

Cape settlers I: from the Loire to the Channel



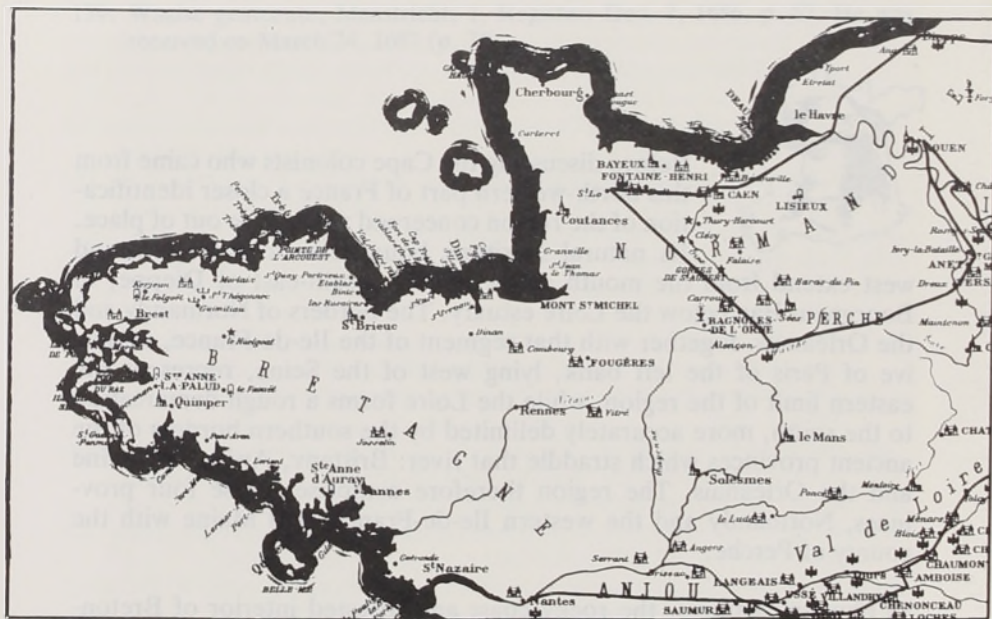
Before discussing the Cape colonists who came from this north-western part of France a closer identification of the region concerned will not be out of place.

Its natural maritime boundaries to the north and west extend from the mouth of the Bresle, north-east of Dieppe, to Bourgneuf Bay below the Loire estuary. The borders of Normandy and the Orléanais, together with that segment of the Ile-de-France, exclusive of Paris of the left bank, lying west of the Seine, represent the eastern limit of the region, while the Loire forms a rough demarcation to the south, more accurately delimited by the southern borders of the ancient provinces which straddle that river: Brittany, Anjou, Touraine and the Orléanais. The region therefore comprises these four provinces, Normandy and the western Ile-de-France, and Maine with the county of Perche.

In physical features, the rocky coast and forested interior of Breton-

speaking western and north-western Brittany stand apart. For the rest the region is largely an extension of the central European plain, broken by the hills of Upper Normandy and those of Perche. A part of France predominantly agricultural, it is principally watered to the east and north-east by the Seine and its tributary the Eure, in the north by such rivers flowing into the Channel as the Orne and the Rance, and to the south-west and south by the Vilaine and the rivers of the Loire system, among them the Sarthe, the Loir, the Mayenne and the Cher.

Administratively the region fell within the jurisdiction of the intendants of seven generalities: those of Rouen, Alençon and Caen for Normandy, the generality of Nantes for Brittany, those of Tours and Orleans to the south and the generality of Paris for the western portion of the Ile-de-France. The generalities were further subdivided into elections. Significant too in the joint campaign of church and state against the Calvinists were the cathedral cities and the dioceses subordinate to them. Some cities, among them Orleans and Rouen, were the seats of generalities; others included Sées, north of Alençon, Angers on the Maine and Chartres near Paris, in whose magnificent cathedral Henri IV was crowned in 1594 after his abjuration of Protestantism had



brought to a temporary close the religious wars. The region also contained several royal seats, including Versailles, west of Paris, and Fontainebleau, south-east of the city, where the edict of revocation was signed. Finally, and important with regard to Huguenot escape routes by sea and the prevention of such evasions, are the seaports of the region. They include Dieppe and Le Havre in Normandy; Saint-Malo, Brest, Lorient and Nantes in Brittany.

In terms of the ecclesiastical organization of the Calvinist church with which we are so closely concerned, this part of France in the seventeenth century included the three synodal provinces of Normandy, Brittany and Anjou-Touraine-Maine, as well as the Beauce colloquy and a small part of the Ile-de-France colloquy of the synodal province of Ile-de-France-Champagne-Picardy, together with a considerable part of the synodal province for the Orléanais and Berry. With the exception of the flourishing Calvinism of coastal Normandy, members of the reformed church were largely a scattered minority and their temples focal points for small groups of worshippers from communities otherwise isolated. The church was very weak in Brittany, Anjou, Touraine and Maine; somewhat stronger in the farming areas of Upper Normandy, the Blésois and the Beauce colloquy. Its survival in some localities owed much to the Protestantism of landowners among the lesser nobility; the Béraults, whose background in Normandy will be sketched in this chapter, were of this class. In all, little more than 10% of French Protestants lived in this region.¹

The Cape settlers from this part of France came largely, but not exclusively, from the towns and villages of coastal Normandy and from a rural quadrilateral with Paris, Orleans, Blois and L'Aigle at its corners. Indeed one refugee ship brought a party of French settlers from the United Provinces whose original homes, despite indications to the contrary by C. Graham Botha² and J.L.M. Franken,³ were all within the quadrilateral. The vessel was the *Voorschooten* of Delft, which sailed from Goeree on December 31, 1687 under the captaincy of Frans Villerius.⁴ Special provision had been made for the spiritual needs of the emigrants. The ship carried two new quarto French Bibles and ten books of the psalms of Marot and Bèze, and for the edification of the refugees on the voyage, the sermons of the former Caen pastors Pierre du Bosc and Jean Guillebert.⁵

In the context of this voyage, Franken's identification of the Cape farm Le Plessis Marlé with a locality near Marle in Picardy is certainly wide of the mark.⁶ It was the refugee Charles Marais who perpetuated the

name of his place of origin in the designation of the farm granted to him in 1688. He and his family came from the Hurepoix region of the Ile-de-France, south and south-west of Paris, and were members of the congregation worshipping at Le Plessis-Marly near Longvilliers, a village north-west of Dourdan towards the Rambouillet forest. Le Plessis-Marly was the estate of the Duplessis-Mornays, the family which gave the statesman Philippe de Mornay to the Protestant cause in the troubled days of Henri IV. Le Plessis-Marly came into Philippe's possession through his mother Françoise, daughter of Charles du Bec-Crespin, vice-admiral of France. Formerly owned by her maternal aunt Jeanne de Deauvilliers, the property was acquired by Françoise in June 1561.⁷

The church was chosen in 1601 by the royal commissioners François d'Angennes and Pierre Jeannin to serve the Calvinists of the Montfort-l'Amaury bailiwick, replacing an earlier place of worship at Garancières-en-Beauce to the south-west.⁸ The Mornays made personal provision in 1606 for the salary of a minister and for the support of the poor. The church was included in the Beauce colloquy of the synodal province for the north-east of France and had close connections with the seigneurial church of La Norville in the Hurepoix, sharing the same pastor, Maurice de Laubéron de Montigny, for a number of years after 1626. The Paris temple had been sited in the Hurepoix before 1606, first at Grigny and later, in 1599, at Ablon-sur-Seine, both south of the capital, but with the removal to Charenton, Le Plessis-Marly and La Norville alone served the region.⁹

It was for Jansenism, rather than Calvinism, that the Hurepoix was noted in the seventeenth century. The Calvinist reform movement had made little headway there and was very much a minority cult. Jean Jacquart has put forward some tentative reasons: the ease with which repressive measures could be introduced to counter heresy in towns and villages close to the capital; few complaints of a material kind against the Catholic church and close family ties between many of the clergy and their parishioners; social stability in a region which remained relatively strong economically during the wars of religion. Here then was no fertile field for religious innovation and proximity to Paris strengthened the efforts of Catholic reform: mission priests, following in the footsteps of Vincent de Paul, were active; eucharistic devotions, a counterpoise to Calvinism, were encouraged. A number of landowners returned to the Catholic faith and those who remained members of the reformed church do not appear to have strongly influenced their tenants.¹⁰

The anti-Calvinist drive mounted by Louis XIV drove the pastor Jac-

ques Rondeau of Le Plessis-Marly to England,¹¹ while Charles Marais, his wife Catherine Taboureux and their children Claude, Charles, Isaac and Marie-Madeleine made their way to the United Provinces. Like so many other refugees of the period they had been compelled to accept Catholicism at the revocation, but returned to the reformed faith in their first country of refuge. Charles, his wife and the older children rejected their forced conversion at the Walloon church in The Hague on September 14, 1687.¹²

Tradition has it that Claude served as an officer in the French army and that the family occupied a higher social position than most other Cape refugees.¹³ However, apart from the fact that it was to the more aristocratic congregation of The Hague that they were attached in the United Provinces, nothing has been discovered to substantiate the claims. Did economic hardship play any part in deciding Marais to quit France? The peasantry of the Hurepoix, essentially a region geared to the production of cereals and wine for the Paris market, suffered a long period of growing pauperization in the seventeenth century, as Jacquart has amply demonstrated. The crisis reached its peak in 1652 during the military operations of the *Fronde*, with widespread famine and general misery. A subsequent increase in land appropriation, in which the Paris bourgeoisie played a conspicuous part, subjected the humble rural population to further degradation.¹⁴ We do not know the circumstances of Charles Marais's daily life, but it is possible that, even without religious persecution, his position was becoming intolerable. The Hurepoix, unlike some other agricultural regions of France, did not generally offer alternative means of remunerative employment, apart from the usual run of village crafts. Those who normally made a living from the land could often turn elsewhere to small scale textile manufacture. However it was virtually only in the stocking industry of Dourdan that such an opportunity existed in this part of the country.¹⁵

But were opportunities for immigrant agricultural workers much greater in the United Provinces? It is to be doubted. The Cape of Good Hope, however, needed farmers and if the Marais parents were a little old to begin a new life in a distant land, their children might be expected to prosper and make a useful contribution to the well-being of the colony. Claude was twenty-four years of age when the passenger list of December 19, 1687 was sent by the Delft chamber to the Cape, Charles was nineteen, Isaac a boy of ten and Marie a child of six.¹⁶

The refugee Pierre Sabatier who accompanied them on the *Voorschooten* was a bachelor of twenty-two in December 1687. The surname is a

common one in the south, a circumstance which perhaps dictated Botha's choice of Mazères in the county of Foix in south-western France as his birthplace.¹⁷ It is just possible that he was a southerner resident in the north at the time of the revocation. The Blois records mention, for example, the death in November 1684 of a young soldier from Languedoc, Simon Soulier,¹⁸ and Sabatier could have been in military service. However, the place-name inaccurately transcribed in the Delft passenger list must surely have been one of the villages called Mézières in the region discussed in this chapter: Mézières north of Blois, perhaps, or Mézières-en-Drouais between Nogent-le-Roi and Dreux. The former seems the more likely as Sabatier is described in the United Provinces as from Blois.¹⁹

The only single girl of marriageable age among the party on the *Voorschooten* was Marguerite Pierre Basché, aged twenty-three, who was among a group of fugitives who had apostatized before leaving France and who returned to the reformed faith at the Walloon church in Delft on October 19, 1687.²⁰ It is probable that Marguerite came from Aunay, just north of Mer, a small town near the Loire with a flourishing Protestant congregation, situated on the road from Blois to Beaugency. Mer was also known as Ménars-la-Ville. Here we find the vine-dressers Jean and Pierre Basché, brothers, and it is of more than passing interest in the Cape context to note that Jean Basché was married to Esther Rétif.²¹ Marguerite Basché's mother, evidently Marie Pierre, was living at Mer in 1688.²² The church at Mer is significant in Cape Huguenot history and we shall have occasion to return to it in this chapter. Interesting too are the instances of social mobility revealed in the records of this congregation. The Baschés, for example, were not all agriculturalists. Timothée Basché was a merchant in Beaugency in 1670.²³

Also on the *Voorschooten* was the young bachelor Jean Machepasté, twenty-five years of age. Botha is in error in suggesting that he may not have reached the Cape.²⁴ The names Machepasté and Pasté appear in Dutch East India Company records and Franken's guess that the shorter is simply an alternative for the longer name²⁵ is borne out by Paul de Félice in his study of the church at Mer.²⁶ The Cape refugee certainly came from the Blésois. A Daniel Machepasté took part in an illegal Protestant assembly at Mer in 1685 and a vine-dresser François Pasté was one of several members of this family living at Roches near Marchenoir, a Calvinist centre not far to the north of Mer.²⁷ Jean Machepasté fled to Delft, where he made reparation in the Walloon church on December 7, 1687 for abjuring Calvinism in his native land.²⁸

Like that of many of the Cape refugees his stay in the United Provinces was of short duration.

