

THE HUGUENOTS STORY

FROM FRANCE TO SOUTH AFRICA

DRAFT I

DOCUMENT COMPILED BY:
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UNITED PRAYER FOR
FRANCE

FOR UPF (SA)
UNITED PRAYER FOR FRANCE (SOUTH AFRICA)

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Chapter 1 : The French Story

1 The Name Huguenot

The Huguenots were French Protestants who were members of the Reformed Church which was established in 1550 by John Calvin. The origin of the name Huguenot is uncertain, but it dates from approximately 1550 when it was used in court cases against "heretics" (dissenters from the Roman Catholic Church). As nickname and even abusive name it's use was banned in the regulations of the Edict of Nantes which Henry IV (Henry of Navarre, who himself earlier was a Huguenot) issued in 1559. The French Protestants themselves preferred to refer to themselves as "réformees" (reformers) rather than "Huguenots".

The exact origin of the word Huguenot is unknown, but many consider it to be a combination of Flemish and German. Two possible but different derivations incorporating this concept can be found in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*: "Huguenot", according to Frank Puaux, author of the article about the Huguenots in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*: "is the name given from about the middle of the sixteenth century to the Protestants of France. It was formerly explained as coming from the German *Eldgenosen*, the designation of the people of Geneva at the time when they were admitted to the Swiss Confederation. The current edition *Encyclopedia Britannica* offers a somewhat different explanation, although agreeing the word is a derivative of the German word *Eldgenosen*: "The origin of the name is uncertain, but it appears to have come from the word *aignos*, derived from the German *Eldgenosen* (confederates bound together by oath), which used to describe, between 1520 and 1524, the patriots of Geneva hostile to the duke of Savoy.

Protestants who met to study the Bible in secret were called *Huis Genooten*, meaning "house fellows."

The words Huguenot or Huguenots are also believed to be old French words, common in 14th and 15th-century charters. As the Protestants called the Catholics papists, so the Catholics called the Protestants Huguenots. Henri Estienne, one of the great savants of his time, in the introduction to his *Apologie d'Herodote* (1566) gives a very clear explanation of the term Huguenots. The Protestants at Tours, he says, used to assemble by night near the gate of King Hugo, whom the people regarded as a spirit. A monk, therefore, in a sermon declared that the Lutherans ought to be called Huguenots as kinsmen of King Hugo, inasmuch as they would only go out at night as he did. This nickname became popular from 1560 onwards, and for a long time the French Protestants were always known by it.

Another suggestion is that it is derived from the French word *Huguon* meaning one who walks by night.

The spelling *Huguenot* may have been influenced by the personal name *Hugues*, "Hugh"; a leader of the Geneva movement, one Besancon Hugues.

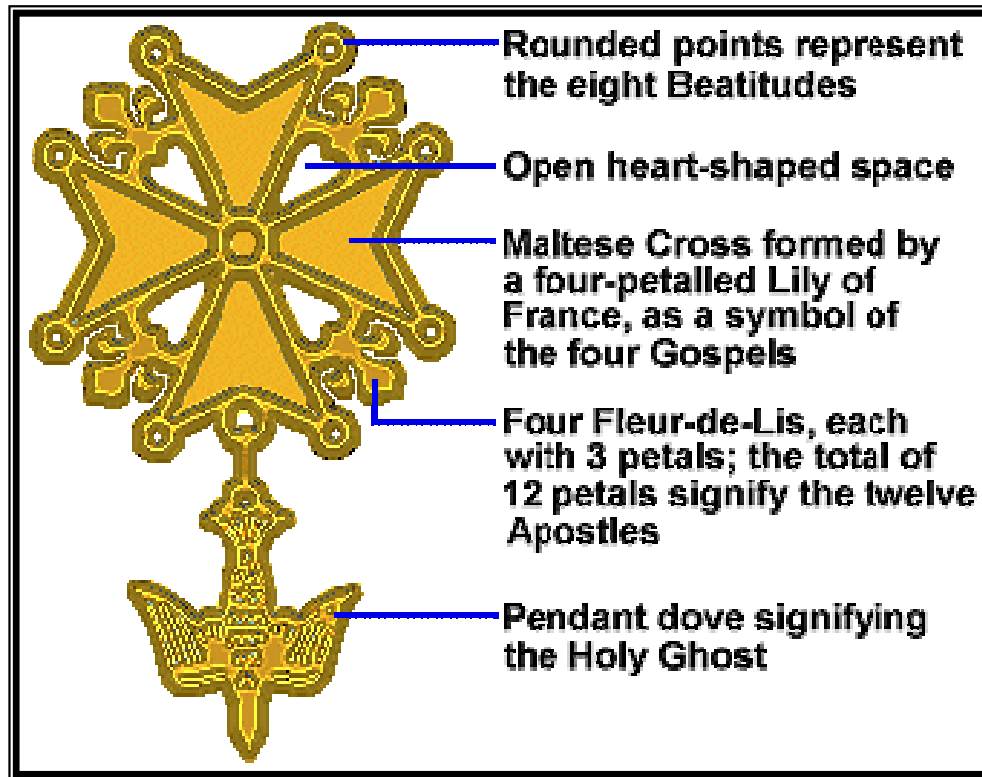
(Taken from: <http://www.huguenot.netnation.com/general/huguenot.htm> and <http://www.viljoen.za.org/hist-hug.htm> and <http://www.1911encyclopedia.org/H/HU/HUGUENOTS.htm> <http://www.orange-street-church.org/text/huguenot-rearguard.htm>)

2 The Huguenots Cross as a symbol

It is impossible to know exactly when the Huguenots adopted the Huguenot Cross as a symbol and confirmation of their faith. It is believed to have been a sign of recognition among the French Protestants as early as the 17th century. It was patterned after the *Order*

of the *Holy Spirit* insignia worn by Henry IV of Navarre, who issued the Edict of Nantes in 1598 to protect Protestant freedoms.

Not long after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Huguenot Cross came into general use amongst Huguenots as confirmation of the wearer's faith.



The cross was designed in the form of a Maltese cross: 4 isosceles triangles meeting at the centre. Each triangle has, at the periphery, two rounded points at the corners. These points are regarded as signifying the eight Beatitudes of **Matt 5: 3-10**.

Suspended from the lower triangle by a ring of gold is a pendant dove with spread wings in downward flight, signifying the Holy Spirit. After the dreadful persecutions following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Huguenots replaced the dove with a Pearl, symbolising a tear. The four arms of the Maltese cross are sometimes regarded as the heraldic form of the four petals of the Lily of France (golden yellow irises, signifying the Mother Country of France) which grows in the south of France. The lily is also the symbol of purity. The arms symbolize the four Gospels.

The arms are joined together by four Fleur-de-Lis (left), each with 3 petals; the total of twelve petals of the Fleur-de-Lis signify the twelve apostles. Between each Fleur-de-Lis and the arms of the Maltese Cross with which it is joined, an open space in the form of a heart, the symbol of loyalty, suggests the seal of the French Reformer, John Calvin.

The Huguenot cross was designed and first manufactured by a certain Mystre of Nîmes in 1688. It has as its predecessor the badge of the Hospitaler Knights of St John of Jerusalem, also known as the Knights of Malta, a religious and Crusader order founded in Jerusalem in the 7th century AD.

A romantic (albeit unconfirmed) story is told of four young Huguenot couples who were to be married in Cevennes when the dreaded French Dragoons appeared. Two of the bridal couples were caught and given the choice: recant their Protestant beliefs, or die at the stake. They refused to recant. The four were condemned and Huguenots sang while they were brought closer and bound, each to a stake. With the flames their psalm rose to heaven until their voices faded into silence. From the crowd a woman's voice called: "I see the flames rise to heaven. They unite in a mighty dome of fire which joins the four burning stakes. I see a cross of fire, and in the centre it shoots its rays to the north, the south, the east and the west - the Morning Star, the sign of our master, Jesus Christ. Praise the Lord! He is with us to the end!".



A metal worker from Nimes made a medallion to commemorate their heroic death. The nucleus resembled the Maltese Cross, the four arms of which were linked with a smaller "circle", which refers to the flames that united them. The space between the arms was made into the shape of a heart, reminding of the love of the two young couples who, true to their faith, were burnt at the stake on their wedding-day.

The Huguenot Cross is a symbol of religious loyalty - a religion so strong that it did not even fear the stake. Descendants of the Huguenots are not allowed to forget their origins nor to consider their religion as being something superficial. The Huguenot Cross, with its rich symbolism, is often worn by descendants of the Huguenots, and can be seen at most Huguenot gatherings.

(Taken from: <http://www.geocities.com/Heartland/Valley/8140/x-eng.htm> and <http://www.huguenot.netnation.com/general/cross.htm>)

3 The Méreau

The méreau (plural méreaux) was a circular token which the Huguenots used in France from the 1550's to the mid 19th century. During holy communion an elder would give, before the service, a méreau to each parishioner who qualified to receive the sacrament. The

other, who did not attend catechism regularly or had been admonished by the consistory, would not receive a méreau. During service each individual would hand his méreau to an elder standing next to the communion table before receiving bread and wine.

In approximately 1561 Calvin wrote a “letter to the faithful in France” in which he strongly urged them to use the méreau. The use of such an attendance token consequently became common practice and for more than 200 years it served as a token of adherence to the persecuted religion and its rites as well as a secret symbol of the solidarity of the faithful.

In the 1680's, during the large scale royal persecution of Huguenots, the méreaux were used as an identification device to detect any Roman Catholic spy. Huguenots had to show their méreaux when they entered the Church as proof of their membership of the Protestant church. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes many Huguenot churches continued to use it, also in countries outside of France by Huguenot refugees.

Even in later times its use continued. The Order of the Colloque du Bordelais, on December 17th, 1754, Art. 7, XVII, reads: “Since we must be very careful and take precautions, each member will be given a particular mark or cachet to be handed over at the place of assembly. Those who are without them will not be admitted at the holy offices.”



The méreaux were normally circular, except those used in Nimes which were oval. The sizes differed, but normally it was about 30mm in diameter. Also the names, motifs and inscriptions varied locally because of different molds used to coin them. In Poitou they were known as marques, in Languedoc marreaux, and in Angoumois marrons. Most of them were made of lead or pewter, but sometimes they were made in leather, wax, or even glass.

As far as the motif is concerned, there were two kinds: “le type au berger” (shepherd type, shown above), and “le type à la coupe” (cup type), depending on the design depicted on the head side. On the méreau shown above Christ is depicted as a shepherd, with a staff in His left hand, holding a trumpet in His right hand. Two fig trees, one on either side of Christ, with a cross and banner are also shown. A flock of sheep, symbolizing His followers, is shown at His feet.

The back side of the méreau shows an open Bible, which is usually opened at St. Luke 12:32. “Have no fear little flock; for it is your Father’s good pleasure to give you the kingdom”. Above the Bible is a symbolic shining sun and six stars.

(Taken from: http://www.geocities.com/Heartland/Valley/8140/mer-e.htm?20062_x-eng.htm)

4 The Reformation History of France

4.1 Introduction

The most significant development of the sixteenth century was the reordering of religion and the sundering of the social unity that religion had once provided to European culture. It is impossible to understand the time without taking a look at these changes. Religion was not a matter of personal preference or opinion, it was the very basis of society.

4.2 The Pre-Reform

The rediscovery of the learning of the ancient world, the printing press, and all the other forces that came together to create the Renaissance also affected the Church. At the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, Christian humanists sought to apply the new style of scholarship to the study of scriptures in their original languages and to return to the first principles of their religion. In the interest of spreading religious understanding, they began to translate the Bible into the vernacular languages. The end of the fifteenth century saw a popular spiritual revival of a more mystical nature as well. The Renaissance belief in the "perfectability of man" made people less content with things as they were, and more interested in improving them in the here and now.

No one could argue that the church was not corrupt: holding vast wealth, exercising enormous political power and waging war. It was administered by holders of patronage positions that had more interest in lining their pockets than in promoting the welfare of their "flocks". The Christian humanists criticized these all-too-human failings, while striving for a purer church.

The early years of the sixteenth century were graced by some well known Christian humanist intellectuals: Erasmus, Lefèvre d'Étaples, and others. There was no particular intention of breaking from the church at this time, merely a passion for improving it.

4.3 The Gallican Tradition

Since Clovis, the French crown has had a special relationship to the church. There was no concept of the separation of church and state in France. The Pope gave the kings of France the title of "Most Christian King," and at his consecration (itself a holy rite) the King takes an oath to extirpate heresy in his realm. In spite of this close relationship, or perhaps because of it, the Gallican church in France has also traditionally enjoyed more independence from the central church hierarchy. The King's rights to govern the church were unprecedented. In 1516 the Concordat of Bologna confirmed François I right to make appointments to benefices, but gave the Pope the right to veto unqualified candidates and to collect a year's revenue from each post. Although this gave the Pope many rights, it gave the king more. The king of France had enormous powers to dispose of the Church's wealth and he could (and did) use the offices of bishops, abbots, etc. to provide sinecures for his faithful followers. This also meant that the lords of the church were usually quite worldly people, often quite unfit for their offices if spirituality or theological learning is considered a requirement. There was no restraint against a single individual holding many simultaneous titles, and there were plenty of bishops who lived well on their revenues and never set foot in their sees. The weaving together of obligation, reward, and responsibility between church and state made for a unique Gallican fusion of church and state, with the University of Paris (the Sorbonne) acting as the scholastic think-tank arm of the church-state complex.

4.4 Luther

In 1517, a dispute about who was entitled to a cut of the revenues generated by itinerant papal indulgence sellers provoked the controversy that led the Augustinian monk, Martin Luther, to nail his 95 theses to the church door at Wittenburg. The upshot of Luther's theses was that Christians are saved by faith, and faith alone, and that no amount of works (including the purchase of indulgences) made any difference at all. A drastic enough view, but not one that was immediately perceived as having the ultimate consequences that it eventually did. The Pope, Leo X, was a fairly easy going fellow, not inclined to vigorously prosecute this first appearance of heresy. There were plenty of heterodoxical views in the air at the time, and he thought it could be worked out diplomatically.

As it turns out, it could not. Luther was not immediately burnt for his heresy; he was allowed to present his case in court and this had a powerful effect on the populace. He also had a powerful patron and protector in the Elector of Saxony, who shielded him from the ecclesiastical authorities. In addition, the media explosion brought on by the printing press spread his message much further than it otherwise might have gone, and made him the focus for all sorts of religious, spiritual, political, and economic discontent. The right to read and interpret scripture led to the throwing off of the chains of papal and ecclesiastical authority. Taking this to mean political and economic freedom as well, the German peasantry organized widespread revolts. This horrified Luther and many of the civil powers.

The deep belief that religious uniformity was essential for political and social stability made heterodoxical opinions a potential act of treason. It was not the desire of the intellectual reformers to challenge civil authority, but it was a consequence. The German states were small political units: principalities, duchies, electorates, and so on, all theoretically owing loyalty to the Holy Roman Emperor as overlord, but most exercising a fairly independent course most of the time. As the leaders of these states made their choices for or against the new opinion, their subjects followed them. For many, the attractions of "nationalizing" church property was a powerful incentive to become a reformer. Political alliances were made and remade in the name of religion throughout the rest of the century.

4.5 The Day of the Placards

After Luther made it more difficult to be neutral, the rigidly scholastic Sorbonne denounced the Circle of Meaux as heretics in 1525. Some recanted, some fled into exile, some became avowed Protestants, some fled to the shelter of Marguerite de Navarre's court. During the 1520s and 1530s the lines between evangelical Christian humanists and Protestants were very vague. Seminal humanists like Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Étaples never left the Church, not wishing to see its fundamental unity destroyed, while others became religious and social radicals.

In spite of the fear inspired by the example of Luther's followers, the Most Christian King of France was fairly tolerant of the spirit of inquiry and he truly valued scholarship. He generally prevented the doctors of the Sorbonne from doing their worst against anyone challenging their medieval views.

However, this tolerance changed with the "Day of the Placards." Early Sunday morning on October 18, 1534, Parisians and many other citizens of northern France awoke to find the city plastered with broadsides denouncing the Catholic mass as "an insufferable abuse", condemning the Eucharist in very vitriolic language, and threatening the priesthood for "disinheriting" kings, princes, and so on by its practice. One of these appeared on the king's bedroom door. This was not just a theological debate, but an attack on the fundamental

social fabric. It confirmed the popular suspicion that the "Lutherans" were not only heretics, but rebels and traitors.

A few culpable parties were rounded up and burned, and François I (picture right) responded to this challenge to his dual role as head of the state and the church in France by holding a massive procession of the Holy Eucharist through Paris, in which all the royal and parliamentary institutions participated. Sporadic suppression of Protestantism followed, but it was all very inconsistent.



4.6 Calvin

In the wave of suppression that followed the Day of the Placards, one of the exiles was an evangelical named Jean Cauvin (Latinized as Calvin), from Noyon in Picardie. He had studied law and had made a bit of name in humanist circles with a work on Seneca.

As Protestantism grew and developed in France it generally abandoned the Lutheran form, and took the shape of Calvinism. The new "Reformed religion" practiced by many members of the French nobility and social middle-class, based on a belief in salvation through individual faith without the need for the intercession of a church hierarchy they believed in an individual's right to interpret scriptures for themselves and thereby was placed in direct theological conflict with both the Catholic Church and the King of France in the theocratic system which prevailed at that time. Followers of this new Protestantism were soon accused of heresy against the Catholic government and the established religion of France, and a General Edict urging extermination of these heretics (Huguenots) was issued in 1536.

In 1536 Calvin published (in Latin) *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* in Basel. He sojourned in Strasbourg from 1538-1541, refining his thoughts on how to create God's kingdom on earth, and ultimately ended up in Geneva. The *Institutes* were published in French in 1541, and had the most profound effect on the development of Protestantism in France. Ironically, the first edition of this book was dedicated to King François I, perhaps in the hope that the generally open-minded king could still be persuaded to adopt the reformed religion.



Calvin did not really add anything particularly new to Protestant theology in the *Institutes*, but he gave much more logical and analytical structure to its doctrines. His book was an effective educational tool, intended to be the foundation for organizing a new Christianity (and by implication, a more godly new society).

Calvinism is strongly identified with the doctrine of predestination, but this was not really a novel view -- it was implicit in St Augustine's work of centuries before. It was Calvin's legalistic explanation of the significance of it and other standard articles of Protestant confession that made the difference.

4.7 The Council of Trent

Eventually the church mobilized itself to deal with splintering of its authority and held the Council of Trent. It was the purpose of this council to try to define a common ground of belief and practice for all Christians, and to attempt to heal the schism. It opened in 1545 in the last years of François's reign, and met for 18 years, during which it healed nothing. There was little hope that the Protestant views would be truly accommodated and honestly debated, and the end result was that Trent ended up reinforcing the more uniquely Catholic aspects of religion in contradiction to the Protestant practice. The special place, for example, of Mary was reaffirmed, as well as the role of devotional works, the sacraments, the saints and angels, the role of Latin in worship, the sole privilege of the clergy to interpret scripture, the primacy of the pope, and many other traditional trappings.

The Gallican church played next to no role in the Council of Trent, and refused to register its decrees. During its early years of convocation, the Papacy was dominated by Hapsburg political influences. The Valois was at war with the Hapsburgs throughout the reigns of François I and his son Henry II, and papal/French relations were at a very low point. The Gallican church was very prickly about its rights and did not acknowledge that the Pope or the Council had any right to interfere in the internal affairs of the church of France.

4.8 The Counter-Reformation

The Council of Trent did try to address some of the abuses of the church, calling for a more effective, educated, and involved clergy. The most effective tool of the church came into being during this time. A Spanish bravo was wounded by a cannonball in 1521 and in his frustration at not being able to follow the noble profession of arms, turned to the comfort of religion. Ignatius Loyola applied a very military sensibility to the development of spirituality, and founded the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits took education of the laity and the common clergy as one of their special goals. They answered to no earthly power but the Pope, and served as the premier strike force of the Counter-Reformation. By 1559, they were a world power.

