

Cape settlers IV: from Burgundy to Picardy

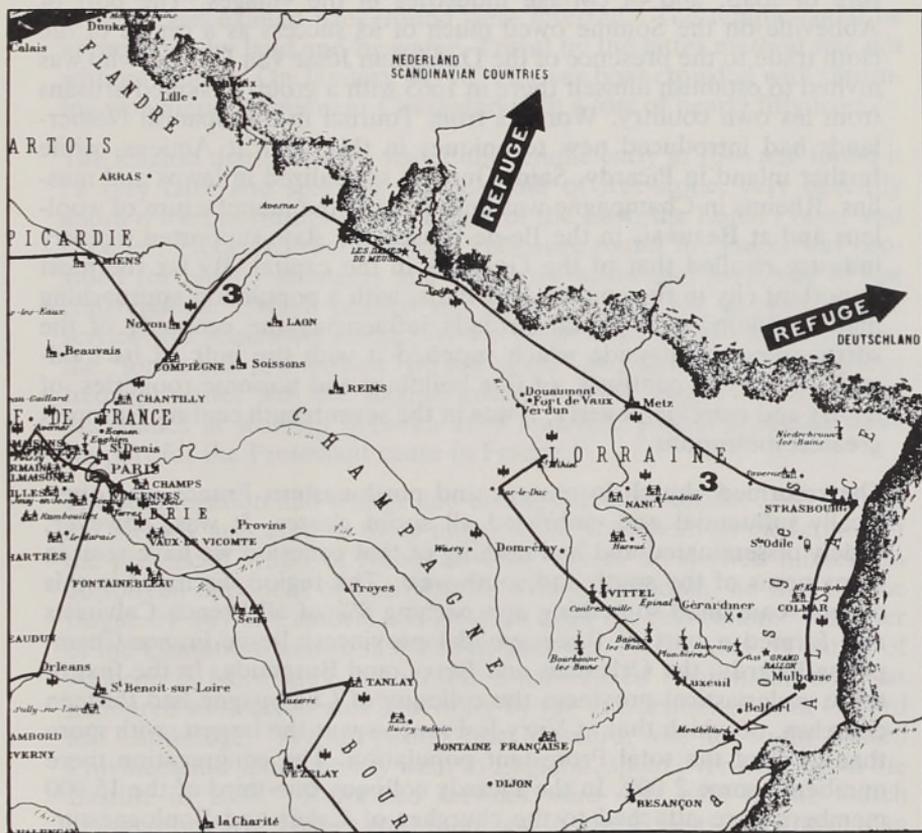


This chapter considers the Cape settlers from eastern and north-eastern France within the frontier zones. The borders of the region towards the areas of military conflict in the later seventeenth century are therefore approximately coterminous with those of the kingdom in this direction at the time of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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Making reparation with Isaac Taillefert in Middelburg in January 1687

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1. See map in A. FIETTE, 'Picardie d'aujourd'hui et de demain', in R. FOSSIER (ed.), *Histoire de la Picardie*, p. 409.
2. Note the Taillefert farm name Picardie (BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 121).
3. M. LISTER, *A Journey to Paris in the year 1698*, ed. R.P. STEARNS, Facsimile Reprints, History of Science, 4, p. 163.
4. P. DEYON, 'Les Progrès économiques et les sociétés provinciales (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)', in FOSSIER (ed.), *Histoire de la Picardie*, pp. 268-274.
5. MONGRÉDIEN, *Vie quotidienne sous Louis XVI*, pp. 29-40; LISTER, *Journey*, pp. 1-31. JACQUART (*Crise rurale*, p. 651) describes the Hurepoix and the Beauce as "centres essentiels de l'approvisionnement parisien".
6. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 60; 61-63.
7. There is a lively report on the progress of the demolition in the *Amsterdamsche Donderdagse Courant*, Nov. 1, 1685: Paris, Oct. 26.
8. RICHARD, *Vie Quotidienne des Protestants*, pp. 33-34.
9. C. READ, 'La Catastrophe arrivée, le 18 janvier 1654 à Charenton-Saint-Maurice', *BSHPF*, XXXVIII, Sept. 15, 1889, pp. 479-486.
10. BRAY (ed.), *Diary*, pp. 52-53; March 6, 1644.
11. HANDS and SCOULOUDI (eds), *French Protestant refugees*, p. 1.
12. HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, III, pp. 473-474; 476; SMILES, *Huguenots*, p. 160; MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 147-148.
13. SMILES, *Huguenots*, pp. 253-254; HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, I, pp. 61; 62. He became an Anglican and a canon and treasurer of Salisbury cathedral.
14. HAAG and HAAG, *France Protestante*, VII, p. 396; FUNCK-BRENTANO, *Lettres de cachet*, 1183, p. 73: Aug. 3-Sept. 10. Mesnard was chaplain to the prince of Orange, later William III.
15. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 82 and n.

16. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 66-67; 84-85.
17. C 236, Requesten en nominatiën, 1733-1734: 71, pp. 303-304 (CA). See also LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Requesten (Memorials)*, I, p. 3.
18. C 242, Requesten en nominatiën, 1743: pp. 33-34 (CA).
19. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis . . . Letters received*, p. 247: 190, Kamer Delft, April 5, 1700. The name given is Pogeau. A third woman, Anna van Ameijden, sailed with this party.
20. N. WEISS, 'Saisie des registres de baptêmes, mariages et décès, des Protestants de Paris après la révocation, 24 Nov. 1685', *BSHPF*, LXV, Nov.-Dec. 1915, pp. 690-695.
21. 'Copie de fragments des registres de l'état civil des Protestants détruits par l'incendie du Palais de Justice de Paris, en 1871', *BSHPF*, XXI, May 15-July 15, 1872.
22. Stellenbosch, 18/2, Testamenten, 1698-1713: 13, May 13, 1707 (CA). BOTHA (*French refugees*, p. 80) does not attempt to identify this place and omits the important fact that Pariset describes it as three hours from Paris *on foot*. The village appears in London records as "Villebec" (MINET and MINET (eds), *Registers . . . of the Tabernacle, Glasshouse Street and Leicester Fields*, p. 4: marriage of Marie Plé, March 8, 1697/8). See also BOUCHER, 'Huguenot refugees', *Historia*, XX, 1, May 1975, p. 58 and n. For Pariset in earlier South African sources read Pariset.
23. GONIN and DELTEIL (eds), 'Révocation . . . vue par les informateurs', *BSHPF*, CXVIII, Jan.-March 1972, p. 147n.
24. *L'Industrie rurale de la dentelle dans les campagnes au nord de Paris au XVII^e siècle*, unpubl. thesis (3^e cycle), Univ. de Paris, 1974, pp. 233; 345. See also J. PANNIER, *L'Eglise réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII (1610-1621)*, p. 485.
25. BUFFEVENT, *Industrie rurale*, pp. 103; 285.
26. Another affluent merchant at Villiers-le-Bel was Samuel Hauduroy (BUFFEVENT, *Industrie rurale*, p. 436n.). On society there at the revocation see GONIN and DELTEIL (eds), 'Révocation . . . vue par les informateurs', *BSHPF*, CXVIII, Jan.-March 1972, 155, pp. 147-149; 147n.: Mondion, Villiers-le-Bel, Nov. 29, 1685; 157, p. 149: Mémoires des absents huguenots. See also the tax assessment for 1683 on Jacques Tavernier of Villiers-le-Bel (O. and P. RANUM (eds), *The Century of Louis XIV*, 44, p. 338: Intendant Ménars, Nov. 30, 1687).
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28. B, Ecouen, Pièces du greffe, 1678-1685: 1^{ière} liasse, Oct. 8, 1678; 2^e liasse, 1679 (AD Yvelines et ancien Seine-et-Oise); BUFFEVENT, *Industrie rurale*, pp. 171-172n.
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- (eds), 'Révocation . . . vue par les informateurs', *BSHPF*, CXVIII, Jan.-March 1972, pp. 140-141n.
30. GONIN and DELTEIL (eds), 'Révocation . . . vue par les informateurs', *BSHPF*, CXVIII, Jan.-March 1972, 93, p. 141 and n.
 31. RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, p. 172.
 32. Among them Nicolas, son of Nicolas Housel and Jeanne Pariset, whose impending marriage was announced at the Threadneedle Street church in London on Sept. 7, 1692 (COLYER-FERGUSON (ed.), *Registers*, III, p. 26a).
 33. FF 7051, R.P.R.: Papiers de M. de la Reynie: Estat et mémoire, Feb. 18, 1687, f. 327 (Bibl. nat.); DOUEN, *Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes à Paris*, III, p. 377.
 34. FWK: Pariset (Bibl. wall.).
 35. MOOC 14/1, Bylae by oedel rekeninge, 1700-1722: 19 (CA).
 36. 'Gideon le Grand', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 390, Sept. 20, 1929, pp. 17-19.
 37. Also reproduced, with slight variations, in J.L.M. FRANKEN, 'Gideon le Grand', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 390, Sept. 20, 1929, p. 17.
 38. MOOC 3/3, Inkomende briewe, 1690-1714: Orphan Chamber, Haarlem to Orphan Chamber, Cape, Oct. 13, 1713, with A. le Grand, Haarlem, to Orphan Chamber, Cape, Nov. 27, 1711; MOOC 3/4, Inkomende briewe, 1714-1721: Orphan Chamber, Haarlem to Orphan Chamber, Cape, Oct. 29, 1715 (CA).
 39. FWK: Le Grand.
 40. EC, Clermont, Eglise Réformée, BMS, 1649-1685, including a Gédéon le Grand of Warty, born on Nov. 1, 1658 (AD Oise).
 41. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 61; DRESSEL-HUIS, *Waalsche gemeenten in Zeeland*, pp. 60n.; 121.
 42. BW 770, Veere, Registres des actes du consistoire, 1686-1729: Aug. 21, 1686, pp. 4-4v. (Bibl. wall.); FWK: Le Grand; Mangar(d); J. RUYS, 'Genaturaliseerde Fransche vluchtelingen te Haarlem in 1709', *De Wapenheraut*, XX, 1916, p. 76.
 43. Actes du Consistoire, III, 1687-1704 (EW Haarlem).
 44. FWK: Le Grand; Belain; F. ALLAN *et al.*, *Geschiedenis en beschrijving van Haarlem van de vroegste tijden tot op onze dagen*, IV, pp. 579-583. See also Collection Mirandolle: Le Grand (Bibl. wall.).
 45. BRIET, *Protestantisme en Brie*, pp. 98-107; appendix II, pp. 226-238; M. BOUCHER, 'The Nogentel-en-Brie congregation in Cape Huguenot history', *Familia*, XII, 3, 1975, pp. 66-67.
 46. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, pp. 81; 81-82n.; MOUSSEAUX, *Aux sources françaises . . . la Brie protestante*, p. 215.
 47. BRIET, *Protestantisme en Brie*, pp. 114-115; MINET and WALLER, (eds), *Registers of the church*, p. 171 (May 1); MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 81.
 48. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 62; MOUSSEAUX, *Aux sources françaises . . . la Brie protestante*, p. 177; BRIET, *Protestantisme en Brie*, p. 137.

