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

This part of Europe straddles a moving frontier which French penetration frequently extended considerably further than the limits determined at successive peace treaties. Beyond the north-eastern borders of France as they stood at the close of the seventeenth century, it included the bishopric of Liège and the provinces of the Spanish Netherlands: the counties of Flanders, Hainaut, Brabant and Namur, and the duchy
of Luxemburg. Within this frontier lay the Calaisis and the Boulonnais of northern Picardy, Artois and the Cambrésis, permanent French gains in Flanders and Hainaut from Dunkirk to Maubeuge, and the temporary possessions of that country round Ypres and Tournai. Further French annexations lay to the south-east: the Charlemont salient on the Meuse; the duchy of Bouillon; the principality of Sedan; Longwy and other frontier positions. In the east, the acquisition of Alsace had given France a Rhine frontier, although Mulhouse remained a part of the Swiss confederation. Lorraine and the Barrois were separate dukedoms, but the county of Clermont had been ceded to France in 1661. The lands of the three bishoprics, Metz, Toul and Verdun-sur-Meuse, had been French since the settlement of Westphalia in 1648, but retained certain privileges; on the border between Alsace and Lorraine were two counties independent of France: Saarwerden and the upper county of Salm.

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

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

Only the large church of the Calaisis and the small congregations of the Boulonnais formed part of the reformed church organization of France through the Picardy colloquy of the synodal province for the north-east. Of the other churches, that of the principality of Sedan with its four
temples enjoyed the closest relations with the French church through its famous academy. It was at this seat of learning, closed in 1681, that Pierre Bayle from the county of Foix held the chair of philosophy. He retired to the United Provinces and the scepticism and wide tolerance he displayed in his later writings were to exert an enormous influence on radical thought in the following century.

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

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

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

By far the largest group of refugees from a single church in this region was that which worshipped at the temple of Guines, south of Calais, a locality made famous through its association with the unsuccessful
efforts of François I of France to woo Henry VIII of England on the Field of the Cloth of Gold south-east of the town in 1520. Although the area was French-speaking by the middle years of the seventeenth century, place-names and the surnames of some of the Calvinist congregation bear testimony to an older Flemish tradition which had also left its mark upon local farming techniques. A region of many waterways, often providing the best means of communication between villages, it was largely agricultural. There were, however, some small industries: milling, the production of colza, brewing and weaving. The usual range of rural crafts is well represented in the Guines registers and among the congregation were shoemakers, carpenters, masons, farriers and other artisans. An important local occupation was that of waterman. There were many merchants at Calais and Guines having close links with Zeeland and with England, and some Calvinists in the Calaisis had shares in the Dutch East India Company, while others found their way to the Far East long before the revocation.

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

The temple at Guines during the last sixty years of active Calvinism in the Calaisis before the revocation was a large, galleried structure, able to accommodate some 3 000 worshipers, with an adjoining consistory building. It was served by two pastors, one of whom, in later years at least, lived in Calais. For administrative purposes the parish was divided into ten districts, each in charge of one or more deacons. A young Englishman, White Kennet, future historian and Anglican bishop of Peterborough, visited Guines in the autumn of 1682. He has left an interesting description of religious life there: the journey by boat from Calais, no longer enlivened as of old by sacred song; the long wedding banquets; the group baptisms; the boys in the temple who, for a fee, would sing the penitential psalms requested by the dying of their friends.
The ministers at Guines in the decade before 1685 were Jacques de Prez, succeeded in 1681 by Simon de Vaux, and Pierre Trouillart. Jacques de Prez was a son of a former Guines pastor, the Savoyard Ferdinand de Prez, who came to the Calaisis from Fontainebleau, where his son was born. His successor Vaux was a stern opponent of Catholicism. Trouillart was born at La Ferté-Vidame in the Thimerais in 1646. His father, also Pierre, came from Sedan. A professor in the academy there, he also exercised the ministry in a number of congregations in the synodal province for the north-east. He died at his son's house in Guines on October 16, 1680, at the age of sixty-two. Another of his sons, Florent-Philippe, ministered at Oisemont, south of Abbeville. He emigrated to England at the revocation and took passage to South Carolina in 1686, where he resumed the ministry at Charleston and in Berkeley county. Jacques de Prez and the younger Pierre Trouillart married daughters of Pierre Regnier-Jansse, an engineer of Dutch stock in the service of Louis XIV. The wedding of the former to Marie Regnier-Jansse was celebrated on February 28, 1672; that of Pierre Trouillart to her sister Susanne took place on August 25, 1675.12

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

Calvinist worship continued at Guines until June 1685 when the temple was closed by official decree on the pretext of illegal and anti-Catholic actions; baptisms continued until October 8, on which date Daniel de la Croix was christened at Calais. The temple was demolished after the revocation, but the consistory building survived until 1876. Materials from the temple were used in the construction of a new aisle for the parish church and the pulpit was removed to the Catholic church at Coulogne. The Calais hospital and the Catholic authorities benefited from the proceeds of the sale of Calvinist property.14
“The Geneva of the north”, however, lived on. Exiles from the Guines congregation founded a new church at Cadzand, north of Sluis across the Dutch border; others sailed for Dover in England to reconstitute the French church in that port, closed since 1661. The silver communion cups and sacramental linen used at Guines were brought to Dover; Cadzand retained the books from the library of the parent church. Not surprisingly, with two rival claimants to the right of succession, a sharp quarrel ensued over possession of the Guines treasures which dragged on for more than six years before ending in stalemate. The Dover church held the silver and linen in trust until worship should be restored at Guines; Cadzand presumably retained the books on similar terms. The anticipated return to France never materialized, however.

Of the ministers at Guines in 1685, Trouillart became the first pastor to the Cadzand congregation, but on January 16, 1686/7 preached his inaugural sermon at the Strangers’ church in Canterbury. Some years later he assisted the Dover consistory in resolving certain difficulties which had arisen in the church there. He returned to the United Provinces in 1699, dying at Middelburg in April 1701. Simon de Vaux also went to the United Provinces. His death took place at Haarlem in 1705.

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

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

The eldest of the Caucheteux children at the Cape, Isaïe, was born on September 23, 1673 at Fort-Brûlé, near Guemps, and was baptized on
October 8, with Isaac Carpentier and Sara Albert as godparents. Sara was Susanne Albert’s sister and the wife of Abraham Mortreul of Marck. The second child Susanne was born on December 18, 1675 at lower Marck and was christened on January 5 of the following year with Jacques Clinquemeur and Anne du Ponchel as godparents. Her godmother died at Guines on October 28, 1676 at the age of twenty. The third of the Caucheteux children at the Cape, Jean, was one of twins born at Marck on December 7, 1682 and baptized two days later. The other twin Marie died six days after birth. Jean’s godmother was his maternal aunt Anne Albert. Another son Pierre was born to Isaïe Caucheteux and Susanne Albert at Marck on May 21, 1679 and baptized three weeks later. Susanne had then recently lost a sister Catherine, who died at Oye on February 15, 1679 at the age of twenty-one. It is not known when the parents of the Cape orphans left the Calaisis, but the goods of several members of families mentioned here were seized after the revocation drove them out of the country. Jacob Caucheteux left a house and lands; Pierre Clinquemeur had possessed houses, lands and an oil mill at Marck, Frethun, near Calais, and Guemps; Jean du Ponchel had property and farms at Andres and Balinghem, east of Guines, at Guines itself and at Saint-Tricat, northwest of Guines. The Caucheteux and Albert families are represented in the registers of the Strangers’ church in Canterbury after 1685, while a Jeanne Caucheteux brought an attestation from Guines to Middelburg as early as 1653.

The refugee Daniel des Ruelles reached the Cape in 1688 with his young daughters Esther and Anne. He was married on July 12, 1671 at Guines to Anne Goudalle and their daughter Esther was born in the town on November 6 of the following year. Anne’s birth took place at Guines on November 10, 1673 and it is interesting to note that her godmother at her baptism two days later was Anne du Ponchel, godmother to Susanne Caucheteux in 1675. The Guines registers record the births of three other children to Daniel des Ruelles and Anne Goudalle: Daniel, born at Guines on October 21, 1675, who only survived eight days, a second son Daniel, born in the same town on March 1, 1677, and Pierre, who was born at Guemps on February 6, 1681 and died eleven days later. Daniel des Ruelles, the father, had a sister Esther, whose daughter Judith Mallet of Balinghem married Jacques le Dent, a master carpenter living at Dunkirk, on November 9, 1681. Anne Goudalle was the sister of Jacques and Marie-Madeleine Goudalle. Their parents were
Jean Goudalle, a gardener, who died at Guines on June 7, 1672 aged fifty-four, and Marie Vitu. The Goudalles would seem to have come originally from Richebourg in Artois, north-east of Béthune.25

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

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

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

Eve du Pont, possibly the mother of the Cape settlers, died at Saint-Blaize, near Guines, on September 23, 1676 and Jean Nourtier, by trade a master carpenter, married Anne de Sainne of Balinghem on October 14, 1677. Jean had been godfather on October 22, 1671 to Susanne, daughter of Jean Francomme and it is interesting to note that Francomme's son, also Jean, became an elder of the Dover church and was still living there when the last service was held in 1731.

We have already met a Marie Vitu as the mother of Anne Goudalle. There were a number of Vitus worshipping at Guines, including the brothers Eustache, Jean and Pierre. Members of the family emigrated to England, among them a Marie Vitu, daughter of Jean, who crossed from Calais to Dover in July 1686. This could be Daniel Nourtier's wife. Sara Vitu, who was received at Middelburg on September 12, 1696, was perhaps of the same family. She reached the Cape in 1699 with her husband Jacques Delporte, who will be discussed later in this chapter.