There was also a Counter-reformation revival of Catholic mysticism, another reaction to the desire for a more personal relationship with God. St. John of the Cross probed *The Dark Night of the Soul*, and St. Theresa of Avila explored *The Interior Castle* where God dwelt. Theresa reformed the Carmelites and spread contemplation at the same time that her countryman Loyola was spreading orthodoxy by whatever means necessary. Women played a major role in the Counter-Reformation, just as they did in the Reformation. Some were public leaders themselves, but most were leaders of a quieter sort, patronizing the saints, thinkers, and preachers, motivating their families, and acting in their communities.

The post-Trentine church also took a stronger interest in family life, the roles of husband and wife, parent and child, and the responsibilities of the parents to train their children up in the faith. They began to oppose the excesses of Carnival and other types of pagan "laxity" that was part of everyday life, and began to promote a more watchful sexual morality. Many of the "family values" that we now think of as characteristically "Catholic" were formed during this time and were a response to the Puritan tendencies of the Protestants.

4.9 The Demographics of Dissent

Historians have debated for a long time who the Protestants were, why the new faith appealed to them, where the social/religious fault lines lay and why. Marxists have seen a class struggle between the lower orders and the elite, others a conflict between a feudal Catholicism and a capitalist Protestantism, still others the appeal of a more "rational" religion to better educated minds during a time of social flux.

Protestantism in France had more appeal in the towns than in the countryside, except in the South which had a long tradition of anti-clericalism, heresy, and independence from the crown. In the towns, artisans and learned professionals made up a disproportionate number of the Huguenots. They were overwhelmingly more literate than the general population, which was important for a religion that so strongly emphasized Bible study. Members of new trades like printing and bookselling, as well as newly prestigious trades like painting and goldsmithing, and new manufacturing technologies like silk-making were more likely to take to Protestantism than members of older, more tradition-bound trades. As a whole, these were artisans with more education, independence, and entrepreneurial spirit than average. At least, these generalizations are true in those regions of France where these kinds of trades were strong.

Regional context varies and the popularity or lack thereof of the reformed religion needs to be weighed against local conditions, but for the most part, Huguenot artisans were working in trades that their fathers never knew.

Observers have always noted a certain congeniality between Protestantism and capitalism, even though the great banking families and merchant houses first emerged in the Italian city-states, a Catholic region where the church was such a strong native industry that the reform never had a chance. The sober, industrious lifestyle followed by most Protestants went well with the demands of making money in trade and industry.

Economically, the northern countries and the Atlantic-based trade prospered during this time and many of the nations on the economic upswing were Protestant. In the Netherlands, the southern towns like Antwerp (where Catholicism was imposed by the Spanish) lost out to the growing economic power of the Protestant northern provinces as many refugees fled the Spanish wars to make new lives in places like Amsterdam. Those towns and provinces that preferred to do business rather than enforce religious purity on their subjects did better in the emerging modern world.

French Protestantism would never have amounted to the potent social force it became if it had remained a religion of artisans. In the 1550s and 1560s, large numbers of noble elites were attracted to it. Calvin made a concerted effort to recruit them, sending Geneva-trained French evangelists into the country with the mission of influencing the powerful decision-makers. Very often, these decision-makers were reached through the influence of their mothers and wives.

Protestantism continued to spread and grow, and about 1555 the first Huguenot church was founded in a home in Paris based upon the teachings of John Calvin. The number and influence of the French Reformers (Huguenots) continued to increase after this event, leading to an escalation in hostility and conflict between the Catholic Church/State and the Huguenots.

Marguerite de Navarre's early humanist patronage blossomed into a full-fledged Protestant conviction in her daughter, Jeanne d'Albret (picture right), the Queen of Navarre, Duchess d'Albret, Countess of Bearn and Vicomtesse of Foix. Jeanne brought along



her waffling and opportunistic husband, Antoine de Bourbon, raised her son Henry de Navarre in the religion, and made the reformed faith the state religion in her territories. This rock of reform made for a powerful base in the Southwest, where the Huguenots enjoyed more popular support than anywhere else.

Among the other noteworthy converts were the Prince de Condé, another Bourbon and prince of the blood, and the Châtillon brothers: Gaspard de Coligny, Odet Cardinal de Châtillon (who never gave up his cardinal's hat), and François d'Andelot. Many of the nobles no doubt took this course out of opportunism, loyalty to their patrons, and similar motives, but some like Coligny seem to have been genuinely motivated by personal conscience. Catherine de Medici is reputed to have disliked Coligny because she couldn't understand a person who was not motivated by personal gain and self-interest.

An elite group that was also initially attracted to the religion was the judges of the parliamentary courts. This was particularly threatening to the social order, and Henri II (picture right) took steps to deal with it. One of the famous early Protestant martyrs was Anne du Bourg, a Protestant magistrate who defied the king in the Parliament of Paris and was burned for his intransigence in 1559. Significantly, the charges were not just heresy but sedition and *lese majesté*.



After sporadic attempts at repression, the government failed to prevent Protestantism from establishing itself as a powerful minority religion. By 1560, a distinctive religious geography of Protestantism was emerging in France, with some 2 150 so-called "Huguenot" communities. Perhaps as much as half of the nobility and a third of the bourgeoisie had become Protestant. The stage was set for civil war.

The wars of Religion (1560-1589) which at times threatened to tear the state apart, concerned not only religious dispute but also resistance by the nobles to centralized state power. The sudden weakening of the authority of the crown following the death of Henri II in a jousting accident in 1559 triggered the conflict. The dominant political personality from 1559 till 1589 was Catherine de Medici, the widow of Henri II.

Appeals to national unity went unheeded by a nation increasingly divided by rival faiths and soon by bloodshed. Between 1562 and 1598, eight religious wars were fought. Although the scale of military operations was relatively small, the disruption caused by the frequent breakdown of law and order was very considerable.

(Taken from: <http://www.lepg.org/religion.htm> and "Cultural Atlas of France"— John Ardagh with Colin Jones and <http://www.huguenot.netnation.com/general/huguenot.htm>)

5 The Religious Wars

The religious wars began with overt hostilities in 1562 and lasted until the Edict of Nantes in 1598. It was warfare that devastated a generation, although conducted in rather desultory, inconclusive ways. Although religion was certainly the basis for the conflict, it was much more than a confessional dispute.

"Une foi, un loi, un roi," (one faith, one law, one king). This traditional saying gives some indication of how the state, society, and religion were all bound up together in people's minds and experience. There was not the distinction that we have now between public and private, between civic and personal. Religion had formed the basis of the social consensus of Europe for a millennium. Since Clovis, the French monarchy in particular had closely tied itself to the church -- the church sanctified its right to rule in exchange for military and civil protection. France was "the first daughter of the church" and its king "The Most Christian King" (le roy tres chretien), and no one could imagine life any other way.

"One faith" was viewed as essential to civil order -- how else would society hold together? And without the right faith, pleasing to God who upholds the natural order, there was sure to be disaster. Heresy was treason, and vice versa. Religious toleration, which to us seems such a necessary virtue in public life, was considered tantamount to letting drug dealers move next door and corrupt your children, a view for the cynical and world-weary who had forgotten God and no longer cared about the health of society.

Innovation caused trouble. The way things were is how they ought to be, and new ideas would lead to anarchy and destruction. No one wanted to admit to being an "innovator." The Renaissance thought of itself as rediscovering a purer, earlier time and the Reformation needed to feel that it was not new, but just a "return" to the simple, true religion of the beginnings of Christianity.

These fears of innovation certainly seemed justified when Henri II died suddenly in 1559, leaving an enormous power vacuum at the heart of social authority in France. The monarchy had never been truly absolute (although François I made long strides in that direction), and had always ruled in an often uneasy relationship with the nobility. The nobles' sense of their own rights as a class, and the ambitions of some of the more talented, were always there to threaten the hegemony of the crown.

When the vacuum appeared, the House of Guise moved in. François II (picture right), although only 15, was married to Mary Queen of Scots, a niece of the Duc de Guise. The Guise was a cadet branch of the House of Lorraine (an independent imperial duchy) that were raised to the peerage by François I. They were ambitious and had already produced at least two generations of exceptional leaders. The Duc de Guise, François, was a military hero, and his brother, the Cardinal de Lorraine, was a formidable scholar and statesman. During François II's brief reign, Guise power was absolute.



This greatly threatened the House of Montmorency, an ancient line which had enjoyed great political prominence under Henri II, as well as the Bourbons, who as the first princes of the blood had the rights of tutorship over a minor king. François II was not technically a minor (14 was the age of majority), but he was young and sickly and no one expected much from him.

These dynastic tensions interwove with the religious and social ones. The Bourbon princes were Protestant (Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre and the Louis de Bourbon, Prince de

Condé), and although the constable de Montmorency was Catholic, his nephews, the Châtillon brothers (including Admiral de Coligny) were Protestants. The Guise identified themselves strongly as defenders of the Catholic faith and formed an alliance with Montmorency and the Marechal St. André to form the "Catholic triumvirate." They were joined by Antoine de Bourbon, who flip-flopped again on the matter of his religion. His wife, Jeanne d'Albret, the Queen of Navarre, remained staunchly Protestant and established Protestantism completely in her domains.

Catherine de Medici (picture right) tried to promote peace by issuing the "Edict of Toleration" in January 1562, which decriminalized the practice of Protestantism, although it was restricted to preaching in open fields outside the towns and to the private estates of Huguenot (Protestant) nobles. This was not well-received by many Catholics.



5.1 The First War (1562-1563)

The first religious war was provoked by the Massacre at Vassy in 1562. On March 1st, 1562 some 1200 Huguenots were slain at Vassy, France. The Duc de Guise, traveling to his estates, stopped in Vassy on a Sunday and decided to hear Mass. A few of his servants got into a scuffle with some Huguenots who were attending a service in a nearby building, and the whole thing escalated until the Guise faction fired on the unarmed Huguenots, set their church on fire, and killed a number of congregants.

The national synod for the reformed church met in Paris and appealed to the Prince de Condé to become the "Protector of the Churches." He took on the task and from this point on the leadership of the Huguenots moved away from the pastors towards the noble "protectors", and took on a more militant tone. Condé mobilized his forces quickly and moved decisively to capture strategic towns along the waterways, highways, and crossroads of France. He took a string of towns along the Loire and made his headquarters at Orléans. He also contracted with Protestant leaders of Germany and England for troops and money.

The royal forces were slower to respond, as the permanent garrisons were located along the Habsburg frontiers. Catherine de' Medici was forced to turn to the Guise faction to deal with this alarming development. The Guise in turn sought help from the Pope and Phillip II of Spain. The Protestants were well dug-in in their garrisons, and the siege efforts to recapture the towns were long and costly. Only one open pitched battle was fought: that at Dreux which was a Catholic victory. Here the Protestants captured Montmorency, the Catholics captured Condé. The young Admiral de Coligny managed to safely withdraw most of the Protestant forces to Orléans, which was then besieged during the winter of 1562-1563.

At Orléans, the Duc de Guise was killed by an assassin. Antoine de Bourbon had been previously killed at the siege of Rouen, and this last casualty pretty much eliminated the first generation of Catholic leadership. With the Huguenot heartland in the south virtually untouched and the royal treasury hemorrhaging, the crown's position was weak and Catherine bent her efforts towards a settlement. The noble prisoners were exchanged, and the edict of Amboise issued in March 1563. This restricted Protestant freedoms somewhat,

allowing worship outside the walls of only one town per *bailliage*, although the nobility still had the freedom to do as they would on their estates. This increased the resentment and tension in the towns and was generally unsatisfying to most.

5.2 The Second War (1567-1568)

Even though the Duc de Guise had died, the Guise faction remained powerful and the Cardinal de Lorraine consolidated his power even more. He argued for more vigorous suppression of the Huguenots in response to Protestant insurrection in the neighboring Low Countries, where outbreaks of iconoclasm were met with fierce repression by Spain. Catherine began a two-year tour of the provinces with her son Charles IX, as part of an effort to establish a sense of unity with the nobility. During this time, she passed through Bayonne and met with the Duke of Alva, the King of Spain's "hard man" in the subjugation of the Netherlands. This spread a ripple of alarm through the Protestant community. When the Spanish marched troops along the "Spanish Road" from Italy to Flanders, their presence on the eastern borders of the kingdom added to the panic. The rumor that Catherine was plotting with Spain to exterminate them caused the Huguenots to attempt a coup at Meaux, to seize the person of the king and get him away from the Guises. This plan failed, and provoked the second war. This was much a repeat of the first. At the end of it, Montmorency was dead, the crown was more in debt, and the Peace of Longjumeau was a pretty much the same as the Peace of Amboise.

5.3 The Third War (1568-1570)

The peace was destined to be short-lived. The Cardinal de Lorraine hatched a plot to overturn the peace and capture Condé and Coligny. They escaped to La Rochelle and raised another army to begin the third war. Condé and Coligny made an alliance with William of Orange in the Netherlands, who was fighting for the independence of the United Provinces from Spain. The Guise became ever more closely involved with Spain. The Cardinal de Guise also saw in Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, a tool for unseating Elizabeth and putting a Catholic monarch on that throne. (As long as Elizabeth was childless, Mary was next heir to England.) The third war therefore involved an even larger number of foreign interests, and lasted from 1568 to 1570.

The Protestant strategy this time was to fortify the Southwest and stand off the crown. This was reasonably successful for a fairly long time. However, at Jarnac, under the nominal leadership of the king's younger brother, Henri d'Anjou, the Protestants suffered a great defeat and the Prince de Condé was killed. Coligny met the Catholics at Moncoutour and suffered another defeat. However, he collected his forces and made a brilliant "long march" across the south of France, defeating the royal army on at least one occasion and depriving the crown of their chance to break the Protestant hold on the South.

The cost of keeping the army in the field was telling on the crown again, and yet another peace was negotiated at St. Germain. This peace was more favorable to the Protestants than the previous, naming specific towns as secure strongholds, returning confiscated property to Huguenots, and guaranteeing some equality before the law. This third war was more protracted, and brought the war to the rural areas in central and southern France, spreading the suffering to the population and raising the cultural tensions between Catholics and Protestants.

5.4 The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572)

After the peace of St. Germain, Catherine exerted a great deal of diplomatic effort trying to create harmony between Catholic and Protestant leaders. Admiral de Coligny, now the chief military leader of the Huguenots, was welcomed into the king's council, Elizabeth of

England entertained the prospects of marriage to one of King Charles' younger brothers, and Catherine negotiated with Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, to marry her daughter Margeurite (Margot) to Henri de Navarre, the ranking Huguenot prince of the blood. However, the common people felt no such harmony, and tensions grew in the towns and countryside.

Protestant rhetoric had become increasingly revolutionary in the late 1560's, with leading thinkers advocating that Christians did not have the obligation to obey leaders who themselves defied God. Calvin himself came to the conclusion, after advocating for many years that obedience to the civil authorities was a Christian duty, that a prince that persecuted the church had forfeited his right to be obeyed.

François Hotman's *Francogallia* was written during this time (although not published until 1573). It advocated the existence of a mythical Frankish constitution whereby the kings of France were elected by the people and governed only through their consent. This was all very frightening and served to unite the Protestant faith with treason in the mind of the average person.

Along with these more abstract issues, tension between Catholics and Protestants had some more mundane economic and social elements. Protestants were often represented in the newer and more lucrative trades, such as printing, out of proportion to their numbers in the general population. The Protestant emphasis on literacy as the basis for understanding the Bible made for a generally better educated group. Protestantism was more an urban than a rural phenomenon (except in the Southwest), one well-suited to capitalists and merchants. The 100 or so Catholic feast days that they didn't celebrate also made for more days to do business. This wasn't viewed as being much of an advantage by the peasants, but was viewed as an unfair advantage by other Catholic townsmen.

The years of persecution had created a cell-like structure of congregations, consistories, and synods where people in the group stuck together and helped each other, both in matters of religion and everyday business. Like that other minority in Europe, the Jews, this engendered a feeling of suspicion about their "secret" organization.

The participation of women in the church service, with men and women singing together and studying the Bible, was viewed with a range of emotions: from a sign that society was collapsing when cobblers and women could debate the meaning of the Bible (even the Protestants were sometimes alarmed at the effects of their doctrine about "the priesthood of all believers"), to a conviction that Protestant worship must involve some kind of orgiastic rituals.

Prices had also risen very sharply between the beginning of the century and the 1560s, especially the prices of food, fuel, and shelter. This might seem irrelevant to matters of religion, but the sense of stress about making ends meet, increasing homelessness and poverty in the towns, a sense of anxiety about the future, and all the other things that go with this kind of economic pressure make for a fearful and hostile society looking for scapegoats.

Many Catholics felt that the toleration of heresy in their midst was like a disease in the body of Christ that threatened the very contract between God and his people. There was an increasing rhetoric among the popular preachers to purge this infection to restore God's favor and with it, social stability.

All of this tension is important background to the watershed event of the wars: the evening of August 23, 1572 - the feast of St. Bartholomew. The 19 year-old **Henri de Navarre** (picture right) and Margot de Valois were married in Paris on August 17 and the festivities were still going on. The entire Huguenot leadership came to Paris for this wedding. Henri himself brought 800 mounted noblemen in his train.



On August 22, as Admiral de Coligny was returning to his lodgings from a visit with the king, an assassin fired at him, breaking his arm and wounding him severely, but not succeeding to kill him. The Huguenots were outraged and demanded justice from the king. Everyone suspected the Guises of the attack. When various Huguenot leaders counseled Coligny to flee the city - certainly at this time they could have easily made it to the safety of a Protestant stronghold - he reputedly refused, feeling that it would show a lack of trust in the king. However, the Huguenots were threatening riot in the streets if something wasn't done.

At some point during the night of August 23, the decision was taken at the Louvre to kill Coligny and the Huguenot leaders gathered around him. Charles IX was certainly there, Catherine de Medici, Henri d'Anjou. It may not have been originally intended to be a general massacre. **Charles IX** (picture right) was reputedly badgered into this decision by Catherine and his councilors, and when he finally broke he is alleged to have said, "Well, then kill them all that no man be left to reproach me."



During the early hours of Sunday morning, a troop of soldiers came to Coligny's door. They killed the guard that opened the door, and rushed through the house. Coligny was dragged from his bed, stabbed, and thrown out the window to the pavement below. Reputedly the Duc de Guise mocked the body, kicking him in the face and announcing that this was the king's will. Rumors ran thick and fast, and somehow the militia and the general population went on a rampage, believing themselves to be fully sanctioned by the king and the church. Catholics identified themselves with white crosses on their hats, and went around butchering their neighbors.

The neighborhood militias played a very significant role in the slaughter. The killing went on for 3 days or so, with the city councilors and the king unable to bring the whole thing under control. There are numerous tales of atrocities, occasional ones of courage and compassion. More than 2700 (some sources say 8 000) Protestants were murdered in Paris, and more than 20 000 were killed in the provincial cities

The Louvre itself was not immune. Henri de Navarre slept in his bridal suite with an entourage of 40 Huguenot gentlemen, all of whom were killed. Henri and his cousin, the

Prince de Condé (another Henri, the son of the late Louis who had been the champion of the churches), were dragged before the king and threatened with death if they did not



convert. They did, and Navarre became a prisoner of the court for the next four years, living in constant fear of his life.

The massacres spread to the provinces over the next few months. Some thought they had directives from the crown to kill all the Protestants, others thought there was no such thing. The actions of the governors and mayors depended very much on the individuals and the circumstances in their areas. Areas with vocal Protestant minorities often suffered the most.

The **St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre** (picture above), as it came to be known, destroyed an entire generation of Huguenot leadership. Henri de Navarre was a prisoner, not yet a known quality as a leader. Condé eventually escaped to Germany, and Andelot, Coligny's younger brother, was an exile in Switzerland.