Daniel Terrier, who reached the Cape in 1688, although not on the *Voorschooten*, was among several refugees who made amends before the Delft congregation on October 19, 1687 for having accepted Catholicism in France. There were Terriers in exile from Dieppe, but the Delft entry suggests strongly that Daniel was from the Blésois.²⁹ He came perhaps from Marchenoir, birthplace of Marie Terrier who became a member of the Threadneedle Street church in London.³⁰ There were others from this region in England. On September 26, 1689 Pierre Terrier from the Blésois died at Thorpe-le-Soken near Colchester in Essex.³¹

Paul Godefroy, twenty-two years of age in December 1687 was another of the *Voorschooten* bachelors. Despite a suggestion that he might have had La Rochelle connections,³² there is little doubt that he was from the Orléanais. There were Godefroys from Lorges and Marchenoir in the United Provinces in 1687,³³ but it is likely that Paul Godefroy worshipped at the temple of Bazoches-en-Dunois which served a scattered rural population in the fertile Beauce, north of Orleans. The pastor there, Jérémie Perrot, went over to Rome in 1682,³⁴ but the Calvinists of the region showed themselves recalcitrant in the face of efforts to convert them by force after the revocation.³⁵

At Leyden in October 1687 Pierre and Paul Godefroy were helped with food and lodging by the Walloon church authorities. The name of their place of origin, incorrectly spelled in the records, is almost certainly Bazoches.³⁶ Five years later, on November 27, 1692, Pierre Godefroy, son of the late Jacques Godefroy and Elisabeth Sevain of Bazoches-en-Dunois, married Susanne Renaud of the same town at the London church of La Patente de Soho.³⁷ This could well be the brother of the Cape settler and would not be the only instance of family links between London refugees and those in the distant Dutch settlement. The Godefroys are well represented in the Bazoches registers and we may note the marriage on June 23, 1673 of a Pierre Godefroy to Judith Couvret, member of another local family with Cape connections.³⁸

The refugee Gédéon Malherbe was a bachelor of twenty-five when he sailed on the *Voorschooten*. He was among a group of refugees at Delft who on September 21, 1687 appeared before the celebrated pastor and Huguenot historian Elie Benoist, once minister at Alençon in Normandy, to make public reparation of their fault in abjuring Calvinism before escaping from France.³⁹ Gédéon Malherbe was named among

those who had worshipped at the little church of Laons on the road from Dreux to Brézolles in the Thimerais. This wooded region between the Avre and the Eure came under Norman jurisdiction, although it had more in common with the Perche to the west and like its neighbour was renowned for the breeding of the heavy percheron cart-horse. Its three Protestant churches at Laons, Favières and La Ferté-Vidame formed an outlying part of the Beauce colloquy of the synodal province for the Ile-de-France and the north-east and were sometimes united under a single pastor in the seventeenth century. The seigneurial church at Favières was one of the few congregations which did not lose its temple at the revocation. It was converted into a barn.⁴⁰

This was Malherbe country indeed and the name is associated with all three congregations in the Thimerais. Malherbes who attended the Favières temple are to be found in Catholic records after the signing of the Edict of Fontainebleau in October 1685.⁴¹ However in the inventories of the possessions of Calvinist refugees from the Verneuil election of the Alençon generality appears the name of a merchant Gédéon Malherbe, with wife and four children, of Les Ressuintes, near the road from La Ferté-Vidame to Senonches.⁴² On September 1, 1684 a daughter Marie-Elisabeth was born to Gédéon Malherbe and Elisabeth Bernier and christened two days later at L'Aigle. The parents came from La Mancelière, perhaps the hamlet of that name near La Ferté-Vidame.⁴³ It was at this period, on the eve of the revocation, that the closing and demolition of temples and the general harassment of Calvinists were causing a movement of peoples within France and a rising tide of emigration.

The effects of the revocation were fully brought home to the Protestants of Laons in November 1685, when troops employed by Vauban in an abortive attempt to construct a canal from the Eure to Versailles were seconded to the task of conversion. Calvinists were herded together and driven to the church of Saint-Pierre at Dreux, where they were browbeaten into accepting Catholicism.⁴⁴ Dreux had unhappy memories for reformers. It was here in December 1562 that Condé and Coligny had suffered defeat at the hands of François de Guise. Protestantism was to rise again, but by 1685 its militancy of old had long since disappeared. Among those forced to abjure on November 17, 1685 were Pierre, son of Jean Fouber, and a carter in his employ, the future Drakenstein farmer Gédéon Malherbe.⁴⁵

After his arrival at the Cape Malherbe married Marie Grillon. Although she did not sail on the *Voorschooten* she was evidently from the

same part of France as the settlers aboard that vessel and it is more than likely that she accompanied the Rétifs and Pierre Rousseau from the United Provinces. Marie and Jacques Grillon were among those who returned to the reformed faith at Delft on October 19, 1687 and the refugee Jérémie Grillon who married at The Hague had family connections in the nearby Dutch town and links with the Rousseaus through his wife Anne Bottereau.⁴⁶ Church registers for Mer and Lorges in the Blésois reveal further connections between these families and also between the Grillons and the Baschés. Jérémie Grillon is known to have come from the Orléanais and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that Marie Grillon's home was originally at Mer or a village in its vicinity. The baptism of a Marie Grillon is recorded at Lorges on September 28, 1659, the daughter of Isaac Grillon and Anne Champion. A Marie Grillon of Mer died in August 1674.⁴⁷

On December 10, 1687, three weeks before the *Voorschooten* sailed, the refugee Jacques Pinard married Esther Foucher at the French church in the Prinsenhof at Delft, where Willem the Silent was murdered in 1584. The bridegroom was twenty-three years of age and his wife two years his junior, the youngest of the three married couples aboard that vessel. It would seem that the Cape attracted Jacques Pinard as a place where he would be able to find employment in his trade. He was a carpenter and the fact that this description of him has been deleted in the entry of his marriage and the word cloth-worker substituted suggests that he was unable to follow his calling in the United Provinces.⁴⁸

Earlier research into the history of the Pinards of France has, not surprisingly, brought to light many who have borne that name, but it is probable that few were connected closely with the first Pinard at the Cape. Nevertheless the evidence collected cannot be dismissed out of hand. Although the findings emphasize the social élite, the records of the seventeenth century frequently reveal a considerable class range within families living in a given region. With regard to the Pinards, genealogical investigation indicates that a branch of the family left Brittany, perhaps in the fourteenth century, establishing itself in succeeding generations in Maine, the Vendômois, the Blésois, Upper Normandy and the Pays chartrain.⁴⁹ Pinards adhering to the Calvinist church in the seventeenth century were particularly numerous in the Drouais. Many worshipped at La Fontaine-sous-Prémont near Dreux, a temple serving several neighbouring communities, among them Chérizy, where a Jacques Pinard lived in 1669, Mézières-en-Drouais, Nogent-le-Roi and the strongly Calvinist Marsauceux.⁵⁰ Demolition of the

temple was ordered on November 26, 1682 and the pastor Jean Régnier took refuge across the Rhine.⁵¹

The name Pinard is also to be found in Calvinist circles at L'Aigle in Normandy, where services continued until the year of the revocation.⁵² Was there perhaps a connection between the Pinards of the Drouais, strengthened by the discontinuance of worship at La Fontaine-sous-Prémont? Much points to the Dreux region as the country of origin of the Cape Pinards, but a Jacques Pinard presented an attestation from L'Aigle to the Walloon church authorities of Amsterdam on October 13, 1686.⁵³ It is possible that this is the Cape refugee who perhaps moved in that direction after 1682. On the other hand a Jacques Pinard, clearly a former member of the congregation at La Fontaine-sous-Prémont, was among those forced to abjure at Saint-Pierre in Dreux on November 15, 1685.⁵⁴ The Calvinists of the Drouais suffered as did those of Laons in the efforts to stamp out Protestantism in the region. The name Jacques Pinard appears again when the Paris generality sought to settle the complicated question of local Huguenot church finances after the revocation. This must have been after the Cape settler left France, but it indicates the prevalence of the surname in the country east of Dreux. On this occasion a Jacques Pinard refused to acknowledge a debt he was said to owe the former Houdan consistory and was ordered to explain the matter to the subdelegate at Dreux.⁵⁵

That Jacques Pinard was probably from the Drouais is suggested by family links indicated in church registers at La Fontaine-sous-Prémont and Dreux⁵⁶ with two refugees who came to the Cape on another Delft ship, the *Driebergen*, which sailed for Batavia from the United Provinces on May 25, 1698 under the command of Marten de Jeught. The vessel reached the Cape on September 3 after a voyage which was enlivened by a successful engagement with a pirate north of the Canary Islands. Aboard her were the future colonists Louis le Riche, Pierre and Etienne Cronier, Jean Duthuilé and Philippe Drouin.⁵⁷

The names Duthuilé and Drouin appear both at La Fontaine-sous-Prémont and among those compelled to abjure at Dreux. The abjurations include those of Daniel Duthuilé and his wife Madeleine Drouin on November 16, 1685 and two days earlier, that of Philippe Drouin.⁵⁸ Comparison with names listed in the minutes of the Walloon church at Delft makes it clear that the Philippe Drouin who returned to the reformed communion on December 9, 1693 was also from La Fontaine-sous-Prémont.⁵⁹ The name was not uncommon in the north-east of France and the Drouins may have come originally from the Calaisis.⁶⁰ It

would seem that the Philippe Drouin mentioned here was the Cape refugee. In his will, proved in September 1702, he names as his heir his true friend Gédéon Malherbe, whom he doubtless knew at Dreux.⁶¹ In December 1701 the refugee pastor Henri Rou, formerly at Lorges, sent him a sum of money from the estate of his late father, who had died in France. Philippe Drouin did not live to receive the legacy, however, and it went to Gédéon Malherbe.⁶²