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

A branch of the Vos family lived in the hamlet of Nouvelle-Eglise, adjoining Vieille-Eglise, and another Susanne de Vos from this locality became the wife of a widower Jean de Bus, a Guemps farmer, on July 28, 1680. The husband's surname provides a link with the Albert family discussed earlier, and with the agriculturalist Jean de Bus who sailed for the Cape on the Oosterland in 1688. The name is frequently encountered in the Guines registers and is particularly associated with Marck and with Offekerque, north-east of Guemps. The Jean de Bus born at Marck to Elisabeth de le Becque (Delbecque) on September 6, 1670 may well be the Cape settler. The father, also Jean, married Elisabeth
on December 26, 1669, but did not live to see his child, dying at Marek on August 15, 1670.38

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

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

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

The Prévosts were accompanied on the voyage to the Cape by a son Abraham, who celebrated his ninth birthday at sea, and by two younger daughters, Anne and Elisabeth. A second son Jacob was born on shipboard on May 29, 1688. Abraham was born at Marek on May 24, 1679, Anne in the same village on February 18, 1681 and Elisabeth in
the hamlet of Les Attaques, south of Marck, on October 31, 1683. Two other children died before the departure for the Cape: David, born at Marck on March 10, 1675, and Marie, born at lower Marck on February 10, 1678 and baptized in Calais a week later. Marie’s death is not recorded in the Guines registers, but David died at Marck on February 9, 1685, shortly before his tenth birthday.42

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

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

A Charles Prévost is known to have left possessions in France at the time of the revocation46 and members of the family took refuge at Aardenburg and Zierikzee in the United Provinces.47 The French church at Canterbury also had close links with the Guines congregation. On March 28, 1687 Pierre Albert of Marck married Marguerite Prévost there. His wife had been born in the English cathedral city.48

With the Prévosts on the Schelde was Abraham Bleuset, born in the Calaisis about the year 1665.49 While no certain trace of this refugee has been found, the name, associated with the Du Ponchels, was common at Guines and Marck.50 Marie du Ponchel, daughter of Isaac and his wife Marie Bleuset of Guines, married a widower Noël Gentil from Niort in Poitou at Canterbury in 1690. Gentil, a leather-dresser, later plied his trade in Bristol. Isaac du Ponchel, together with Jean and Pierre Bleuset of Marck, left property in the village when they fled from
France. Isaac became a Bristol tailor.\textsuperscript{51} There was an Abraham among other Bleusets at Canterbury before the revocation\textsuperscript{52} and the surname is recorded among refugees at Cadzand and Oostburg in the United Provinces.\textsuperscript{53} The Cape refugee, like the Prévosts, must have made his way to Zeeland.

Bleuset's farming partner at the Cape was Jean Manié, also from the Calais region, who arrived on an earlier ship. An older man than his friend, he was born about the year 1649.\textsuperscript{54} Again, despite the prevalence of Maniés, variously spelled, in the Guines registers, the trail is faint. There were, however, many at Andres, near Guines, among them a Jean Ma(g)nié, whose daughter Marie was godmother at a baptism in 1677. It is clear that the Maniés of Andres were related to a branch of the Fief family.\textsuperscript{55} Here perhaps is a link with the family of Charles Prévost's mother. A Marie Ma(g)nié, her nephew and nieces, are listed among emigrants from Andres after the revocation.\textsuperscript{56} A Jean Manié is also named in 1687 among the refugees in England who settled at Thorney in Cambridgeshire, a community with which was associated the family of Jacob des Camps, reader of the Guines church and “instructeur de la jeunesse”.\textsuperscript{57} Jean Manié at the Cape signed on behalf of cash received by a Jean Mijsaal in 1690.\textsuperscript{58} The name was perhaps Mézel. Was this refugee from north-eastern France?

The Zobry family from the Calaisis was also represented at the Cape before the close of the seventeenth century.\textsuperscript{59} Jean de Zobry, the son of another Jean and his wife, Françoise Dournelle, was a boatman from Guines. He married Marguerite Jean at the age of twenty on December 2, 1674. His wife, then twenty-four years of age, was the daughter of Pierre Jean and Marguerite Choqueret of Calais. Jean de Zobry's mother died at Guines on March 22, 1676 at the age of sixty-six; his father, two years her junior, did not long survive her. His death occurred on November 8 of the same year.\textsuperscript{60}

Jean de Zobry and his wife had a child Marguerite with them at the Cape, who was born in the lower town of Calais on September 3, 1675. The names of three sons also appear in the Guines registers: Jean, born at Guines on May 22, 1677, Isaac, born in the lower town of Calais on January 14, 1679, and Jacques, born at the same place on April 19, 1680. Both Isaac and Jacques died eight days after childbirth. Their father had a brother Jacques, who was married to Sara Bécud and it is a sad commentary on the ravages of disease among young people in Europe that they lost three children in a single week of June 1684 while living in the lower town of Calais.\textsuperscript{61}
Jean and Jacques de Zobry had sisters Sara and Françoise, both of whom married watermen. Sara’s first husband Abraham Poissonier, whom she married on April 23, 1669, died on December 28, 1673. She then married the twenty-two year old boatman Jacques le Poivre of Calais on February 17, 1675, but died in childbirth on January 8, 1681 at the age of thirty-five. Her sister Françoise, born about the year 1649, became the wife of the boatman Luc Liennard on September 24, 1679. Liennard was a native of Guines, but was then working in Calais. It was his brother Jean whose name has already appeared in the records of the Prévost family. The Prévosts and the Zobrys were also allied.

Marguerite Jean’s brother Pierre, born about 1648, was a master turner in Calais, who married Marie d’Hoy of La Calimotte in the parish of Sangatte on July 9, 1673. This was not the only link between these families. Catherine Jean was the wife of Samuel d’Hoy of La Calimotte. Their son Samuel was a carpenter in the village.\(^{62}\)

The name Catherine le Four of Calais appears in the Stellenbosch records in 1698. Although this patronymic has not been identified in the Guines registers, it is possible that Du Four is meant, a family connected not only with the Zobrys, but also with the Fiefs and the Clinquemeurs. Catherine was born about the year 1659; in 1698 she had a married brother living in Calais, perhaps Jacques du Four, a waterman.\(^{63}\)

The Zobry brothers both emigrated to Zeeland after the revocation. Jean de Zobry was naturalized in Middelburg on January 8, 1686 and Jacques on May 31 of the same year. The waterman Luc Liennard crossed the straits to Dover, where he, his wife Françoise de Zobry and their children Marie, Françoise, Philippe and Pierre acknowledged their membership of the church on April 2, 1686. They were among friends and relatives. Between February 1686 and March 1687 Catherine Jean and several of her children and grandchildren found security in England within sight of their homeland. They were not the first from these families to reach Dover. Among those assisted from the poor-box there in the first year after the revocation was a certain Desobry (sic). He was one of several seeking a permanent place of exile and it is to be hoped that the shilling he was given on December 15, 1685 was enough to help him on his way. Church funds at Dover were low at the time and a group of French sailors who presented themselves on the following day had to be content with sixpence between them.\(^{64}\)

A name of frequent occurrence in the Guines registers is that of Dumont. Burgher papers were issued to a Pieter Mon of Calais on August
22, 1696 at the Cape and it seems likely that this entry disguises Pierre Dumont, known to have been at Drakenstein two years later.65 A Marie Dumont has been noted in exile at Rotterdam in 1688 and a Jean Dumont at Oostburg in 1696.66 These were places of refuge popular among those from the north-east. More significantly a Pierre Dumont was held and questioned at Furnes near the Flemish coast in 1687. He was making his way to the United Provinces and may well have been the future Cape settler.67

It is possible that Jean du Puis and Anne Martin, discussed in an earlier chapter, had Guines connections. The registers there reveal some movement of peoples between coastal regions from Normandy to Zeeeland. Indeed a study of Calvinist church records suggests a surprising degree of mobility generally, not merely to be accounted for in the closure of temples and the need to travel great distances for baptisms, weddings and funerals.

Not far from Calais to the south-east is the town of Saint-Omer in Artois, which did not become French until its capture in 1677. Here, about the year 1652, was born the Cape settler Gérard Hanseret, son of Liévin Hanseret and Françoise de Beauvois. He arrived as a freeman in 1701, perhaps after the death of his wife Gabrielle Wavrand. His children Marie-Gabrielle, born about 1679, and Jean-Joseph, whose birth took place some five years later, were still living in Saint-Omer, their birthplace, in 1702. Hanseret, who worked as a mason in Stellenbosch and was in partnership as a farmer with Pierre Rochefort of Grenoble, evidently felt that his son might come to the Cape and would then have expected him to care for Rochefort. Whether Jean-Joseph left Europe to join his father is uncertain, but it is probable that only Marie-Gabrielle was living in 1712. We know little about Gérard Hanseret’s background, although bequests in his will mention some of his friends and perhaps relations in Saint-Omer: the widow Anne Cassier; a potter Jean la Mory; the master masons Omez du Bois and Nicolas Dannel, or Daniel. The last-named was evidently Gérard’s former associate.68

Before turning to the French frontier in Flanders and Hainaut, and the lands beyond it in modern Belgium, the effects of the revocation at Sedan and Metz deserve attention in terms of the subsequent emigration to the Cape. From Sedan came Marie Buisset, daughter of a merchant and long a midwife in Table Valley, who reached the Cape in the early years of the eighteenth century as the new wife of the surgeon Jean Prieur du Plessis. Her father’s name is not known, although there
was an Etienne Buisset in Amsterdam in 1690. Marie Buisset and Jean Prieur du Plessis were married in the Nieuwe Kerk of Amsterdam in August 1700. Her second husband, Dirk Smith, was also a surgeon.

The town and principality of Sedan, with its dependencies, enjoyed special privileges which predated the French annexation of 1642 and the Calvinists there were slow to surrender their freedom of religion, despite the warning of the Catholic clergy in 1682, delivered to them by Jean Dez, rector of the Jesuit college. Louvois therefore sent in the Champagne regiment in early November 1685. The threats of the soldiery and the burning of property brought about the desired conversions within a week, leaving the army to turn its attention to recalcitrant Saint-Quentin. The Sedan pastors Jacques Alpee de Saint-Maurice and Jacques Gantois from the town church took refuge in the United Provinces. Saint-Maurice, who was also a professor of theology at the Sedan academy, asked particularly to remain in Maastricht in October 1685, since "une grande partie de son troupeau (sic) s'est arresté ici, et qu'ils souhaitent passionément (sic) d'être encor' instruis et edifies par ... leur pasteur". Marie Buisset has not been traced at Sedan, but among those whose goods were seized after the revocation on the frontiers of Champagne was a widow Sara Buisset.

To the south-east of Sedan lies Metz on the Moselle which, with the surrounding Pays messin, formed part of the three bishoprics separated from the Empire in 1648. It was here that the learned Paul Ferry, theologian and local historian, preached for more than half a century before his death in December 1669. If his celebrated meetings with Bossuet, future bishop of Meaux, failed to bridge the gap between Catholics and Protestants in 1666, he was nevertheless held in high esteem by those of all religious persuasions. Despite the considerable decline in the proportion of Calvinists to the total population of Metz in the seventeenth century, certain streets still had a distinctive Calvinist character at the revocation.

