court of Villeneuve-de-Berg in the Vivarais played a notable part. Active Calvinism was contrary to the intentions of 1685 and led to reprisals: executions, among them those of the pastors Claude Brousson at Montpellier in 1698 and Pierre Durand in the same town more than thirty years later; imprisonment; the harsh life of a galley-slave, endured by many from Languedoc from Jacob Germain in 1685 to Jean Viala of Anduze in 1762. Others took the road to exile and as late as 1752 thousands left for Switzerland to avoid the re-baptism of their children christened by the pastors of the Desert.

What was the approximate emigration from the entire region discussed in this chapter for the period 1675-1700? In the central and southern territories the cohesive strength of Calvinist sentiment in many towns and villages combined with the remoteness of the eastern frontiers and the Atlantic coastal escape routes to limit the flight of Calvinists. Perhaps only one in ten of the Protestant population fled; possibly fewer still from the far south-west. For the remainder of the region the figure may have been as high as one in four. On the basis of Mours’s population estimates this would represent something in the neighbourhood of 90,000 refugees. Few of them chose to exile themselves to the
Cape of Good Hope, however. Of the French-speaking settlers who reached Table Bay before the close of the seventeenth century, 7% at most would seem to have come from that part of France which lies west of the Rhône and south of the Loire.

REFERENCES: CHAPTER SIX

8. G 1, 1/1, Kaapstad, Notule, 1665-1694: May 1688, p. 34 (NGKA). BOTHA (French refugees, p. 67) gives the christening as in Table Bay, but the *Oosterland* did not reach the Cape until the afternoon of April 25, 1688 (R. RAVEN-HART (ed. and trans.), *Cape Good Hope 1652-1702; the first fifty years of Dutch colonisation as seen by callers*, II, p. 335).
14. NOBLE, Fransche Hoek, p. 32.
15. 2 E, Lusignan, Protestants, M, 1671-1681: Nov. 18, 1674 (AD Vienne). For Meneteau (sic) see 2 E, Lusignan, Protestants, B, 1661-1669 (AD Vienne); Du Plessis appears in the consistory records at Fontenay-le-Comte (I 4, Registres protestants, Fontenay-le-Comte, 1643-1685 (AD Vendée)).
17. Collection Mirandolle: Jean du Plessis, June 24, 1677 (Bibl. wall.); PA 201, Archieven der Bestuuren gevormd door de Waalse gemeente in Amsterdam tot 1943: 47a, Livre contenant les noms des membres, 1680-1689: Aug. 17, 1688 (Susanne and Antoine Menanteau); 46b, Livre des membres depuis l'an 1629: July 20, 1688 (Denis Martineau du Plessis); Aug. 29, 1688 (Marie Menanteau) (GA Amsterdam); Fichier, Amsterdam, d tb: Denis Martineau du Plessis and Amable (sic) Lachaud, Oct. 23, 1688 (GA Amsterdam).
18. BEULEKE, Hugenotten in Niedersachsen, 647, p. 102.
19. PA 201, Archieven, 35f, Livre de baptême, 1686-1692: Sept. 1, 1686 (GA Amsterdam). The minister's wife was Catherine Martin. For Louis du Plessis see also L. VAN NIEROP, 'Stukken betreffende de nijverheid der refugiés te Amsterdam', Economisch-Historisch Jaarboek, VII, 1921, p. 191: 23, Denombrement de tous les Protestans refugiez de France à Amsterdam... depuis l'an 1681 (March 24, 1684).
20. Q° 16, Registre des baptêmes administrés dans l'église wallon(n)e de Berg(ues)-op-Zoom depuis sa separation d'avec la flamande, 1686-1806: 1689-1708, pp. 5-28 (Bibl. wall.).
21. For this church see B. FILLON, L'Eglise réformée de Fontaney-le-Comte; ses precurseurs, premiers fidèles, prédicateurs et pasteurs; hommes remarquables sortis de son sein.
23. FWK. La Bat.
24. W. and S. MINET (eds), Register of the church of Saint Martin Orgars with its history and that of Swallow Street, Publications HSL, XXXVII, p. xxxvi.
25. W. and S. MINET (eds), Livre des conversions et des reconnaissances faites à l'église française de la Savoye 1684-1702, Publications HSL, XXII, p. 29.
26. W. and S. MINET (eds), Registres des quatre églises du Petit Charenton, de West Street, de Pearl Street et de Crispin Street, Publications HSL, XXXII, p. 40. Another son, Jacob, or the father himself, married Elisabeth Pantin at the Tabernacle church on Feb. 5, 1710. The bridegroom came from what is described in the entry as the parish of St. Martin-des-filles (W. and S. MINET (eds), Registers of the churches of the Tabern-
27. FWK: Laurent(s), May 2, 1694.
28. I 4, Registres protestants, Fontenay-le-Comte: May 19, 1676. The celebrant was Daniel Pain. Spelling has been brought into line with other entries. A second marriage to Anne Faucillon took place on May 11, 1681.
29. G 3, 5/1, Paarl, Huwelik 1717-1823: June 13, 1717, p. 1; G 3, 4/1, Paarl, Lidmaatregister, 1715-1786: p. 6 (NGKA). See also BOTHA, French refugees, pp. 74; 116.
32. On Hudel, long a captive in France and minister of the London church of Les Grecs, see SMILES, Huguenots, p. 403. For Moquet see HANDS and SCOULOUDI (eds), French Protestant refugees, p. 144. Paillou’s name appears as godfather on May 7, 1682 (I 4, Registres protestants, Fontenay-le-Comte). Daniel Pain the minister was born in 1639 (MOURS, ‘Pasteurs’, BSHPF, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 91).
33. PA 201, Archieven, 47a: Feb. 11, 1682.
35. French refugees, pp. 73-74.
36. MOOC 8/1, Inventarissen, 1692-1705: 54, Feb. 25, 1701 (CA).
38. C 41, Resolutiën, 1749: Aug. 26 and Dec. 9, pp. 155-156; 229 (CA); LEIBBRANDT (comp.), Precis… Requesten (Memorials), 1, p. 87: 27, 1754.
40. His trade is in SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1691-1692: purchase by Barillé of a Table Valley house and land from Jan Vlok, Aug. 14, 1692 (DO).
41. 4 E2 202, II, Niort, Protestants, B, 1669-1670; BMS, 1670-1673: July 7, 1669 (baptism of Paul, son of David Barrillet and Andrée Morin) (AD Deux-Sèvres).
43. See Journal de Jean Migault ou malheurs d’une famille protestante du Poitou avant et après la révocation de l’Edit de Nantes…