When the first rumours of the massacre reached the Vatican in Rome on 2 September 1572, pope Gregory XIII was jubilant and wanted bonfires to be lit in Rome. He was persuaded to wait for the official communication; the very morning of the day that he received the confirmed news, the pope held a consistory and announced that "*God had been pleased to be merciful*". Then with all the cardinals he went to the Church of St. Mark for the *Te Deum*, and prayed and ordered prayers that the Most Christian King might rid and purge his entire kingdom (of France) of the Huguenot plague.

On 8 September 1572 a procession of thanksgiving took place in Rome, and the pope, in a prayer after mass, thanked God for having "*granted the Catholic people a glorious triumph over a perfidious race*" (*gloriosam de perfidis gentibus populo catholico laetitiam tribuisti*).

Gregory XIII engaged Vasari to paint scenes in one of the Vatican apartments of the triumph of the Most Christian King over the Huguenots. He had a **commemorative medal** struck (picture below) representing an exterminating angel smiting the Huguenots with his sword, the inscription reading: *Hugonottorium strages* (Huguenot conspirators). In France itself, the French magistracy ordered the admiral to be burned in effigy and prayers and processions of thanksgiving on each recurring 24th August, out of gratitude to God for the victory over the Huguenots.



Although it wasn't clear at the time, this was the beginning of the decline of the Protestant church in France. In spite of the wars, the 1560s had seen an enthusiastic growth in the Religion.

Over the months following, many Protestants despaired and abjured their faith. The experience radicalized many of the survivors, creating a profound distrust of the king, an unwillingness to disarm, and an upsurge in the political rhetoric of resistance. Works with titles like *The Defense of Liberty against Tyrants* were to come off the Huguenot presses.

The Huguenot "state within a state" became solidified, as the churches organized themselves into an efficient hierarchy for communications and self-protection. They collected their own tithes, maintained their own armies and garrisons, and provided for the governance and social welfare of the Protestant communities.

5.5 The Fourth War (1572-1573)

The fourth war was set off when the city of La Rochelle, the de facto capital of the Protestants, refused to pay taxes to the king because of the massacre and refused admittance to the royal governor. The king declared war on the town in November 1572 and finally got an army to besiege it in February. The army was nominally led by Henri d'Anjou, and included Henri de Navarre as a hostage. Being a port city that was easily re-supplied by sea, with a near-impregnable harbor, La Rochelle was not easily reduced. There were high casualties on both sides, and the royal treasury began to feel the strain. The siege was called off in May, as Catherine began to prepare for the election of the Duc d'Anjou to the throne of Poland. The Treaty of La Rochelle was disadvantageous to the Protestants, and left them certain to break it when they were strong enough.

5.6 The Fifth War (1576)

In 1574, Charles IX died, sweating blood and reputedly tormented with guilt for the massacre. His brother, Henri, now installed as king of Poland, lost no time giving the slip to his Polish courtiers and heading for the border. He took a leisurely tour of Italy and then arrived in France to take up the crown. The people remembered him as the "young eagle" of Jarnac and Moncontour, and were looking to him to take a strong hand and settle things down in the kingdom. This was not to be. Henri III's reign was tormented by the impossibility of peace.

Meanwhile, Condé was raising money, troops, and support from the German princes, particularly Jan Casimir, the son of Frederick III of the Palatine. Henri de Montmorncy, the Sieur de Damville, Governor of Languedoc, who ruled his region as like an "uncrowned king of the south," brought another substantial army to the Protestant side. Although he himself was Catholic, the Languedoc was a heavily Protestant region and he was related to the Coligny brothers. In February 1576 Navarre escaped from the court and headed into his own territory, raising an army behind him. The king's younger brother, the Duc d'Alençon, the last of the Valois sons, began to play to the anti-royalist factions. His propagandists put out manifestos portraying him as alternative ruler to the current king, one able to speak up for the rights of the people and rule more justly - cutting taxes all the while, of course.

This was a potent alliance, one for which Catherine had no good counter at the time. When 20,000 troops invaded France under Jan Casimir in the spring of 1576 and these various armies collected themselves together in the heart of France within striking distance of Paris, the crown was forced to negotiate. The Edict of Beaulieu, otherwise known as the Peace of Monsieur ("Monsieur" being the traditional title for the reigning king's next-oldest brother) was signed in May and was very favorable to the Protestants. In separate private agreements, the leaders got substantial settlements: Navarre was confirmed as Governor of Guyenne, Condé was made Governor of Picardie, Alençon was made Duc d'Anjou and given a raft of titles, and the crown agreed to pay the bills for Jan Casimir's mercenaries. It left Henri III smarting. The Parliament of Paris refused to register it, and some of the towns ceded to the Protestants refused to admit their troops. Picardie, for example, refused to admit Condé to his capital.

5.7 The Sixth War (1577)

In the spring of 1576, a convocation of the Estates General was held. The Protestants had been pushing for this for some time, but when it came, there were almost no Protestant delegates. The Estates advocated establishing one religion in the realm, and Henri III demanded new taxes and revenues in order to finance such a project. The Estates somehow wanted this to be done without spending any money. The cost of the wars was driving up the national debt beyond the level of endurance, and it made staunch absolutists like Jean Bodin (whose *Six Books of the Commonwealth* was published in 1576) question the value of enforcing the royal prerogatives at such costs.

This year saw the formation of the first attempt at a Catholic League to oppose the Protestants if the king would not. To co-opt this threat to his authority, Henri III declared himself the head of it. However, somehow a royal force was put together to take back some of the Protestant towns along the Loire. La Charité fell in May of 1577, but the bulk of the Protestant forces were at large in the South and there was no hope of a victory over them. The Peace of Bergerac was signed in July. It was more restrictive in allowing places of worship to the Protestants than the previous peace, but was still largely the same. It disallowed any leagues and associations, trying to fend off the growing movement from the Catholic right wing.

5.8 The Seventh War (1580)

This was a brief flurry of activity, the most notable of which was Henri de Navarre's seizure of the city of Cahors. Sometimes called "The Lovers War", it seems to have been some kind of maneuvering between Navarre and the crown in which Queen Margot was involved. It didn't last long, and Navarre and Catherine de Medici signed the Treaty of Nerac, followed by the Peace of Fleix. Henri consolidated his control of the Southwest and bided his time. The Duc d'Anjou spent these years (1580-1584) intriguing and trying to acquire the sovereignty of the Netherlands, who were seeking a prince to replace Phillip II, the king of Spain against whom they were in rebellion. Although not a Protestant himself, or even truly sympathetic to them, this seemed his best opportunity for a place in the world until his older brother died. When the Duc d'Anjou died in 1584, it precipitated a new crisis. King Henri III was childless and looked to remain so. With the death of Anjou the heir presumptive became a Protestant: Henri de Navarre.

5.9 War of the Three Henri's (1584-1589)

When the Duc d'Anjou died in 1584, Henri de Navarre became heir presumptive to the throne of France. The Catholicity of the crown, and the special sacral role of "The Most Christian King", were principles widely assumed to be fundamental to the constitution of France. The threat of a Protestant accession to the crown was very disturbing. The pope, Sixtus V, immediately excommunicated Navarre and his cousin, Henri Prince de Condé, declaring that as heretics they were unfit for the throne.

There were Catholics who resented this interference by the pope in the internal affairs of France, but there were others who viewed it as a sanction to seize the throne of France. The chief opportunist was the dashing and charismatic Duc de Guise, who somehow managed to find a pedigree that could be traced to Charlemagne. The House of Guise had been strongly identified with the defense of the Catholic Church, Guise was the son and grandson of heroes, and was himself a military hero, nicknamed "Le Balafré" for the scar he acquired in battle.

Henri III tried to convince Henri de Navarre to convert to Catholicism, as this would remove the cloud over his succession and make for a legitimate transition. Navarre was not ready to do this, as it would have cost him his current base of support. Guise revived the Catholic League with the goal of preventing any heretic from ascending the throne.

In December of 1584 the Guises signed the Treaty of Joinville on behalf of the League with Phillip II of Spain. Spain poured a huge annual subsidy into the League and Guise pockets for the next decade in an attempt to destabilize the government of France. The royalist, Protestant, and Leaguer forces, all led by men named Henri, were to engage in the bloodiest and longest of the civil wars.

The Duc de Guise and his relations, the Duc de Mayenne in Burgundy, the Duc d'Aumale in Picardie, the Duc d'Elboeuf in Normandie, the Duc de Mercoeur in Brittany, and the Duke of Lorraine (not a French territory at this time, but bordering it on the northeast) controlled vast amounts of territory that were claimed for the League. In addition to this strong noble base, the League had a growing urban following among the middle classes, especially in Paris where the government was eventually in the hands of the League Committee of Sixteen.

Henri III tried to co-opt the League as he had done almost 10 years earlier, by putting himself at the head of it. The Treaty of Nemours, signed in 1585, revoked all the previous edicts of pacification: banning the practice of the reformed religion throughout the kingdom,

declaring Protestants unable to hold royal office, ordering all garrisoned towns to be evacuated, and requiring all Protestants to abjure their faith within six months or be exiled. Naturally, this led to war.

The League, under the leadership of Guise, managed to dominate in the north and east. Navarre and Condé entrenched in the south and went looking for foreign aid from the German princes and Queen Elizabeth. In 1587, an army of German mercenaries contributed by Jan Casimir of the Palatinate entered France. Guise took a Leaguer army to deal with them, and Henri III sent the Duc de Joyeuse to cut Navarre off in the southwest. Navarre won the first spectacular Protestant victory at the battle of Coutras, killing Joyeuse and routing his army. Guise, in turn, trounced the Germans and sent them home.

Meanwhile, the people of Paris, under the influence of inflammatory League preachers and the Committee of Sixteen, were becoming more and more dissatisfied with Henri III and his failure to suppress the Protestants. To be a moderate Catholic was almost as bad as being heretic to the Leaguers, and *politique* was an epithet of contempt. In May of 1588, a popular uprising where barricades went up the streets of Paris for the first time caused Henri III to flee the city. The Committee of Sixteen took complete control of the government and welcomed the Duc de Guise to the city.

The League pressed for a meeting of the Estates-General, which was held in Blois in the fall. Their proposed heir to the crown was the Cardinal de Bourbon, Navarre's uncle. He was an old man and would have been a puppet figure for the Guises, and there was even a fear that **Henri III** (picture right) would be forced to abdicate and that the people might proclaim Guise king.



On Christmas Eve in 1588, when Guise was at Blois for the meetings, Henri III invited him to his quarters for some discussion. Perhaps he should have been suspicious of the rows of archers lining the stairs to the king's apartments, and of the 40 gentlemen waiting in the anteroom. When he entered, the doors were bolted and although he struggled heroically, he was cut to pieces, his body burnt, the bones dissolved, and the ashes

scattered to the wind. The same fate was visited on his brother, the Cardinal de Guise. This cut the two best heads from the house of Guise, but it still left the younger brother, the Duc de Mayenne, who now became leader of the League.

Henri's triumph over the House of Guise was short-lived. The League presses took to printing revolutionary tracts, exceeding by far in vitriol the earlier anti-royalist works of the Huguenots. The Sorbonne proclaimed that it was just and necessary to depose Henri III, and that any private citizen was morally free to commit regicide.

The League sent an army against Henri III, and Henri III turned to Navarre for an alliance. The two kings joined forces to reclaim Paris. In July 1589, in the royal camp at St. Cloud, a Catholic extremist a monk named Jacques Clément begged an audience with the king and assassinated the king by putting a long knife into his spleen. At first it was thought the king

might recover, but the wound festered. On his deathbed, Henri III called for Henri of Navarre and named him his heir as Henri III was childless.

5.10 The Wars of the League (1589-1598)

Henri of Navarre was a descendant of the Bourbon line who was from Béarn in south-western France and a prominent leader of the Protestant resistance. Henri IV's position was delicate. Some of the late Henri III's followers gave their loyalties to the new sovereign, and others melted away into the night. The League staged coups in many of the principal cities of France. In a reign of terror, they kept watch on the political correctness of the citizens, hanging moderates, Protestants, and suspicious persons. Well financed with Spanish money, Mayenne took to the field.

Henri IV brought the war out of the south and into the north, which he knew was critical if he wanted to be king of France and not just king in Gascony. In September of 1589, Henri met Mayenne and gave him a serious defeat at Arques. His army swept through Normandie, taking town after town that winter, and then he inflicted an even more crushing defeat on the League in March of 1590 at Ivry. The League pretender, the Cardinal de Bourbon, died, weakening the League position further.

Henri laid siege to Paris in the spring and summer of 1590. Although he reduced it to severe hunger, he made humanitarian gestures like allowing women and children to leave. This is not usually considered militarily wise by a besieger, as it means the only people consuming food in the city are able-bodied combatants.

The situation alarmed Philip II of Spain, who ordered the Duke of Parma, perhaps the most able military commander of the age, to divert himself from suppressing the Dutch to relieving the siege. Parma was able to successfully get supplies into the city. The two never met in open combat, but Henri IV was obliged to withdraw.

In 1593, the League held an Estates-General in Paris, to name a candidate for the throne of France. The Spanish proposed the Infanta, the daughter of Philip II by Elizabeth de Valois, the late Henri III's sister, who would be married to a suitable French noble like the young Duc de Guise. This was a shocking departure from the Salic Law (no woman can inherit the throne of France), and Parliament passed a decree that the crown could not go to any foreigner.

At this point, Henri IV made his "perilous leap" and abjured his faith in July 1593, in the church of St. Denis, reputedly with the famous witticism that "Paris is worth a mass." A coronation was arranged for him at Chartres, rather than at the traditional Reims, which was in the hands of the League. This was a blow to the League, as it removed the chief objection of many of the more moderate Catholics to Henri IV.

In winning over France's Catholic heartlands, Henri IV combined coercion with political acumen. The move was well received by a broad spectrum of Catholic opinion. After the sectarian horrors through which the Catholics had lived, they prized social harmony above the establishment of a unitary confessional state.

Many people did not trust the conversion, including the Protestants who hoped it was not for real. Still, some of Henri's hardcore Protestant supporters withdrew from him. In the end, he won over enough moderate Catholics to strengthen his position.

Finally, in the spring of 1594, **Henri IV entered Paris** (picture below) without firing a shot, and the Spanish garrison marched out. It wasn't over yet, but Henri was now in possession of his capital.



He began a vigorous program of winning over the support of moderate Catholics with a combination of charm, force, money, and promises. A great deal of money was spent guaranteeing various nobles pensions and positions in exchange for the support, and a great deal of money was given to the towns in exchange for theirs. Henri himself made the crack that the loyalty of the king's "bonnes villes" was "*vendu, pas rendu*." In the end, Henri considered it a bargain given the alternative costs of war.

Meanwhile, the king of Spain renewed the offensive in the northern territories, hoping to unite with the still rebellious Leaguer lords. Cambrai, Doullens, Calais were all taken in 1595 and 1596. Henri IV besieged La Fere, a Spanish outpost in French territory. In 1597, the Spanish took Amiens. The king fought back quite vigorously. Finally, in 1598, faced with financial problems of their own, the Spanish signed the Treaty of Vervins, which restored the captured towns to France. Of the League leaders, Mayenne capitulated in 1596, the young Guise in 1595, and Mercoeur at last in 1598.

Henri followed this up by the Edict of Nantes of 1598, which introduced religious toleration which granted Huguenots freedom of worship and civil rights for nearly a century. The Huguenots were allowed to practice their faith in 20 specified French "free" cities. France became united and a decade of peace followed. For the remainder of his reign, Henri IV displayed the combination of firmness and diplomacy that had won him power.

6 Louis XIII's Reign

The assassination of Henri IV by Ravaillac on 14 May 1610 upset the new order. Henri's successor, Louis XIII (1610-1643) was then merely nine years old, so that Henri's widow, **Marie de Medici** (picture right), initially acted as regent.

Once more France was to undergo the misery of civil war. During the minority of Louis XIII power resided in the hands of counsellors who were only too ready to favor the Catholic party. The Huguenots, realizing that their existence was at stake, once more took up arms in defence of their liberty under the leadership of Henri de Rohan. Their watchword had always been that, so long as the state was opposed to liberty of conscience, so long there could be no end to religious and civil strife, that misfortune and disaster must attend an empire of which the sovereign identified himself with a single section of his people.



As an adult Louis XIII proved weak and vacillating. The years from 1610-1661 were marked with consistent, if ultimately unavailing, efforts to reverse the centralized tendencies established by the first Bourbon ruler, Henri IV. The scale of resistance was considerable.

The Protestant community posed a threat to state unity until the late 1620's. Popular discontent seethed – there were riots and risings every year from the 1620's to 1648, including massive peasant revolts by the Croquants between the Loire and the Garonne in 1636-7, and the Nu-Pieds ("Bare Feet") in Normandy in 1639. These disturbances climaxed in the civil war known as the Fronde (1648-1652), which saw political elites fighting among themselves for control of the state apparatus. If a state's strength is judged against the virulence of resistance within it, the France at this time was desperately weak. Beneath this surface instability, however, the foundation of French power in Europe were being laid.

The architects of the reconstruction of the bases of French absolutism were the "cardinal ministers" **Richelieu** (1585-1642) (picture right), who controlled the royal council from 1624-1642, and his successor, the Italian Mazarin (1602-1661).

Richelieu had entered the king's council on the 4th of May 1624. The destruction of the Huguenots was his policy and he pursued it to a triumphant conclusion. Cardinal Richelieu's policy involved two primary goals:

- ✓ centralization of power in France and
- ✓ opposition to the Habsburg dynasty (which ruled in both Austria and Spain).

Richelieu adhered to the maxim that "the ends justify the means." Although he devoutly believed in the mission of the Roman Church, he sought to assign the church a more practical role. Richelieu argued that the state is above everything, and that religion is a mere instrument to promote the policies of the state.



He was dedicated to the supreme authority of the crown. At the time, there was political corruption galore, an independent nobility and problems with the Protestant Huguenots. Richelieu saw all of these things as impediments to his goals and through coercion, manipulation and oppression, set about changing things.

In order to further consolidate power in France, Richelieu sought to suppress the influence of the feudal nobility. In 1626, he abolished the position of Constable of France and he ordered the destruction of all fortified castles, excepting only those needed to defend against invaders. Thus, he stripped the princes, dukes, and lesser aristocrats of important defenses that could have been used against the King's armies during rebellions.

Another obstacle to the centralization of power was religious division in France. The Huguenots, one of the largest political and religious factions in the country, controlled a significant military force, and were in rebellion. Moreover, the English king, Charles I, declared war on France in an attempt to aid the Huguenot faction. As La Rochelle became the capital of French Protestantism, the "merchant Republic" threatened Richelieu's attempts at unification. In 1627, Cardinal Richelieu [as Louis XIII's chief minister] became intolerant of the Protestants and personally directed the siege of La Rochelle. The townspeople appealed to the English for help. They landed on Ré Island but were unable to intervene.

The Royal Army commanded by **Louis XIII** (picture right) and Richelieu stormed the city and built a huge dike to cut off access from the sea. Despite the heroic resistance of the townspeople and their mayor, Jean Guiton, the city was soon to lose its privileges, see its ramparts razed and its trade ruined. After 14 months of a ruthless siege the people were starved into obedience. Out of a population of 30,000, 23,000 starved to death. This action occasioned many of its Protestants to flee to New York to found the city of New Rochelle.



Although the Huguenots suffered a major defeat at La Rochelle, they continued to fight, led by Henri, duc de Rohan. Protestant forces, however, were defeated in 1629; Rohan submitted to the terms of the Peace of Alais signed on the 28th of June 1629.

This reaffirmed the Edict of Nantes, but ordered that the Huguenot military organization should be broken up, Huguenot fortresses should be destroyed and Roman Catholicism should be restored to areas where it had formally existed between the Edict of Nantes and Alais. The political rights of the Huguenots were removed and the government no longer made money available to educate and support Protestant clergy. However, all the La Rochelle survivors could have been accused of treason and executed – so the Grace of Alais was seen as generous.