The Pays messin was not an integral part of the French kingdom, but its special position did not enable it to escape the consequences of the revocation. Bernard Pellart, the marquis of Givry, Louis XIV's lieutenant at Metz, reported to Condé on October 21, 1685 that orders had been issued to raze the city temple and that pastors had been given a fortnight to leave the country if they refused to abjure. A royal concession, however, gave the Calvinists of the region ten months to submit to the Catholic authorities. Although many members of the reformed church left during this period of grace, private devotions were
not interfered with until the dragoons entered the town in August 1686. Further anti-Calvinists measures were taken in October 1687, when Boufflers became governor of the lands of the three bishoprics. These included the deportation to Martinique of several leading Calvinists, some of whom subsequently escaped to Barbados and St Kitts.79

The four pastors to the Metz congregation, David Ancillon, François Bancelin, Isaac de Combles and Paul Joly, left by boat in 1685 to make their way into the Empire through Frankfort-on-Main; Jean Jennet of the rural church of Courcelles-Chaussy fled to the United Provinces. Bancelin was among those who tried to secure a reversal of the revocation edict towards the close of the War of the League of Augsburg; Ancillon, a preacher of distinction, served briefly at Hanau before his appointment to the French church in Berlin, where he died in September 1692.80 The Ancillons were to make significant contributions to the religious, intellectual and political life of Brandenburg-Prussia; they were, moreover, closely associated with the Naudés, represented at the Cape. All four pastors, like their predecessor Ferry, had been well thought of by the Catholics of Metz before the revocation.81

Jacob Naudé came to the Cape as a midshipman in the East Indiaman Abbeerk in 1718 and after a period as a private schoolmaster at Drakenstein, obtained burgher papers in 1723.82 Born in Berlin about the year 1696, he was the fourth son of Philippe Naudé and Anne Isnard. The Naudés had been resident in Metz since at least the sixteenth century and Philippe was born there on December 28, 1654. His intellectual interests were stimulated during his childhood when he served as a page in the Saxe-Eisenach court, but his father was in no position to assist him after his return to Metz and he was obliged to study in his spare time. He entered the commercial world and was a master dyer when he married Anne, the daughter of a surgeon André Isnard, on July 4, 1683. Their eldest son Philippe was born in Metz on October 18, 1684.83

The family home in Metz in 1684 is known. Philippe Naudé lived with his wife and a servant in the rue de Vincent in the parish of Saint-Livier, while Anne Isnard’s widowed mother had a house in the rue du Change in the parish of Saint-Simplice, where she was accommodated with her son and a servant. Other Naudés at Metz in 1684 were David, a draper, and Paul, a merchant, both resident in the rue de Vincent, and Isaac, a stocking vendor who lived under the arches (“sous les arvolds”) of the Petite Place in Saint-Simplice parish. A fourth member of the family
was Daniel Naudé, a haberdasher of the rue du Plat d'Estain in the parish of Saint-Jacques. The Naudés were clearly men of commerce.  

Philippe Naudé and family left Metz in 1685, travelling to Hanau by way of Saarbrücken. Two years later they moved to Berlin, where Philippe had a distinguished career as a mathematics professor. He died on March 7, 1729. Anne Isnard survived him by nine years, dying at the age of seventy-five. Seven children were living with their parents in Berlin in 1699. Philippe inherited his father’s mathematical abilities and became a member of learned societies in Berlin and London. Roger-David Naudé, born in Berlin on June 29, 1694, was a theologian, professor and littérateur. He married Marie-Elisabeth Borel, who died in 1741 at the age of forty-six. Her husband’s death occurred in Berlin on January 30, 1766. A daughter Judith, born to Philippe Naudé and Anne Isnard in 1705, became the wife of Frédéric-Auguste Ancillon, pastor at Basle in Switzerland. She lived until 1780. Jacob, the Cape settler, was a member of the Hanover church before his departure for the United Provinces. Did he come out at the suggestion of a member of his family? Franken has commented upon the presence in the settlement in 1713 of Marcus Isnard, junior surgeon and later employee of Mathieu Amiel. Could this be Anne Isnard’s brother? It is interesting to note that at the death of Jacob’s wife Susanne Taillefert on February 13, 1724 a funeral service in French was conducted at Drakenstein, although the language was fast disappearing from use there.

In 1754 another member of the Naudé family arrived in Table Bay as a soldier in the service of the Dutch East India Company aboard the Slooten. Philippe-Jacob Naudé, born in 1736, was a son of Roger-David, and thus Jacob’s nephew. He was discharged in 1766, the year of his father’s death, and settled at Drakenstein, marrying Johanna Elisabeth, great-granddaughter of Jean Prieur du Plessis, in 1774. Two years earlier he passed a power of attorney in favour of the Berlin astronomer David Naudé and the French pastor in the city, Louis Ancillon, to enable them to collect what was due to him from the family estate.

West of Metz is Verdun-sur-Meuse, one of the three bishoprics and then, as later, a key point in French frontier defence. Here was born in 1660 an army captain, Armand-Emile Auchamp, who with his wife Marianne-Pauline-Céleste de Beausobre crossed the Rhine in the late seventeenth century to settle in the Empire. Their son Jean-Diedrich Auchamp of Raden, south-east of Rostock, came to the Cape as a soldier on the Prattenburg in 1727, obtaining his release after ten years.
In considering the settlers from the border areas of Flanders and Hainaut we discuss first those known to have come from the French side of the modern frontier and in particular from Lille and the region surrounding it from Bailleul in the north-west to Valenciennes in the south-east. It is in this part of France that Charles Prévost had his birthplace. Lille was wrested from Spain in 1667 during the War of Devolution and although occupied by the allies in 1708 in the course of the War of the Spanish Succession, was restored to France at the subsequent Utrecht peace settlement. Its history in these late years of Louis XIV's reign is not unconnected with the story of the Cape emigration and will be referred to in another chapter.

The earliest known settler from Lille is Catharijntje Abrahams, wife of the burgher and former company gardener, Maarten Jacobsz. She would seem to have been a Flemish speaker. The brothers Guillaume and François Dutoit of Lille, who reached the Cape in 1686, both probably on the Vrijheijt which anchored on June 23, were, however, clearly French speakers.

Dutoits are known to have emigrated to Leyden as early as 1605 and a modern descendant of François at the Cape, S.F. du Toit, has noted in the Walloon church records of the Dutch city the marriage on June 28, 1626 of Esther Dutoit and Simon Roussel, both from the neighbourhood of Lille. Another link with Leyden is provided in the membership lists of the Walloon church in 's-Hertogenbosch. In September 1678 a Guillaume Dutoit, with his wife and daughter Marguerite, brought an attestation from the Leyden church. Whether this is the Cape settler has not been ascertained, but the Guillaume Dutoit who became a member of the Walloon congregation of Middelburg on December 20, 1684 must certainly have been the future Stellenbosch farmer. The wife of a François Dutoit (Dutoict) of Haarlem, Anne Billin, joined the Amsterdam Walloon church on November 21, 1683.

Lille records confirm the family ties with Leyden. S.F. du Toit has discovered in the French city the baptismal entry of a François Dutoit who was probably the Cape settler. The son of Pierre Dutoit and Marie Rousel(le), he was baptized in the church of the Madeleine on September 15, 1664, with Jean Brian and Catherine Rousel(le) as godparents. However, it must be added that another François Dut(h)oit was christened in the church of Saint-Maurice in Lille on April 5, 1665. With reference to the first baptism, a Pierre Dutoi(c)t was christened at Saint-Maurice on October 28, 1639 and two girls Marie Rousel at the Madeleine church on January 19, 1634 and on October 1, 1641. The
name Guillaume Dutoit appears in seventeenth-century records for the Lille area, but there is no apparent connection with the exile at Middelburg and the Cape. The Dutoits evidently had a sister and a brother, Bruno. On March 17, 1693 a Bruno-Joseph Duthoy (sic) was baptized at the Madeleine church. As throughout the Spanish Netherlands, the Calvinists of Lille were compelled to make use of Catholic facilities for the registration of baptisms, marriages and deaths.

That Guillaume Dutoit was an older man than François is suggested by the fact that he was engaged to the widow Sara Cochet, one of whose sons Abraham came to the Cape in 1688 as a soldier in the company’s service aboard the Oosterland. Sara Cochet’s first husband was Pieter de Klerk of Serooskerke, north of Middelburg, who died in or before 1687, the year of her arrival at the Cape. The name De Klerk was doubtless originally Le Clercq and the family of French language descent, probably from the north-east of France or the Spanish Netherlands. It is difficult to determine to what extent the De Klers of the Cape were French-speaking. In addition to Abraham, born at Serooskerke, there was another son Joost at the Cape from the same locality in Zeeland and a daughter Jeanne, born in Middelburg. Sara Cochet, who married Guillaume Dutoit on May 16, 1688, was born in Oost-Souburg, north-east of the port of Flushing.

Burghers at Stellenbosch in 1700 were Guillaume de Haas and his wife Marie-Catherine Durier of Lille, with their children Anne, Marie, Abraham and Jacob. Marie, who married Jean le Roux (Roex) of Normandy, was evidently born in Lille. Jacques Delporte reached the Cape in 1699 with his wife, Sara Vitu, whom he married, presumably at Veere, in October 1698 shortly before embarking on the Cattendijk. Their eldest child Marie must be the child baptized at Drakenstein on October 4, 1699. A refugee Jean Delporte and his wife Marianne du Château are known to have been resident at Tholen in 1696; their daughter Madeleine had for godmother a Madeleine de La(u)noy, a family to be discussed later in this chapter. Jacques Delporte was not, as in Botha, from Lille itself, but from a nearby locality. The name, in the form La Porte, was not uncommon in the Lille region. The Cattendijk sailed on December 10, 1698 on a voyage marred by disagreements between her captain, Jan Naalhout, and two of his officers, the first mate Jan Heulen and the chief surgeon Gregorius Heijns. Another former Lille resident, the burgher Antoine Moris (Mouret), gave the minister Pierre Simond and the deacons of the Walloon church in Middelburg a power of attorney in 1702. He was still at the Cape in the next decade.
Arrivals at the Cape in 1683 were Pierre le Fèvre, his wife Marie de Grave and their son Guillaume. It is possible that Pierre was also accompanied by his sister Barbe, born about the year 1670. This family came from the village of Fleurbaix, west of Lille in the Pays de l'Alleu. Was Barbe's second husband of 1709, Roelof (Roloff) Jonasse, from Norway? There is a hamlet south of Lille called Fléiquières which might have been his birthplace. Jonasse was born about the year 1660.

