

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

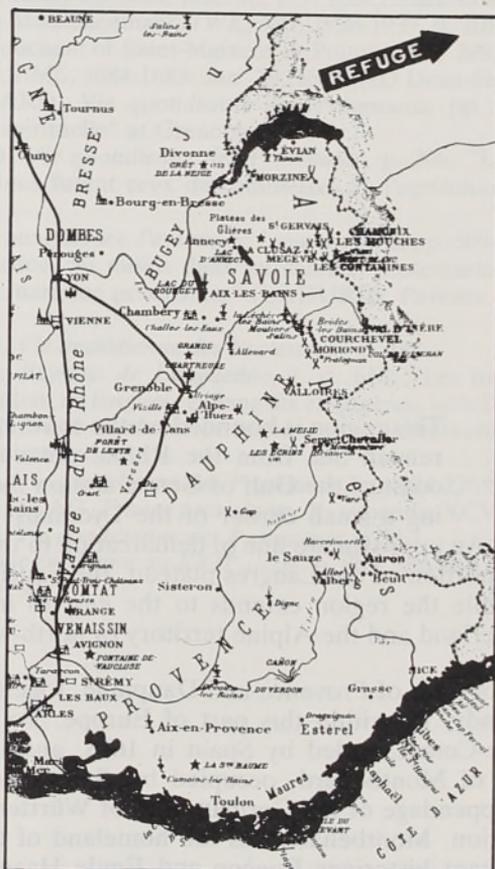


This region is bounded on the south by the Mediterranean Sea from the Rhône delta to the western coast of the Gulf of Genoa and on the west, excluding a small corner of the Lyonnais, by the Rhône and the Saône. An approximate line of demarcation to the north-west is provided by a portion of the Langres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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The settler Mathieu Frachas has been touched upon in connection with

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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2. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 81-84.
3. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 80-81.
4. J. SAMBUC, 'Documents sur le Protestantisme en Provence', *BSHPP*, CXXIII, April-June 1977, p. 289.
5. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 84; 85.
6. See E. ARNAUD, *Histoire des Protestants du Dauphiné aux XVI^e, XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, III, pp. 102-103; J. JALLA, *Les Vaudois et la Guerre de la Ligue d'Augsbourg (1690-1697)*.
7. See LEIBBRANDT, *Rambles*, pp. 84-93; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 10. Jean Pastre was the chief spokesman for the Vaudois refugees. The question received press coverage in the United Provinces. The *Oprechte Haerlemse Saturdaegse Courant* of May 29, 1688 published a report from The Hague of May 27 on a conference between the directors of the East India Company and Vaudois representatives at which various matters were discussed. The meeting was in part held, "soo men segt, om verder t'adjusteren, het geene gerequireert wert tot het transport van de bewuste 800 verdrevene Dalluyden van Piemont na de Caeb de Bon(ne) Esperance, om die Landen te cultiveren".
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12. BOTHA gives the 1695 Cape reference as Bordeaux (*French refugees*, p. 73).
13. On the churches of this region of France to the revocation and its aftermath see E. ARNAUD, *Histoire des églises réformées de la vallée de Bourdeaux en Dauphiné*, pp. 5-34.
14. See BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 77-78.
15. J. GIRAUD, 'Fragment du journal d'un réfugié dauphinois à Vevey, 1686', *BSHPF*, XIV, July-Aug. 1865, p. 258.
16. See *French refugees*, p. 160a.
17. EC, Céligny, 2, BMS, 1670-1743: p. 7 (marriages) (AE Geneva).
18. PA 201, Archieven der Bestuuren gevormd door de Waalse gemeente in Amsterdam tot 1943, 35f, Livre de baptême, 1686-1692 (GA Amsterdam); FWK: Gauch.
19. FWK: Gauch, March 31.
20. Scheepssoldijboeken, 1633-1795: 114, *Spierdijk*, 1690-1691, f. 1 (ARA). The vessel carried a company official Jean-Conrad Delamère (Jan Coenraet Delameer) of Saumur in France (f. 2).
21. He took service with a farmer (G.M. THEAL, *Chronicles of Cape commanders, or an abstract...*, p. 72). Burghers at this period were mainly of low rank (J.E. LOUWRENS, *Immigrasie aan die Kaap gedurende die bewind van die Hollandse Oos-Indiese Kompanjie*, unpubl. D. Phil. thesis, Univ. of Stellenbosch, 1954, p. 74).
22. See SR 7, Transport en schepenkennissen, 1697: T 412, pp. 148v.-150v. (DO). BOTHA gives Latry (*French refugees*, p. 124).
23. FWK: Margra, April 7; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 92.
24. M. R(EYMOND), 'Marguerat', in H. TÜRLEER *et al.* (eds), *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz...*, V, p. 25.
25. C 251, Requesten, 1752: 74, pp. 159-160; CJ 2889, Contracten, 1744-1746: 47, May 5, 1745, pp. 133-134; CJ 2892, Contracten, 1751-1752: 52, Feb. 18, 1752, pp. 140-141; VC 56, Lijst, Kamer Zeeland, 1718-1791(CA); F. ERNST and K. SCHEURER (comp.), *History of the Swiss in southern Africa 1652-1977 (325 years)*, p. 23.
26. LIGOU, *Protestantisme*, p. 38.
27. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 168-169; 193-194.
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29. TT 243, IV, Dauphiné: Estat des nouveaux convertis... , p. 178 (AN); AB Ze Zie dtb, Zierikzee, Trouw, 1630-1696 (copy): July 6 and 20, 1687 (CBG); MINET (ed.), *Registers... also the répertoire général*, 96, p. 8: La Patente de Soho, Nov. 23, 1692; SHAW (ed.), *Letters... 1701-1800*, p. 118. On David Simond see also J 147, St John papers: Conveyance, Dec. 2, 1716 (CRO, Bedfordshire).
30. N. PERRY, 'Voltaire's London agents for the Henriade; Simond and Bénétzet, Huguenot merchants', *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth Century*, CII, 1973, p. 278.