To all intents, the state-within-a-state ended. The success against the Huguenots did a great deal to establish Richelieu in the eyes of all those involved in central government. Any other region in France that might have dallied with seeking greater freedom from central authority, now had an example of what could happen to you if you dared to challenge

Richelieu. It also showed to any magnate what would happen to them if they dared to repeat their disloyalty to Louis XIII.

In 1638 Louis XIII consecrates France and all its people to the protection of the Virgin Mary, following an invasion of enemy forces from the North. Childless for 22 years of marriage with **Anne of Austria** (picture right), the birth of a son shortly afterwards is seen to be a reward for this action, and is credited to the intercession of Mary. This child becomes Louis XIV, the so-called "Sun King", who rules with absolute power, calling himself "God's representative on earth". It is he who builds the great palace at Versailles, from where he masterminds the most violent persecution of Protestants in the history of France



The Huguenots had ceased to exist as a political party and, in the assurance that liberty of conscience would be accorded to them, showed themselves loyal subjects. On the death of Louis XIII, the declaration of the 8th of July 1643 had guaranteed to the Protestants free and unrestricted exercise of their religion, thus confirming the Edict of Nantes.

7 Louis XIV's Reign

The Protestant synods of Charenton (1644) and Loudun (1659) asserted their absolute loyalty to Louis XIV. During the civil wars known as the Fronde Resistance (1648-1652) the Huguenots were loyal to Mazarin and were duly rewarded by the Declaration of St Germain (1652) in which the King expressed his satisfaction with their behaviour. Shortly after this, however, their privileges were further limited and the last Protestant or Huguenot Synod met in Loudun in 1659.

The Roman Catholic clergy had never accepted the Edict of Nantes, and all their efforts were directed to obtaining its revocation. After the death of Mazarin in 1661, Louis XIV (1643-1715) the Sun King, began his reign. He went to great lengths to convert the Huguenots.

In the 1660's, **King Louis XIV** (picture right) launched a crusade to convert his Protestant subjects to Catholicism. First he shut down their churches. Between 1660 and 1684 two thirds of them were pulled down. Protestant schools and hospitals were also closed. Children were frequently taken from their families and placed, at the parents' expense, in convents and monasteries for re education as Catholics.



There commenced a legal persecution which was bound in time to bring about the ruin of the reformed churches. The Edict of Nantes, which was part of the law of the land, might seem to defy all attacks, but the clergy found means to evade the law by demanding that it should be observed with literal accuracy,

disregarding the changes which had been produced in France during more than half a century.

The clergy in 1661 successfully demanded that commissioners should be sent to the provinces to report infractions of the Edict, and thus began a judicial war which was to last for more than twenty years. All the churches which had been built since the Edict of Nantes were condemned to be demolished. All the privileges which were not explicitly stated -in the actual text of the Edict were suppressed.

More than four hundred proclamations, edicts or declarations attacking the Huguenots in their households and their civil freedom, their property and their liberty of conscience were promulgated during these years. In spite of all sufferings which this rigorous legislation inflicted upon them they did not cease to resist. The State wanted to crush this resistance and to compel them to accept the king's religion.

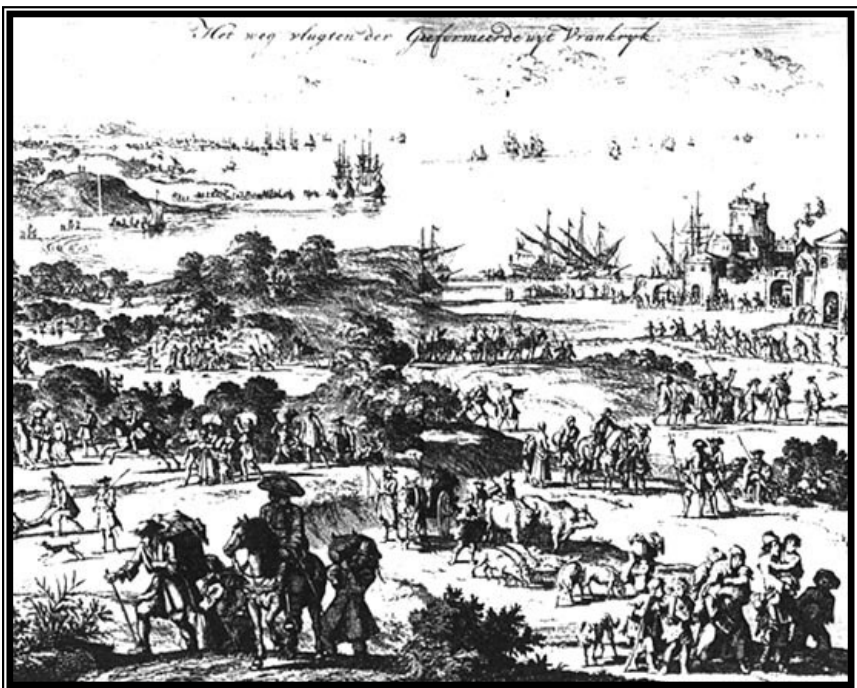
When these measures failed to eradicate the Huguenots, Louis XIV used more extreme forms of persuasion such as the "Dragonnades" (1681). The method was simple. Companies of soldiers (dragoons) were billeted in the homes of the Huguenots. Living with them day and night, the Dragonnades were instructed to do everything they could, short of killing their victims, to make them give up their faith. So they brutalised, flogged, tortured and terrorised the Protestants. They met with great success. In the province of Béarn, for example, 22,000 "conversions" were obtained in a few weeks.

It was then that Louis XIV declared that the best of the larger part of his subjects, who formerly held the so-called reformed religion, have embraced the Catholic religion, and therefore the Edict of Nantes had become unnecessary. On the 17th of October 1685 he pronounced its revocation by proclaiming the Edict of Fontainebleau. This revoked the Edict of Nantes and resulted in the Huguenot persecutions being resumed.

At a stroke, all the rights of France's 700 000 remaining Huguenots were removed. Thereafter it became illegal to be Protestant. Their 1500 Pastors were given 15 days to leave the country. They had to leave behind any children over 7 years old, as well as all their property and possessions. Emigration for all others was now made illegal.

Once again the **Huguenots fled** (picture right) in large numbers to other countries in Europe as well as England and America. The Netherlands also received a large number of refugees and from here several refugees were transported to South Africa in the late 1600's.

[Refer to chapter 2].



Thus under the influence of the clergy was committed one of the most flagrant political and religious blunders in the history of France, which in the course of a few years lost more than 200,000 of its inhabitants, men who, having to choose between their conscience and their country, endowed the nations which received them with their heroism, their courage and their ability.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes thus ran counter the king's economic strategy. Under the ministry of Colbert, Louis XIV had followed mercantilist policies, whereby he sought to build up the economy through state intervention. Trading companies were chartered and given extensive governmental subsidies. The Revocation caused the emigration of many Protestants – many of them prized skilled workers, who joined France's industrial and political rivals. The priority that Louis gave to dynastic and religious goals over economic objectives also reduced the likelihood of France winning a protracted war.

France lost so many highly skilled and industrious people in this "brain and skill drain," that its economy suffered severely.

Many more Huguenots were killed in France before they could flee. Those who did not find their death in local prisons or execution on the wheel of torture, were shipped to sea to serve their sentences as galley slaves. They were chained down to row galley slave ships. The mortality rate here, was frightful. Few were released alive, most rowed to glory.

There is perhaps no example in history of so cruel a persecution as this, which destroyed a church of which Protestant Europe was justly proud. At no period in its career had it numbered among its adherents so many men of eminence. There were nearly no Huguenots left in France. Those who, conquered by persecution, remained there were described as New Catholics. The work was complete. Protestantism with its churches and its schools was destroyed. As Bayle wrote, France was Catholic to a man under the reign of Louis the Great.

7.1 The Church in the Desert

Persecution had succeeded in silencing, but it could not truly convert the people. These dark days became the back-drop for some of the most moving scenes in the whole history of the church in France. The courage of the church of the desert / wilderness and especially of their pastors, is something that should still inspire and challenge us today.

In spite of the King's edict, many Protestant congregations continued to meet together. Deprived of their temples they met secretly, in forests, caves and the remote places of the desert / wilderness, out of sight of the prying eyes of the authorities. Their faith was too deeply rooted to be given up lightly. And yet, every time they met together, or even read their Bibles in their own homes, they put their lives at risk.

In 1688 a revival in the Cévennes was accompanied by strange phenomena. Thousands heard angelic voices singing in the night, or moanings in the sky accompanied by drums and trumpets, as when troops are given the order to charge. Thousands were converted and claim to have been "filled with the spirit". Many experienced miraculous powers and also supernaturally began to prophecy. Young peasant children, able only to speak a common dialect, prophesied in perfect French. However intense persecution caused many within the movement to respond with violence. This became known as the Camisards' rebellion.

Their pastors, making light of death, returned from the lands of their exile and visited their own churches to restore their courage. If any one denied the Catholic faith on his death-bed his body was thrown into the common sewers.

The galleys were full of brave Huguenots condemned for remaining constant to the Protestant faith. For fifteen years the exiles continuously besought Louis XIV to give them back their religious liberty. For a moment they hoped that the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) would realize their hopes, but Louis XIV steadily declined to grant their requests. Despair armed the Cevennes, and in 1702 the war of the Camisards broke out, a struggle of giants sustained by Jean Cavalier with his mountaineers against the royal troops. The Huguenots seemed to be finally conquered.

On the 8th of March 1715 Louis XIV announced that he had put an end to all exercise of the Protestant religion. But in this very year, on the 21st of August, while the king was dying at Versailles, there assembled together at Montezes in Languedoc, under the presidency of a young man twenty years of age, Antoine Court, a number of preachers, as the pastors were then called, with the object of raising the church from its ruins. This was the first synod of the Desert.

This first synod of the desert organised how the churches should meet together and be led. During meetings, lookouts were to be posted, who could warn of the approach of the soldiers. Each church should appoint elders to watch over the congregation. In time, a body of recognised pastors was established to care for the churches. Thus the churches were re-constituted and began to grow again.

In spite of persecution the Protestants continued their assemblies; the fear of death and of the galleys were alike powerless to break their resistance. As they held their worship services once more, the congregation would sit on rocks under the stars and listen with great respect to the preacher. They all knew that this sermon might be his last.

In spite of the care that they took in holding their assemblies, there were still some tragic surprises. Meetings were broken up by soldiers randomly shooting into the crowd. Congregations were ambushed on their way home, those captured were sent to the galleys or imprisoned. "False brethren" made easy money by informing on the location of the pastors and the assemblies. All those who had taken part in the first synod of the desert were arrested and killed, one by one; all apart from Court.

He had many close shaves. Constantly pursued by the soldiers, Court never spent 2 nights in the same place. Sometimes he was woken by a friend in the middle of the night to be warned that the soldiers were coming. One night he awoke too late to escape, and could only hide under the bed of his hosts. The wife pretended to be ill, and asked to be excused from showing the soldiers around the house. They searched the whole house apart from her bed, so Court was saved once more.

Another time he hid in a manure heap for 21 hours to escape his pursuers. Such was life for all the pastors of the desert. They slept in sheep folds or barns, in caves or in the open air. Many of their congregation were courageous in their hospitality. They dug out hiding places for the pastor under the floor, behind the fireplace or at the bottom of a well.

On the demand of the clergy all marriages celebrated by their pastors were declared null and void, and the children born of these unions were regarded as bastards.

Protestantism, which persecution seemed to have driven from France, drew new life from this very persecution. Outlawed, exiles in their own country, deprived of all civil existence, the Huguenots showed an invincible heroism. The history of their church during the period of the Desert is the history of a church which refused to die.

In spite of the risks, the Protestant youth who had grown up in this environment of persecution and danger became more courageous than their fathers. A growing stream of young men gathered around the pastors of the desert, hungry not only to learn more about the gospel but also how to spread it. Informal training schools sprung up, far from the beaten track, where a handful of youths would be disciplined by an experienced pastor. They would learn how to prepare and deliver sermons, how to live for God and how to conduct services of worship. After four years of itinerant ministry, they were finally recognized as pastors. As for Antoine Court, after 16 years of itinerant ministry, daily defying death, he finally went to Lausanne, Switzerland, where he directed a Bible school designed to train pastors for the desert church.

8. The Reformed Church Continues

In the years to come, over 400 pastors were trained and sent back to France to minister in the churches of the desert, many of whom died because of their ministry. As the number of believers and churches grew, the influence of the synod spread also. The first "national synod" was held in 1726, comprising of delegates from Dauphiné, Languedoc and Vivarais. By 1744, the 4th "national synod" saw delegates from 9 provinces, including 10 pastors and 24 elders from Normandie. By 1752, the churches had grown so much that there were estimated to be more than 3 million Huguenots. In some regions the Protestants became so numerous that it would have been impossible to arrest them all.

Crowds of thousands gathered in the quarries near Nîmes to hear Paul Rabaut preach. Jacques Roger revived 60 churches in the Cévennes, and brought together thousands of listeners in the immense natural circle of Clos Rond. 33 churches had been re-established in Normandie, 30 around Poitou. In Guyenne one pastor alone struggled to serve 19 churches. In the High Languedoc, Michel Viala preached to crowds so large that his powerful voice could scarcely be heard.

Amongst the Reformed Church's famous defenders was Paul Rabaut, the successor of Antoine Court. Year by year the churches became more numerous. In 1756 there were already 40 pastors; several years later, in 1763, the date of the last synod of the Desert, their number had increased to 65. The question of Protestant marriages roused public opinion which could not tolerate the idea that Frenchmen, whose sole crime was their religious belief, should be condemned to civil death.

The torture of Jean Calas, who was condemned on a false charge of having killed his son because he desired to become a Catholic, caused general indignation, of which Voltaire became the eloquent mouthpiece. Ideas of tolerance, of which Bayle had been the earliest advocate, became victorious, and owing to the devotion of Rabaut Saint-Etienne, son of Paul Rabaut, and the zeal of Lafayette, the edict of November 1787, in spite of the fierce opposition of the clergy, renewed the civil rights of the Huguenots by recognizing the validity of their marriages.

9. The Years of the French Revolution

In 1789 the French Revolution began, as a national mood for change coincided with severe economic hardship, brought about by war, famine and over-taxation by the inept Louis XVI. The revolution was an attempt to give birth to a new France, in which inherited privilege, the

absolutism of the king and the hold of the church were to be ended. It was characterized by the Declaration of the Rights of Man, the end of the feudal system, the drafting of a constitution, reform of the church, and the reorganization of government. The idealism of the revolution, however, soon descended into anarchy and a reign of terror.

Liberty of conscience was won in 1789 and on the 22nd of August 1789 pastor Rabaut Saint-Etienne, elected deputy to the States General in 1789 by the third estate of the bailliage of Nîmes, cried out: "It is not tolerance which I demand, it is liberty, that my country should accord it equally without distinction of rank, of birth or of religion".

The Declaration of the Rights of Man affirmed the liberty of religion. The Huguenots had not suffered in vain, for the cause for which their ancestors and they themselves had suffered so much was triumphant, and it was the nation itself which proclaimed the victory. But religious passions were always active, and at Montauban as at Nîmes (1790) Catholics and Protestants came to blows. The Huguenots, having endured the persecutions of successive monarchs, had to endure those of the Terror; their churches were shut, their pastors dispersed and some died upon the scaffold.

Although there were positive consequences of the Revolution, there was also a strong anti-Christian element. The Catholic clergy were forced to submit to civil control. When 3 bishops and over 220 priests were massacred for failing to do so, 30 - 40 000 priests flee to England, Spain and the Papal States. A de-Christianization movement took root, as the revolutionaries attempted to replace Catholicism with a state approved religion, known as "The Cult of the Supreme Being".

Churches were shut, their ornaments plundered, and a new calendar introduced which counted the beginning of the Revolution as "Year 0". A 10 day week was also introduced in order to remove Sunday. The climax was the "Festival of Reason", on 10th November 1793, held in Notre Dame Cathedral, then re-named "The Temple of Reason". A line of patriotic maidens, dressed in white, paraded reverently before a make-shift "Temple of Philosophy", erected where the high altar had once stood. From this "temple", at the climax of the ceremony, emerged a red-robed female figure, actually a local actress, representing Liberty. The cult of the Supreme Being was ordered to be observed throughout France.

On the 3rd of Ventose, year II (February 21, 1795), the church was divorced from the state and the Protestants devoted themselves to reorganization. Some years later Bonaparte, having signed the Concordat of the 15th of July 1801, promulgated the law of the 18th of Germinal, which recognized the legal standing of the Protestant church, but took from it the character of free church which it had always claimed. So great was the contrast between a past which recalled to Protestants nothing but persecution, and a present in which they enjoyed liberty of conscience, that they accepted with a profound gratitude a regime of which the ecclesiastical standpoint was so alien to their traditions. With enthusiasm they repeated the words with which Napoleon had received the pastors at the Tuileries on the 16th of Frimaire, year XII. The empire of the law ends where the undefined empire of conscience begins; law and prince are powerless against this liberty.

The Protestants, on the day on which liberty of conscience was restored, could measure the full extent of the misery which they had endured. Of this people, which in the 16th century formed more than one-tenth of the population of France, there survived only a few hundred thousands. Migration and persecution had more than decimated them. In 1626 there were 800 pastors in the service of 751 churches. In 1802 there were only 121 pastors and 171 churches; in Paris there was only a single church with a single pastor. The church

had no faculty of theology, no schools, no Bible societies, no asylums, no orphanages, no religious literature. Everything had to be created afresh, and this work was pursued during the 19th century with the energy and the earnest faith which is characteristic of the Huguenot character.

At the fall of the Empire (1815) the reaction of the White Terror once more exposed the Protestants to outrage, and once more a number fled from persecution and sought safety in foreign countries. Peace having been established, attention was once more focused on religious questions, and the period was marked in Protestantism by a remarkable awakening. On all sides churches were built and schools opened. It was an epoch of the greatest importance, for the church concentrated itself more and more on its real mission. During this period were founded the great religious societies: Société biblique (1819), Société de l'instruction primaire (1829), Société des traits (1821), Société des missions (1822).

The influence of English thought on the development of religious life was remarkable, and theology drew its inspiration from the writings of Paley, David Bogue, Chalmers, Ebenezer Erskine, Robert and James Alexander Haldane, which were translated into French. Later on German theology and the works of Kant, Neander and Schleiermacher produced a far-reaching effect. This was due to the period of persecution which had checked that development of religious thought which had been so remarkable a feature of French Protestantism of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Slowly Protestantism once more took its place in the national life. The greatest names in its history are those of Guizot and Cuvier; Adolf Monod, with Athanase Coquerel, stand in the front rank of pulpit orators. The Protestants associated themselves with all the great philanthropic works Baron Jules Delessert founded savings banks, Baron de Stal condemned slavery, and all France united to honor the pastor, Jean Fredric Oberlin. But the reformers, if they had no longer to fear persecution, had still to fight in order to win respect for religious liberty, which was unceasingly threatened by their adversaries.

Numerous were the cases tried at this epoch in order to obtain justice. On the other hand the old union of the reformed churches had ceased to exist since the revolution of July. Ecclesiastical strife broke out and has never entirely ceased. A schism occurred first in 1848, owing to the refusal of the synod to draw up a profession of faith, the count Gasparin and the pastor Fredric Monod seceding and founding the Union des Eglises Evangeliques de France, separated from the state, of which later on E. de Pressens was to become the most famous pastor. Under the Second Empire (1852-1870) the divisions between the orthodox and the liberal thinkers were accentuated. This resulted in a separation which followed on the reassembly of the national synod authorized in 1872 by the government of the Third Republic. The old Huguenot church was thus separated into two parts, having no other link than that of the Concordat of 1802 and each possessing its own peculiar organization.