Another settler from this frontier region and linguistic border was François Bastiaansz. of Armentières who preceded the main body of French-speaking settlers and in 1686 married Anna Maria de Leeuw. There is a Leyden connection between the Bastiaansz. and Lanoy families. North-west of Armentières is Steenwerck, birthplace of the settler Jacques Mouton. Married first to Catherine l'Hermite, he was divorced from her, since she later married Pierre le Roy in Europe. Mouton's children by this marriage, Jacques, Antoine and Marie-Jeanne, remained with their mother. Mouton subsequently married Marie de Villiers. Two children were evidently born to them in Middelburg, Madeleine and Marie, while a third daughter Marguerite was born either on shipboard or soon after the family reached the Cape. They sailed in 1699 on the Zeeland East Indiaman, the Donkervliet, commanded by Steven Scheydcruyt. Mouton was married for a third time on October 8, 1700 to Francina Bevernagie, whose family will be mentioned later in this chapter.

The daughter Marie Mouton at the Cape was born in the Zeeland capital about the year 1690. She became the wife of Franz Jooste of Lippstadt, but on January 31, 1714 murdered her husband with the help of her lover, the slave Titus of Bengal, and an accomplice Fortuin. All three suffered a painful death for their crime. Jacques Mouton's second wife Marie de Villiers was perhaps from north-eastern France, although a refugee so named from Nantes is known to have abjured at Arnhem in 1687.

The surname Lanoy has been mentioned in an earlier chapter. The frequency with which this name is encountered in the borderlands dealt with in this section and the evidence suggested by family alliances point to the north-east as the Lanoy homeland. The information concerning the Lanoys in Botha's French refugees is both incomplete and inaccurate, but has been revised by Hoge in his useful additions and corrections to the standard work.
the father, Nicolas de Lanoy, died soon afterwards, leaving a widow Marguerite de France and five children, Nicolas, Mathieu, Marie, Susanne and François. The mother and her eldest sons were assisted in 1690. Marie de Lanoy first married the settler Arie Dirksz. Lekkerwijn, or Lecrévent, of Boskoop near Leyden. Her brother Nicolas married Susanne de Vos, widow of Pierre Jacob. Here we have a connection with the Calaisis and it is possible that the Lanoys were members of the Guines congregation, where the name is of frequent occurrence.\(^1\)

Among refugees in the United Provinces a Nicolas Lannoy and Marguerite Masure were helped by the Walloon church of Amsterdam in 1684, while in the following year a Marie Lanoy, the wife of Louis du Pont, was living in Zierikzee. Their child Elisabeth was christened there on November 4 of that year.\(^1\) Reinforcing the argument that the Lanoys were from the north-east are two entries in the records of London's Threadneedle Street church. A Susanne de Lanoy, aged seventeen, from the neighbourhood of Amiens, was helped to buy clothes in 1681; in the next decade there was an Antoine de Lannois (sic) from the Lille region in the congregation.\(^1\)

We turn now to the towns and villages of modern Belgium and in passing note the burgher tailor Jacob Taillard, a name later corrupted to Taljaard. He reached the settlement as a soldier on the Getrouwighheid in 1749 and left the company's service on October 31, 1753 with the intention of making a home in the Stellenbosch district. Taillard was born about the year 1722 at Tournai in Hainaut. Aggressive, argumentative and evidently untrustworthy, he was called a scoundrel and a "Franse(n) doedelzak" to his face and was at length sentenced in 1755 to a flogging and ten years in chains on Robben Island for passing remarks calculated to bring the Cape judiciary into disrepute.\(^1\) It was not the end of his troubles.

One man among the early settlers from what is now Belgium occupies a special place in Cape history through a quarrel with the minister Pierre Simond. This episode, analysed in depth in its social implications by Franken,\(^1\) falls outside the scope of this study, but it is of significance in the light it throws upon the attitudes of expatriate pastors from France and upon the possible economic motives impelling the settler in question to leave Europe. Simond's social pretensions have already been touched upon; the economic background to emigration in this instance will be discussed here.

The colonist referred to is the former merchant Jacques de Savoye who, with his second wife Marie-Madeleine le Clercq, his mother-in-law
Antoinette Carnoy, his children Marguerite-Thérèse and Barbe-Thérèse by his first marriage and a baby Jacques, reached the Cape in 1688 aboard the Oosterland. Savoye was sent out with a warm encomium from the Rotterdam chamber of the Dutch East India Company as a staunch Calvinist who had suffered for his beliefs.

Jacques de Savoye was born at Ath in Hainaut in 1636, the son of a father of the same name and his wife Jeanne van der Zee. Not therefore a Frenchman by birth, but a native of the Spanish Netherlands, he came of a family which perhaps had its roots in the Cambrésis, where the name was known in the sixteenth century. Savoye evidently prospered in Ath, where he lived for many years. When he left the town he possessed houses, land and investments there, the management of which he placed in the hands of a fellow-merchant Jean Henrichant. It was probably at Ath that he married his first wife Christine du Pont, whose family came from that town. Savoye was accompanied to the Cape by the Nourtiers of the Calaisis as his servants. Was there also a family connection through Christine du Pont?

From Ath, Jacques de Savoye moved to Ghent and it seems likely that, in company with many others from the small towns and villages of the Spanish Netherlands, he took refuge in the city from Turenne’s advancing troops in 1667, when the War of Devolution secured for France a number of towns beyond the border, Ath, Courtrai, Tournai and Oudenaarde among them. A daughter Jeanne would seem to have been born to the Savoyes before they settled in the Flemish city and her marriage to André du Pont further cemented the alliance between these families.

Savoye remained in Ghent until at least the end of 1685. From neither a social nor an economic point of view was this an easy period for a Calvinist merchant. The days of the Protestant ascendancy in the city were long past and the religious orders of the Catholic church were flourishing. The closure of the Scheldt estuary, French incursions into the southern Netherlands and the occupation of Ghent itself did nothing to stimulate business. Some expansion had taken place in the linen industry and certain luxury trades had been established, but the economic situation in the seventeenth century was precarious and Ghent as a commercial centre had declined greatly since medieval times.

Although the Calvinists of Ghent were compelled to make use of Catholic churches for baptisms, marriages and interments, the reformed church “recueillie sous la croix” and watched over by the Dutch church authorities was by no means moribund. Its itinerant pastors
preached regularly and administered communion whenever the opportunity presented itself. Savoye was known to one of them, François Simon, evidently of a Rouen family, who considered the Ghent merchant a devout worshipper and a man of courage who did not hesitate to allow his house to be used for Calvinist services. From other Ghent sources – the merchant Martin de Lecourt, the consul Christiaan Crayenest and a friend Jacques des Obry (De Zobry, perhaps) – it is evident that Savoye’s zealous defence of his beliefs earned him the hostility of the Catholics and particularly of the Jesuits among them. According to Crayenest and Des Obry the virulence of the persecution he endured made him even fear for his life.132

These testimonials to his religious fervour were produced at the time of his quarrel with Simond and went hand in hand with favourable comment on his business probity. However, it was rumoured at the Cape that Savoye had become insolvent in Ghent. This was a matter for church censure and the former merchant was called upon to vindicate himself, an invitation he ignored.133 Was there in fact any truth in the allegation? It is evident that Savoye worked with his son-in-law André du Pont in the linen trade and although Lecourt does not associate the Cape emigrant with Du Pont’s business affairs, he notes that Savoye’s departure from Ghent coincided with his son-in-law’s insolvency. Du Pont moved to Leyden with his wife, became a successful bookseller there and died in 1699.134

The case of Jacobus Pape and others against Jacques de Savoye in 1709 would suggest that the Cape settler was not in partnership with André du Pont and was not responsible for payment of a bill presented by Pape’s father-in-law Zacharias Pedé for linen delivered to Ghent in June and July 1686.135 For this view we have only Savoye’s word, however, and an earlier case puts a different interpretation on his business relationships with his son-in-law. On April 12, 1701 an Amsterdam merchant Jasper Pallet sought to recover a debt incurred by Savoye and Du Pont, who were named together on the relevant bill of exchange and had accepted liability.136 Pallet used the assistant mate Barend Kragt of the Berckenrode as an intermediary in his dealings with Savoye and it is interesting in the history of Huguenot commerce at the Cape to find him years later buying hides from the refugee Durand Soullier to make a stout pair of trousers suitable for a seaman.137 On the available evidence it would appear that the rumours of financial difficulties surrounding Savoye’s name were not without foundation.
The names of several of the children of Jacques de Savoye and Christine du Pont appear in the registers of Sint-Jacobs, the parish church for the densely populated district surrounding Ghent’s Vrijdagmarkt, where in 1340 Edward III of England had been proclaimed king of France. A son Jacques was baptized in June 1669 and a daughter Julienne-Louise on May 16, 1671. Julienne died shortly after her christening at the age of two weeks. Both the children of this marriage who settled at the Cape were born in Ghent. Marguerite-Thérèse was christened on September 4, 1672 and Barbe-Thérèse on May 20, 1674. Two years later, on June 27, 1676, a son Chrétien was baptized, but he did not survive infancy and was buried on September 30 of the same year. Finally, the baptism of a daughter Susanne took place on January 27, 1678. The name Savoye also appears in the marriage records of the cathedral of Sint-Baaf in Ghent. In August 1682 Marie-Anne de Savoye was married there to Jacques du Pré.

After leaving Ghent Jacques de Savoye settled at Sas van Gent across the Dutch border, where he spent most of 1686 and part of 1687. He gave as his reason for moving there the intensity of the religious persecution against him. The Sas lay at the end of the canal which marked Ghent’s early attempt to gain an outlet to the Scheldt. Du Ponts were already established there, for a Louis du Pont moved from Sas van Gent to Leyden in October 1683.

Savoye’s first wife had died by 1686 and it is possible that he met his second wife at the Sas. Marie-Madeleine le Clercq of Tournai was the daughter of Philippe le Clercq and Antoinette Carnoy. Her mother, then a widow, became a member of the Walloon church in Amsterdam on May 5, 1686. She does not appear to have been in easy circumstances as she was provided with help in kind from the relief funds of the church on December 11, 1686, receiving a camisole, the gift of Philippe de la Fontaine. It is interesting to note that the merchant Jean Bourla, with whom Antoinette Carnoy had business dealings in 1698 while resident at the Cape, was secretary of the Amsterdam church consistory. He too was from the southern Netherlands. Alexandre le Clercq, a merchant, who was certainly a member of this family and perhaps Marie-Madeleine’s brother, also took refuge in Amsterdam. He married Elisabeth Gilles there in 1710 and in the same year settled in Halle-an-der-Saale in Saxony. There, between 1711 and 1716, Philippe-Alexandre, Marie-Elisabeth and Anne le Clercq were born, the son, and daughter Anne, dying in early childhood.