What of Jean Duthuilé? Again, the name in its various forms was widely distributed in northern France. A man with these names from the Calaisis was a silk worker in Groningen in 1687,⁶³ but it seems not unlikely that the Cape refugee was a member of the congregation of La Fontaine-sous-Prémont. There we find the baptism on April 25, 1658 of Jean, son of François Duthuilé and Madeleine Pinard. The child was named for his godfather Jean Pinard of Marsauceux.⁶⁴ Another Duthuilé from this region, Claude from Houdan, was in Canterbury, England in 1686.⁶⁵ There is evidence that some of the Duthuilés of the Drouais were of a certain standing in local society, although many refugees were without means on arrival in exile. A Gédéon Duthuilé was assisted from the poor-box of the Walloon church at Delft in December 1684.⁶⁶

Jacques Pinard's wife Esther Foucher has not been positively identified with others of that surname, but it may reasonably be assumed that she was related to the Foucher family which travelled out on the *Voorschooten*. These were Gaspard Foucher, twenty-one years of age, who perhaps died on the voyage, and his brother Philippe, accompanied by his wife and three children: Anne, aged six, Esther, five years of age, and Jacques, who was three. Philippe Foucher was a cultivator from the parish of Saint-Lubin de Suèvres, the church of the village of Suèvres, a short distance from Mer on the road to Blois and not far from Ménars, seat of Jean-Jacques Charron, the marquis of Ménars, intendant of the Orléanais in 1674 and of Paris in 1681. Saint-Lubin was a sixth-century bishop of Chartres.⁶⁷

The father of Philippe and Gaspard Foucher, the agriculturalist Bernard Foucher of the farm La Bruslée near Suèvres, was born in March 1617 and died in January 1674, leaving a widow Anne, daughter of David Bruère of Mer. In this town lived her brother Etienne and his wife Susanne Ylaire, very probably the parents of the Cape refugee Etienne Bruère, who also sailed on the *Voorschooten*.⁶⁸ A wainwright by trade, he was then twenty-three years of age. Anne Bruère's brother, a miller, was still in Mer after the revocation.⁶⁹ Mer too was

the home of Pierre Foucher, a cooper, and his wife Anne Rousseau. Pierre died on April 20, 1669 and the burial notice with its characteristically quaint spelling and vagueness about age, says of him: "Le deffunt lors de son vivant estoit agé de trante quatre a trante cinq ans ou en Viron". Present among the relatives at the funeral was the vine-dresser Noé Rétif.⁷⁰ It will be apparent therefore that there were close relationships among the refugee families from the region at the Cape of Good Hope.

The temple at Mer and that at Blois to the south-west must have held a special place in the affections of those from this part of the Loire valley who made the Cape their home. The congregation at Mer was a flourishing one until Calvinists began to leave the district after 1680, and that despite attempts to make Catholic converts and to curtail worship. A Catholic missionary drive in 1659, a few years before the great famine in the district, is said to have had some success; in 1668 a dispute over title led to the demolition of the temple, but a new one was soon erected to replace it.⁷¹ Several provincial synods were held there, one as late as 1679, and church life continued until July 1685, under the pastoral care in the last decade of Salomon le Clerc and Louis Scoffier. The former was twice imprisoned in the Bastille before he was able to enjoy his state pension as a suitably repentant retired minister; the latter chose exile in the United Provinces.⁷²

It was Scoffier who officiated at the marriage of Philippe Foucher on Monday, June 7, 1677. Philippe took as his wife Anne, daughter of Paul Souchay and Anne Paillevert of Aunay. This was clearly an excellent match. The merchant Paul Souchay was the son of Jean Souchay, an Aunay lawyer, and was connected not only with the world of local commerce, but also with a landowning lesser nobility which had ramifications from the Blésois to the Perche.⁷³ And, in the context of Cape families from this region, we may note the alliance of the Souchays with the Le Roux family of Blois and Nantes. On April 3, 1684 the merchant Paul Souchay de Lamerie married Constance, daughter of Théodore le Roux, agent for the West India Company, whose son Alexandre, a merchant, became an Amsterdam citizen in March 1686.⁷⁴ Paul and his wife also fled to the United Provinces, joining the 's-Hertogenbosch congregation. A son Paul was born to them there in April 1688.⁷⁵ The father served in William III's army, but died in poverty in London; the son, however, prospered in the English capital and attained high office in the Goldsmiths' Company before his death in 1751.⁷⁶ A second link between the Fouchers and the Souchays is revealed in the registers of Blois and Mer. On July 1, 1685 Jean Foucher married Marthe Dutens at

Blois. The bridegroom was the son of Anne Souchay and the late Pierre Foucher, probably the usher of that name at Mer who died before March 1670.⁷⁷ The Dutens were of some distinction in the Blésois and Touraine.

Philippe Foucher, the Cape settler, evidently moved into the merchant class after his marriage to Anne Souchay. Sons Philippe were born to the couple at Suèvres on May 8, 1679 and September 26, 1680, Salomon le Clerc administering baptism to each.⁷⁸ Both must have died in infancy, unless the son Philippe at the Cape was the second of them, whose name was perhaps accidentally omitted from the passenger list for the *Voorschooten*, or who travelled separately.⁷⁹ The daughter Anne would seem to have been born in November 1681,⁸⁰ but there is no mention at Mer or Blois of the children Esther and Jacques. Military means to encourage conversion were not used at Mer until December 1685, but news of Marillac's brutal dragonnade in Poitou in 1681 cannot have failed to have caused considerable alarm among Calvinists in the Blésois and the Beauce. It is therefore possible that the Fouchers took refuge in Paris, particularly as it is known that one member of the family made his way there. The escape of a Pierre Foucher of Mer to the United Provinces is noted in the papers of the police chief La Reynie. A young man of twenty-five or twenty-six years of age, he had abjured on April 6, 1686 and had been working as a waiter in a tavern on the Place de Grève, but had fled later in the year to The Hague where he was received into the Walloon congregation on October 5.⁸¹ He was perhaps the Pierre Foucher who married Marie Hattenville of Bolbec in Normandy at Rotterdam on September 15, 1692.⁸²

If the precise relationship between Pierre Foucher and the Cape refugee Philippe Foucher is uncertain, there is no doubt about that between Philippe and the exile in England, David Foucher. The two were brothers and David made his home in London, where on October 22, 1693 he married Marthe des Fontaines at the church of La Patente in Spitalfields.⁸³ A daughter Susanne was born to them while they were living among the Huguenot weavers of Stepney. Her name appears in the baptismal register of the French church in Threadneedle Street, London on July 29, 1705.⁸⁴

It is possible that Etienne Bruère visited Amsterdam before he sailed for the Cape,⁸⁵ but it is known that he was one of six former members of the Mer congregation to appear at Delft before the pastor Augustin Baccuet from Breuil-Barret in Poitou on June 25, 1687. There, in the words of the Walloon church minutes, they made "recōgce publique de

la faute qu'ils avoyent faite en soucrivant aux erreurs de Rome et (ont) esté reçeus à la paix de l'Eglise".⁸⁶ Etienne may have been born in Blois,⁸⁷ moving later to Mer. It is interesting to note in the records of the French Protestant Hospital in London an entry of January 1775 concerning an elderly sufferer from rheumatism, Jacques Bruère of Blois, the son of Henri Bruère and Elisabeth Coson of Ménars-la-Ville.⁸⁸ A Jean Bruère of Mer, son of a father of the same name, a master miller, went to Sedan at an early date, became a cloth-worker and married there in 1662. This may have provided other members of the family with an escape route, particularly as several Bruères from the Blésois settled in Berlin, where they followed trades in the textile industry.⁸⁹

Appearing before Baccuet with Etienne Bruère were two other refugees who were to accompany him to the Cape on the *Voorschooten*, the brothers Jean and Gabriel le Roux, both of whom worshipped at Mer.⁹⁰ It is to the enthusiasm of André M. Hugo of Cape Town that we owe what knowledge we have of this family from Blois, with its Mer connections.⁹¹ There seems little doubt that the Gabriel who was born on July 25, 1669 to Pierre le Roux and Anne Bourdon and baptised three days later in the temple at Blois was the Cape colonist.⁹² It would appear that his brother Jean was born about the year 1666. Another son Daniel was born to Pierre le Roux and his wife in 1661 and christened on March 10 of that year. Pierre was bailiff at Cour-Cheverny in 1661, a small town south-east of Blois on the road to Romorantin and, as A.M. Hugo has suggested, was perhaps the son of Jean le Roux, who was engaged in the linen trade and died at Blois on November 5, 1668 at the age of seventy-five.⁹³ Godfather at Daniel's baptism in 1661 was Daniel Bourdon, surgeon at Mer. In Mer too lived Jeanne Bourdon and her merchant husband, Isaac le Roux de Pommegorge. The Fouchers and the Bourdons were related. Philippe Foucher was attended at his wedding in 1677 by his uncle Etienne Bruère and his cousin, Jean Bourdon, usher at Mer.⁹⁴ Amsterdam records also suggest a link between the Bourdons and the Baschés.⁹⁵ One of the Blois pastors, appointed in 1660, was Michel Janiçon, later to serve at Utrecht. John Locke met him in 1678 and found him "a very ingenious and civil man".⁹⁶

Although they did not travel on the *Voorschooten*, the refugees Pierre Rousseau, François Rétif and his sister Anne Rétif reached the Cape in 1688. All were members of the Mer congregation, but their parentage is uncertain. These were closely linked families and for the most part vine-dressers, although there was a surgeon Daniel Rousseau at Mer, while Jacques Rousseau, a royal usher, was a leading member of the

consistory in 1668 and 1669.⁹⁷ Those with vineyards included Daniel Rousseau and Marie Rétif at Suèvres, perhaps the parents of Pierre, who was born about the year 1666. Marie Rétif died in 1682. It is worthy of note that Philippe Foucher stood godfather to Marthe, daughter of Daniel Rousseau and his wife, in July 1671. Two other vine-dressers were Jean Rousseau of Mer, married to Madeleine Rétif, and Paul Rétif of Aunay, whose wife was Françoise Rousseau.⁹⁸

François Rétif, born on February 2, 1663, may possibly have been the son of Jacques Rétif, whose father Paul, the Aunay cultivator, died on September 8, 1677 at the age of some seventy-five years. There was also a Pierre Rétif at Aunay.⁹⁹ It seems probable that Pierre Rousseau's marriage to Anne Rétif took place at Drakenstein and that he was not the refugee at Zierikzee in Zeeland who, with a young daughter, was helped by the Walloon church authorities in the winter of 1687–1688. This Pierre Rousseau was too poor to pay for shoe repairs.¹⁰⁰ A Pierre Rousseau abjured with three of his children at Delft on December 7, 1687.¹⁰¹ No trace of the Marie Rousseau of Blois who came to the Cape has been found, if this indeed is the correct version of her surname, while the Cape burgher Frederik Roussouw, more properly Pieter de Wit, is not connected with the Rousseaus of the Blésois.¹⁰²

The name Martineau, like Foucher, is to be found in Protestant registers over a large area of western France on both banks of the Loire. The association of the surname with those of Cape refugees in the Blois and Mer registers suggests, however, that the settler Michel Martineau, who reached Table Bay in 1688, was from this region. There was a Michel Martineau at Mer, who appeared for the bride at the marriage in Blois on June 24, 1685 of François Chasteigné, a weaver from Marchenoir, and Isabelle, daughter of Paul Couvret and Madeleine Pigéard of Mer. Martineau is known to have left at the revocation.¹⁰³ There was also a Susanne Martineau at Aunay.¹⁰⁴ Châteaudun in the Beauce is not far distant from Blois and the baptism took place there on August 29, 1666 of Michel, son of Michel Martineau and Esther Guelot, born on August 25.¹⁰⁵