49. BRIET, *Protestantisme en Brie*, p. 117: "La révocation fit disparaître tous les Taillefert".
50. FWK: Taillefert baptism, Middelburg, March 5, 1690; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 85; BOUCHER, 'Nogentel-en-Brie congregation', *Familia*, XII, 3, 1975, pp. 69-70; BRIET, *Protestantisme en Brie*, p. 116; appendix I, pp. 208; 209; appendix II, pp. 226-238.
51. FWK: Taillefert, Middelburg, June 30, 1687; Berlin, Dec. 8, 1691; BRIET, *Protestantisme en Brie*, p. 119; appendix II, pp. 26; 237; BOUCHER, 'Nogentel-en-Brie congregation', *Familia*, XII, 3, 1975, p. 70.
52. TT 26, Généralité de Soissons, 1688-1716: Election de Château-Thierry, 1692, p. 117 (AN).
53. BRIET, *Protestantisme en Brie*, pp. 95; 116; 128.
54. G. BOUVART, 'Protestants de Monneaux-Essômes réfugiés au sud de l'Afrique après la révocation', *BSHPF*, LI, Oct. 15, 1902, pp. 561-562.
55. Eglise wallonne de Leyde, I C 27, Livre des témoignages donnés aux membres partants, 1667-1733: Aug. 27 (GA Leyden); BRIET, *Protestantisme en Brie*, p. 116; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 51; 88.
56. BRIET, *Protestantisme en Brie*, p. 116; appendix II, pp. 228; 237. BOTHA (*French refugees*, p. 88) gives Jean's birth as 1680.
57. *Protestantisme en Brie*, p. 116.
58. BRIET, *Protestantisme en Brie*, p. 125.
59. BRIET, *Protestantisme en Brie*, appendix II, pp. 232; 235; 237; BOUCHER, 'Nogentel-en-Brie congregation', *Familia*, XII, 3, 1975, p. 71.
60. G. BOUVART and N. W(EISS), 'Correspondance. Protestants de Monneaux-Essômes réfugiés au sud de l'Afrique après la révocation', *BSHPF*, LI, Dec. 15, 1902, pp. 663-667.
61. FWK: Taillefert, baptism of Oct. 14. See also BOUVART, 'Protestants de Monneaux-Essômes', *BSHPF*, LI, Oct. 15, 1902, pp. 562; 563n.
62. FWK: Taillefert; BOUVART, 'Protestants de Monneaux-Essômes', *BSHPF*, LI, Oct. 15, 1902, p. 562.
63. *Protestantisme en Brie*, p. 116. See also BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 51.
64. DOUEN, *Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes à Paris*, III, p. 495: Etienne, Claude and David Briet, Basle, Nov. 5, 1686; Frankfort, Dec. 13, 1686.
65. H. DANNREUTHER, 'La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes à Longwy', *BSHPF*, LII, March-April 1903, p. 138: March 16.
66. TT 26, Généralité de Soissons: Election de Château-Thierry, p. 117.
67. St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft, 50, Mémoire des deniers, 1683ff.: Oct. 4 (GA Delft); BRIET, *Protestantisme en Brie*, appendix II, p. 230: baptism of Jean Huet, Jan. 14, 1677; MINET and WALLER (eds), *Registers of the church*, p. 176: La Patente, Spitalfields, May 28.
68. PA 201, Archieven der Bestuuren gevormd door de Waalse gemeente in Amsterdam tot 1943, 35i, Livre des baptêmes, 1717-1749: April 29, 1717 (GA Amsterdam); FWK: Lefebvre; Taillefert.
69. BRIET, *Protestantisme en Brie*, p. 118; appendix II, p. 230; BOUCHER, 'Nogentel-en-Brie congregation', *Familia*, XII, 3, 1975, p. 71. On Pagès

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

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

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

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