From Sas van Gent Jacques de Savoye went to Middelburg, where his
wife gave birth to a son Jacques and, it would seem, to a daughter Jacquette, baptized on April 12, 1687. It was from the Zeeland capital, after a public sale of household goods, that Jacques and his family left for the Cape of Good Hope. 145

Two points remain to be discussed in this sketch of Jacques de Savoye's European background. The first is that the Simonds cannot have been unacquainted with the Savoyes before they reached the Cape and probably knew something of Jacques's earlier life in Flanders and Hainaut. Not only had Anne de Berault spent some time in Middelburg, but Pierre Simond was also on friendly terms with Pierre de Joncourt, the former pastor of Clermont in the Beauvaisis who had been called to Middelburg in October 1677. 146 Joncourt regarded Savoye as a man of fiery temper, quick to take offence. 147 The Simonds may also have been acquainted with the Le Clercqs and in that connection it is interesting to note that a Madeleine le Clercq was received as a member of the Leyden church with attestation from Zierikzee at Easter 1688. 148

The second point concerns the link between Leyden and the Du Pont and Savoye families. At the time that Jacques de Savoye moved from Ghent to the Sas, both families had a long association with the Dutch university city and Jacques's connection with Leyden was a particularly close one. He was to declare at a later date that his son-in-law settled in the city about the year 1690. 149 but the names of André du Pont and Jeanne de Savoye appear as signatures at a baptismal ceremony there as early as August 5, 1685. 150 They were not then necessarily permanent residents, however. A further link concerns Jacques's brother Jean de Savoye who, like Jacques, was born in Ath and married a Du Pont. The baptism attended by André du Pont and his wife in 1685 was that of Jean, son of Jean de Savoye and Julienne du Pont, born that same day. Jean de Savoye had married Julienne at Leyden on September 12, 1681. At that time he was a joiner and living on the Langegracht in the city. His wife, also from Ath, was a daughter of Benoist du Pont and Jeanne Dué, who lived in the Paardesteeg. Their son Jean died in infancy, but at least two of their daughters reached marriageable age: Jeanne, born on August 19, 1682, and Marie, born on March 14, 1688. Their father died on January 5, 1692, when the family lived in Leyden's Donkersteeg. 151 It is worthy of note, in the context of Jacques de Savoye's financial problems, that the Cape settler owed his brother money at the time of the latter's death. 152

Julienne du Pont clearly left Ath as a child to settle in Leyden with her parents, to whom several other children were born between 1657 and
1667. The surname Du Pont is, in fact, to be found in local records as early as 1600. That the Savoyes were at least visitors to Leyden before 1670 may be inferred from the fact that Jacques de Savoye, probably the Cape settler, was a witness at the baptism of Benoist’s son Jean on September 3, 1664 and Jean de Savoye at that of Benoist’s daughter Abigail on January 9, 1667. Interesting too, in the light of Jacques de Savoye’s marriage into the Le Clercq family is the choice of Jeanne Carnoy as godmother to Benoist du Pont’s son Denis on March 9, 1661.153

Why then did Jacques de Savoye not settle in Leyden after he left Ghent? It is true that the employment situation in the United Provinces was difficult at a time when thousands of French-speaking refugees were flooding across the frontiers, but there he would have found a wide circle of friends and relatives to help him establish himself. The prospect of life in a distant settlement controlled by a company jealous of its trading privileges can scarcely have fired the merchant class among Calvinist refugees with enthusiasm. Nor is there anything in Savoye’s earlier career to suggest that agricultural pursuits would attract him. On the other hand, although the prospect of ploughing, planting, building and raising livestock in an unknown land may have caused him some misgivings, especially as he was no longer a young man, he may have seen the end product of a fine farm as a rural paradise in which to spend his last days. That at least was the burden of the letter of recommendation concerning him sent out from Rotterdam.154 There is also, however, the evidence of financial difficulties and it was perhaps these which played a major part in his decision to begin a new life in a new sphere far from Europe.

North-west of Ath is Courtrai in Flanders, a town on the Lys associated with the Des Prez family which reached the Cape on the Schelde in 1688.155 Courtrai was held by the French between 1668 and 1678. We are indebted to the researches of two South African descendants, J.W. du Preez156 and more recently, M.H.C. du Preez,157 for much information concerning their ancestors in Europe. The Des Prez party consisted of Hercule des Prez, born about the year 1645, his wife Cécile (Cecilia) Datis, some five years his junior, and six children: Hercule, Elisabeth, Jacquemine (Jacomina), Marie-Jeanne, Philippe and François-Jean.158 The place of origin of the Des Prez family is uncertain, but Ath this south-west of Mons may provide a clue to the earliest beginnings of the Datis family. Later generations would certainly not have remained confined to the village from which they presumably took their name and it is interesting to find in the church registers of Oostburg in the United
Provinces a reference in 1748 to the marriage there of a Marie-Catherine Dathée (sic) from the Saint-Quentin generality of Picardy.\textsuperscript{159}

It is, however, certain that the Des Prez family was living in the Courtrai district when the town was a French possession. The daughter Elisabeth was baptized in the Sint-Maartens church there on August 31, 1670, with Charles Loridon and Ludovica (Louise) Pittens as godparents. In the same church on July 4, 1677 François-Jean was christened, taking the name of his godfather François Loridon. The godmother on that occasion was Jeanne, or Johanna van Neste, of a family well represented in the local church registers.\textsuperscript{160} It is probable that, as with other French-speaking settlers from Flanders, the Des Prez party was at home in the Flemish language.

The family must also have lived at some time in Béthune in the province of Artois, since it is known that Marie-Jeanne des Prez was born there. If the date of her birth, 1675, is correct, this would indicate a temporary move there from Courtrai.\textsuperscript{161} It is possible that Philippe des Prez was also born in Béthune, as he gave the name Artois to his farm in the Land van Waveren.\textsuperscript{162} On the other hand, this could be taken to indicate that the Des Prez family had its origins in that province. It is also evident that Hercule des Prez and his wife were once resident in Lille, where Jacquemine was born.\textsuperscript{163} Graham Botha gives Courtrai as the birthplace of both Hercule des Prez and his son of the same name, but no confirmation of this has been discovered.\textsuperscript{164}

Hercule des Prez and his family were at Flushing in Zeeland by 1686, together with his wife’s brother Nicolas Datis. On August 29 of that year the two men applied to the municipal authorities to join the Sint-Jans guild of tailors without payment of the usual charges. The request points to the necessity of guild membership for obtaining remunerative employment as an artisan, as well as to the financial difficulties in which so many refugee families found themselves. It also provides evidence of the trade followed by the Cape settler, an occupation in keeping with his background in the textile centres of the north-east. The Flushing authorities were prepared to accept the applicants as paying members and to admit them to citizenship when they had taken the required oath.\textsuperscript{165}

The refuge in Flushing enabled Hercule des Prez and his wife to practise openly the Calvinist faith and on February 11, 1688, eight days before they sailed with their children on the Schelde, they were given an attestation of membership by the minister and elders of the Walloon church in Flushing. They had, in the words of the document, “fait
ouverte profession de la Religion Reformée, et vescu avec edification au milieu de nous, frequentant les sainctes assemblées et participant au Sacrement de la saincte Cene du Seigneur". The attestation was signed by the pastor André Lombard and, in the name of his colleagues, by the church elder Daniel de Groot.

A word about Lombard will not be out of place. Born at Nîmes in 1635, he trained at Geneva and in 1663, soon after his admission as a minister, went to London where he was attached to the Savoy church. He returned to France five years later and served at Nîmes and briefly in Lyons before deciding to settle again in England. On his way north early in 1680 he was arrested in Paris and imprisoned in the Bastille until January 1681. He then rejoined the staff of London’s Savoy church, but later moved to the United Provinces. Before his appointment to the Flushing church he served at Middelburg and Copenhagen.

The voyage to the Cape on the Schelde brought the Des Prez and Prévost families close. Elisabeth des Prez stood godmother at the shipboard baptism of Jacob Prévost, with the ship’s captain as godfather; Philippe des Prez was later to marry Charles Prévost’s daughter Elisabeth.

The name Des Prez and the variant Du Pré are to be found at the Cape after 1672. One Du Pré, Jacob, served as a ranger for more than fifteen years after 1701. His place of origin was Ellezelles, south-east of Courtrai across the Scheldt. An assistant mate aboard the visiting Amsterdam East Indiaman Spierdijk in 1688 was Jan du Pré of Flushing. Du Prés from Menin, near Courtrai, made their way into the Empire in the late seventeenth century, among them Agnès-Marguerite du Pré, wife of a former army chaplain under William of Orange, Jacques de la Porte. She died at Hameln on the Weser in 1741. It is interesting to note that Abraham Vivier of Normandy, who married Jacquemine des Prez, called his farm of 1714 Menin. There was also a Jean-Gabriel Dartis (sic) in the company’s service at the Cape after 1714. Could this surname be Datis, thus providing a family link with Hercule des Prez’s wife?

Mouscron, south-west of Courtrai and today on the Franco-Belgian frontier near Tourcoing, was formerly a Flemish town, but has now been transferred to the province of Hainaut. It was here on February 4, 1674 that the Cape settler Jacques Potier was baptized, the son of Antoine Potier and Marie Herpiel. This would appear to have been an illegitimate birth. Antoine Potier was later married to Jeanne Mar-
chant, who presented him with sons André and Charles in 1679 and 1683, and a daughter Marie-Jeanne, baptized on January 10, 1684.\textsuperscript{174} Jacques Potier reached the Cape in 1699 as a soldier on the East Indiaman \textit{Westhoven} from Zeeland. He became a Drakenstein burgher in 1704.\textsuperscript{175}

The place of origin of the burgher Jean Rogier, who arrived in Table Bay in 1699 as a twenty-six year old soldier aboard the Ceylon-bound \textit{Zion}, was perhaps the Flemish village of Moorseele, west of Courtrai on the Heulebeek, although Moresnet towards Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) may be intended. There was a flourishing Calvinist church in this area, with a temple at Vaals. Rogier, promoted to corporal in 1703, obtained his discharge on October 13, 1711.\textsuperscript{176}

South-west of Ghent in Flanders is the village of Nazareth, given in Cape documents as the home of Louis de Pèronne, sometimes confused with Louis de Bérault, Pierre Simond’s brother-in-law. Suggestions that Nazareth is a corruption of Mazères, or of Saint-Nazaire, seem inappropriate.\textsuperscript{177} There is much about this settler’s contacts to suggest that he came from the region discussed in this chapter. The surname had been encountered among fugitives from the neighbourhood of Sedan\textsuperscript{178} and the town of Pèronne on the Somme in Picardy may indicate the original family source.