The vine-dresser and shoemaker Paul Couvret, who came out to the Cape in 1700 with his wife and daughter on the Delft ship the *Reijgersdaal*, commanded by the experienced Marten de Jeught, was from Bazoches-en-Dunois, where the Couvrets were well represented in the congregation.¹⁰⁶ His wife Anne Valette could perhaps have ties with Châtillon-Coligny on the Loing, beyond Orleans to the south-east.¹⁰⁷ Paul Couvret was probably a late refugee, leaving France after

the signing of the Treaty of Ryswick of 1697. He was admitted to membership of the Rotterdam Walloon congregation on July 6, 1698 and would seem to have married in the United Provinces.¹⁰⁸ C.C. de Villiers has drawn attention to a Paul Couvret who was imprisoned for his faith in the castle of Saumur.¹⁰⁹ The Couvret's child Anne-Elisabeth was baptized at Delft on October 14, 1699.¹¹⁰

With the Couvrets on the *Reijgersdaal* were Josué Cellier, carpenter and vine-dresser, and his wife Elisabeth Couvret, doubtless related to Paul. The Celliers were from Orleans, where Josué was born about the year 1667 and Elisabeth some nine years later. The temple where the Calvinists of the city worshipped was at Bionne to the east.¹¹¹ A Josué Cellier, perhaps the Cape refugee's father, appears in the records of the church at Bazoches-en-Dunois, when Nicolas Cellier, born on April 8, 1676 to Josué and his wife Judith Rouilly was baptized on April 26. The godparents, Jeanne Cellier and Maurice Rouilly, were both from Orleans.¹¹²

Another member of this family, Jean Cellier, made reparation at The Hague on July 2, 1701 for abjuring Calvinism.¹¹³ Celliers from Orleans also made their way to London, where a daughter Marie was born to Nicolas Cellier, a lapidary of Greek Street, and his wife Claudine Fouquet on March 19, 1705/6. At her christening in the church of La Patente de Soho on March 31, 1706 she was named for her godmother Marie Cellier.¹¹⁴ The father could be the Nicolas from Bazoches.

Before leaving the region between the Loire and the borders of Normandy we may consider the background of some other Cape colonists who, on the available evidence, would seem to have come from this part of France. There is no precise information on the birthplaces of Louis le Riche and the Cronier brothers who accompanied Duthuilé and Drouin on the *Driebergen* in 1698. All three made their way to Delft, where assistance was given on August 18, 1697 to Louis (le) Riche "pour apprendre son mestier".¹¹⁵ He does not appear to have persevered in the trade he intended to follow.

The Croniers arrived at about the same time. Etienne made his peace with the reformed church on August 7, 1697 and Pierre on January 22, 1698. Pierre's delay is accounted for in the minutes of the Delft consistory, which also reveal that the Croniers were Catholics by birth and upbringing. "Pierre Cronier", we read, "qui avoit embrassé nostre Ste Religion depuis quelques années ayant eu le malheur d'estre arrêté en voulant sortir de France et la foiblesse de renoncer à son esperance a fait publiquement recogre de sa faute et (a) esté reçu à la paix de l'eg-

lise".¹¹⁶ Pierre, born about the year 1671, and his brother Etienne considered themselves Normans and may perhaps have come from the Thimerais. The abjuration of a François Cronier of La Ferté-Vidame at Leyden in September 1687 provides a possible clue.¹¹⁷ Le Riche was perhaps from the same area.

Sara Avice, listed to sail on the Zeeland East Indiaman the *Oosterland* in 1688, was a native of Châteaudun, where Cyrus du Moulin, son of the distinguished Charenton pastor Pierre du Moulin, occupied the pulpit.¹¹⁸ Claude Marais's first wife Marie Avice was perhaps from the same town. The name Avice is also to be found at Mer and Blois. In 1659 a master surgeon from Orleans, François Avice, married in the latter town.¹¹⁹ It is possible that the refugee Louis Cordier came from the Orléanais. There was a Louis Cordier at Blois, but the name appears among the Catholic baptisms of that town. The son of a master lace-maker Louis Cordier and his wife Jeanne Blessebois, he was baptized on March 29, 1656.¹²⁰ Cordier arrived in 1688 with his wife, Françoise Martinet, and three daughters Susanne, Jeanne and Louise. Jeanne married Mathieu Frachas, whose place of origin will be discussed in a later chapter. The Frachas farm, however, was named Orleans,¹²¹ a city with which he had no apparent connection. Was it perhaps chosen with reference to the French background of his wife's father? There is some evidence to suggest that Françoise Martinet was from north-eastern France and she will be discussed in that context later.

The Cordier background, however, remains uncertain. He could possibly have come from the north-east like his wife;¹²² again, a Cordier family lived at Espenel, near Pontaix in Dauphiné, the Cape minister Pierre Simond's home province.¹²³ Simond may have recommended Louis Cordier as an elder at Drakenstein in 1691 because he was a fellow-Dauphinois, although of the other members of the first consistory there only Pierre Meyer came from that province. He may equally have been chosen as a man familiar with the Dutch language, a circumstance which would suggest a longer acquaintance with the United Provinces than had most Cape refugees. There were certainly Cordiers at Haarlem as early as 1627.¹²⁴ One thing, however, is certain. The Paris silk-weaver Jacques Cordier, in London and Amsterdam before the revocation, was not, on the evidence submitted by A.P. Hands and Irene Scouloudi, related to the Cape family.¹²⁵

The relationship between the various members of the Le Long family at the Cape cannot yet be fully elucidated. Elisabeth was perhaps the

sister of Charles and Jean le Long; Jean had a daughter Marie and it seems not unlikely that the Jacques le Long who died early in 1707 at the hands of a certain Abraham Jacob was Jean's son.¹²⁶ Jacques le Long is presumably the Jacobus le Long whose name is encountered among the Drakenstein burgher infantry shortly before that date.¹²⁷ J. Hoge's researches have established that Charles le Long came to the United Provinces from the Palatinate,¹²⁸ while more recently A.M. Hugo has suggested that Elisabeth might have been the daughter of a Blois attorney Louis le Long and his wife Marie Baignoulx, born in 1653.¹²⁹ This possibility is reinforced by Paul de Félice's assertion that a Pierre Baignoulx preached a sermon at the Cape towards the end of the seventeenth century.¹³⁰ On the other hand, the Elisabeth le Long at the Cape would seem to have been a much younger woman. The Le Long emigration is associated with the sailing of the *Suijdsbeveland* from Zeeland on April 22, 1688, the vessel which brought to the Cape the pastor Simond, to be discussed in a later chapter, his wife Anne de Bérault and her brother Louis. As the Béraults came from the L'Aigle district in Normandy, perhaps the Le Longs hailed from the same town. The name is known there.¹³¹ However the ship also carried refugees from Dieppe, where a Calvinist servant Jean le Long was living in 1686.¹³²

The Bérault family of L'Aigle in the Pays d'Ouche was of considerable antiquity and distinction, numbering among its members the jurist and author Josias Bérault (1563–1633), who abjured Calvinism and married a Catholic, Renée Marchand, widow of Jacques Alexandre of Paris.¹³³ His niece Marie de Bérault became the wife of Jean de la Maugère de Saint-Jacques of La Barre-en-Ouche and it is to this branch that Anne de Bérault and her brother Louis belonged.¹³⁴ The Béraults played an active part in the life of the Protestant congregation which assembled at the temple in the Pont-de-Pierre suburb of L'Aigle. In 1669 and 1670 Marie's brother Siméon de Bérault, Sieur du Mesnil et du Boisbaril, residing in the parish of Saint-Martin-d'Ecublei north-east of L'Aigle, led discussions with the Catholic party in the town over cemetery rights.¹³⁵ In 1684, on the eve of the revocation, the marriage of the chevalier Christophe de Bérault de la Maugère de Saint-Jacques to Louise de Challenge was celebrated.¹³⁶

Some members of the family, Louise de Challenge among them, were to emigrate, but the estates at Saint-Sulpice-sur-Risle, between L'Aigle and Saint-Martin-d'Ecublei, remained after the revocation in the hands of Elisabeth de Bérault de la Maugère.¹³⁷ Arms were registered at Verneuil-sur-Avre in 1697 on behalf of Marie de Bérault, widow of

Louis de la Maugère.¹³⁸ It is evident that the Cape Béraults, Anne and Louis, left France several years before the revocation at a period of intensified action by Louis XIV against the Calvinists. A widow La Maugère is known to have emigrated to the United Provinces with four children¹³⁹ and on September 6, 1679 Louis de Bérault, Esquire, of L'Aigle was accepted as a member of the Walloon church at 's-Hertogenbosch in Dutch Brabant.¹⁴⁰ A little over a year later, on October 29, 1680, Anne de Bérault, described as the Demoiselle des Fontaines, was received at Middelburg on the island of Walcheren in Zeeland with attestation from L'Aigle.¹⁴¹ This was probably Simond's future wife and the couple may have met in Middelburg. A former minister at L'Aigle, Michel Chastreson de la Juganière, who had signed the attestation presented by Louis de Bérault at 's-Hertogenbosch, also made his way to Zeeland and settled at Tholen.¹⁴² Louis de Bérault joined the service of the Dutch East India Company and it was as a sergeant that he accompanied his sister and brother-in-law to the Cape on the *Suijdbeveland*.

Coastal Normandy provided the Cape settlement with several colonists. Among those on the *Suijdbeveland* was Salomon de Gournay. He came from the port and textile manufacturing town of Dieppe and would seem to have been resident there after the revocation. A schoolmaster Abraham de Gournay was also still in Dieppe after October 1685 and it is possible that he was the Cape settler's father.¹⁴³ Calvinism was strong in Dieppe and it was not until November 1685 that the intendant Marillac sent in troops to bring the Protestants to heel.¹⁴⁴ It was a contributory cause of the decline of the Norman seaport, accentuated by outbreaks of plague in 1668 and 1670, and the obstruction of navigation in the harbour after the great storm of 1672. Dieppe's misfortunes culminated in the bombardment of July 1694 by Berkeley's naval squadron and the resultant fires which razed most of the town.¹⁴⁵

The revocation and its aftermath led to massive emigration, particularly to England and the United Provinces. Of the four pastors, Thomas de Caux followed Antoine le Page in emigrating to the Protestant Netherlands, Jacob Asselin fled to England and Moïse Cartaut abjured. It is said of Cartaut that his action resulted in a mental breakdown.¹⁴⁶ The schoolmaster Abraham de Gournay went first to Middelburg, where he was received on March 2, 1686.¹⁴⁷ He subsequently settled in London, but did not long survive his changed fortunes and was buried in the English capital on February 1, 1687/8.¹⁴⁸ In London too was Salomon de Gournay's eldest brother Jean, evidently living in the Spitalfields district.¹⁴⁹

Jean de Gournay was the close friend of another refugee couple in London, Jean Sénécal and his wife Elisabeth Poitevin, and was godfather to their children Jean Guillaume, Jean and Jean Robert, baptized in the capital between 1693 and 1705.¹⁵⁰ The repetition of the Christian name suggests a high rate of mortality in the crowded Spitalfields district in which the family lived. Jean Sénécal is first described as a turner, but later became a weaver. That some who followed this trade in the early eighteenth century suffered economic hardship is demonstrated by the references to poverty among silk-weavers in the records of the French church in Threadneedle Street.¹⁵¹

It is reasonable to suppose that Jean de Gournay married during his early years in London. An entry for August 27, 1690 at Threadneedle Street speaks of the marriage of Jean de Gouy (*sic*) to Catherine Nel, or more properly, Néel, of Luneray in Normandy.¹⁵² The daughter of Jacques Néel and Anne de la Balle, her baptism is recorded in the registers of the Norman church on December 3, 1662. Her father was both serge maker and cultivator, a duplication of remunerative activities not uncommon for the period.¹⁵³

The Luneray temple lay near Dieppe and until its closure in 1681 served a wide rural area to the south-west of the port. The Sénécal's, allied by marriage to both the La Balles and the Néels, figure prominently in the church records of the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁴ Sénécal's from both Dieppe and Luneray took refuge in Canterbury and London after 1682¹⁵⁵ and it is probable that the Cape refugee David Sénécal of Dieppe was related to some of them. David Sénécal emigrated to Middelburg, where he was received by the Walloon church on May 4, 1686.¹⁵⁶ He accompanied Salomon de Gournay to the Cape on the *Suijdbeveland*.