46. PA 201, Archieven, 47a.

47. PA 201, Archieven, 35g, Livre de bapteme, 1692-1706 (GA Amsterdam).


49. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis. . .Requesten (Memorials)*, II, pp. 737; 738: 48, June 20, 1719; 132, Nov. 21, 1719.


51. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, pp. 310-311; 310n: Jan. 14, 1727. He and his wife Johanna Maria Vlotman sought permission to return with their child to Batavia in 1729.

52. Ms. 779, Papier des conversion(s) (abj' du Protestantisme) du 9 novembre 1628 au 16 octobre 1692: abjuration of Jeanne Morel, July 15, 1679, f. 72 (Bibl. mun. La Rochelle).

53. Ms. 150, Documents XVIe-XVIIIe siècles: printed *Arrest*, f. 208 (Bibl. mun. La Rochelle).


57. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 66.

58. FWK: Du Buisson, Aug. 5, 1696.

59. CJ 1029, Civiele processtukken, 1715: pp. 31-32 (CA).

60. For the spelling of this surname see C 238, Requesten en nominatiën, 1737-1738: 46 (CA) and LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis. . .Requesten (Memorials)*, I, p. 244.

61. See DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VIII, pp. 262n.; 272 and n.: Dec. 27, 1732; Feb. 11, 1733. He brought out his wife, Johanna Sophia Dorothea de Wagenaar, from Amsterdam in 1733 and returned to the United Provinces in 1739.