Pèronne sailed for the Cape as a soldier on the \textit{Eemland} in 1687, leaving the company’s service four years later. He was for a time a shepherd with Hans Claasen and on October 19, 1692 married Marie le Fèvre, widow of Charles Prévost and of Heinrich Eekhoff of Essen.\textsuperscript{179} Pèronne must also have been previously married. He was described as having a wife and three children in 1690. Did he perhaps leave his family in Europe? It was reported in May 1694 that he had, as a company servant, made provision for a wife in the United Provinces, although he denied all knowledge of this.\textsuperscript{180} Was there perhaps a wrong entry in the books of the company’s pay department?

Another settler to arrive as a company soldier was Amand Véron, born about 1661. He sailed on the \textit{Boswijk} in 1687 and was discharged three years later. Véron evidently lived at Malines, between Brussels and Antwerp, before joining the Dutch East India Company.\textsuperscript{181} As he was named for a Flemish saint\textsuperscript{182} we may perhaps assume that he was born in the southern Netherlands. On the other hand his birthplace is given as Saint-Thomas. This could be the West Indian island, or a faulty transcription of some other locality, Saint-Amand on the Scheldt, west of Malines, perhaps, or even Saint-Omer in Artois. The place of origin of
another settler of later date, Elisabeth Eliard, or Ellard, has been recorded as Ninove, west of Brussels, but this does not seem to be borne out by later investigations. She married at the Cape in 1747.183

A French speaker from Brussels was Louis-François Bureau, alias Lodewijk Francen, son of a lawyer Charles Bureau and his wife Madeleine Lelou. Born about the year 1649 he had, according to his own account, been employed in the Paris postal service and had later joined Charles, duke of Lorraine, as a trooper in Germany and had fought against Turenne. Disappointed in his hopes of promotion, Bureau went to Amsterdam and enlisted as a soldier with the Dutch East India Company, reaching the Cape in 1674. He there transferred to the shore establishment as a clerk and in April 1680 was appointed *dispensier*, or victualler. He was, however, speedily suspended from his duties and accused of certain irregularities. He reappears in the Cape records as a free burgher, but in 1685 the visiting commissioner general Van Reede tot Drakestein recommended his deportation. It seems likely that it was he, and not as Botha suggests, Louis de Bérault, who married Alexandrina Maxwell, widow of Johannes Coon of the council of policy. This would appear to have been a second marriage for Bureau.184

Ministers of religion, although company servants, were closely associated with the settler community and in this the former Catholic monk turned reformed pastor, Engelbertus Franciscus le Boucq, was no exception, despite the short period of his service at the Cape. A son of Jean le Boucq and Philippina Steegh, he was born in 1675 at Tubize in the duchy of Brabant. He reached the settlement in 1707 from Batavia and as a man of mixed French and Flemish descent might have been expected to provide valuable services for both French and Dutch speakers at Drakenstein, where he was appointed to follow Henricus Beck, Simond’s successor there, lately transferred to Stellenbosch. He refused to serve the Drakenstein congregation however, because of poor amenities, and proved to be such a troublesome eccentric that his behaviour angered the authorities and he was sent back to Batavia on the *Vrijburg* in September 1708. He would only see the Cape again as a passing visitor.

But if Le Boucq failed the burghers of Drakenstein, he sided openly with all who opposed government authority and enjoyed considerable support in the country districts, which he toured on horseback armed with sword and pistols and accompanied by two slaves carrying iron-shod sticks in order to drum up support for his views. The burghers had justifiable complaints in the campaign which toppled the governor,
Willem Adriaen van der Stel, but as not infrequently happens in popular uprisings, the anti-establishment faction was capable of going to excessive lengths in its fight against authority. Le Boucq’s appearance on the Cape scene was inopportune.185

Two settlers of earlier date, Jacques Brackenij (Braquenet, perhaps) and Jacob Bourbonnais, came from Mons, capital of Hainaut. The former was one of the first Cape burghers, obtaining his release from company service on August 15, 1658.186 Bourbonnais began his career in the settlement as a sailor and in 1692 was working for the Stellenbosch colonist, Pierre le Fèvre.187

The problem of identifying French speakers from areas chiefly Flemish, Dutch or German in language is not always an easy one. Names are no infallible guide and the forms in which they sometimes appear in contemporary documents add to the uncertainty. The Olivier brothers from Ouwerkerk in Zeeland, Hendrik and Ockert, who were at the Cape within the first twenty years of settlement, were evidently Dutch-speaking, but perhaps descendants of French-speaking immigrants.188 The same may be true of Dirk Coetsee of Kampen, son of Gerhard Coetsee.189 Others probably in this category are Martin Pouisséon, at Stellenbosch in 1685,190 Guillaume Frisnet of Bergen-op-Zoom,191 the burgher councillor and member of the orphan chamber Paulus Artois of Amsterdam,192 the Cape butcher Gijsbert le Fèbre of Overschie, active in several spheres of burgher life,193 and Gabriel Doman, born in Hamburg in 1675, who arrived as a sailor on the Noortgouw in 1695 and became a free baker four years later.194

The movement from the United Provinces to the Cape of settlers probably of French language origin long continued. Among them were Simon du Plooy of Krommenie, Hendrik du Plooy of Soest, Jean-Baptiste Laroche from Utrecht, Jacobus de Hennion of Rotterdam, Louis Picard from Amsterdam and the lawyer Carl Izak Courtonne de Brosse(e)r, who reached the Cape in the Huijs te Reijnsburg in 1741, became a master of the orphan chamber and applied to emigrate to Batavia two years afterwards.195 The burgher Nicolas Piltie, or Pilletie, who died in 1743, had perhaps French as his first language.196 The majority of eighteenth-century colonists were initially in company service. Hendrik du Plooy was a soldier before 1703, Jacobus de Hennion arrived as a book-keeper on the Huijs ten Donk in 1726 and Louis Picard, murdered in 1757 in Hottentots Holland, reached the Cape as a gunner on the Scheijbeek in 1746.197

The regions of Flemish speech in what is now Belgium, with an overspill
into north-eastern France, present particular difficulties. Some settlers from towns and villages here may not have spoken French at all; others were perhaps bilingual.\textsuperscript{198} Are we justified in following Botha by including the Bevernagie family among the French speakers, even though closely associated with that group? Joost Bevernagie, born about the year 1680, arrived in 1700 as a colonist on the \textit{Helmeet}. With him at the Cape was a younger brother Theunis, born about 1691, and an older sister Francina, mentioned earlier in connection with Jacques Mouton. She was known to the author Otto Friedrich Mentzel before 1740 as a lively old lady in her seventies. The Bevernagies were from Nederbrakel, east of Courtrai, and their names suggest a Flemish background.\textsuperscript{199} A Jan Bevernagie is also listed at the Cape in 1706.\textsuperscript{200}

There were several burghers at the Cape from Flanders and Brabant, especially in the first decade of settlement, who by their names might possibly be considered among the French speakers. One of the earliest was Peter Visagie of Antwerp, given burgher status on December 15, 1657. On March 13 of the following year Carel Melin of Bruges was similarly released from company service, as was Pieter Cassier of Furnes on November 30, 1658. Pieter de Puijt of Ypres became a burgher on April 12, 1660 and Bastiaan Castier of Ostend on July 23 of the same year. Louis Rijckart (Richard, perhaps) of Brussels was admitted to burgher status at the Cape on December 3, 1659.\textsuperscript{201}

The Cape baker Maximiliaan de Huvetter of Bruges, born in 1695, the son of Jacob de Huvetter, came to the Cape in 1719 as a soldier on the \textit{Barbesteijn} and married Madeleine, daughter of the refugee Hercule Verdeau. A free burgher by 1723, he was, however, almost certainly a Fleming.\textsuperscript{202} Although no permanent addition to the burgher force, mention may be made of the stowaway Rosaria le Fèbre of Ypres. Le Fèbre and a companion, disguised as soldiers, embarked in 1743 on a company vessel in the United Provinces, but were discovered while the ship was still in the North Sea. ‘Josephus’ le Fèbre, as she called herself, was deported from the settlement.\textsuperscript{203}

There remains, in this survey of settlers from north-eastern France and the lands beyond the border, the Mouy family. Pierre Mouy sailed on the \textit{Donkervliet} in 1699. With him in the settlement were Jeanne and Marie Mouy, presumably his daughters.\textsuperscript{204} Marie, born on May 15, 1685, became the wife of François Rétif in 1700 and their youngest child, Madeleine, baptized on December 22, 1720, lived to be almost ninety-seven years of age, dying on April 10, 1817.\textsuperscript{205} C.C. de Villiers
spoke of a portrait of her still in existence at Paarl in the later nineteenth century.206

The Mouys were said to have come from Saint-Amant and it has been assumed that this is Saint-Amand on the Scheldt. There are, however, other alternatives in the region: Saint-Amand-les-Eaux, near Valenciennes, Saint-Amand, in the vicinity of Arras, and on the Belgian side of the modern border, Saint-Amand, north-east of Charleroi. The family has not yet been identified in Europe, although the surname has been encountered in Dauphiné.207 There are moreover many towns and villages in France named Saint-Amand, Saint-Amant or Saint-Amans, and it is possible that the Mouys came from one of them. Their inclusion in this chapter is therefore somewhat arbitrary.

It is difficult to estimate with any degree of accuracy the number of Calvinists from the north-eastern borders of France and the lands which lay beyond who decided to emigrate in the latter part of the seventeenth century. It is also probable that the social and economic problems of life in a region of frequent military conflict induced many French speakers, not all of them members of the reformed church, to move to other countries, particularly the United Provinces. Something of the movement of Calvinists from Mons in Hainaut to Hesse can be seen in the church records of Maastricht for 1686.208 Only the Calaisis and the Boulonnais of northern Picardy lay outside the frontier zones at this period, but it is clear that there existed close links between the Calvinists who worshipped at Guines and their co-religionists of Artois and Flanders, as well as ties of trade and family between the Calais region and both the United Provinces and England.