Another Dieppoise who became a burgher at the Cape of Good Hope was Jean le Sage. He reached the Cape in 1714 aboard the *Sleewijck* and was appointed cook to the governor, Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes, soon afterwards.¹⁵⁷ A David le Sage, still living in Dieppe after the revocation, was perhaps the refugee of that name in Rotterdam; there was at least one Jean le Sage in exile at Leyden.¹⁵⁸

C. Graham Botha has suggested that the widow Du Puis, Anne Martin, was from the Calais region.¹⁵⁹ There was certainly a Jean du Puis, married to an Anne Martin, at Guines, near Calais, in 1679, where a son Jean was born to them on May 31. The baptismal entry for June 4, 1679 may refer to the future Cape refugee and her first husband, particularly as it would seem that they resided in several places during

their life together.¹⁶⁰ There is, however, a strong possibility that Jean du Puis was a native of Dieppe and as his widow married Salomon de Gournay of that town and her daughter Anne-Madeleine became the wife of another Dieppois, David Sénécal, Anne Martin may also have come from the Norman seaport.¹⁶¹ There was indeed a Jean du Puis from Dieppe in exile who, with his wife Anne Martin, is noted in the records of both London and the United Provinces.¹⁶² He was a clock-maker by trade. If we are dealing here with the widow Anne Martin at the Cape, the fact that her daughter Anne-Madeleine du Puis was born in Paris may indicate a move to the capital by Jean du Puis in search of work.¹⁶³

We do not know the date of departure of this couple for the United Provinces, but they evidently went first to Utrecht and from there to Amsterdam, joining the Walloon church early in February 1682. On February 12 of that year Jean du Puis was made a burgher of Amsterdam and would seem to have become the father of a son Jean in the following month.¹⁶⁴ The other daughter of the Cape refugee, Susanne du Puis, is described as from Amsterdam.¹⁶⁵

The movements of Jean du Puis the clock-maker and his wife typify both the restlessness and the economic problems of many of the Calvinist refugees. The couple moved to London in 1683, becoming members of the Threadneedle Street church on August 26. At that time Jean was in need of financial assistance.¹⁶⁶ Did they remain in England, thus passing out of this story?¹⁶⁷ Or did they return to Amsterdam, where a Jean du Puis died in January 1686?¹⁶⁸ What is certain is that a widow Du Puis, Anne Martin, was given a certificate of membership by the Walloon church there on December 15, 1692 before leaving for the Cape with her daughters Anne-Madeleine and Susanne.¹⁶⁹ The second daughter married Etienne Bruère, then a widower.¹⁷⁰

Dieppe and the villages surrounding it were not the only strongholds of Protestantism in the Pays de Caux. The triangle of land west of a line from Fécamp on the coast to Caudebec-en-Caux on the Seine contained many Calvinist communities whose spiritual needs were served by the temples for Fécamp and Bolbec, and those for Criquetot-l'Esneval at Le Prêche, for Harfleur at Sinitot and for Havre-de-Grâce (Le Havre) at Sanvic.¹⁷¹ It is interesting to find in the Sanvic records a sad reminder of the busy Cape sea route. An entry for 1663 reads: "Le 17^{me} decembre. . . a estey trouvey au Rivage de la mer. . . dix sept corps tant hommes que femmes sortiz duy (*sic*) navire angloiz allant aux Indes".¹⁷²

It is with this part of Normandy that the surname Vivier is particularly

associated. Again, as at Dieppe, proximity to the sea gave many fugitives the opportunity of escaping by boat to England and the United Provinces and Viviers were to be found in both countries. Among those in London in 1693 was an Abraham Vivier, a widower from Crique-tot.¹⁷³ The temple at Le Prêche was closed at Easter 1685 and the pastor, Jean Taunay, took refuge in the United Provinces, where he died before the close of the year.¹⁷⁴ Was this the congregation to which the Cape Viviers were attached? A Pierre Vivier, son of Abraham Vivier and Elisabeth Louvel was baptized there on July 2, 1662 and the christening of a son Jacob in the same family took place on January 20, 1665. An Abraham Vivier was baptized on June 20, 1654; he may have been an older brother. Elisabeth Louvel died in October 1670 at the age of forty.¹⁷⁵

Whether or not this is the Cape family, there is no doubt that the three Viviers were in exile at Zierikzee on the island of Schouwen in Zeeland, before embarking with the minister Simond on the *Suijdbeveland*. They were in needy circumstances. On September 29, 1686 a small sum of money was paid to Pierre, "qui estoit malade". This was the first of a series of charitable gifts made to Pierre and Abraham. The purpose was not always specified, although on May 11, 1687 they each required two shirts. Another payment was made to Abraham Vivier early in 1688, but it was apparently with some relief that the Walloon church authorities were able to note on March 28, 1688 that a final sum had been handed over "aux 3 Viviées (*sic*) pour partir".¹⁷⁶ Jacob, whose name does not appear before, had evidently rejoined his brothers. Was he perhaps looking for work elsewhere? There was certainly a Jacob Vivier in Amsterdam just before the revocation. He had come from London.¹⁷⁷

The great temple for the Calvinists of Rouen, situated at Grand-Quevilly in the meadows across the Seine south-west of the city, was one of the largest in France. Of polygonal design, with an interior three-tiered gallery, it could accommodate more than 7 000 worshippers. So good were its acoustics that even a preacher of mediocre voice could make himself heard by all with ease.¹⁷⁸ The temple was closed before the revocation and the ministers Philippe le Gendre and Jacques Basnage, both of high intellectual standing, fled to Rotterdam.¹⁷⁹ Le Gendre may have exaggerated when he asserted that more than three-quarters of his flock chose exile at the revocation, although it is certain that many left the country. Le Gendre noted that they were dispersed throughout western Europe "et ailleurs jusques dans le fond des Indes les plus

reculées", having no reason to regret "d'avoir abandonné leur Patrie, pour suivre le flambeau de l'Evangile".¹⁸⁰

The Cape refugee Guillaume Néel, farmer and tailor,¹⁸¹ born about the year 1663, is known to have come from Rouen,¹⁸² although his name has not been found among the Néels who worshipped at Grand-Quevilly.¹⁸³ He took refuge in Amsterdam before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and married Jeanne la Batte in that city on May 3, 1685. In addition to their children Jean and Jeanne born in Amsterdam, they had a son David, baptized there on March 7, 1686, who must have died in infancy.¹⁸⁴ Jeanne la Batte was born in 1663 at Saumur in Anjou, seat of the famous academy.¹⁸⁵

The background of one Norman settler at the Cape remains a mystery: that of Jean le Roux (Roex). The name is frequently encountered both in French Calvinist records and among refugees in the United Provinces.¹⁸⁶ It would seem probable that the Jean le Roux who became a member of the Walloon congregation at Amsterdam in May 1687 was the future Cape refugee, although another of that name from Normandy was accepted as a citizen of Groningen in 1682. A Pierre le Roux from the Pays de Caux was in Amsterdam in 1686.¹⁸⁷ Also from Normandy were the ancestors of François le Sueur of Ooij in Gelderland, who came out to the Cape on the *Midloo* in 1729 as a Dutch Reformed church minister. His father Jacques fled from France with his parents Jean le Sueur and Marie Haulen in the last decade of the seventeenth century.¹⁸⁸

The city of Nantes in Brittany had close trading associations with the United Provinces in the seventeenth century and during Louis XIV's minority Dutch vessels in the Loire far outnumbered French ships. Not surprisingly the Dutch, "si ardents au lucre, si actifs au négoce et si forts en vaisseaux", were regarded with some jealousy by their trading partners.¹⁸⁹ One Cape refugee of 1695 is known to have come from Nantes: Guillaume Lorée, a Catholic who did not publicly abjure until after he had settled at Drakenstein, when he appeared before Pierre Simond.¹⁹⁰ His reasons for leaving France are uncertain. He may have been one of those who accompanied a Protestant master into exile, or he may have simply left in order to improve his economic position. He was born about the year 1671.

Jérémie Auret, a clerk at the Cape in the service of the Dutch East India Company in 1747, provides another link with the French seaport on the Loire. His father Jérémie-Etienne Auret fled from Nantes to the Hague at the time of the revocation, although the family seems to have

originated in the Albigeois, east of Toulouse. The future history of the Aurets falls outside the scope of this book, but a brief mention of the grandson of the Nantes refugee, Jeremias Auret, born at the Cape in 1751, is appropriate as his career coincided with the French occupation under Suffren in 1781. Jeremias was one of those who sought to profit from the prosperity the occupying forces brought to the settlement and who, with the withdrawal of the troops, were compelled to struggle against the restrictive practices of company rule.¹⁹¹

These then are the refugees who are known to have come from this north-western region of France, or who may with some confidence be ascribed to it. The vast majority were Calvinists by birth and upbringing and it is evident that a large number were compelled to abjure in order to escape from France. They were in the main agriculturalists and artisans, although there is considerable evidence to suggest that the families of which they were a part covered a wide segment of the social scale. Reasonably high standards of literacy have been noted, particularly among Calvinists in the Blésois, the Fouchers among them. There is, for example, an excellent signature of a Marie Foucher at Mer as early as 1615.¹⁹²

These refugees brought with them into exile abilities for which there was no extensive market in the United Provinces in view of the large influx of foreigners. It is therefore not surprising that most of those who sought a second refuge at the Cape were men with rural crafts at their fingertips. It is not to be doubted that there were some who hoped to gain economic advantage in emigrating from France, although so massive a rejection of Louis XIV's religious policy suggests that the economic motive cannot have been paramount. It must, however, have been otherwise with the further emigration to the Cape of Good Hope. The poverty of the Viviers and Jacques Pinard's inability to work at his trade in the United Provinces lend support to this view.

There is evidence too of families and friends trying to keep together in adversity and it seems likely that emigrants in the first groups of refugees to reach the Cape encouraged others to follow them. Some contact must also have been maintained with those who remained in France, or who settled in European countries of exile. It would appear, for example, that Salomon de Gournay from Dieppe had not lost touch with his brother Jean in London. The exchange of letters, messages passed on by the passengers or crews of passing ships and official communications through company channels must surely have prevented complete isolation. It is to be regretted that we have so few indications of these

contacts in comparison with the considerable volume of correspondence which illuminates the great transatlantic emigration from Europe of a century and a half later.¹⁹³ At the same time, however, as Michel Richard has pointed out, it must have been the sad lot of many a village Calvinist in exile to lose all contact with his family in France. Cupidity played its part. His estate had passed to those who remained behind and abjured. This very circumstance served to remove the refugee from the fold in spirit as well as in person.¹⁹⁴

Finally, before turning to another region of France in the context of the Cape emigration, what proportion of the Calvinists between the Loire and the Channel sought exile in the face of persecution and what proportion of the total emigration of French speakers to the Cape in the late seventeenth century is represented by the settlers from the north-west?