63. CJ 2609, Testamenten en codicillen, 1739-1743: 25. François Dutoit and Marie Therond, May 8, 1741, p. 140 (CA); FWK: Seugnet.


65. 2 E, Protestants, Cognac, BMS, 1649-1684: March 2, 1684 (baptism of
Jeanne, daughter of Charles Poitier and Marie Roulain) (AD Charente).


67. MINET (ed.), Register...also the répertoire général, 63, p. 6: baptism at La Patente de Soho of their daughter Henriette on Dec. 25.

68. CJ 289, Criminele processtukken, 1687: June 1687, pp. 209 and v.; 211 and v. (CA). See also BOTHA, French refugees, p. 96.

69. J.N. BOSHOFF, De Familie Boshoff, pp. 1-3, in Acc. 456, Die Familie Boshoff (TA); C.C. DE VILLIERS and C. PAMA, Genealogies of old South African families, I, p. 72; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), Precis...Requsten (Memorials), I, p. 82: 78, 1749.

70. MOURS, Protestantisme en France au XVIIe siècle, p. 72.

71. II, 2, Old Stellenbosch freeholds, 1723-1785: Aug. 3, 1723, f.2, p. 188 (DO); BOTHA, French refugees, p. 124.


74. Les Montalbanais et le refuge... pp. 223n.; 315, 344-345; 482n. On other unlikely or incorrect links see pp. 134; 182n.; 231n.; 469; 482n.