Military conquest, economic distress and religious persecution may perhaps have driven from home as many as 60% of the Calvinists from the region discussed in this chapter between 1675 and the end of the century.209 This could mean that about 3 000 emigrated from the Calaisis and the Boulonnais, perhaps as many as 11 000 from Sedan and Metz, and some 2 000 more from the scattered Protestant communities of north-eastern France and the southern Netherlands, a total of perhaps 16 000 in all.210 It would appear that this region provided the largest contingent of settlers of French speech at the Cape in this period, comprising about 30% of the total. Between a third and a half of them were attached to the Guines congregation in the Calaisis.211

When the emigrants from France discussed in the previous chapter are added to the total, it is evident that more than 40% of the French speakers who came to the Cape in the last quarter of the seventeenth
century had their origins in eastern and north-eastern France, or in communities beyond the frontier. So far as the borderland and the Spanish Netherlands are concerned, it would seem that a relatively high proportion of emigrants came from those urban centres particularly associated with textile production. Those from Flanders would doubtless have been conversant with the Flemish language. This fluency must have helped to advance the process of integration in the Cape environment.

To limit this history to the background of those who made a home at the Cape of Good Hope is to do less than justice to the theme of early contacts with French speakers there. For to the Cape, half-way stage on many a long ocean voyage and a link in the chain of empire, came many another French speaker, or descendant of one. Some were birds of passage, making no permanent mark upon the development of the refreshment station and colony; others were closely connected with its administration at various levels. We turn therefore to a discussion of some of the French-speaking visitors and company men who helped to make the Cape a meeting-place of the nations during the first hundred years or so of rule by the Dutch East India Company.

REFERENCES: CHAPTER NINE

1. MOURS, Protestantism en France au XVIIe siècle, pp. 60; 61.
2. HAZARD, European mind, pp. 114-142.
3. MOURS, Protestantisme en France au XVIIe siècle, pp. 60-61; 214-221.
5. VC 107, Specification of provisions supplied to French refugees, 1689 (1688)-1690 (copy) (CA); FRANKEN, ‘Franse vlugtelinge’, II, Die Huisgenoot, X, 194, Nov. 27, 1925, p. 21. See also BOTHA, French refugees, pp. 60; 61; 77.
7. MINET and WALLER (eds), Transcript of the registers, p. i.
8. NAERT, ‘Huguenots du Calaisais’, BSHPF, LXIV, Jan.-April 1915, pp. 424-427; May-Aug. 1915, p. 537; MINET and WALLER (eds), Transcript of the registers, p. ii. There were links before 1685 with the French church


14. 5641, Collection Auzière, Ile-de-France, Eglises, A-K: pp. 63; 136 (Bibl. Prot., SHPF); MINET and WALLER (eds), Transcript of the registers, pp. iv-v; 277.

15. On this congregation see J. DE HULLU, ‘De Waalsche kerk van Cadzand, 1686-1809’, Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis, N.S., IX, 1912, pp. 1-58, and DE HULLU and MINET (eds), Register of the Walloon church.


20. The main source is MINET and WALLER (eds), Transcript of the registers, pp. 1-227. This record has been used, sometimes inaccurately, by BOTHÁ (French refugees, pp. 60-90; 99). It is further analysed in M.
BOUCHER, ‘The Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis; a re-examination’, *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, pp. 6-10; 14-17.

21. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 54; 61; 210; BOUCHER, ‘Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis’, *Familia*, XII, 1, 75, p. 9; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 63-64.

22. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 61; 71; 75; 113; 127; 175; 180; 240; 274; BOUCHER, ‘Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis’, *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 9; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 63-64.


24. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 41; 61 (baptism, Nov. 20, 1672); 77; 110 (baptism, Oct. 26, 1675); 135 (baptism, March 14, 1677); 211 (baptism, Feb. 9, 1681); BOUCHER, ‘Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis’, *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 10; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 84.

25. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 55; 222; 243; BOUCHER, ‘Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis’, *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 10. It is possible that Daniel des Ruelles was a son of Gilles des Ruelles and Antoinette de le Val (Duval).

26. BW 782, Zierikzee, Livre de la recette et de la dépense de l’argent des pauvres, 1680-1689: various entries, Nov. 24, 1686-March 14, 1688 (Bibl. wall.).

27. AB Ze Zie dtb, Zierikzee, Doop, 1653-1737 (copy) (CBG).

28. *French refugees*, pp. 84-85. See VC 115, Documents relating to French refugees, 1690 (and 1691) (copies): 1, Financial aid to needy French, April 18 and 19, 1690, p. 85v. Aid was provided for Des Ruelles, his wife and daughter Anne, his elder daughter Esther having married Etienne Bruère.


31. FWK: Nourtier.


34. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, p. 231; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 90.
36. FWK: Vitu; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 74; 90.
37. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 75; 125; 226; 248; BOUCHER, ‘Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis’, *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 14.
39. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 9 (baptism, Dec. 20, 1668); 10; 29 (baptism, July 22, 1670); 42 (baptism, Sept. 27, 1671); 75 (baptism, Oct. 15, 1673); 146 (baptism, Oct. 31, 1677); 204; 248 (baptism, Oct. 23, 1683); BOUCHER, ‘Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis’, *Familia*, XII 1, 1975, p. 14; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 71-72. The Elsie Jacob(s) in BOTHA ( *French refugees*, p. 72) was not a French refugee (HOGE, ‘Kanttekeninge’, *TWK*, Nuwe Reeks, I, 2, Dec. 1940, p. 150).
40. C 502, Uitgaande brieven, 1688-1690: to Middelburg, June 14, 1688, ff. 193v.-195 (CA); BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 8-9, but with reference to deaths aboard.
41. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, p. 75; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 81; BOUCHER, ‘Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis’, *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 15.
42. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 100 (baptism, March 17, 1675); 154; 180 (baptism, June 18, 1679); 212 (baptism, Feb. 23, 1681); 253 (baptism, Nov. 14, 1683); 272; BOUCHER, ‘Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis’, *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 15; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 81. For the birth of Jacob at sea on the Schelde see G 1, 1/1, Kaapstad, Notule, 1665-1694: p. 35 (NGKA). BOTHA ( *French refugees*, p. 81) erroneously gives the name as Charles and the birth as taking place in Table Bay.
43. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 4; 157; 253; 262; 263.
44. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 50; 108; 116; BOUCHER, ‘Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis’, *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 15. The family came originally from Rotterdam.
45. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 42; 127; 156; 159; 202; 268; BOUCHER, ‘Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis’, *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 15.
46. TT 1, Généralité d’Amiens: p. 140.
47. AB Ze Zie dtb, Zierikzee, Doop (klapper), 1594-1810 (copy): Feb. 16, 1687; Aug. 21, 1689 (CBG); A.J. ENSCHEDE, ‘Le Refuge à Ardenbourg en Hollande (1685-1686)’, *BSHPF*, XXXVI, Feb. 15, 1887, p. 84.
49. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 60. His will gives Calais as his place of origin (MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten, 1689-1712: 86, Aug. 6, 1704 (CA)).

50. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 14; 27; 162; 257.


53. AB Ze Oost dtb, Oostburg, Doop. 1686-1795 (copy): pp. 58; 69; Lidmaten, 1691-1716 (copy): Pierre Bleuzet (Bleusset) from Cadzand, 1691 (CBG). A Pieter Bleusze (sic) of Dordrecht sailed as a steward on the *Huys te Assenburg*, calling at the Cape in 1727 (CJ 3180, Attestatieën, scheeps consumptie, 1708-1752 (with omissions): March 29, 1727, p. 400 (CA)).

54. MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten: 86, Aug. 6, 1704; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 77. As with Bleuset, the birthplace is given as Calais. BOTHA’s Jean Magnet (*French refugees*, pp. 76; 77) is indeed Jean Manie.

55. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, p. 60: marriage of Pierre Ma(g)nie to Marie de Fief, Nov. 6, 1672; p. 143: baptism of Jacob Dournel(le), Sept. 5, 1677. See also BOUCHER, ‘Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis’, *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 15.


58. VC 115, Documents: 1, Financial aid, April 18 and 19, 1690, p. 91v.

59. For Zobry and Jean see HOGE, ‘Kanttekening’, *TWK*, Nuwe Reeks, 1, 2, Dec. 1940, p. 155.

60. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 94; 117; 127. For the Zobry-Jean marriage see also BOUCHER, ‘Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis’, *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 15.

61. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 109 (baptism, Sept. 15, 1675); 139, (baptism, June 7, 1677); 173 (baptism, Jan. 18, 1679); 197 (baptism, April 23, 1680); 262; 263. See also BOUCHER, ‘Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis’, *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 16.

62. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 14; 33; 71; 80; 99; 184; 189; 210; 263; BOUCHER, ‘Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis’, *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 16.

63. MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten: 28, July 26, 1698; HOGE, ‘Kanttekening’, *TWK*, Nuwe Reeks, 1, 2, Dec. 1940, p. 155; MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 78; 138; 211; BOUCHER, ‘Cape Huguenots from the Calaisis’, *Familia*, XII, 1, 1975, p. 16.

64. FWK: Des Obry (sic); MINET, ‘Fourth foreign church’, *Proceedings*
65. M 46, Miscellaneous documents: Vrijbrieven, Pieter Mon van Calis (sic) (CA); G 3, 3/1, Paarl, Doop, 1694-1745: godfather at baptism, Aug. 24, 1698, p. 8 (NGKA); MINET and WALLER (eds), Transcript of the registers, pp. 294; 313.


68. MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten: 56, July 22, 1702; BOTHA, French refugees, p. 71. The transcription of some of the names in this will is clearly in error. See also LEIBBRANDT (comp.), Precis . . . Requests (Memorials), I, p. 1: 8, Jan. 25, 1718 (Angeret (sic)).

69. PA 201, Archieven der Bestuuren gevormd door de Waalse gemeente in Amsterdam tot 1943, 46b, Livre des membres depuis 1629: Nov. 29, 1690 (GA Amsterdam); Fichier, Amsterdam, dtb: Aug. 14, 1700 (GA Amsterdam); Stellenbosch, 18/3, Testamenten, 1708-1714: 3, Nov. 20, 1708 (CA); DU PLESSIS, 'Jean Prieur du Plessis', Proceedings HSL, XXII, 3, 1973, pp. 267-268; BOTHA, French refugees, pp. 62; 66.


71. Archief der Waalse gemeente te Maastricht, 1, Register van resolusies van het consistorie, 1646-1733: Oct. 27, p. 50 (GA Maastricht).

72. FF 7049, Estat des biens saisis . . . (1685-1687): ff. 45v.-46 (Bibl. nat.).

73. See Ms. 859-860, Extraits des observations séculaires de Paul Ferry sur l'histoire de Metz, par un religieux bénédictin de Saint-Arnould, XVIIe siècle (Bibl. mun. Metz).

74. MOURS, Protestantisme en France au XVIIe siècle, p. 148.

75. M. THIRION, Etude sur l'histoire du Protestantisme à Metz et dans le Pays messin. p. 274.

76. TRIBOUT DE MOREMBERT, Réforme à Metz, II, p. 304.

77. Collection Antoine Court, 48, Mémoires: Villes et pais ou l'exercice public de la religion réformée peut et doit etre rétabli independamment de l'Edit de Nantes, n.d., p. 54 (Bibl. pub. et univ.).