An answer to the first question must be tentative. Calvinism was widely disseminated and nowhere a majority creed. It lacked that cohesion which enabled it, as in Languedoc, to survive as a strong underground movement. Coastal Normandy is the only exception and there strict measures taken in 1747 against Protestant children led to a new wave of emigration to Jersey and to Britain.¹⁹⁵ In the seventeenth century too, flight was a solution to persecution taken more frequently by those living close to the sea or to land frontiers. Adapting the figures given by Mours for the Calvinist population of this region, it would seem that some 25 000 people left France, representing one in four of the members of the reformed church.¹⁹⁶ The economic effects of persecution were sometimes locally severe, if impermanent, and long preceded the revocation. At Alençon, for example, restrictions on Calvinists in the lace industry as early as 1663 led to a movement of workers away from the town¹⁹⁷

In answering the second question it is interesting to note that French speakers at the Cape came overwhelmingly from parts of France where Calvinism was at its weakest, a circumstance which will become increasingly apparent in succeeding chapters. Since it is not certain whether all the refugees who embarked for the Cape in fact reached Table Bay, a precise figure for the number of settlers arriving before 1700 is impossible to determine. It must, however, have been about 225 and we may say that those from the region discussed in this chapter represent approximately 22% of the total.

We turn our attention now to that part of France where the Calvinist

faith had established itself most firmly in the religious life of the nation before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

REFERENCES: CHAPTER FIVE

1. See MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 62-67; 86.
2. *The French refugees at the Cape*, 3rd ed., pp. 85; 98.
3. 'Jean Prieur du Plessis', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 382, July 26, 1929, p. 25.
4. COERTZEN, *Frans Hugenote in Suid-Afrika*, pp. 150-151; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 7 and n.
5. C 416, Inkomende brieven, 1685-1687(1688): Kamer Delft, Dec. 19, 1687, f. 1013v. (CA). The French settlers listed in this letter (ff. 1011v. -1013) are also in BOTHA, *French refugees*. pp. 137-138.
6. 'Jean Prieur du Plessis', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 382, July 26, 1929, p. 25.
7. On the Mornay background see HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, VII, pp. 512-542. Le Plessis-Marly is discussed in M. BOUCHER, 'Cape and company in the early eighteenth century', *Kleio*, IX, 1 and 2, June 1977, pp. 67-68.
8. 564², Collection Auzière, Ile-de-France, Eglises, L-Z: Le Plessis-Marly, Pays chartrain, p. 23 (Bibl. Prot., SHPF).
9. JACQUART, *Crise rurale*, p. 582 and n.; J. PANNIER, 'Notes sur l'église réformée de La Norville; les origines; un registre de 1671; la disparition', *BSHPF*, L, April 15, 1901, p. 175.
10. *Crise rurale*, pp. 168-169; 583.
11. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 81.
12. AB ZH Gra dtb, 's-Gravenhage, Lidmaatschap, ens., 1621-1893 (copy): 1225-1227, p. 78, where the names are given as Marets and Taboureur (CBG).
13. A.O. HEESE (transcribed), *Das Tagebuch des Missionars Albert Nachtigal*; Lydenburg, Stellenbosch, Detmold, I, 1871-1881, pp. 196-197 (p. 228 of original): information from Margaretha Elisabeth de Villiers, née Marais (Original and transcript in Unisa Library).
14. *Crise rurale*, pp. 643-740.
15. JACQUART, *Crise rurale*, p. 495.
16. C 416, Inkomende brieven: Kamer Delft, Dec. 19, 1687, f. 1013; Botha, *French refugees*, pp. 137-138. See these sources for ages of others on ship.
17. *French refugees*, pp. 85; 98.
18. Ms. T 81, A. TROUËSSART (comp.), *Registres des Protestants, Eglise réformée de Blois, 1590-1685*: Nov. 5, 1684, p. 325 (Bibl. mun. Blois).

19. Fichier, Waalse kerken (henceforth FWK): Dec. 31, 1687 (Bibl. wall.). This source is also available on microfiche at The Hague (CBG).
20. St 52, Waalse kerk, Ic, Livre des Actes de l'Eglise wallonne de Delft, 1668-1761: Marguerite Bascher (*sic*), who abjured with others, including Jacques Grillon, p. 54 (GA Delft).
21. i 36, Mer et Aulnay, BMS, 1669 (1668) – 1672: Sept. 25, 1669 (burial of Je(h)an Basché); Oct. 12, 1669 (burial of Salomé (Salaumée) Grillon) (AD Loir-et-Cher).
22. J. HOGE, 'Kanttekening by C. Graham Botha, „Die Kaapse Hugenote” (uit die Engels vertaal deur Marie Malherbe-Leliveld)', *Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns* (henceforth TWK), Nuwe Reeks, I, 2, Dec. 1940, p. 149.
23. i 36, Mer et Aulnay: April 8, 1670 (son, François, godfather).
24. *French refugees*, p. 80 (Jean Paste).
25. 'Die Franse vlugteling', II, *Die Huisgenoot*, X, 194, Nov. 27, 1925, p. 21 and n. (Jean Machepate).
26. *Mer (Loir et Cher); son église réformée; établissement, vie intérieure, décadence, restauration*, p. 148.
27. i 28, Marchenoir, BMS, 1673-1682: Oct. 20, 1680 (baptism of Madeleine (Magdalene) Pasté) (AD Loir-et-Cher); Félice, *Mer*, p. 148.
28. St 52, Waalse Kerk, Delft, Ic: p. 55.
29. St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft, Ic: with Marguerite Basché, p. 54.
30. FWK: Terrier; T.C. COLYER-FERGUSON (ed.), *The Registers of the French church, Threadneedle Street, London*, III, Publications HSL, XVI, p. 33h: announcement of marriage, Nov. 6, 1695.
31. LART and WALLER (eds), *Registers*, p. 16 (WALLER).
32. C.C. DE VILLIERS, 'Notes on Huguenot families at the Cape of Good Hope', *Proceedings HSL*, V, 2, Nov. 1894 – May 1895, p. 230. See also BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 70.
33. See Archives de l'Eglise wallonne de Leyde, II F 160, Registres concernant les réfugiés, 1687-1688: Dec. 17, 1687, p. 67 (Siméon Godefroy of Marchenoir) (GA Leyden); St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft Ic: Sept. 21, 1687, p. 54 (Moïse Godefroi of Lorges).
34. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 90.
35. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 202–203.
36. Eglise wallonne, Leyde, II F 160: Oct. 12 and 29, 1697, pp. 38v.; 47.
37. S. MINET (ed.), *Registers of the churches of La Patente de Soho, Wheeler Street, Swanfields and Hoxton, also the répertoire général*, Publications HSL, XLV, 719, p. 51. The bridegroom was illiterate.
38. EC, Bazoches-en-Dunois, BMS, 1671-1679 (AD Eure-et-Loir). A Paul Godefroy was godfather at a baptism on Sept. 26, 1673.
39. St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft, Ic: p. 54. BENOIST's *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, . . . (5 v., Delft, 1693-1695) remains a valuable source.
40. H. LEHR, *La Réforme et les églises réformées dans le département actuel d'Eure et Loir (1523-1911)*, pp. 289–291; Mours, *Essai sommaire*, p. 12.
41. LEHR, *Réforme*, p. 296.

42. TT 230, XVIII, Alençon, Généralité, 1681-1689: p. 1274 (AN).
43. I 36, BM, L'Aigle, 1682-1685 (AD Orne). Another daughter Anne was baptized on April 8, 1685. See also C.E. LART (comp.), Ms. registers, L'Aigle, Athis, Bellesme and Ercé, II, L'Aigle, 1682-1685, pp. 11; 13 (HSL Library).
44. LEHR, *Réforme*, p. 303.
45. For the Dreux abjurations see GG 22, BMS, Saint-Pierre, 1685-1692 (AC Dreux). See also LEHR, *Réforme*, appendix V, p. 565 for Malherbe and Foubert. The name Jan (Jean) Foubert appears among Cape burghers (CJ 294, Criminele processtukken, 1692: Sept. 12, 1692, p. 235 (CA)); H.C.V. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Letters despatched, 1696-1708*, p. 72: 108, to Lords Seventeen, Amsterdam, March 8/9, 1698, with return of Foubert and wife to Europe).
46. St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft, lc: p. 54; 15, Actes de baptême, 1620-1811 (copy): Nov. 17, 1700, p. 107 (GA Delft); FWK: marriage of Jérémie Grillon, May 2, 1700.
47. i 20-27, Lorges, consistoire, 1652; 1684-1685; BMS, 1651-1683; i 36-39, Mer et Aulnay, BMS, 1669-1683 (AD Loir-et-Cher).
48. Gerecht, Trouwboeken, 134, 1687-1692: p. 12 (GA Delft).
49. Correspondence, 1956-1964, on Pienaar family origins (Misc. sources); C.J. PIENAAR, 'Die Pienaars in Frankryk: (Pinard of Pinnard of Pinart)', *Familia*, I, 1 and 2, 1964-1965.
50. EC, La Fontaine-sous-Prémont, BMS, 1654-1682 (AD Eure-et-Loir). See also H. LEHR, 'Les Registres paroissiaux de Fontaine-sous-Prémont (Blainville, Eure-et-Loir)', *BSHPPF*, LXIV, May-Aug. 1915, pp. 561-569.
51. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPPF*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 81; HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, X, appendix LXXXVIII, p. 380.
52. I 36, BM, L'Aigle; LART (comp.), Ms. registers, II, L'Aigle.
53. PA 201, Archieven der Bestuuren gevormd door de Waalse gemeente in Amsterdam tot 1943, 47a, Livre contenant les noms des membres, 1680-1689 (GA Amsterdam).
54. GG 22, BMS, Saint-Pierre; LEHR, *Réforme*, appendix V, p. 563. Abjurations on this day included M. Pinard and Jean Pinart (*sic*), and on the day following (LEHR, *Réforme*, p. 564), Marie Demedde (de Mède), widow of Marc-Antoine Pinard, Marie Gaboreau, wife of Jean Pinard, with her daughter Marie Pinard, Jean(ne) Pinard and Marie Pinard, wife of Nicolas Piron. Jean and Marc-Antoine Pinard were brothers and agriculturalists (EC, La Fontaine-sous-Prémont, BMS: Dec. 17, 1662; Aug. 26, 1663; Nov. 25, 1681).
55. TT 14B, Généralité de Paris, 1688-1733: p. 75 (AN).
56. See GG 22, BMS, Saint-Pierre, EC, La Fontaine-sous-Prémont, BMS, and LEHR, *Réforme*, p. 564.
57. See BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 11-12.
58. GG 22, BMS, Saint-Pierre; LEHR, *Réforme*, pp. 562; 564.
59. St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft, lc: p. 64 (Philippe de Rouin).