The descendants of the Huguenots, however, remained faithful to the traditions of their ancestors and extolled the great past of the French reform movement. Moreover, in 1859 were held the magnificent religious festivals to celebrate the third centenary of the convocation of their first national synod; and when on the 18th of October 1885 they recalled the 200th anniversary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, they were able to assert that the Huguenots had been the first defenders of religious liberties in France.

10. The 20th Century

In the early days of the 20th century the work of restoring French Protestantism, which had been pursued with steady perseverance for more than one hundred years, showed great results. This church, which in 1802 had scarcely 100 pastors has seen this number increased to 1000. It possesses more than 900 churches or chapels and 180 presbyteries. In Contrast with the poverty of religious life under the First Empire it presented a striking array of Bible societies, missionary societies, and others for evangelical, educational, pastoral and charitable work, which bears witness to a church risen from its ruins.

But the population of Protestant France does not exceed 750,000 souls, without counting the Lutherans, who are attached to the Confession of Augsburg, numbering about 75,000. Their chief centers are in the departments of Gard, Ardeche, Drôme, Lozère, the Deux Sevres and the Seine.

On 9 December 1905 Religion and the State were constitutionally separated. Religious teaching was no longer permitted in State schools or universities.

This was accepted by the great majority of Protestants as a legitimate consequence of the reform principles and they immediately devoted themselves to the organization of their churches under the new regime. The two Reformed groups, orthodox and liberal, each had their particular constitution, nevertheless a third party was formed with the object of effecting reconciliation of all the Protestant churches and of thus reconstituting the old Huguenot church.

11. Religions in France in France today

A summary of the religious affiliations of France's population:

✓ The Catholic Church

- ☞ Membership 70% call themselves Catholics, but about 10% practices regularly. Of these an estimated 300,000 are practising charismatics.
- ☞ There are 22,754 Catholic missionaries sent out from France, making France the second largest sending country in the Catholic world.
- ☞ In 1976 there were 41,000 Roman Catholic priests in France. In 1995 there were only 28,000. Most priests are elderly, and as there are few young replacements, each priest has to cover an increasing number of communities.

✓ The Protestant Church

- ☞ Protestants = 1.77 % of population
- ☞ of which Evangelicals = 0.65% of population
- ☞ Pentecostal / Charismatic = 0.38% of population
- ☞ There are 2,350 Evangelical churches, representing over 50 denominations.
- ☞ Estimated membership 3 - 400,000, of which Assembly's of God 100,000. About half of the 170,000 Gypsies in France have become believers in the last 40 years
- ☞ 400 new Evangelical churches have been started in the past 12 years (1996 figures). Over 1,000 new churches have been started since 1970.
- ☞ There are 2,300 fulltime pastors, evangelists and missionaries working in France, of which 410 are AOG.
- ☞ Of the 36,664 communities in France, approximately 34,500 have no resident evangelical witness.
- ☞ 90% of Cantons (an administrative grouping of 30,000 people) don't have a biblical witness. ("Not having a biblical witness" is defined as having less than one biblical meeting per month). This statistic includes Charismatic Catholic groupings.

- ☞ In 1996 there were 254 towns of over 10,000 people which had no Evangelical church.
- ☞ There are 1,224 missionaries working in France, and 452 missionaries sent out from France today.

✓ **Islam**

- ☞ 7.7% of population. An estimated 4.5 million people, mainly from North Africa, the Middle East, West Africa and up to 150,000 French.
- ☞ There are 8 “Grand Mosques” in France, 120 mosques accommodating 200 -1,000 people each, and more than 1,000 places of worship.
- ☞ The relatively small number of mosques, given such a large Muslim population, is due to the fact that a large percentage of the Muslims are non-practicing. Also, those who came as migrant workers in the ‘60’s and 70’s didn’t expect to stay permanently, giving them no need to build special places for worship.
- ☞ There are about 500 Imams in France, though only 4% are French citizens.

✓ **Jews**

- ☞ 1.1% of the population are Jewish. 700,000 people form the largest Jewish community in Europe and the 4th largest in the world. 22% practice their faith.
- ☞ There are 200 Synagogues in France, as well as 60 Jewish schools.
- ☞ There are 100 Rabbis in France.

✓ **Cults**

- ☞ There are an estimated 120,000 Jehovah’s Witnesses in France. Their membership has been in decline since 1998. There are also a small number of Mormons.
- ☞ Cults have been a particular target of the French government and press in recent years, especially those perceived to engage in mental manipulation. A new law is currently in preparation to limit the activities of cults in France.
- ☞ Evangelical churches and Christian organisations are sometimes classified as cults by the government. Consequently they sometimes find themselves subject to investigations and discriminatory pressures.

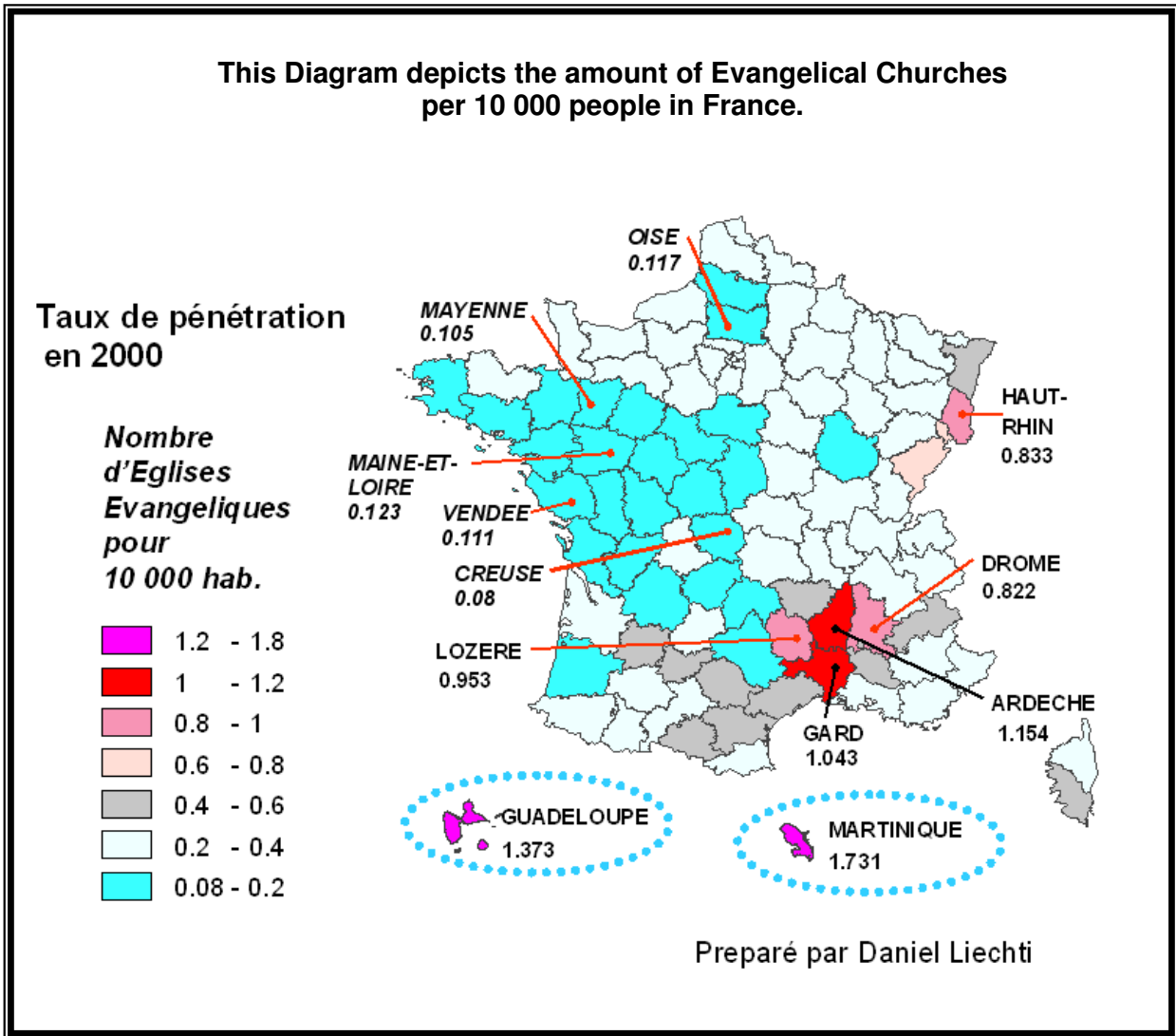
✓ **Freemasons**

- ☞ An estimated 120,000 French are members of the Freemasons. Their numbers have doubled in the last 20 years.
- ☞ This number does not reflect the strength of their influence in business as well as in central and local government. Here Freemasonry often plays a determining role.

✓ **Occult**

- ☞ About half of the French population believe in faith healing, with one quarter putting their faith in clairvoyants or astrology.
- ☞ An estimated 10 million people pay \$41 billion for occult consultations, three times the amount paid to their family doctors.
- ☞ There are over 30,000 registered Mediums and Spiritual Healers in France.

[Taken from “France - A Prayer Guide (no.1) Compiled by Objectif France, 2001]



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Lonely Planet - France, Edition 4

Cultural Atlas of France by John Ardagh with Colin Jones

Chapter 2: The South African Story

1 World Wide Dispersion of the Huguenots

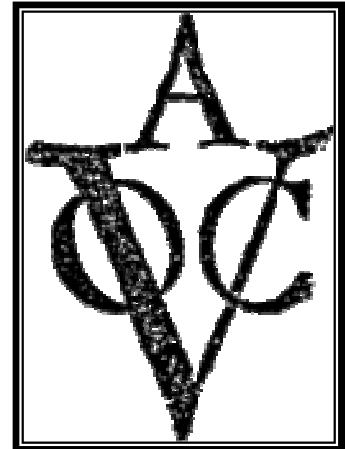
The Huguenots were viewed with quite a lot of antagonism in the countries that the emigrated to due to various reasons. Firstly some people viewed the financial assistance towards these fugitives as unfair. The French were also prone to keeping by themselves, keeping to their language and still being loyal towards their country in spite of the things done to them and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The shifting power base in Europe amongst different European nations also sometimes added to some measure of enmity and distrust.

The Huguenots flooded into the Netherlands in a time that the Dutch were looking for settlers to be established on the growing Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope on the Southern tip of Africa. The Cape was already functioning as a halfway station for water and provisions for ships on their long journey to the East.

Simon van der Stel was the Commander at the Cape in 1687 when the government of the Netherlands started talking about the possibility of sending French Huguenots to the Cape.

2 The Cape at the end of the 17th Century

During this time the Cape was in the hands of a Chartered Company. The **Dutch East India Company (DEIC)** (logo right) had established itself here in 1652 solely with the object of having a refreshment station to supply fresh provisions to its ships passing to and from India.



Settlers were sent out to the Cape at various periods in order to increase the revenue and decrease the cost of keeping a large garrison in the Cape. The first colonists to settle at the Cape were discharged servants of the company who had been given their freedom in 1657.

At first the Company considered that it could supply its ships in the bay with fresh meat, vegetables and grain by its own undertakings, but this was found to be very unsatisfactory and expensive. In the course of time colonists were encouraged to settle here, and help was given them in setting up themselves. By the beginning of the 18th century a fair number of burghers had settled at the Cape, most of whom were engaged in farming. Between 1671 and 1685 a few families from Holland settled in South Africa as colonists

The Company had no fixed idea of making this country a colony, but their primary objective was to maintain a refreshment station at the Cape for trade purposes. During the course of two or three generations it became apparent that by the gradual extension and prosperity of the land it was being converted into an agricultural country.

At the Cape the Commander was the head of the Company's affairs and the burgher population. His rank was changed in 1691 to Governor. With his council – The Council of Policy – of which he was president, he exercised executive and legislative functions. This Council consisted of the Governor, the Vice-Governor, the two military officers highest in rank, the Fiscal, the treasurer, the Chief Salesman and the Garrison Bookkeeper. It made laws for the Colony, levied taxes, appointed servants of the Company to civil situations,

granted lands in freehold and gave them out on lease. Its proceedings were subject to the veto of the authorities in Holland and Batavia.

2.1 Why the Huguenots were welcomed at the Cape.

In 1687 the Chamber of Seventeen wrote to **Simon van der Stel** (picture right) that they were sending some French refugees that were in the Netherlands to the Cape. They wrote: “Amongst them you will find wine farmers, as well as those that understand about the production of brandy and vinegar, so that we hope that the scarcity of these articles that you so often lament might be supplied for. These people are destitute at present, and with their arrival you must welcome them and provide them with whatever is needed for their survival until they are established and they can earn their own living. They are industrious people, satisfied with little and you must treat them the same as was laid down for the free men of our own people at the Cape.”



The DEIC wanted to enlarge the ‘free burgher’ population at the Cape so that the Cape could become self supporting so that the garrison could be downsized and savings could be brought about for the DEIC.

With the first arrivals already as close as Saldanha Bay, a small distance up the coast, Simon Van der Stel answered: “ We hope to find some individuals under the refugees that are well experienced with vineyards and the planting of olive trees, so that they can teach the older settlers the things they do not know yet concerning these crops... We will, so far as our humble attempts allow us, receive them with love and kindness, and gladly lend a helping hand...; and if they behave themselves as honest and hardworking as those of their countrymen that have already established themselves here, then they shall establish and strengthen this Colony wonderfully ...”

Van der Stel most certainly referred to the few French Huguenots that preceded the big immigration wave ‘n few years earlier. Men like François Villion, that arrived in 1671; Pierre le Febre, that arrived in 1683; Jean le Long, that received the farm that would later become Boschendal, or the brothers Guillaume and François du Toit that arrived in 1686 on the Vryheit just prior to the mainstream of Huguenots.

2.2 Prerequisites for emigration to the Cape

Previously it was expected of the settlers at the Cape to remain in the Cape for at least 15 years in exchange for their free passage on DEIC ships. During the Huguenot emigrations of 1688-1689 this period was reduced to 5 years after which they could return home by paying their own passage.

The settlers to be were only allowed strictly necessary baggage. In the Cape they were to make their existence from agriculture, trading or any other occupation. In case of the former they would receive free farms, tools, implements, seed and life stock, of which the cost had to be paid back in due time to the DEIC in wheat or any other products.

Financial aid was also given to some of the refugees even before they departed, so they could equip themselves for the colony. This was another debt that had to be paid back,

which most of the Huguenots seemingly did, seeing that very few Huguenots names were included on the list of debtors of the DEIC in 1719.

3 The Trip to South Africa

The first ship that brought Huguenots to the Cape was, the 'Voorschooten', which departed the United Province of the Netherlands on 31 December 1687. It was followed in next few months by: the Borsenburg, Oosterland, Schelde, Berg China, Zuid Beveland and t'Wapen van Alkmaar. Between 1688 and 1700 more groups of Huguenots followed with the Zion, Vosmaar, Westhoven, Donkervliet, Drieberger, Reijgersdaal, Cattendijk and other ship, all trading ships of the Dutch East Indian Company that traveled the sea route to the East with officers, sailors and soldiers. Passengers shared this severe life of 17th century sea travel with these hardened men.

The journey by sea to the Cape took 4 to 6 months and was exposed to many perils. Not only were the people faced by the dangers of tempestuous seas, stranding or fire, but they also ran the risk of capture by pirates or foreign enemies. Death was a frequent occurrence during the voyage and the means for combating it limited. The want of fresh food, vegetables and limited allowance of water often caused scurvy. This played havoc with a great number, and it often ended fatally.

The Schelde experienced a very severe storm and was nearly high jacked by a pirate ship. The Driebergen, one of the later ships, was forced to shoot at a pirate ship close to the Canary Islands, but escaped safely.

Hardship due to sickness and food shortages were especially bad on the ships that were forced to take the longer northern route (around the northern point of Brittain) in order to steer clear of French ships that waited for an opportunity to prove their sea faring ability. The 't Wapen van Alkmaar was one of the ships that followed this long route and arrived in Table Bay with more than 100 sick on board and a mortality of 37 at sea. The Berg China also followed this northern route and reached the Cape with 50 sick and 30 that died at sea.

The deaths on these ships at sea is one of the main reasons that the list of the Huguenots that exist today are so unreliable.

Even after their arrival in the Cape the refugees were not necessarily guaranteed a safe landing. Strong winds in Table Bay caused several to drown when the landing vessel of the Zuid Beveland capsized. Luckily, Ds. Pierre Simond, the first preacher that was sent to work amongst the Huguenots was not among the occupants of the boat that capsized and he was thus welcomed by a group of Huguenots that were anxiously awaiting his arrival.

A List of Huguenots that landed in the Cape and the names and dates of the ships the arrived on is available at the end of this document as Appendix 2.

4 Arrival at the Cape

When the French newcomers landed everything had been arranged to receive and convey them to their new homes along the Berg River in the Drakenstein Valley. They were given all the necessaries to carry on agricultural pursuits. Six wagons were supplied by the Burgher Councillors of the Cape and six by the Heemraden of Stellenbosch, to transfer the new arrivals and their baggage to Drakenstein. The Company also supplied provisions which would last them for a few months, and planks to build temporary shelters.

When the farms were allotted care was taken to scatter the French among the Dutch farmers already settled there. Some were given ground in the Stellenbosch district, but the greater number was at Drakenstein and Oliphantshoek (later to be named Franschoek). This intermingling of the Dutch and French caused dissatisfaction among the latter.

The Landdrost and Heemraden of Stellenbosch were requested to receive the Reverend Siimond with the respect and reverence which his office and position demanded, and to assist him, as much as lay in their power, in erecting a house for himself. Upon arrival he was conveyed to his destination in comfort and ease.

The majority of the Refugees to the Cape possessed little or nothing when they landed. Many escaped their country with only their lives. They erected shelters which could be put up rapidly, and did not waste time upon building of an elaborate nature.

We must remember that these Refugees arrived in a beautiful, extensive and wooded valley, where wild animals such as lions and leopards made their lair, where Hottentots in their wild state roamed about ready to plunder the homestead. The area that would later be called Franschoek was originally named Olifantshoek due to the great number of elephants that use to roam this area, especially in breeding season. Under such conditions and with little money or material, only simple and small dwellings would have been erected.

At this time the border of the Colony did not extend very far from where they were settled; and for some years after the settlement had been established at Drakenstein, even the corpses buried in the open fields were scratched out by wild animals. Later on, however, when the Colony expanded and the emigrants saw the good fruits of their labours, they built themselves better houses with many lofty and spacious rooms.

4.1 Farm allocations made to Huguenots Refugees

G.C. Botha in "The French Refugees at the Cape" (p117 – 124) gives the following table concerning grants made to the Huguenot's at the Cape. Note the numbers on the map, corresponds to the farms in the table. (The Map below is the table)

Grants of Land at Drakenstein and surroundings given to or held by the Refugees before 1700.