78. GONIN and DELTEIL (eds), 'Révocation . . . vue par les informateurs', BSHPF, CXVIII, Jan.-March 1972, 97, p. 120.


80. THIRION, Etude, p. 298; TRIBOUT DE MOREMBERT, Réforme à
Metz, II, pp. 309-310; MOURS, ‘Pasteurs’, BSHPF, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, pp. 80; 81; HAAG and HAAG, France protestante, I, p. 82 (Anciaillon); p. 221 (Bancelin).

81. TRIBOUT DE MOREMBERT, Réforme à Metz, II, p. 303.

82. C 230, Requesten en nominatien, 1723: 41 (CA); FRANKEN, ‘Huisonderwys’, Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch, XII, B, 1, July 1934, pp. 20-21. The date of arrival in BOTHA (French refugees, p. 95) is in error.

83. 8673, Collection O. Cuvier, Extrait des registres de l’état civil des Protestants (Metz). Table alphabétique des noms mentionnés, 1561-1685 (Bibl. Prot., SHPF); HAAG and HAAG, France protestante, VIII, pp. 6-7.


86. BOTHA, French refugees, p. 95.

87. ‘Huisonderwys’, Annale van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch, XII, B, 1, July 1934, p. 21.

88. BOTHA, French refugees, pp. 38; 69.

89. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), Precis ... Requesten (Memorials), II, p. 835: 36, 1766.

90. BOTHA, French refugees, pp. 95; 160b.

91. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), Precis ... Requesten (Memorials), I, p. 4: 83, 1737-1738 (Aucam); DE VILLIERS and PAMA (eds), Genealogies, I, p. 14.


94. BOTHA, French refugees, p. 38.


97. PA 201, Archieven, 47a, Livre contenant les noms des membres, 1680-1689 (GA Amsterdam); FWK: Du Toict.


99. Tabellion, 1762: Jean-Michel Dubar, 1684, 76, Oct. 28; Tabellion, 1868: Gilles Dubois, 1672, 57 (Guillaume Du Thoït); Ms. Tables, Lille, BMS,

100. G 2, 7/1, Stellenbosch, Huweliksregister en lidmaatregister, 1700-1788: May 12, 1709, p. 4; Oct. 11, 1711, p. 6 (NGKA); MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten: 74, Jan. 1711; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 63; 91; DE VILLIERS and PAMA (eds), *Genealogies*, I, p. 398.

101. BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 67; 75; HOGE, ‘Kanttekening’, *TWK*, Nuwe Reeks, I, 2, Dec. 1940, p. 150. De Haas entries at Lille include an Isabeau de Ha(a)s in 1651 (F. DENIS DU PÉAGE (ed.), *Notes extraites des archives communales de Lille*, p. 387).


104. BW 766, Tholen, Registre des résolutions du consistoire, etc., 1693-1759: Jan. 22, 1696 (Bibl. wall.).

105. FWK: Delporte.


110. The first name suggests Scandinavia, however.

111. FWK: (De) Lanoy; DE VILLIERS and PAMA (eds), *Genealogies*, I, p. 27.

112. For Madeleine’s birthplace see G 2, 7/1, Stellenbosch, Huweliksregister: May 12, 1709, p. 4. The farm Steenwerk (sic) reflects the place of origin (Old Stellenbosch freeholds, II, 1, 1704-1723: July 15, 1720, f. 2, p. 170 (DO)). See also C. DE VILLIERS, ‘Wie was Maria de Villiers, oorl. plus/minus 1700?’, *Familia*, II, 1, 1965, pp. 15-17; BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 63; 78; 124; HOGE, *Bydraes*, p. 95. The children are listed in CJ 2604, Testamenten en codicillen, 1727-1730: Nov. 9, 1728, pp. 165-166 (CA).


117. MINET and WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers*, pp. 292; 296; 309; 318.

118. PA 201, Archieven, 285k, Livre des charges, 1683-1697 (GA Amsterdam); AB Ze Zie dbt, Zierikzee, Doop. A Marie de Lanoy was accepted by the Middelburg church on June 30, 1686 (FWK: (De) Lanoy).
119. HANDS and SCouflodi (eds), French Protestant refugees, p. 118; Colyer-Fergusson (ed.), Registers, III, p. 30j.


121. ‘Franse vlugtelinge’, IV, Die Huisgenoot, X, 211; 214; XI, 216, April 2 and 30; May 7, 1926.

122. See BOTHAt, French refugees, pp. 85; 138; 139.


125. For a Moïse de Savoye from the Cambrésis in Amsterdam in 1586 see FK: (De) Savoye.


128. BOTHAt, French refugees, pp. 79; 85; 138; 139.

129. See FK: (De) Savoye.

130. He was not in Ghent in June 1686 (FRANKEN, ‘Franse vlugtelinge’, IV, Die Huisgenoot, X, 214, April 30, 1926, p. 15).

131. See P. CARSON and G. DANHIEUX, Ghent; a town for all seasons, pp. 97-107.


137. MOOC 15/2, Cash vouchers, 1718-1724: 1719 (CA).


140. FWK: Du Pont.

141. BOTHA, French refugees, pp. 62; 85.

142. PA 201, Archieven, 46b; 285k.

143. PA 201, Archieven, 47a; 285k; BOTHA, French refugees, p. 62. Bourla and his wife Marguerite le Blanc joined the Amsterdam Walloon church on Jan. 25, 1682.

144. FWK: Le Clercq.

145. FWK: (De) Savoye; FRANKEN, ‘Franse vlugtelinge’, IV, Die Huisgenoot, X, 214, April 30, p. 15.

146. DRESSELHUIS, Waalsche gemeenten in Zeeland, p. 41.


150. Waals, Dopen, 1599-1811, 89 (GA Leyden).

151. Kerkelijke ondertrouw, 195; Waals, Dopen, 89; Huwelijken, Waalse kerk, R-Z, 5: p. 530; Bruiden, 1575-1811, 39: p. 34; Begraafdata, 20, 1686-1695 (GA Leyden).

152. MOOC 3/3, Inkomende briewe, 1690-1714: Orphan Chamber, Leyden to Orphan Chamber, Cape, May 1692 (CA).

153. Waals, Dopen, 1599-1811, 77 (GA Leyden).


155. BOTHA, French refugees, pp. 9; 65.

156. Du Preez gedenkboek, p. 80.


158. BOTHA (French refugees, pp. 9; 65) gives four children only.


173. G 1, 13/1, Kaapstad, Huwelik (en lidmaatregister), 1713-1756: attestation, Jean-Gabriel d'Artis, Oct. 1, 1714 (NGKA); LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis ... Requesten (Memorials)*, I, p. 352: 2, Jan. 24, 1719.

174. Registres paroissiaux, Mou(s)cron, I, B, 1649-1735: 127, Feb. 4, 1674; 531, Nov. 8, 1679; 736, Jan. 19, 1683; 800, Jan. 10, 1684 (AdlE, Tournai).

175. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 81.

176. Rosier in BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 82. His promotion is in VC 40, Generale monsterrollen: 46, 1703. His name is not in BW 805, Liste des personnes qui comosent le troupeau ... a Vaals, 1663-1797 (Bibl. wall.).


182. Saint Amand (feast-day, Jan. 6).

CHAPTER NINE

Eliaert of Ninoven was, however, at the Cape in 1788 (LEIBBRANDT (comp.), Precis ... Requesten (Memorials), I, p. 435: 41, 1788).


186. LOUWRENS, Immigrasie, appendix II, p. 244. For an alternative spelling Braequerie (Braquerie, perhaps) see BOESEKEN (ed.), Resolusies, II, p. 55n.: Feb. 4, 1671.

187. BOTHA, French refugees, p. 61.

188. KANNEMEYER, Hugenote-familieboek, pp. 253-254.

189. DE VILLIERS and PAMA (eds), Genealogies, I, pp. 144-145.

190. BOTHA, French refugees, pp. 95-96.

191. G 1, 13/1, Kaapstad, Huwelik (en lidmaatregister): June 27, 1715.


195. DE WET (ed.), Resolusies, VIII, p. 70 and n.: Dec. 8, 1729 (J. de Hennion); p. 274 and n.: Feb. 11, 1733 (S. du Plooy); Resolusies, VII, p. 25 and n.: Feb. 17, 1724 (H. du Plooy); p. 334 and n.: March 11, 1727 (Jan de la Roche); LM 15. Leibbrandt manuscripts, P-R: 59, 1746, p. 862 (L. Picard)(CA); LEIBBRANDT (comp.), Precis ... Requesten (Memorials), I, p. 374: 24, 1743 (C.1. Couronne de Brossart). For Brossart’s wife Sara Maria d’Ailly see the next chapter.

197. DE VILLIERS and PAMA (eds), Genealogies, II, p. 690 (Picard); DE WET, (ed.), Resolusies, VII, p. 25 and n.: Feb. 17, 1724 (H. du Plooy); Resolusies, VIII, p. 70 and n.: Dec. 8, 1729 (J. de Hennion).

198. SMITS would seem to exaggerate when he states: “Wij mogen niet vergeten dat de meeste Frans-Vlamingen alleen Vlaams spraken” (Betrekkingen, pp. 16-17).


201. LOUWRENS, Immigrasie, appendix II, pp. 244-246. The name Cassier appears at Furnes. See Parochierregisters: Veurne, 201 (RA Brugge (Bruges)).


204. BOTHA, French refugees, p. 79.

205. DE VILLIERS and PAMA (eds), Genealogies, II, pp. 776; 778: Retief.


207. 2 E 5400, David Marcel, Actes, Pontaix, 1666: Feb. 9, pp. 34-37; Feb. 12, p. 37v.; Feb. 20, p. 49; March 1, p. 60; March 18, p. 62 (AD Drôme). One was a Pierre Mooi (sic), wool carder of Pontaix.

208. Archief der Waalse gemeente te Maastricht, 1, Register: 4 and 6 March, pp. 53-54.

209. STOYE (European unfolding, p. 367) suggests that nearly 50% of all Calvinists in Picardy left the country.

210. Based on MOURS, Protestantisme en France au XVIIe siècle, pp. 60-61, for northern Picardy, Sedan and Metz.

211. SMITS (Betrekkingen, p. 17) indicates that about one-third of the “French” refugees at the Cape were French Flemings. This proportion comes close to the percentage of settlers from the region considered in this chapter, but by no means all were Flemings.