75. French refugees, pp. 80; 85; 98.

76. EC, Céligny, 2, BMS, 1670-1743: Jan. 13, 1683, p. 7 (marriages) (AE Geneva); BOTHA, French refugees, pp. 70; 160a.

77. TT 253, II, Mende: pp. 280; 288 (fugitives listed in 1688) (AN).

78. EC, Céligny, 2, BMS: Jan. 13, 1683, p. 7 (marriages); BOTHA, French refugees, p. 160a.

79. PA 201, Archieven, 50d, Sorties, 1684-1723: Oct. 28 (GA Amsterdam).


81. Microfilm 25, Cape church members 1665-1901: register 1695-1712, p. 113 (Human Sciences Research Council).


83. G 1, 8/1, Kaapstad, Doopregister, 1695-1712: pp. 14; 28 (NGKA).

85. A. ATGER, ‘Avant et après la révocation à Bernis; extraits de l’état civil’, 
BSHPF, LXII, Nov.-Dec. 1913, p. 507. He was buried on Nov. 13, 1701.
86. Contra-deductie, p. 93: June 30, 1706. See also NOBLE, Fransche Hoek, 
p. 24; FRANKEN, ‘Franse vlugtelinge’, VIII, Die Huisgenoot, XIII, 327, 
July 13, 1928, p. 25.
87. BW 535, Noms des communians de l’église wallon(ne) de Gorcum, 1693-
1731: 1693 and earlier (Bibl. wall.); FWK: Sollier; PA 201, Archieven, 
46b.
88. KANNEMEYER, Hugenote-familieboek, p. 228.
89. Eglise wallonne d’Arnhem, II, Comptes des diacres, 1686-1690: Aug. 24, 
1689, p. 12: “a trois deserteurs Reformé(e)s, de quels deux etoient mal-
ades”; “a une femme, qui avoit loge chez elle un deserteur malade” (GA 
Arnhem).
90. French refugees, p. 87. The Durand Sollier (Soullier) who married Elisa-
beth de Villiers was not Gilles’s son. We may note a close financial 
relationship between the two men (MOOC 22/3, Diverse financiële stukke, 
1719-1799: n.d. (1719) (CA)). Gilles had stood surety for Durand. FRAN-
KEN has indicated the Soullier spelling (‘Briefies en handtekening’, 
TWK, VII, 1938-1939, p. 100).
91. BOTHA, French refugees, p. 87: Oct. 4.
92. G 1, 8/1, Kaapstad, Doopregister: pp. 13; 24.
93. G 1, 13/1, Kaapstad, Huwelik (en lidmaatregister): April 19, 1716, p. 3 
(member).
94. G.C. DE WET (ed.), Resolusies van die Politieke Raad, VI, Suid-Afri-
kaanse Argiefstukke, Kaap No. 6, p. 379: Dec. 14, 1723 (Durand); p. 363: 
Dec. 20, 1713 (Gilles).
95. FWK: Soul(l)ier.
96. That their son, baptized on July 4, 1732, was named Durand further 
suggests a family relationship between Gilles Sollier and Durand Soullier 
(DE VILLIERS and PAMA, Genealogies, II, p. 552).
97. UU 98, B, Le Libvre des (sic) baptistoire de Leglise Refformee de 
Nisme(s), 1655-1667: Mel(1)et, p. 235v. (AD Gard); DE WET (ed.), 
Resolusies, VIII, p. 266n.: Jan 13, 1733.
98. See UU 101, Nimes, Protestants, BMS, 1674-1677 (AD Gard).
99. Stellenbosch, 13/21, Generale monster rollen, 1700-1716: dragonders, 
1712 (CA).
100. See J.L.M. FRANKEN, ‘Esaye Costeux’, Die Huisgenoot, XIV, 386, 
Aug. 23, 1929, p. 33. The farm Monpeliers Waveren was held by Jean 
Ingbert (sic) and seems to indicate a connection with Montpellier in 
Languedoc (II, 1, Old Stellenbosch freeholds, 1704-1723: Aug. 30, 1714, f. 
2, p. 128 (DO)). BOTHA (French refugees, p. 124) wrongly attributes 
ownership to a Jean Joubert.
101. G.C. DE WET (ed.), Resolusies van die Politieke Raad, V, Suid-Afri-
kaanse Argiefstukke, Kaap No. 5, p. 390: Nov. 21, 1719. This list contains 
a Jan Hardie from Memes (sic). Could this be Nimes?
102. UU 98, B: p. 118.
108. Thus avoiding any mention of the “religion prétendue réformée”. See UU 97, Nîmes, Protestants, M, 1637-1685: marriage of pastor Jacques Isnard of Poussan, south-west of Montpellier, July 10, 1656 (AD Gard).
109. On his relative moderation see LIGOU, Protestantisme, pp. 238-239.
110. TT 260, I, Nîmes: Le Puy, July 17, 1683, pp. 99-100 (AN).
111. BOTHA, French refugees, p. 89.
112. FWK: T(h)eronde: attestation from Montpellier, May 28, 1687. See also Collection Mirandolle: March 6, 1688. M.A. DU PLESSIS identifies this man with the Cape settler (“Jean Prieur du Plessis”, Proceedings HSL, XXII, 3, 1973, p. 265), but his conclusion is open to doubt. A refugee of this name died in Amsterdam in 1705 and another, a stocking worker from Calvisson in Languedoc, settled in Berlin (FWK: Terond; Terron).
113. TT 256B, VI and VII, Montpellier: Biens des religionnaires fugitifs, 1686-1687, pp. 1061-1063; 1329 (AN).
115. S.A. Bound Pamphlets, 310: Ms. Geslacht lijst (SAL). It was compiled between 1823 and 1826.
117. For an English translation see NOBLE, Fransche Hoek, p. 27.
118. ‘Hollandsche Hugenotebriefies; Jaques Therond’, Die Huisgenoot, XIV, 397, Nov. 8, 1929, p. 63.
119. See P. ROBERTS, The Quest for security 1715-1740, pp. 16-18, on “this now almost forgotten war” (p. 16).
121. ‘Hollandsche Hugenotebriefies; Jaques Therond’, Die Huisgenoot, XIV, 397, Nov. 8, 1929, p. 63.
123. See MOURS, Protestantisme en France au XVIIe siècle, p. 76.
125. FRANKEN’S estimate of mid-April 1688 is incorrect (‘Hollandsche Hugeno-
tebriefies; Jaques Therond', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 397, Nov. 8, 1929, p. 63).

126. See UU 114, Nimes, Protestants, BMS, 1668; Nouveaux convertis, 1713-1726 (AD Gard).

127. Examples given here are drawn from Languedoc records in AD Gard and Hérault, and from those for Provence in AD Alpes-de-Haute-Provence and Vaucluse.