Ref.: Old Stellenbosch Freehold, Vol.	Grantee.	Description or Name of Farm (the latter designated by a number on the map).	Grant.	Remarks.
2:72	Arniel, Martin	La Terre de Luc (near French Hoek) 9	18.12.1713	Granted 18.10.1694
1:393	Barre, Louis	Le Rooke (or Rocque), Oliphants Hoek (now French Hoek) 10	22.12.1694	
1:280	Benezet, Pierre	Languedoc, Simonsberg, Drakenstein 15	1.8.1691	
1:377	Bruere, Estienne	Rust en Werk, in Dal Josaphat 54	28.8.1694	granted 1692
2:38	de Buys, Jean	Now known as Knolle Valleï, near Palmier Rivier 42	11.5.1712	This farm was previously held by Paul

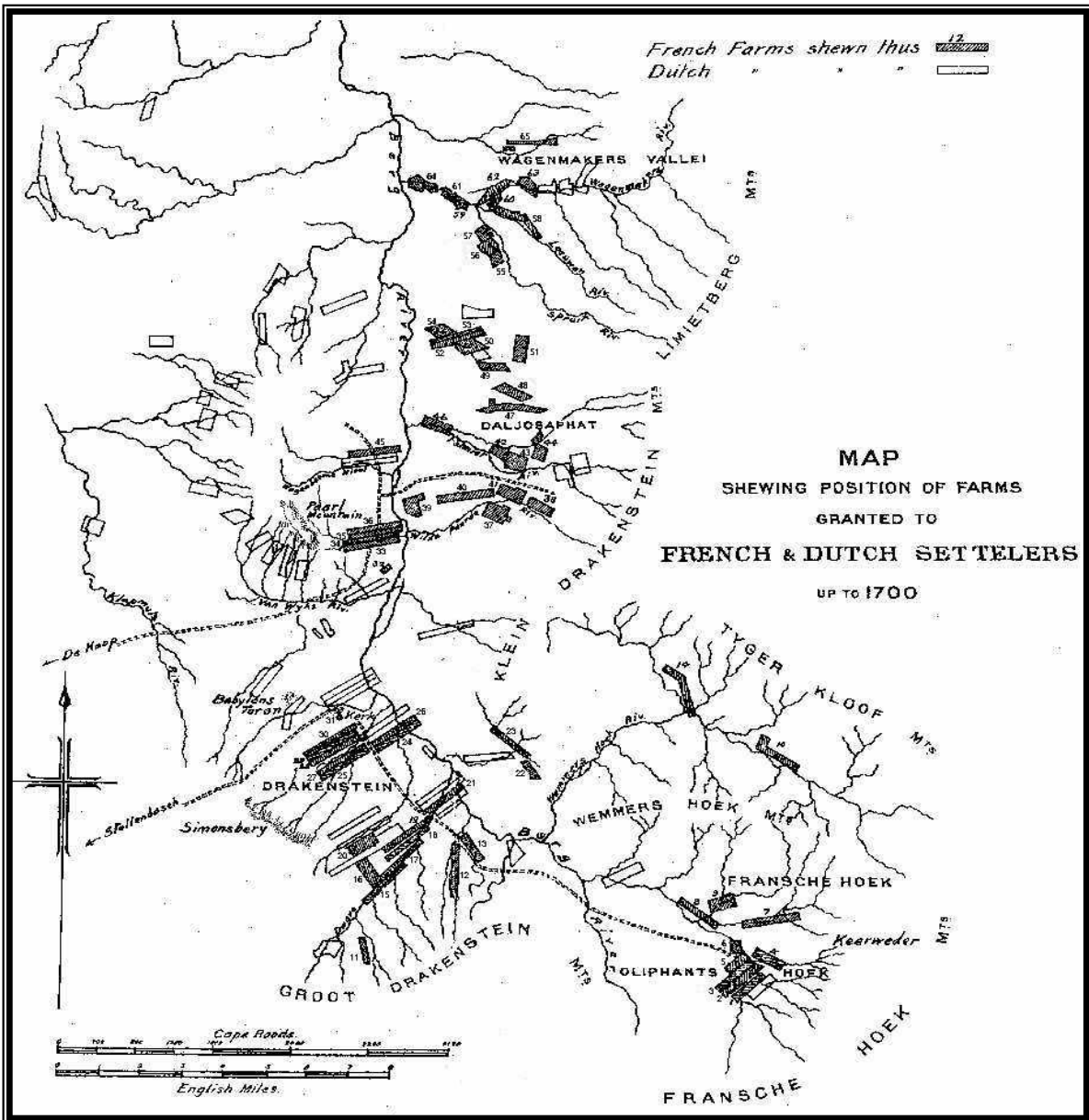
				Godefroy
2:74	do	do.... do 42	3.1.1714	granted 1694
1:306	Cloudon, Jean	De Goede Hoop (in present town of Paarl) 36	12.12.1692	granted 1688
1:308	Cordier, Louis	Bethel (now Nantes) at Perlberg 45	31.1.1692	granted 1689
1:435	Cronier, Estienne	Olyfenhout, Wagenmaker's Vallei (near present Wellington Station) 64	28.2.1699	
1:437	Cronier, Pierre	Now known as Versailles, Wagenmaker's Vallei 61	28.2.1699	
1:429	des Pres, Sr., Hercules	Den Soeten Inval (now Paarl Station) 32	15.10.1697	Granted 1692
1:453	des Pres, Philip	Klip Vallei, Wagenmaker's Vallei 57	28. 2. 1699	
1:403	Drakenstein Congregation	48 morgen S.W. to Babylons Toren, N.E. to Berg River, S.E. to Land of A. D. v. Eck and N.W. to that of Jacs. v. d. Heyden 31	22.12.1694	
1:443	Drouin, Philip	De Groene Fontein, Wagenmakersvallei 63	28. 2. 1699	
1:411	du Toit, Francois	Die Kleine Bos, Dal Josaphat 51	18. 3. 1695	Granted 1692.
1:441	du Tuillet, Jean	Hexenberg, WagenmakersVallei 62	28. 2. 1699	
1:461	Fouche, Philip	De Wilde Paarde Jagt, Drakenstein 38	28. 2. 1699	
1:475	Fourie(Fleury), Louis	De Slange Rivier, Wagenmakers Vallei 65	28. 2. 1699	
1:465	Fracasse, Matthieu	Orleans, near Palmiet River 75 morgen 46	28. 2. 1699	
1:282	Garde, Jean	Rhone, Drakenstein 17	1. 8. 1691	
2:82	Gardiol, Jean	La Kot(La Cotte), Oliphants Hoek 7	18.12.1713	Granted 1694
1:379	de Gournay, Salomon	Salomons Vallei, on Wilde Paarde River 40	21.10.1694	Granted 1692
1: 284	Hugo, Daniel	Sion on Berg River, Drakenstein 26	1.8.1691	
1:371	Imbert, Jean	Languedoc, near Palmiet River 44	17.4.1694	Granted 1689
2:52	Joubert, Pierre	La Provence, Oliphants Hoek 8	11.5.1712	Granted 1694
1:391	Jourdaan, Pierre	Cabriere, Oliphants Hoek 6	22.12.1694	
1:274	de la Noy, Nicolas	W.S.W. to Simons Berg, S.S.E. to Dwars River (near farm Bossendal) 19	25.10.1690	
2:4	de la Noy, Heirs of late Susanna de Vos, widow of Nicolas	De Goede Hoop, Simons Berg 16	23.5.1708	Had been granted 20 years earlier
1:266	Lekkerwyn (Lecrevent) Ary (of	Lekkerwyn, Drakenstein 21	25.10.1690	

	Boshof)			
2:66	Le Long, Jean	Bossendal, Drakenstein 18	24.1.1713	
1:439	le Riche, Louise	Kromme Rivier, Wagenmakers Vallei 59	28.2.1699	granted 1685 & 1686
1:304	le Roux, Gabriel	La Concorde (now in town of Paarl) 35	3.3.1692	granted 1689
1:477	le Roux, Jean	Paris, near Salomon's Vallei 39	28.2.1699	
1:286	Lombard, Pierre	E.N.E. to Berg River, N.N.W. to Daniel Hugo 24	1.8.1691	
2:70	Malan, Jacques	La Motte, Oliphants Hoek 4	18.12.1713	granted 1694
2:78	Gideon, Malherbe	Normandie, Drakenstein 2	18.12.1713	granted 1694
2:46	Manier, Jean	Calais, Dal Josaphat 48	11.5.1712	granted 1692
1:292	Marais, Charles	Le Plessis Marle 25	1.12.1693	granted 1688
1:455	Marais, Charles	De Fortuin, Wagenmaker's Vallei 55	28.2.1699	
1:457	Marais, Cluade	Wel van Pas, Wagenmaker's Vallei 56	28.2.1699	
1:310	Meyer, Pierre	W.S.W. to Simons Berg, E.N.E. Land of van Lier and de la Noy and S.S.E. to P. Jacob* 20	8.7.1692	granted 1690
2:12	Niel, Estienne	La Dauphine, Oliphant's Hoek 1	14.8.1710	surveyed 1694
1:373	Nourtie (Nortier) Daniel	La Motte, near Simon's Berg and Babylons Toren 28	14.8.1694	granted 1690
1:387	Nourtier, Jean	Frediks Berg, next to above farm 29	22.12.1694	
1:385	Parisel, Jean and Jan Doerangh (Durand)	Bergen Henegouwen, Drakenstein 30	21.10.1694	
1:375	Pinard, Jacques	Lustig Aan, Wilde Paarde Rivier 37	27.8.1694	granted 1692
1:463	Retief, Francois	La Paris, near farm of P. Rousseau 23	28.2.1699	
1:383	Roes, Jean, see (Roux)			
2:76	Roi, Jean	Lormarins, Drakenstein 13	19.12.1714	granted 1694
1:443	De Rouen, see Drouin			
1:423	Rousseau, Pierre	L'Arc d'Orleans 22	17.12.1695	granted 1694
1:383	Roux, Jean, de Normandy	In Dal Josaphat, next to farms of Vivier and Bruere 53	21.10.1694	granted 1692
1:427	Roux, Pierre	Winterhoek, Oliphants Hoek 14	11.11.1696	granted 1694
1:276	de Savoye, Jacques	Vrede en Lust, Simon's Berg 27	15.4.1694	granted 1688
1:449	de Savoye, Jacques	In Wagenmaker's Vallei 60	28.2.1698	
1:381	Senecal, David	De Hartenbeests Kraal, on Wilde Paarde Rivier 41	21.10.1694	granted 1692
1:421	Simond, Pierre, minister of the French	Bethlehem, Simon's Berg 11	28.3.1698	granted 1.9.1694

	Congregation			
1:300	Taillefert, Isaac	Picardie, Paarl 33	1.8.1691	
1:447	Taillefert, Isaac	Leeuwen Vallei, Wagenmakers Vallei 58	28.2.1699	
1:302	Taillefert, Jean	Laborie (Paarl) 34	1.8.1691	
2:14	Theron, Jacques	Land on Palmiet River, next to Jan Imbert, Jan Roux of Provence and Paul Godefroy 43	8.11.1710	surveyed 1690
2:16	de Villiers, Abraham	Champagne, Oliphants Hoek 5	25.1.1711	surveyed 1694
2:54	de Villiers, Jacob	La Bri, Oliphants Hoek 3	11.5.1712	granted 1694
2:80	de Villiers, Pierre	Burgogne (Burgundy), Oliphants Hoek 2	18.12.1713	granted 1694
1:365	Vivier, Abraham	Schoongezigt 49	22.2.1694	granted 1690
1:369	Vivier, Jacques	Goede Rust, Dal Josaphat 52	22.2.1694	granted 1690
1:367	Vivier, Pierre	Non Pareille, Dal Josaphat 50	22.2.1694	granted 1690
1:471	Veron, Amant	St. Omer, Dal Josaphat 47	28.2.1699	
1:446	Bisseux, Jacob	Erf in Table Valley, Block LL, No 7	1.12.1702	
1:322	Jourdan, Pierre	Erf in Table Valley, Block L, No 9	9.11.1699	In Shortmarket St, a couple of doors off Long St.
2:200	Jourdan, Pierre	Erf In Table Valley, Block W, No 10	25.1.1711	
1:450	la Grange, Pierre	Erf In Table Valley, Block LL, No 12	1.2.1702	Corner of Wale and Long Street
2:122	le Roux, Jean de Normandy	Erf In Table Valley, Block MM, No 7	20.9.1707	Corner of Long and Longmarket Sts.
2:348	le Roux, Jean de Normandy	"Lang Verwagt" aan de Kloof van Stellenbosch	8.7.1721	
2:282	Marais, Ignatius	De Lange Fontein, at Elsjes Kraal, Cape District	14.10.1714	
2:256	Meyer, Pierre	A piece of garden land annex his garden	1.8.1714	
1:380	Pouission, Martin	Lovenstein at Tigerberg	12.8.1701	
2:124	Sollier, Durand	Erf in Table Valley, Block GG, No 5	16.1.1708	In St George's St., site of "Cape Times"
2:184	Sollier, Durand	A garden plot in Table Valley	1.12.1709	
2:268	Viviers, Abraham	Menie or Menin on Compagnies Rivier (tributary to Berg River)	28.8.1714	
2:178	Bruere, Estienne	De Veerkeyker (sic) in't Land van Waveren, South to Slangen HOek (now in Worcester District)	12.1.1712	
1:217	Cellier, Josue	Het Kruys Pad, Stellenbosch	15.3.1712	

2:200	De Clercq, Abraham	The Cattle Post, Vogel Vallei, Roodesand Kloof	7.9.1734	Held by him on loan for several years. Granted on account of his poverty and large family
2:30	Cordier, Jacob	De Vondeling, Wagenmakers Vallei	11.5.1712	granted 1706
2:96	du Pree, Philip	Artois, in't Land van Waveren (now near Wolseley, district Tulbagh)	4.8.1714	Held by him for eight years on loan
2:98	du Pree, Philip	De Hoop, in't Land van Waveren (now near Wolsley, district Tulbagh)	3.9.1714	
2:60	du Toit, Francois	Zoetnedal, annex to Wagenmakers Vallei	11.5.1712	
2:122	du Toit, Francois	Limiet Rivier on the Compagnies Rivier, Waveren, above the Company's Old Post	23.8.1715	
1:51	du Toit, Guillaume	Aan't Pad Stellenbosch	2.9.1692	Held in 1687
1:507	du Toit, Guillaume	Sonqus Deurdrift over Berg River (In Malmesbury district)	26.9.1704	
	Hanseret, see Rochefort			
2:174	Hugot, Daniel	De Leeuw Kuyl, Zwarland S. to Riebeeck Kasteel, E to Berg R. and W. to Piquetberg	12.11.1721	
2:34	Jacob, Daniel	Land in Wagenmakers Vallei	11.5.1712	granted 1702
2:128	Joubert, Jean (Jugbert)	Monpeliers, Waveren (near Tulbagh)	30.8.1714	Held for several years on loan
2:291	Joubert, Josua	De Koo, district of Swellendam	12.1.1759	do
2:150	Joubert, Pierre	De Plaisant Plaats over the Breede River (near Wolseley)	26.5.1716	Held for about seven years on loan
2:188	de Labuscagne, Pieter	Pontak, Paarl, 2 morgen	3.8.1723	
1:107	le Febre, Pierre	Fleurbaay, Stellenbosch	28.7.1695	Held in 1694
1:93	Margra, Jean	"An die Latry genaamd," Stellenbosch	8.6.1694	Held in 1687
2:58	Moi (Mouy), Pierre	De Krakeelhoek, Wagenmakers Vallei	11.15.1712	granted 1705
2:170	Mouton, Jacob	Steenwerk over the Twenty Four Rivers	15.7.1720	
2:86	Niel, Estienne	Bossjesmansfonteyn, towards the Groot Paardeberg	28.8.1714	
2:40	Potier, Jacob	Het Doolhof, Wagenmakers Vallei	11.5.1712	granted 1707

1:517	Pouission, Martin	Slent (Paarl District)	1.1.1707	
2:134	Prevot, Abraham	Amaquas Eyland on Berg River	16.9.1714	Held by him for several years on loan
2:36	Retief, Francois	Patats Kloof, at foot of Habiquas Berg, Wagenmakers Vallei (near Wellington)	11.5.1712	
1:186	Rochefort, Pierre and Gerrit Hanseret	Vlottenburg, Stellenbosch	10.1.1707	
1:511	Rousseau, Pierre	Vleesbank (to South of Hermon Station)	26.9.1704	
2:126	Theron, Jacob	Terhone, Waveren (probalby Le Rhon, near Tulbagh)	30.8.1714	
1:49	Villion, Francois	Idas Vallei, Stellenbosch	2.9.1692	Given in 1682



Not long after their arrival a subscription list was sent round on their behalf among the older settlers of the Colony and Company's servants. This was readily responded to by contributions of money, cattle and grain. The fund was given to Reverend Simond and the deacons of the Stellenbosch church for distribution.

The French refugees resorted under the congregation of Stellenbosch and still had no church or school of their own. Rev. Simond preached in French every second Sunday and the following Sunday he held a French service in one of the farm houses at Drakenstein. Seeing that he also had to preach in Cape Town every 3 months, Rev. Van Anandel of Stellenbosch then fulfilled his duties in Drakenstein. Mr. Mankadan, who could not speak French, would take responsibility for the Sunday service on the days that Rev. Simond could not be present. These arrangements were not popular, because the French refugees deemed it important to receive ministry in their own language and keeping to their original church management as much as possible.

In November 1688 a request was made to the authorities by the French refugees for a school in their settlement with a schoolmaster that could understand both languages (French and Dutch) very well. Paul Roux was proposed for this position. The council allowed this request, but the settlers were not content and sent a delegation of French to the council to air their grievances. In their meeting with the governor, Simon van der Stel they demanded:

- ✓ To live in proximity to one another, not dispersed as they were, so that they could keep a measure of unity and independence,
- ✓ They wanted their own church management, elected according to their tradition of democracy,
- ✓ And they wanted to keep their language and morality that was now coming under the increasing pressure due to the influence of their environment.

The authorities reminded them that they have made a oath to be faithful to the Company and that it was their responsibility to obey the regulations submissively. Simon van der Stel accused the group of being unthankful. Therefore the council decided that no changes will be made to the existing regulations and that French Refugees were still to resort under the Stellenbosch congregation.

This rebuff caused great disappointment and unhappiness amongst the French and they tried to plead with the higher authority of the Chamber of Seventeen in the Netherlands. They even decided among themselves to stand together and not to intermarry with the Dutch speaking settlers. This attitude and separation caused some hostilities between the French and Dutch for a certain length of time.

On the 22nd April 1689, Commander van der Stel wrote to the Batavian Government and complained of the extreme poverty of the French Refugees, who, he said, would not be able to enjoy the fruits of their work for three or four years to come; they were being supported by the Company and from such means as were available from the poor fund. The settlers had no easy task in preparing the land for cultivation. The ground, which had never been tilled since the world began, was overgrown with bush and roots, and it would take several years to produce some return. Their life at first was full of trials; tools and implements had to be obtained from the Company, to whom they became debtors. He asked that a collection might be made for these poor people; this would relieve the Company of supporting them. In response to this request a bill of exchange for 6 000 rix dollars [1 250 pounds], was immediately sent over. This bill was drawn on the Cape

Government in favour of the Reverend Simond, the pastor of the French congregation at Drakenstein.

The pursuits of the country people were the growing of grain, cultivating vines, and raising stock. The market for their produce was restricted. The company wished to maintain rigidly its principle of monopoly, and jealously guarded against any acts which would in the least degree deprive it of any portion of that monopoly. The Company controlled all trade, and whatever the burghers had to sell or required to buy, had to be sold or purchased from it, at prices fixed by the authorities. When the Company's requirements had been satisfied, the colonists could dispose of their produce to anyone they chose, after permission had been received from the Government.

After some consideration by the Chamber of Seventeen in the Netherlands the French got permission to start their own congregation in the Drakenstein area, though Simon van der Stel was supported in his policy to disperse the French amongst settled Dutch burghers so that the refugees could not form a separate French colony. The church Board could be elected amongst the French themselves according to the democratic principles that they deemed important, but this had to be approved by the Council at the Cape and a commissioner appointed by the Council had to have a seat in the Church Board.

The school at Drakenstein and Stellenbosch were also allowed to get teachers that had a good knowledge of both languages, but the Council of Seventeen was adamant that the French pupils had to be thoroughly educated in Dutch also.

The congregation in Drakenstein at first came together in a barn for their services, on one of the farms close to Babylonstoring. On 30 December 1691 they chose their first Church Board with Louis de Berault, Claude Marais and Louis Cordier as the elders and Abraham de Villiers, Pierre Meyer, Pierre Rousseau and Pierre Benezet as deacons. A piece of property was given to the congregation by the authorities where they constructed a building that served as their church building till 1713. In 1694 the congregation acquired a bigger property with the purpose of building a new Church there, later on.

By October 1716 the church was so damaged by wind and weather that it could not be utilized anymore, the services had to move to the old, an equally dilapidated, pastors house. Only in March of the next year was a decision made by the Church Board to build a new building.