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32. ARNAUD, *Histoire des Protestants du Dauphiné*, II, p. 285; S.P. ENGELBRECHT, *Die Kaapse predikante van die sewentiende en agtiende eeu*, p. 27.
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34. BRÈS, 'Protestants d'Embrun', *BSEHA*, 1972, p. 56; ARNAUD, *Histoire des Protestants du Dauphiné*, III, appendix VII, 1, p. 353.
35. BRÈS, 'Protestants d'Embrun', *BSEHA*, 1972, p. 56-57; MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, April-June 1968, p. 313 and n.
36. 2 E 47/14, Eglise réformée, Embrun, BMS, 1633-1673; 1673-1684; 1788-1790: pp. 104-104v. (AD Hautes-Alpes).
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49. FRANKEN, 'Pierre Simond', *Die Huisgenoot*, XXIII, 912, Sept. 15, 1939, p. 78.
50. AB Ze zie dtb, Zierikzee, Trouw.
51. The link is indicated at a family christening in England (H.M. GOD-FRAY (ed.), *Registre des baptesmes, mariages et mortz, et jeusnes de*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

244. 469¹, *Registre du consistoire de Riez, Ro(u) moules et annexes: Mérindol synod*, Nov. 3, 1679, p. clxxv.
245. *French refugees*, between pp. 58-59.
246. *Paysans de Languedoc*, I, p. 334.
247. LADURIE, *Paysans de Languedoc*, I, p. 335. PILLORGET ascribes the lack of resistance in Provence after 1685 to the numerical weakness of Calvinism (*Mouvements insurrectionnels*, p. 1008).
248. *Persecution of Huguenots*, p. 446.
249. LOUGH (ed.), *Locke's travels*, p. 88: April 23, 1676.
250. MONGREDIEN, *Vie quotidienne sous Louis XIV*, p. 229.
251. Based on total figure for south-eastern France, with Orange, in MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 86n. See also STOYE, *Europe unfolding*, p. 367. In 1698 the intendant Le Bret estimated that one Calvinist in five had left Provence (FERMAUD, *Protestantisme dans l'arrondissement de Draguignan*, p. 39).