129. UU 97, M: p. 220.

130. 5 E 58/5, Calvisson, Protestants, BMS, 1670-1684: born June 29; baptized July 11 (AD Gard).

131. 5 E 58/5, Calvisson, BMS: baptism, June 28, 1670, of Catherine, daughter of Jean Therond, surgeon, and Judith Arnaude, born June 17.

132. UU 101, BMS: Jan. 5, 1676, p. 85; Feb. 27, 1676, p. 12.

133. UU 104, Nimes, Protestants, BMS, 1683-1685: March 18, 1683; Aug. 20, 1685 (AD Gard).

134. 678206, Uzès, Protestants, BMS, 1616-1673: GG 34, 1665-1669 (microfilm) (GSSLC).


137. 678206, Uzès, Protestants, BMS: GG 33, 1645-1664.

138. Archives hospitalières, Kq 6, Distributions de deniers à la semaine, 1687-1689: p. 100 (AE Geneva).


140. H.C.V. LEIBBRANDT, *Rambles through the archives of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope*, 1st Series, p. 93.

141. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VII, p. 293: Nov. 5, 1726. This vessel brought stowaways to the Cape.


143. FWK: Guillaumé.

144. Saint-Laurent was 75% Calvinist in the 17th century; Catholics and Protestants were in approximately equal numbers at Aimargues (GACHON, *Quelques preliminaires*, appendix XIX, p. xxi).

145. See Locke on the town in 1676 (LOUGH (ed.), *Locke’s travels*, pp. 61-62: March 24). He notes (p. 61) a decline in Calvinism there.

146. 5 E 6/3, Aimargues, Protestants, BMS, 1675-1682 (AD Gard).


148. FWK: Guillaumé, where the wife’s name is given as Eloy, not Cloy (cf. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 94; G 1, 12/1, Kaapstad, Huwelik (en lidmaatregister): Nov. 25, 1726, p. 25).

149. FWK: Guillaumé. The date of baptism was Feb. 28, 1712. Cf., however, DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies*, VIII, p. 242: Nov. 4, 1732, when Mathieu
sought and obtained full legal powers, having reached the age of 21. On the family see also BOUCHER, ‘Cape and company’, Kleio, IX, 1 and 2, June 1977, pp. 66–67.

150. FWK: Guillaume.

151. LADURIE, Paysans de Languedoc, 1, pp. 441-442.

152. BOTHA, French refugees, p. 117.

153. FWK: Bénézet; PA 201, Archieven, 46b.

154. Among them a Catholic Pierre Bénézet, born on Oct. 6, 1670 and baptized at Montpellier on Oct. 14 (3 E 17752, Montpellier, Catholiques, BMS, 1668-1683 (AD Hérault)).

155. J. PANNIER, Antoine Bénézet (de Saint-Quentin); un Quaker français en Amérique, p. 5.

156. His signature as a witness in Stellenbosch, 18/4, Testamenten, 1715-1720: 10, Maria (Marie) Couteau, Dec. 18, 1717 (CA) is that of a cultivated man.


158. Note the Fouchers of Saint-Maixent in Poitou (4 E2 289, Saint-Maixent, Protestants, BMS, 1684-1685: Jan. 28, 1685 (AD Deux-Sèvres)).

159. See RICHARD, Vie quotidienne des Protestants, pp. 163-164 on the “résistance spirituelle” at Grenoble.


161. For a wider analysis see Paysans de Languedoc, I, pp. 509-629: Le Reflux.

162. “En Languedoc, au moins dans les cantons protestants, la Révocation accentue ce marasme préexistant” (LADURIE, Paysans de Linguedoc, I, p. 642).

163. RICHARD, Vie quotidienne des Protestants, p. 191.


165. RICHARD, Vie quotidienne des Protestants, pp. 224-226.

166. HAAG and HAAG, France protestante, X, appendix XCVII, pp. 406-428.


168. Protestantisme en France au XVIIe siècle, p. 86n. See also STOYE, Europe unfolding, p. 367.