60. Help was given to a Daniel Drouin of Calais in Nov. 1650 by the church of Jonvilliers, north-east of Chartres (LEHR, *Réforme*, p. 245).
61. Stellenbosch, 18/2, Testamenten, 1698-1713: 6, May 17, 1701 (Philip de Roint) (CA); BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 66.
62. H.C.V. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Letters received, 1695-1708*, p. 293: 118, Delft, Dec. 7, 1701; LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis... Letters despatched*, p. 223: 81, to Delft, April 1, 1703; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 66. On Rou see MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPP*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 89.
63. H.D. GUYOT, *Groningue, lieu de refuge. Notes sur les réfugiés extraites des archives*, II, p. 14.
64. EC, La Fontaine-sous-Prémont, BMS. See also entry of Aug. 26, 1663.
65. R. HOVENDEN (ed.), *The Registers of the Wallon or Strangers' church in Canterbury*, Publications HSL, V. part III, p. 30: marriage of Sept. 30, 1686.
66. St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft, 50, Mémoire des deniers, 1683ff.: Dec. 4, 1684 and further disbursements to Guideon du Tuilé (GA Delft).
67. i 37, Mer et Aulnay, BMS, 1672-1678: June 7, 1677. On the relationship between Philippe and Gaspard Foucher see i 38, Mer et Aulnay, BMS, 1678-1679: baptism of July 9, 1679. For the Foucher background see M. BOUCHER, 'The Fouché family in Europe', *Familia*, XIII, 4, 1976, pp. 79-81.
68. i 37, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: Jan. 5, 1674; i 36, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: May 1, 1669; i 34, Mer et Aulnay, B, 1615-1634 (AD Loir-et Cher).
69. i 2, Séquestre des biens saisis sur les Protestants: administration, ville et élection de Blois, 1687-1693: May 1, 16 and 17, 1687 (AD Loir-et-Cher).
70. i 36, Mer et Aulnay, BMS.
71. FÉLICE, *Mer*, pp. 56-57; 99-100; 122-125; appendix IV, p. 262.
72. FÉLICE, *Mer*, pp. 176-177; MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPP*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, pp. 89; 90 and n.
73. i 37, Mer et Aulnay, BMS. FRANKEN has correctly identified Foucher's wife ('Nog 'n paar Franse Hugenote-briefies', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 384, Aug. 9, 1929, p. 43). The original signature is in Stellenbosch, 18/3, Testamenten, 1708-1714: 3a, Dec. 4, 1708 (CA).
74. FWK: March 5, 1686; Ms. T 81, TROUËSSART (comp.), *Registres*, Blois: p. 320.
75. H 283° D 1/I, *Registre des personnes reçues ou admises à la Ste Cène dans l'Eglise wallonne de Bois-le-Duc*, I, 1633-1694 (1725) (copy): 1022, p. 76 (March 23, 1689) (GA 's-Hertogenbosch). The original is in B.I.D 41, 's-Hertogenbosch (Bibl. wall.).
76. J.P. FALLON, *Marks of London goldsmiths and silversmiths; Georgian period (c. 1697-1837)*, pp. 194-196; A.G. GRIMWADE, *London goldsmiths 1697-1837; their marks and lives from the original registers at Goldsmiths' Hall and other sources*, p. 488.
77. Ms. T 81, TROUËSSART (comp.), *Registres*, Blois: p. 330; i 36, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: March 27, 1669; Feb. 22, 1670.

78. i 38-39, Mer et Aulnay, BMS, 1678-1679; 1679-1683. Godparents at the first baptism on July 9, 1679 were Gaspard Foucher and the child's maternal aunt, Elisabeth Souchay. At the second baptism on Sept. 19, 1680, Etienne Bruère was godfather.
79. Much points, however, to the birth of a third Philippe at the Cape. Note the order of the children listed in Stellenbosch, 18/3, Testamenten: 3a, Dec. 4, 1708 and MOOC 13/1, Boedel reekeningen, 1709-1722: 37, Nov. 15, 1713 (CA). See also FRANKEN, 'Nog 'n paar Franse Hugenote-briefies', *Die Huisgenoot*, XIV, 384, Aug. 9, 1929, p. 43.
80. See i 39, Mer et Aulnay, BMS.
81. FF 7051, R.P.R.: Papiers de M. de la Reynie: Feb. 1687, f. 17 and v. (Bibl. nat.); AB ZH Gra dtb, 's-Gravenhage, Lidmaatschap: 1044, p. 62.
82. Waalse Gereformeerde gemeente, Rotterdam, 1653-1811, 293 dtb Rott 127, Trouwboek, 1654-1721: p. 43 (GA Rotterdam). There was, however, a Pierre Foucher from Saintonge in Amsterdam in 1687 (PA 201, Archieven, 47a, 1680-1689: Feb. 16, 1687).
83. W. MINET and W.C. WALLER (eds), *Registers of the church known as La Patente in Spittlefields (sic) from 1689 to 1785*, Publications HSL, XI, p. 175.
84. COLYER-FERGUSON (ed.) *Registers*, III, p. 264t.
85. PA 201, Archieven, 47a, 1680-1689: Nov. 16, 1687.
86. St 52, Waalse Kerk, Delft, lc: p. 53.
87. See BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 62.
88. C.F.A. MARMOY (ed.), *The French Protestant Hospital; extracts from the archives of "La Providence"*... I, Publications HSL, LII: Jan. 28, 1775.
89. See FWK: marriage of Jean Bruère, March 5, 1662; death of Marc Bruère of Blois, wool comber, in Berlin, Sept. 16, 1732 *et al.*
90. See St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft, lc: p. 53: "Denis Doignon Et Jean Doignon son fils – Estiène Bruere Pierre Grou Jean le Roux et Gabriel le Roux tous de l'Eglise qui se recueilloit à Mer au paj Blesois". See also FÉLICE, *Mer*, p. 171; A.M. HUGO, 'Op soek na ons stamouers in die argiewe van Frankryk', *Familia*, I, 2, 1964-1965, p. 32.
91. 'Op soek na ons stamouers', *Familia*, I, 1 and 2, 1964-1965.
92. Ms. T 81, TROUËSSART (comp.), Registres, Blois: pp. 200; 230; HUGO, 'Op soek na ons stamouers', *Familia*, I, 1, 1964-1965, p. 11.
93. 'Op soek na ons stamouers', *Familia*, I, 1, 1964-1965. p. 11. See also Ms. T 81, TROUËSSART (comp.), Registres, Blois: p. 226.
94. i 36, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: burial of Jeane Bourdon, April 15, 1672; i 37, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: June 7, 1677.
95. PA 201, Archieven, 50d, Sorties, 1684-1723: Nov. 19, 1684 (GA Amsterdam).
96. LOUGH (ed.), *Locke's travels*, p. 214: Aug. 5, 1678.
97. i 39, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: Sept. 29, 1680; FÉLICE, *Mer*, appendix III, p. 260. See also P.J. RETIEF, *Die Retief-familie in Suid-Afrika*, p. 3.

98. i 36, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: April 13 and Sept. 9, 1670; July 12 and Oct. 21, 1671; i 39, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: Oct. 2, 1682.
99. i 37, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: Sept. 8, 1677; i 38, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: July 9, 1679.
100. BW 782, Zierikzee, Livre de la recette et de la dépense de l'argent des pauvres, 1680-1689: Oct. 19, 1687; Jan. 25, 1688 (Bibl. wall.).
101. St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft, lc: p. 55. With Jean (Mache) pasté and others.
102. The husband of Jan Jansz. van E(e)den, Marie Rousseau, is described in 1702 as Maria Rossar of "Blooij", aged 43, in MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten, 1689-1712: 36, May 26 (CA). See also BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 83, and for another version of her surname and place of origin (Crassee of Dubloys), HOGE, 'Kanttekeninge', TWK, Nuwe Reeks, I, 2, Dec. 1940, p. 150. For Frederik Roussouw see A.J. BOESEKEN (ed.), *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, III, Suid-Afrikaanse Argiefstukke, Kaap No. 3, p. 178 and n.: Dec. 16, 1687.
103. Ms. T 81, TROUESSART (comp.), Registres, Blois: p. 329; FÉLICE, *Mer*, p. 176.
104. i 36, Mer et Aulnay, BMS: Oct. 19, 1670; Feb. 21, 1672; Ms. T 81, TROUESSART (comp.), Registres, Blois: p. 329.
105. EC, Châteaudun, BMS, 1591-1683 (AD Eure-et-Loir). Martineau refugees played an important part in community life at Norwich in England after 1685, although they would seem to have been formerly at Dieppe. The Walloon church there was to provide the Cape with a minister in the early nineteenth century, Jean-Guillaume-Louis Gebhart (W.J.C. MOENS (ed.), *The Walloons and their church at Norwich; their history and registers. 1565-1832*, Publications HSL, I, part I, p. 108; part II, pp. 84-85; 133; 138-139; appendix IX, p. 243).
106. A Paul Couvret among them (EC, Bazoches-en-Dunois, BMS: Sept. 2, 1674).
107. See 168, Eglise réformée de Châtillon-sur-Loing, B, 1608-1675 (copy) (Bibl. Prot., SHPF). The name Valette (Vallette) is common here.
108. Collection Mirandolle: Paul Couvret (Bibl. wall.). This source is also available on microfiche at The Hague (CBG).
109. 'Notes on Huguenot families', *Proceedings HSL*, V, 2, Nov. 1894 - May 1895, p. 249.
110. St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft, 15: p. 107.
111. L. BASTIDE, 'Les Temples de l'église réformée d'Orléans (1561-1685)', *BSHPF*, XLVIII, Nov. 15, 1899, p. 566.
112. EC, Bazoches-en-Dunois, BMS.
113. FWK: under Sellier.
114. MINET (ed.), *Registers. ...also the répertoire général*, 304, p. 24.
115. St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft, 42a, Livre de mises extraordinaires, 1685-1725 (GA Delft).
116. St 52, Waalse kerk, Delft, lc: pp. 72; 73.
117. Eglise wallonne de Leyde, I E 44, Actes du consistoire, 1658-1695: Sept. 25, 1687, p. 316 (GA Leyden).

118. LEHR, *Réforme*, appendix IX, p. 574.
119. Ms. T 81, TROUËSSART (comp.), p. 217: Feb. 23. See also FÉLICE, *Mer*, p. 175.
120. Ms. T 75, A. TROUËSSART (comp.), *Registres de Saint-Solenne*, B, II, 1652-1696: p. 48 (Bibl. mun. Blois).
121. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 118.
122. He has been placed firmly in that area by S.F. DU TOIT ('Huguenot-families uit Noord-Frankryk; hier en. . . daar', *Bulletin, Huguenot Society of South Africa*, 4, 1966, p. 13). We may note, somewhat to the south, the Louis Cordier of Meaux, condemned to death, but sent to the galleys (HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, IV, pp. 58-59).
123. 2 E 5411, David Marcel, *Actes*, Pontaix, 1660-1674: Sept. 28, 1666, f. 186 (AD Drôme).
124. BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 38.
125. *French Protestant refugees*, p. 62. See also BOTHA, *French refugees*, pp. 63; 68.
126. CJ 311, *Criminele processtukken*, 1707: 8, March 12 (CA).
127. Stellenbosch, 13/21, *Generale monster rollen*, 1700-1716: July 19, 1704 (CA).
128. 'Kanttekeninge', *TWK*, Nuwe Reeks, I, 2, Dec. 1940, p. 151.
129. 'Op soek na ons stamouers', *Familia*, I, 2, 1964-1965, pp. 30-31.
130. *Mer*, pp. 171-172.
131. An Elisabeth le Long, daughter of a medical doctor, Noé le Long, and his wife Madeleine Passedouet, was born there on August 31, 1656 (LART (comp.), *Ms. registers*, L'Aigle: baptism, Sept. 1, 1656).
132. E. LESENS (comp.), *Ms. Liste des Protestants résidant à Dieppe en mars 1686* (4 mois après la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes): p. 60 (HSL Library).
133. E 1533, *Notaires et tabellions*, Antoine de la Gombaude, 1611 (AD Eure).
134. E. PICOT, 'Notice sur Josias Bérault commentateur de la coutume de Normandie et sur Le Mesnil domaine patrimonial des Bérault', *Société historique et archéologique de l'Orne*, XXX, 1, 1911, p. 171. See also J.-F.-G. VAUGEOIS, *Histoire des antiquités de la ville de L'Aigle et de ses environs*, . . . , pp. 340-341.
135. N. W(EISS), 'Temples du diocèse de Séez poursuivis avant la révocation', *BSHPF*, LXVI, July-Sept. 1916, p. 240n.
136. I 36, L'Aigle, BM: April 3, 1684.
137. PICOT, 'Notice', *Société historique et archéologique de l'Orne*, XXX, 1, 1911, pp. 171-172.
138. *Armorial général*, XIX, Normandie: Alençon, 28, p. 222: July 12, 1697 (Bibl. nat.).
139. TT 230, XVIII, Alençon, Généralité: p. 1275 (Vicomté de Laigle).
140. FWK: Bérau(1)t and other variations; H 283° D 1/I, *Registre*, Bois-le-Duc: 1071, p. 79: Sept. 6; B.l.D 41, 's-Hertogenbosch.
141. FWK: Bérau(1)t, etc.