The construction of the church did not go as speedily as one would have wished and only by September 1718 could the unveiling of the new building take place. In the beginning congregants had to bring their own chairs as pews could not be built due to the shortage of wood. In 1721 the building was badly damaged by rain and the northern gable collapsed damaging many parts of the roof and walls. After many repairs and maintenance work the building served the community for a period of 80 years.

Church services were held in French until 1723, when according to annotations in the Church Board book there were only 26 congregants that did not understand or speak Dutch well. The last French sermon was preached in the Paarl Church in 1729.

In 1797 the building became too small for the Paarl congregation and it was decided to construct a new building. A beautiful open arched building was constructed and this Huguenot Church in Paarl can still be seen today. With the construction of this new church

we can see the end of the period of the true French Refugees Church. It was now just another Dutch Reformed Church in the region.

Rev. Bisseaux who was sent out in 1828 by the French Missionary Society wrote the following about his visit to the Paarl: “We departed from Cape Town on the 3rd of November 1828 and after traveling 12 hours through an unfertile region we arrived at the town, Paarl. Here we were introduced, by Dr. Philip, to a company of people consisting of the descendants of French Refugees. The meeting was emotional and moving. One of the missionaries that was with us, served as interpreter, seeing that the people understood English but no French. The elder people could not keep their tears back when they heard from us that the land where their ancestors were so cruelly persecuted, now enjoyed freedom of religion. In most of the families there are Bibles where the whole ancestry of their family is written, so that it is easy to determine the French ancestry they come from...”

“But one of the most important places for us was Wagenmakersvlei (later Wellington). Die inhabitants of this place are nearly all descendants of one family. Their custom is peculiar. From the beginning they always have one man, of elderly age, as their head and leader, and outside of his counsel nothing of importance is undertaken. He is always an elder of the Church and is held in great esteem. This patriarchal system contributed greatly to maintain their sense of religion, and the faith of their fathers has been conserved unscathed amongst them. We have taken note with great pleasure that they are interested in educating and training their slaves and the order and neatness of their homes greatly attracted our attention...”

5 **The Impact the Huguenots had on the Cape**

The Huguenots who arrived at the Cape of Good Hope at the end of the 17th century, consisted of only a fraction of the large-scale Protestant flight from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Nevertheless their numbers were large enough to have a considerable influence and to leave a lasting impression on the young settlement at the Cape. After the main stream of Huguenots arrived during 1688-1689, they comprised approximately one sixth of the free burgher population, after which individual arrivals continued sporadically until the termination of the state subsidized emigration in 1707.

Many of the Huguenots emigrants were highly trained craftsman or experienced farmers and made an important contribution to the prosperity of the Cape. There were particularly individuals who were well versed in viticulture and oenology (the growing of grapes and making wine, brandy and vinegar). They, as well as their descendants, proved that they were hard working people and industrious, and their efforts led to a marked increase in the improvement of quality Cape wines. A number of wine estates have French names to this day, as a reminder of their important contribution to this industry in the Western Cape. The number of vine plants increased from 100 in 1655 (three years after the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck at the Cape) to 1,5 million in 1700.

When John Ovington visited the Cape in 1693, he wrote: “Their vineyards have been established over an area of more than seventy five English miles, yet they still have their eyes on large pieces of virgin soil before them. In this district they farm with livestock, plant maize, establish vineyards and improve everything conscientiously for the greatest benefit.... Their vineyards, which they have multiplied to a large variety of cultivars, can now also provide for the passing ships...”

A number of Huguenots were listed as experienced “vineyard pruners”. The De Villiers brothers in particular arrived in the Cape with a reputation for viticulture and oenology.

Through the years the De Villiers brothers planted more than 40 000 vines at the Cape. They moved from the original farm allocated to them (which they named La Rochelle) to finally settle on individual allotments near Franschhoek with the names Bourgogne, Champagne and La Brie.

5.1 Some of the known trades or professions of Huguenots that landed at the Cape

Baker	–	Andre Mellet, Jacques Bisseux
Blacksmith	–	Guillaume-Henri Bossau, Daniel Hugot
Cadet	–	Jean Blignaut
Carpenter	–	Josué Cellier, Daniel Nortier
Clerk	–	Jérémie Auret
Doctor	–	Jean Durand
Drummer	–	Pieter Labuscaigne
Farmer	–	Daniel Hugot, Guillaume Néel, Jean Durand, Jean de Buis, Jean Parisel, Jacob Nortier
Hatmaker	–	Isaac Taillefert
Marine Cadet	–	Jacob Naudé
Merchant	–	Jacques de Savoye
Pastor	–	Johannes Serrurier, Pierre Simond
Shoemaker	–	Jean Cloudon
Silk Farmer	–	Francois Guillaumé
Soldiers	–	Jean-Diedrich Auchamp, Antione Faure, Etienne Nel, Jacques Theron, Louis de Berault
Surgeon	–	Jean Prier du Plessis, Gidoen Le Grand.
Tailor	–	Guillaume Néel
Teacher	–	Paul Roux
Viniculturalists	–	Pierre de Villiers, Abraham de Villiers, Jacob de Villiers

Other trades that were present among the French refugees were tanners, masons, wagon makers and barrel makers. In all these fields the refugees did thorough work, and in time Paarl and Wagenmakersvlei acquired renown that spread through the whole colony. We can even say they had some influence on architecture, furniture design, and even in some limited way on copper and iron work.

6 Legacy of the Huguenots in South Africa

The legacy of the Huguenots was far reaching in South Africa. Today thousands of their proud descendants carry with dignity the surname of which the spelling is unchanged from the original, such as De Villiers, Malan, Du Toit, Du Plessis, Du Preez and Malherbe. The spelling of many were localized, such as Viljoen, Cronjé, Pienaar, Retief and Senekal.

Certain first names which the Huguenots brought with them are popular amongst their descendants, especially male Christian names such as Francois, Pierre, Etienne, Jacques and Louis. Research has shown that the contribution of the Huguenots genes to the Afrikaner nation amounts to some 24.7% (study done by GFC de Bruyn). Their descendants are proud of ancestors who sacrificed a great deal – even their country of birth – and were willing to suffer personally for their religious convictions.

The Huguenots are characterized by their intrinsic pride, diligence, integrity and honesty. Although they strove to maintain their own identity at first, they soon intermarried with the other colonists to fully become just South Africans. Within two generations even their home language, French, largely disappeared.

As a group the Huguenots arrived at a very early stage of the settlement at the Cape when the white population was still relatively small in numbers. What they experienced as children of the Reformation in their own country, they brought as spiritual assets to their new country of choice.

Perhaps their most important influence on South Africa, is the fact that they – like the Dutch compatriots – were supporters of Calvinism. In his work “Het leven van Johannes Calvijn” (The Life of John Calvin) D’Arbez concludes: “Nowhere on earth is the legacy of Calvin stronger than in South Africa, where the spirit of Calvin has not waned due to the influence of the twentieth century, as has been the case, and still is the case, in the countries of Europe”.

A survey published in the Sunday Times Magazine of 4 October 1981, indicated that of the 36 most common surnames amongst the white population, nine were of Huguenot origin. They are the surnames Nel, Du Plessis, Coetzee, Fourie, Du Toit, Le Roux, Viljoen, Marais and Du Preez. In the first four volumes of the South African Biographical Dictionary articles of 25 individuals with surname De Villiers appear, 17 about Du Toit’s, 12 on Malan’s, 9 on Joubert’s and 8 on Viljoen’s. Descendants of Huguenots can be found amongst the leaders and achievers on every terrain in South Africa – religious, social, economical, cultural, research and development in the areas of agriculture, science and engineering; sport and politics, as military leaders and statesmen, as poets and philosophers and authors.

The Huguenots did indeed leave a direct and indirect legacy in South Africa. They did not continue to live as a separate, clearly identifiable subgroup. Already early in the eighteenth century they were assimilated by the rest of the population at the Cape as a result of both political measures and their minority numbers. But despite their relatively small numbers, they nevertheless left an indelible mark on and made a valuable contribution during the early years of the settlement at the Cape of Good Hope to various areas – economy, education, technology, agriculture, culture, church life, religion etc.

The legacy of the Huguenots is wide-ranging but subtle; throughout the years researchers looked in vain for a definitive French influence under the Cape colonists, and only the names and people and farms remain. Whatever their contribution, it can no longer be clearly identified separately from that of their fellow colonists. But the Huguenot sense for values remain, and romanticism still surrounds the French farm names in the Western Cape, reminding us of the Huguenot refugees. Nobody expresses it better than Maurice Boucher in his “French Speakers at the Cape”:

“What remains of lasting value, is the proud heritage of men, women and children who suffered for a cause and followed the road of exile to retain their spiritual integrity. This was certainly true of most of the refugees, and the longing which they must have felt for the country which they left for ever is reflected in the names which they have chosen for their farms which they laid out along the hills of the Western Cape: Languedoc and Provence, La Brie, Calais and Cabrières; and many others which recalled memories of images from their childhood and the roots from which they sprang.”

6.1 Characteristics of the Huguenots that is found in the Afrikaner

A number of writers mention different characteristics of the Afrikaner nation which could be ascribed to the influence of the Huguenots: physical features such as darker complexion and black hair, a cheerful disposition, stamina / perseverance, artistic ability, individualism and a sense of independence, a love for personal and political freedom, courtesy, hospitality, humour and joyfulness, and ingenuity (the ability to make a plan).

The Huguenots also placed a great importance on the Word of God and the Bible played a central role in their family lives. Bible reading was a daily occurrence in the family and children learned to read by reading the Bible. Much of the respect and regard that the Afrikaner has for God today, can be traced back to the ethos of the Huguenots. Flowing from their persevering faith the Huguenots were willing to stand up for the truth and defend it even if it meant they had to risk their very lives.

7 Negative Spiritual influences sometimes coming from Huguenots Roots

(Please note the following passage reflect the opinion of the compiler of this document. It is an opinion that was formulated out of personal observation and involvement with other believers that has worked with these topics.)

We find that the Huguenots descendants often manifest certain tendencies due to the extended periods of persecution and trauma that their ancestors underwent, both in their homeland and after that in exile, uprooted, and having had to adapt to new traumatic environments. The Huguenots that were settled at the Cape had to endure traumatic voyages from the Netherlands, where many lost loved ones by death. At the arrival in the Cape they faced the dangers of their wild natural environments as well as the hostile indigenous people groups.

The colony forced them to become Dutch and later these Afrikaner people had to go through the hardships of trekking northwards into undiscovered territories often being uprooted and losing that which was dear to them. Not long after that they were overpowered and forced to submission by the new English Colonial masters, suffering through two Anglo Boer Wars and severe poverty. All these traumatic years re-inforced the negative impacts that the Huguenot forefathers had to endure.

- ☞ The above caused future generations to sometimes experience a sense of restlessness,
- ☞ To sometimes struggle with their identity as they were uprooted regularly,
- ☞ Sometimes melancholy, sadness and depression manifest in their lives
- ☞ in severe cases psychological problems manifest because of severe trauma in previous generations.

The Huguenots were also known to involve themselves with Freemasonry as the Freemasons became natural allies in that they also opposed the Royal House and Roman Catholic Church in France. Freemasonry greatly infiltrated the Reformed Churches in France as was the case with the Theological School in Lausanne that Antoine Court founded in the early 1700's. The Reformed movement was thus infiltrated with humanistic and secular thinking, limiting the Spirit of God and chaining the reformed faith to dead religion.

Later on the Afrikaner also got involved with Freemasonry through the Dutch and English influences in South Africa. Flowing from these impure roots some other negative attributes could be seen in some of the descendants of the Huguenots. Such as

- ☞ Immoral lifestyles,
- ☞ A religious spirit, Intellectualism and theological thinking,
- ☞ Disunity, contention, stubbornness and pride.

[Taken from "Die Hugenote en hul Erfenis – Die verhaal van die Hugenote aan die Kaap" by Lynne en Francois Theron and "The French Refugees at the Cape by C. Graham Botha and "Die Hugenote" deur C.Louis Leipoldt and www.geocities.com/HeartlandValley/8140/huguenots.htm?200622]

Appendix 1: Chronological Timeline – Huguenots History France and South Africa

François I (January, 1, 1515 – July, 31, 1547)

- 1517, Oct. 31** Luther nailed his 95 doctrines to the church door at Wittenburg
- 1523** First Reformed (Lutheran) congregation in France established at Meaux
- 1523** First French translation of the Bible
- 1525, Jan. 12** The first Reformed martyr in France, Jean Chastellain, was burned to death.
- 1529** Louis de Berquin burned at the stake
- 1525** The 'University' of Sorbonne denounces the Circle of Meaux as heretics
- 1534, Oct. 18** Day of the Placards; Placards appear all over Paris and even on the king's bedroom door, denouncing certain Roman Catholic practices.
- 1536, Jan. 29** A general edict, which encourages the extermination of Protestants in France, is issued.
- 1536** John Calvin (Jean Cauvin) publishes the Latin version of *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* in Basel.
- 1541** *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* published in French
- 1545** Jean de Maynier, baron d'Oppede, orders massacre of Waldensians at Merindol and Cabrieres. Protestants massacred in 22 French towns and 14 members of Protestant church at Meaux burned at stake on account of religion.

Henri II (1547, March, 31 – 1559, July, 10)

- 1550, ±** The term *Huguenot* is used for the first time in court cases against so-called 'heretics' or dissenters from the Roman Catholic Church.
- 1555, Sept.** First Protestant church in Paris established in a home. Date sometimes given as 1556.
- 1559** First national synod of the Reformed Churches in France in Paris at which 15 Protestant churches are represented. French churches draw up their 'Confession of Faith for those who desire (long) to live according to the pure Gospel.'
- 1559** Anne du Bourg, a Protestant magistrate was burned for heresy and sedition.

François II (July, 10 1559 – December, 5, 1560)

- 1560, March** **Conspiracy of Amboise / Tumult of Amboise:** An attempt by the House of Bourbon and a number of Huguenot followers under the leadership of Louis I de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, to wrest power over France by usurping the power of the Guise family and kidnapping the young King François II (Francis II) at the chateau at Amboise fails. The Huguenot rebels are ruthlessly massacred. In the following weeks 1 200 bodies hang on iron hooks from the façade of *Château d' Amboise* and from every tree in the vicinity, enraging the Huguenot opponents of the House of Guise and adding to the tensions which culminated in the French wars of Religion.
- 1560** Second kidnap attempt on King François II fails.

Catherine de Medici (Regent) (December 5, 1560 – June 27, 1563)

Charles IX (December 5, 1560 – May 30, 1574)

- 1561, Jul.** Royal edict authorises imprisonment and confiscation of property upon all who attended any 'heretical' (non-Roman Catholic) public or private worship services
- 1561, Sept. – Oct.** Poissy Colloquy; French and Huguenot representatives meet at Poissy.
- 1562, Jan.** **Edict of Saint Germain** recognizes new religion as legal and offers some protection.
- 1562, March 1** **Massacre of Vassy.** Forces of Duke of Guises attack a Huguenot assembly in one of the towns of Champagne, killing and wounding those present. Various sources differ to a large extent concerning the number of casualties at Vassy – from 30–60 killed and 100 wounded to 1 200 slain. The massacre at Vassy ignited the Wars of Religion which would rip apart, devastate and bankrupt France for the next three decades.
- 1562, Apr.** First Religious War starts. (First battle of religious wars at Dreux)
- 1563, March** First Religious War ends
- 1563, March** **Pacification of Amboise** allows Huguenot nobles to worship freely, but limited worship by commoners to one town in each judicial district.
- 1567, Sept.** Second Religious War starts
- 1568, March** Second Religious War ends.
- 1568, Aug.** Third Religious War starts
- 1570** **Treaty of Saint Germain** restores Huguenots' position of previous years and allows them to garrison four towns (places de sureté)
- 1570, Aug.** Third Religious war ends

- 1572, Aug. 23-24** Saint Bartholomew's Day (Night) Massacre; Thousands of Huguenots are lulled into a sense of false safety by King Charles IX and Queen Mother Catherine de Medici as they converge on Paris for the wedding celebrations of Henri of Navarre, a Huguenot, and Marguerite de Valois (daughter of Catherine de Medici.) A large number of Huguenots are killed in Paris during the night of 23-24 August. Duc de Guise (Henri I de Lorraine) personally killed Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, Governor of Picardie and spokesman of the Huguenots. Slaughter spreads to the rest of France and continues until October. Various sources on the number of Huguenots murdered by the Roman Catholics vary to a large extent – from 3 000 in Paris on St Bartholomew's Night and a total of 10 000 throughout France to 8 000 in Paris on St Bartholomew's Night alone.
- 1572, Aug. 24** Henri of Navarre is not prepared to die for his faith and converts to the Roman Catholic faith. He later re-adopts the Protestant faith.
- 1572, Sept. 2** The first rumours of the St Bartholomew's Night Massacre reach the Vatican. Pope Gregory XIII is jubilant and wants bonfires to be lit in Rome, but is persuaded to wait for the official communication.
- 1572, Sept. 8** A procession of thanksgiving for the St Bartholomew's Night Massacre takes place in Rome. The pope, in a prayer after mass, thanks God for having 'granted the Catholic people a glorious triumph over a perfidious race.'
- 1572, Dec.** Fourth Religious War starts
- 1573, Jun.** Fourth Religious War ends

Henri III (May 30, 1574 – August 2, 1589)

- 1574, Dec.** Huguenots have effectively created an independent state in the south of France (Languedoc)
- 1575, Dec.** Fifth Religious War starts
- 1576, May** Fifth Religious War ends
- 1576** Treaty of Monsieur. Henry III grants Huguenots freedom of worship everywhere except in court and a specified distance from Paris. Huguenots are allowed to garrison eight towns and receive special representation in all *parlements* (*chambres-mi-parties*) for handling cases which involves Protestants.
- 1576** Catholic League (also known as the Holy League) is formed which looked for aid from Spain, Savoy and Rome in its quest against the Huguenots.
- 1577** The Huguenot gains obtained through the Treaty of Monsieur are withdrawn through the Treaty of Bergerac which limits Huguenot worship to the suburbs of one town in each judicial district

1577, March	Sixth Religious War starts
1577, Dec.	Sixth Religious War ends
1579, Nov.	Seventh Religious War starts
1580, Nov.	Seventh Religious War ends
1585, March	Eighth Religious War (The War of the Three Henries) starts
1585	Catholic League is revived
1585, Sept.	Henri of Navarre is excommunicated by Pope Sixtus V.
1588, May	Day of he Barricades The Sixteen, a 'front organisation' of the Catholic League rise up against King Henri III in Paris on the Day of he Barricades. Henri has to flee the city
1588	Edict of Union
1588	Duke of Guise and Cardinal of Guise assassinated at Blois

Henri IV (August 2, 1589 – May 14, 1610)

1589, Aug.	Eighth Religious War ends (The War of the Three Henries)
1589, Aug.	Ninth Religious War starts
1593, Jun.	King Henry IV (Henry of Navarre) converts to Catholicism
1596, Jan.	The Catholic League is formally disbanded
1598, Apr. 13	Edict of Nantes is signed by Henry IV returning civil and religious freedom to Protestants
1598, Apr. 13	Ninth Religious War ends with the Edict of Nantes.
1598	Huguenots become a political power in France. So strong were Protestants in La Rochelle that that Roman Catholic mass had not been said in 40 years.

Mari de Medici (Regent) (May 14, 1610 – 1617)

Louis XIII (May 14, 1610 – May 14, 1643)

1610	Duke de Rohan becomes leader of the Huguenots. Alliance with the Evangelical Union of Swabisch.
1618	Cardinal Richelieu publishes 'Principal Points of Faith of the Catholic Church.'