142. J. ab U. DRESSELHUIS, *De Waalsche gemeenten in Zeeland, voor en na de herroeping van het Edict van Nantes. Eene bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de Hervormde kerk in de Nederlanden*, p. 56; MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CSIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 83.
143. LESENS (comp.), Ms. Liste des Protestants: p. 24. Gournay was evidently not from Blangy-sur-Ternoise in Artois (M. BOUCHER, 'Hugue-not refugees; some links between the Cape, France and England in the early eighteenth century', *Historia*, XX, 1, May 1975, p. 58).
144. See S. HARDY, *Histoire de l'église protestante de Dieppe*, pp. 350-360. For a contemporary report see GONIN and DELTEIL (eds), 'Révocation... vue par les informateurs', *BSHPF*, CXVIII, Jan.-March 1972, 125, p. 145; Tixier, Nov. 25, 1685. "Dieppe ne se releva jamais de cet assassinat politique" (L. ESTANCELIN, *Recherches sur les voyages et découvertes des navigateurs normands...*, p. 123).
145. One of MACAULAY's "exploits worse than inglorious" along the French Channel coast (*History of England from the accession of James II*, IV, Everyman's Library, 37, p. 102).
146. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', *BSHPF*, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, pp. 83; 85 and n.
147. FWK: Gournai, Abraham de.
148. C.E. LART (comp.), Miscellaneous extracts: V, p. 79 (HSL Library).
149. Certainly before 1712, as in BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 70. The Cape settler left half his estate to "sijn Oudste broeder Jean de Gournaij, wonende binnen London" (MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten: 98, April 8, 1712).
150. COLYER-FERGUSON (ed.), *Registers*, III, pp. 128j; 200b: Dec. 27, 1693; Oct. 11, 1700; S. MINET (ed.), *Register of the church of the Artillery Spitalfields 1691-1786*, Publications HSL, XLII, 424, p. 23: June 21, 1705.
151. As at the baptism of Isaac, son of Miche(1) and Ester (Esther) Mange of Stepney on April 25, 1703, where the father is described as a "pour wever" (COLYER-FERGUSON (ed.), *Registers*, III, p. 236a). Note the use of English at that date in the records of a French church. On the silk-weavers of Spitalfields see M.D. GEORGE, *London life in the eighteenth century*, 2nd ed., pp. 178-196.
152. COLYER-FERGUSON (ed.), *Registers*, III, p. 18p. This may not, however, represent an abbreviated surname.
153. 1520, Registres de l'église réformée de Luneray, 1623-1681, II (copy). On Jacques Néel's occupations see also entry in Dec. 1668 (Bibl. Prot., SHPF).
154. 1520, Registres de Luneray, I-III; MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 63; HAAG and HAAG, *France protestante*, X, appendix LXXXVIII, p. 380.
155. Including the marriages of Guillaume S(é)nékal of Luneré (*sic*) at Canterbury (HOVENDEN (ed.), *Registers*, part III, p. 525: Nov. 4, 1682) and Madeleine (Madelaine) Sénécal of Dieppe at Threadneedle Street, London (COLYER-FERGUSON (ed.), *Registers*, III, p. 26j: Nov. 6, 1692).

156. FWK: Senequal, David.
157. VC 41, Generale monsterrollen, 1716-1725 (copy): p. 5 (CA); H.C.V. LEIBBRANDT (comp.), *Precis of the archives of the Cape of Good Hope. Requesten (Memorials) 1715-1806*, II, p. 663: 149, 1718.
158. Eglise wallonne de Leyde, I C 27, Livre des témoignages donnés aux membres partants, 1667-1733: June 21, 1682; March 19 and April 3, 1689 (GA Leyden); Waalse Gereformeerde gemeente, Rotterdam, 293 dtb Rott 127: p. 49 (marriage to Madeleine Belledent of Dieppe, May 5, 1694); LESENS (comp.), Ms. Liste des Protestants: p. 62.
159. *French refugees*, p. 57.
160. W. MINET and W.C. WALLER (eds), *Transcript of the registers of the Protestant church at Guisnes, from 1668 to 1685*, Publications HSL, III, p. 180.
161. MOOC 7/1/1, Testamenten: 98, April 8, 1712.
162. FWK: Du Puy.
163. MOOC 7/1/7, Testamenten, 1746-1751: 12, Feb. 1, 1735; proved Aug. 8, 1746 (CA); FWK: Du Puy.
164. PA 201, Archieven, 47a, 1680-1689: Feb. 2, 1682; FWK: Du Puy.
165. In G 2, 7/1, Stellenbosch, Huweliksregister en lidmaatregister, 1700-1788: Feb. 19, 1702, p. 5 (NGKA). See also BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 62.
166. HANDS and SCOULOUDI (eds), *French Protestant refugees*, p. 83; W. and S. MINET (eds), *Livre des tesmoignages de l'église de Threadneedle Street 1669-1789*, p. 97. They brought a certificate of membership from Utrecht.
167. There were certainly a Jean and Anne du Puy (*sic*) in London as late as 1698 (COLYER-FERGUSON (ed.), *Registers*, III, p. 170bb).
168. FWK: Du Puy, Jan. 22, 1686. An Anne Martin, wife of Jean du Puits (*sic*) joined the Amsterdam Walloon church on March 14, 1688 (FWK: Martin).
169. PA 201, Archieven, 50d. No mention is made, however, of daughters.
170. G 2, 7/1, Stellenbosch, Huweliksregister: Feb. 19, 1702, p. 5; BOTHA, *French refugees*, p. 62.
171. MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 63. Services were held at Maupertuis and Hougerville for the Fécamp church and at Le Montcriquet (until 1659) and Lintot for that of Bolbec.
172. RP, Sanvic, 1628-1665 (AD Seine-Maritime).
173. COLYER-FERGUSON (ed.), *Registers*, III, p. 28c. His intention of marrying Jeanne Desvignes from the neighbourhood of Le Havre was noted on April 30.
174. MOURS, 'Pasteurs', BSHPF, CXIV, Jan.-March 1968, p. 83; COCHET, *Eglises de l'arrondissement du Havre*, I, p. 223.
175. RP, Criqueotot-l'Esneval, 1653-1685; 1772-1790 (AD Seine-Maritime).
176. BW 782, Zierikzee, 1680-1689.
177. PA 201, Archieven, 47a: Sept. 16, 1685.

178. (P. LE GENDRE), *Histoire de la persecution faite a l'eglise de Rouën sur la fin du dernier siecle*, p. 70. See also MOURS, *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 88; 132n.
179. Waalse Gereformeerde gemeente, Rotterdam, 1, Archief van de Kerkeraad, 1652-1694: Jan. 13, 1686, p. 133 (GA Rotterdam). The Rouen pastors were joined by Le Page of Dieppe on that day.
180. *Histoire de la persecution*, p. 83.
181. P. KOLBE, *Naaukeurige en uitvoerige beschryving van de Kaap de Goede Hoop*; . . ., I, p. 104. See also J.L.M. FRANKEN, 'Briefjes en handtekening van die Kaapse Hugenote', *TWK*, VII, 1938-1939, p. 103.
182. MOOC 7/1/4, Testamenten, 1726-1735: 141, Jan. 26, 1734; proved, Feb. 22, 1734 (CA). See also BOTH A, *French refugees*, p. 79.
183. Néels are frequent in the records of Dieppe and Luneray, which lay in the Rouen generality in the Arques election (TT 264, XI, Rouen: May 13, 1686, pp. 407-413 (AN); LESENS (comp.), Ms. Liste des Protestants: p. 79; Ms. 1520, Registres de Luneray, I-III). For Néels at Rouen see J. BIANQUIS and E. LESENS, *La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes à Rouen; essai historique; Notes sur les Protestants de Rouen persécutés à cette occasion*, p. 66.
184. FWK: Néel. For Jean Néel (Nel) see Stellenbosch, 18/5, Testamenten, 1720-1726: 43, Oct. 6, 1724 (CA). See also J. HOGE, *Bydraes tot die genealogie van ou Afrikaanse families; verbeterings en aanvullings op die Geslacht-register der oude Kaapsche familiën van C.C. de Villiers*, p. 99.
185. MOOC 7/1/4, Testamenten: 141, Jan. 26, 1734; proved, Feb. 22, 1734; BOTH A, *French refugees*, pp. 74; 79.
186. Note Jean le Roux of Raffetot, north-east of Bolbec, in 1683 (RP, Crique-tot-l'Esneval: Jan. 1, 1683), and a Jean le Roux, helped at Delft in 1691 (Eglise wallonne de Delft, 42a: Nov. 17, 1691, no p. no.).
187. FWK: Le Roux; PA 201, Archieven, 47a: March 31, 1686.
188. G.C. DE WET (ed.), *Resolusies van die Politieke Raad*, VIII, Suid-Afrikaanse Argiefstukke, Kaap No. 8, p. 59 and n.: Oct. 8, 1729. An Abraham le Sueur of Le Havre was in Amsterdam in 1685 (PA 201, Archieven, 47a: Dec. 16). On the Le Sueur background see A.J. KAN-NEMEYER, *Hugenote-familieboek*, pp. 145-146. Le Sueurs were also numerous in the Brie region, east of Paris. The minister at La Ferté-sous-Jouarre was François le Sueur, who first settled in the United Provinces (J.-T. GAL-LADEVÈZE, 'Registres de l'église de La Ferté-sous-Jouarre. Quelques souvenirs protestants du pays de Brie', *BSHPF*, II, Nov.-Dec. 1853, pp. 412-413).
189. H. SEE, 'Le Commerce des Hollandais à Nantes pendant la minorité de Louis XIV', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, XLI, 3, 1926, p. 252.
190. See C. SPOELSTRA, *Bouwstoffen voor de geschiedenis der Nederduitsch-Gereformeerde kerken in Zuid-Afrika*, I, pp. 50-51; 52; 53: letters of 1707. On his origins see MOOC 7/1/2, Testamenten, 1712-1720: 90, Dec. 28, 1713 (CA). See also BOTH A, *French refugees*, p. 76.
191. See O.P. LEWIS, 'Jeremias Aurret; burger, lieutenant and farmer of False

- Bay', *Simon's Town Historical Society Bulletin*, VIII, 4, July 1975, pp. 144-159.
192. i 34, Mer et Aulnay, B.
193. See E.C. GUILLET, *The Great migration; the Atlantic crossing by sailing-ship since 1770*, pp. 145-232 and supplement, pp. 1-16.
194. *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, p. 249.
195. RICHARD, *Vie quotidienne des Protestants*, p. 167.
196. *Protestantisme en France au XVII^e siècle*, p. 86n. See also STOYE, *Europe unfolding*, p. 367.
197. B. ROBERT, *L'Eglise réformée d'Alençon; études historiques*, pp. 91-92.