- 1624 Cardinal Richelieu given seat on Royal Council and appointed Chief Minister to Louis XIII
- 1626 Siege of La Rochelle begins.
- 1628, Oct. 8 La Rochelle falls to French troops
- 1629, Jan. Peace of Alais ends civil war in France and Huguenots ceases to exist as a political force.
- 1642 Death of Richelieu

Anne of Austria (Regent) (May 14, 1643 – September 5, 1651)
Louis XIV (May 14, 1643 – September 1, 1715)

- 1652, Apr. 6 The first Reformed Church is founded at the Cape of Good Hope (South Africa) with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck and 90 of his countrymen in order to establish a refreshment station for the Dutch East India Company on their trading route to the East. Religious upheavals in the Netherlands between Catholics and Calvinists would lead more Dutch settlers to immigrate to the Cape. They were soon to be followed by an influx of French Huguenots fleeing persecution in France.
- 1659 Treaty of the Pyrenees
- 1661 Death of Cardinal Mazarin; Beginning of serious persecution of Huguenots and infringements of Edict of Nantes.
- 1661 Series of proclamations seriously restrict the terms of the Edict of Nantes. Louis XIV starts applying his motto *l'état c'est moi* ('I am the state') and begins with a policy of *une foi, un loi, un roi* ('one faith, one law, one king.') Protestant schools and churches are abolished and the infamous *Dragonnades* is introduced – the billeting of French troops in Huguenot homes to spy upon the members of the household.
- 1665 The Reverend Joannes van Arckel becomes the first pastor to arrive in Table Bay. He organises a congregation to represent the Church in the Netherlands. Two elders were chosen who together with the Reverend van Arckel sign the Articles of Faith (The Heidelberg Catechism, the Dutch Confession of Faith or *Confessio Belgica* and the Canons of Dordt). The first Dutch Church is hereby officially registered at the Cape of Good Hope.
- 1671 François Villion becomes first Huguenot to settle at the Cape of Good Hope.
- 1678 Attacks on Huguenots across France
- 1683 Dragonnades organised to harass Huguenots in France more effectively.

- 1685, Oct. 22** **The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes:** Louis XIV renounces the Edict of Nantes and declares Protestantism illegal through the **Edict of Fontainebleau**, of which the influence can be likened to the Nazi Holocaust or the Spanish Inquisition. The large-scale persecution of the Huguenots in France now gains momentum. Protestant churches and the homes of the 'obstinate' are destroyed, bibles and hymnbooks are burned and emigration is declared illegal. Many male Huguenots who did not find their death at the stake, in local prisons or on the wheel of torture, are shipped to sea to serve life sentences as galley slaves, either on French galley ships or as auctioned slaves on Turkish galley ships. As a result a large number of French Huguenots (estimates range from 200 000 to 500 000) leaves France during the two decades following the Edict of Fontainebleau, seeking asylum in countries such as England, the United States and South Africa. France suffers a serious 'brain drain', as it loses a large number of skilled craftsmen.
- 1686** The Huguenot brothers François and Guillaume du Toit flee to the Cape of Good Hope.
- 1688 – 1689** Organised 'large-scale' emigration of Huguenots to the Cape of Good Hope takes place. These immigrants provide a wide variety of skills improving the Cape settlement's chances of survival. Under the rule of the Dutch East India Company the Huguenots are forbidden to speak their own language and within a century of their arrival the French language would disappear from the Cape of Good Hope. All that would remain are their family names (most in slightly altered forms in order to accommodate the Dutch and later the Afrikaans language), the French names of Huguenot farms and most important of all, their Protestant legacy and purity of faith. Being both of Calvinist stock the French and Dutch churches would soon integrate.
- 1688, Apr. 13** The Dutch ship *Voorschoten* arrives at Saldanha Bay with 29 recorded Huguenot men, women and children on board after sailing from Delft (Delfthaven) on 31 December 1687.
- 1688, May 12** The Dutch ship *Oosterland* arrives at Table Bay with 42 recorded Huguenots on board after sailing from Middelburg on 29 January 1688. Two infants are born during the voyage.
- 1692** A total of 201 French Huguenots have settled at Cape of Good Hope.
- Philippe II, Duke of Orléans (Regent) (1715 –February 16, 1723)**
Louis XV (September 1, 1715 – May 10, 1774)
- Louis XVI (May 10, 1774 – September 21, 1792)**
- 1787, Nov. 28** **Edict of Toleration** partially restores the civil and religious rights of the Huguenots in France

Appendix 2: Huguenots Arrivals at the Cape

French Huguenots that arrived at the Cape before the official Huguenots ships of 1688

Names	Place of Origin	Date of Arrival	Name of Ship
François Villion	Clermont, Grenoble	1671	Unknown
Barbara Le Febure	Fleurbaix, Flanders	1683	Unknown
Pierre Le Febure	Fleurbaix, Flanders	1683	Unknown
Guillaume Le Febure	Fleurbaix, Flanders	1683	Unknown
Marie De Grave	Fleurbaix, Flanders	1683	Unknown
Jean Le Long	L'Aigle, Normandie	1685	Unknown
Jacques Le Long	L'Aigle, Normandie	1685	Unknown
Marie Le Long	L'Aigle, Normandie	1685	Unknown
Martin Pouisseon	Unknown	1685	Unknown
François du Toit	Lille, Flanders	23 Jun 1686	Vrijheijt
Guillaume du Toit	Lille, Flanders	23 Jun 1686	Vrijheijt
Dominique De Chavonnes	Lovestein, Netherlands	1686	Unknown
Maria Lamy	Dunkenay	1686	Unknown
Henri Lecrévent	Boskoop, Leyden, Netherlands	1686	Unknown
Jean Saint-Jean	Bordeaux, Geyenne	1686	Unknown
Louis de Péronne	Nazareth, Flanders	1687	Eemslan
Armand Véron	Mechelen, St. Thomas	1687	Boswijk
Jean Mgra	Lutry, Lausanne, Pays de Vaud	1687	Unknown
Jean Manié	Calais, Picardie, Flanders	pre-1688	Unknown
Pierre Rochefort	Grenoble, Dauphiné	pre-1688	Unknown

Official Huguenots arrivals at the Cape

Ship:	Voorschooten
Date of Departure:	31 Des 1687 from Delftshaven
Arrival in the Cape:	13 April 1688

Known Names of Huguenots on this ship: out of 22 French refugees on the ship

Names of Individuals	Age	Place of Origin
Marguerite Baché	23	Aunay, Mer, Orléanais
Etienne Bruere	23	Blois, Mer, Orléanais
Pierre Sabatier	22	Mezieres, Champagne
Paul Godefroy	22	Bazoches-en-Dunois, Orléanais
Jean Le Roux	22	Blois, Orléanais
Gabriel Le Roux	17	Blois, Orléanais
Jean Machepasté	25	Blois, Mer, Orléanais
Gédéon Malherbe	25	Laons, Thimerais, Normandie
Gaspard Foucher	21	Orléanais

Families	Age	Place of Origin
Philippe Foucher		Suèvres, Orléanais
Wife: Anne Souchay		Aunay, Orléanais
3 Children:		
Anne	6	
Esther	5	
Jacques	3	

Jacques Pinard	23	Dreux / L'Aigle, Normandie
Wife: Esther Foucher	21	
Charles Marais		Le Plessis-Marly, Hurepoix, Ile-de-France
Wife: Catherine Taboureux		
4 Children: Claude	24	
	Charles	19
	Isaac	10
	Marie-Maddeleine	6

Ship: Borssenburg
Date of Departure: 6 Jan 1688 from Texel
Arrival in the Cape: 12 May 1688

The Borssenburg had a most successful voyage having suffered no deaths among the passengers and landed all those on board in a healthy condition.

Known Names of Huguenots on this ship: Passenger list does not exist anymore.

Names of Individuals	Age	Place of Origin
Marie Grilion		Mer, Orléanais
Daniel Hugot		Monthelon, Champagne
Michel Martineau		Blois / Mer, Orléanais
Pierre Meyer		Vaudois, Dauphiné
Francois Rétif	25	Mer, Orléanais
Anne Rétif		Mer, Orléanais
Pierre Rousseau		Mer, Blois, Orléanais
Marie Russaar		Blois, Orléanais

Families	Age	Place of Origin
Pierre Lombard	30	Pontaix, Dauphiné
Wife: Marie Couteau	29	Soubeyran, Dauphiné

Ship: Oosterland
Date of Departure: 29 Jan 1688 from Middelburg
Arrival in the Cape: 26 April 16888

The Oosterland had a most successful voyage of 2 months and 10 days.

Known Names of Huguenots on this ship: out of 24 French refugees

Names of Individuals	Age	Place of Origin
Sarah Avicé		Châteaudun, Orléanais
Jean Cloudon		Condé-en-Brie, Champagne
Jean Du Bus		Marck, Picardie, Flanders
Jean Imbert		Nimes, Languedoc
Jacques Nourtier		Saint-Blaise, Picardie
Jean Nourtier		Saint-Blaise, Picardie
Jean Parisel		Villiers-le-Bel, Ile-de-France
Jacques Therond		Nimes, Languedoc

Families	Age	Place of Origin
Pieter le Clerq		Serooskerk, Zeeland

Wife: Sara Cochet
3 Children: Abraham
 Joost le Clerq
 Jeanne le Clerq
 Walcheren, Oost-Souberg,
 Zeeland

Jacques De Savoye
Wife: Marie Madeleine le Clerq
Mother in Law: Antionette Carnoy
3 Children: Margu rite-Th r se 17
 Barbe-Th r se 15
 Jacques 9 mnths
 Aeth, Hainaut
 Tournai, Flanders

Jean Prieur Du Plessis
Wife: Madeleine Menanteau
1 Children: Charles born at sea
 Poitiers, Poitou
 Poitiers, Poitou

Daniel Nourtier
Wife: Marie Vitu
 Saint-Blaise, Picardie
 Guines, Picardie

Isaac Taillefert
Wife: Susanne Briet
6 Children: Elisabeth 14
 Jean 12
 Isaac 7
 Pierre 5
 Suzanne 2
 Marie 1
 Chateau Thierry, Champagne
 Monneaux, Brie, Champagne

Ship: De Schelde

Arrival in the Cape: 5 Jun 1688
 Experienced a terrible storm 8 days into the voyage, sailed into St. Jago and departed again almost immediately because of reported pirate activity close by just to run into another storm 5 days from the Cape. 30 passengers on this boat died at sea and 50 arrived in the Cape very ill.

Known Names of Huguenots on this ship: out of 23 French Refugees

Names of Individuals	Age	Place of Origin
Abraham Bleuset	33	Calais, Picardie
Antoine Gros		Soubeyran, Dauphin�
Daniel Terrier		Bl�sois, Orl�anais

Families	Age	Place of Origin
Hercules Du Pres	45	Courtrai, Flanders
Wife: Cecile Datis		Courtrai, Flanders
6 children: Elisabeth		
Hercules		
Marie-Jeanne		
Fran�ois-Jean		
Jacquemine		
Phillipe		

Charles Prévost	38	Dombrie, Lille, Flanders
Wife: Marie le Fevre	37	Marck, Picardie, Flanders
4 children: Abraham	9	
Anne	7	
Elisabeth	5	
Jacob	born at sea	

Pierre Jacob		Calais, Flanders
Wife: Susanne de Vos		Calais, Flanders
3 Children: Daniel		
Sarah		
Susanne		

Guillaume Néel	25	Rouen, Normandie
Wife: Jean la Batte		Saumur, Anjou
2 Children: Jean		
Jeanne		

Ship: Berg China
Date of Departure: 20 March 1688 from Rotterdam
Arrival in the Cape: 4 Aug 1688
 30 passengers die at sea.

Known Names of Huguenots on this ship: out of 34 French refugees

Names of Individuals	Age	Place of Origin
Louis Courbon	20	Cabrière-d'Aigues, Provence
Mathieu Frachas	26	Lourmarin, Provence
Pierre Le Grange	23	Cabrière-d'Aigues, Provence
Jean Jourdan	28	Cabrière-d'Aigues, Provence
Pierre Jourdan	24	Cabrière-d'Aigues, Provence
Cousins of Jourdan brothers:		
Marie Roux	10	La Motte-d'Aigues, Provence
Marguerite Roux	7	La Motte-d'Aigues, Provence
André Pelanchon	15	Sivergues, Provence
Jacques Verdeau	20	Provence
Hercule Verdeau	16	Provence
Jacques Mallan	16	St. Martin de la Brasque, Provence
Marie Anthouarde		St. Martin de la Brasque, Provence
Paul Roux		Orange, Provence
Elisabeth Le Long		La Motte-d'Aigues, Provence
Jacques Roi		Lourmarin, Provence
Jean Roi		Lourmarin, Provence
Pierre Jourdan	24	St. Martin de la Brasque, Provence
Jean Jourdan		St. Martin de la Brasque, Provence

Families	Age	Place of Origin
Pierre Joubert	24	La Motte-d'Aigues, Provence
Wife: Isabeau Richard	20	St. Martin de la Brasque, Provence
Jean Meinard/Mesnard	28	Provence

Wife: Louise Corbonne 30 Cabrière-d'Aigues, Provence
6 Children: Jeanne 10
George 9
Jacques 8
Jean 7
Philippe 6
André 5 mnths

Ship: Zuid Bevelend
Date of Departure: 22 April 1688 from Middelburg
Arrival in the Cape: 19 Aug 1688

Several passengers die at sea and others drowned in Table Bay when the smaller boat that brought them to land capsized due to strong winds.

Known Names of Huguenots on this ship: out of 25 French Refugees

Names of Individuals	Age	Place of Origin
Salomon De Gournay		Dieppe, Normandie
Charles Le Long		
David Sénécal		Dieppe, Normandie
Abraham Vivier		Le Prêche, Normandie
Pierre Vivier		Le Prêche, Normandie
Jacques Vivier		Le Prêche, Normandie
Louis de Bérault		L'Aigle, Normandie
Estienne Viret		Pontaix, Dauphiné
Daniel des Ruelles		Guines, Picardie, Flanders
Esther de Ruelles		Guines, Picardie, Flanders
Anne de Ruelles		Guines, Picardie, Flanders

Families	Age	Place of Origin
Rev. Pierre Simond		Nyons, Dauphiné
Wife: Anne de Bérault		L'Aigle, Normandie

Ship: 't Wapen van Alkmaar
Date of Departure: 27 Jul 1688 from Texel
Arrival in the Cape: 27 Jan 1689

Journey took 6 months. 37 persons were lost by death, while 104 of the passengers arrived severely ill.

Known Names of Huguenots on this ship: out of 40 French Refugees

Names of Individuals	Age	Place of Origin
Antione Martin		Uzès, Languedoc
François Amiel		Le Luc, Provence
Daniel Bouvat		Die, Dauphiné
Susanne Gardiol		Lacoste, Provence
Marguerite Gardiol		Lacoste, Provence
Jean Gardiol		Lacoste, Provence
Marguerite Perrotette		Lacoste, Provence
Pierre Roux		Cabrière, Provence

Families	Age	Place of Origin
Mathieu Amiel		Le Luc, Provence
Wife 1: Suzanne Aubenelle		Le Luc, Provence
Wife 2: Jeanne Mille		Lourmarin, Provence

Ship: Zion
Date of Departure: 8 Jan 1689 from Holland
Arrival in the Cape: 6 May 1689

Names of Individuals	Age	Place of Origin
Pierre De Villiers	32	La Rochelle, Aunis
Abraham De Villiers	30	La Rochelle, Aunis
Jacob De Villiers	28	La Rochelle, Aunis
Jean Rosier		Monsay, Flanders

Names of Huguenots that arrived by ship at the Cape between 1688 and 1689 of which the ship name they arrived on is unknown:

Names	Place of Origin	Year of Arrival
Marie Avice	Châteaudun, Orléanais	1688
Paul Brasier	Unknown	1688
Marguerite De France	Guines, Picardie, Flanders	1688
Nicolas De La Bat	Fontenay-le-Comte, Poitou	1688
Marie De Lanoy	Guines, Picardie, Flanders	1688
Nicolas De Lanoy	Guines, Picardy, Flanders	1688
Mathieu De Lanoy	Guines, Picardy, Flanders	1688
Suzanne De Lanoy	Guines, Picardy, Flanders	1688
François De Lanoy	Guines, Picardy, Flanders	1688
Jean Garde	Dauphiné	1688
Charles Le Long	L'Aigle, Normandie	1688
Jean Roux	La Morin, Provence	1688
Louis Cordier	Orléanais	1688
Wife: Francoise Martinet	Champagne	1688
3 Children: Susanne	Orléanais	1688
Jeanne	Orléanais	1688
Louise	Orléanais	1688
Louis Barré	La Roque d'Anthéron, Provence	1689
Jean Durand	La Motte-Chalançon, Dauphiné	1689
Louis Fourié	Pointaix, Dauphiné	1689
Zacharie Massion	Unknown	1689
Jean Mille	Lourmarin, Provence	1689
Claudine Seugnet	Saintes, Saintonge	1689
Susanne Seugnet	Saintes, Saintonge	1689
Jeanne Seugnet	Saintes, Saintonge	1689

Ship: Spierdijk
Arrival in the Cape: April, 1691

Names of Individuals	Age	Place of Origin
André Gauch		Le Pont-de-Montvert, Languedoc
Etienne Gauch		Génève, Switzerland

Ship: Agatha
Arrival in the Cape: 1693

Names of Individuals	Age	Place of Origin
Jean Legeret		Champagne

Ship: Vosmaer
Date of Departure: Apr 1696
Arrival in the Cape: 16 Oct 1696

The voyage had been most disastrous. 93 persons were lost by death at sea. Of the remainder of 236 persons (crew, passengers and refugees), most were sick and in a weak condition, only 4 were left in a good state of health.

Names of Individuals	Age	Place of Origin
Pierre Bisseux		Middelburg, Netherlands

Families	Age	Place of Origin
Paul Febure Wife: Elisabeth Sézille		Château-Thierry, Champagne Middelburg, Zeeland, Netherlands
Jacques Bisseux Wife: Marie le Febure		Picardie, Flanders Château-Thierry, Champagne

Ship: Driebergen
Date of Departure: 25 May 1698
Arrival in the Cape: 3 Sep 1698
Had to fire on a pirate ship close to the Canary Islands.

Names of Individuals	Age	Place of Origin
Estienne Cronier		Thimerais, Normandie
Pierre Cronier		Thimerais, Normandie
Philippe Drouin		Calais, Picardie, Flanders
Louis le Riche		Thimerais, Normandie
Jean du Thuillet		La Fontaine-sous-Prémont, Ile-de-France

Ship: Cattendijk
Arrival in the Cape: 13 April 1699

Families	Age	Place of Origin
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Jacques Delporte
Wife: Sarah Vitu
1 Child: Marie
 born at sea
 Lille, Flanders
 Guines, Picardie, Flanders

Ship: Westhoven
Arrival in the Cape: 16 Jun 1699

Names of Individuals	Age	Place of Origin
Jacques Potier		Moucron, Flanders

Ship: Donkervliet
Arrival in the Cape: 20 Jul 1699

Names of Individuals	Age	Place of Origin
Pierre Mouy		Saint-Amand, Calais, Flanders
Marie Mouy		Saint-Amand, Calais, Flanders
Jeanne Mouy		Saint-Amand, Calais, Flanders

Families	Age	Place of Origin
Jacques Mouton		Steenwerck, Flanders
Wife: Marie De Villiers		Middelburg, Zealand
3 Children: Madeleine		Middelburg, Zealand
Marie		Middelburg, Zealand
Marguerite		Middelburg, Zealand

Ship: Reijgersdaal
Arrival in the Cape: 1700

Names of Individuals	Age	Place of Origin
Anne Couvret		Delft, Netherlands
Elisabeth Pochox		Paris, Ile-de-France

Families	Age	Place of Origin
Josué Cellier		Orléans, Orléanais
Wife: Elisabeth Couvret		Orléans, Orléanais

Paul Couvret
Wife: Anne Vallete
 Bazoches-en-Dunois, Orléanais
 Bazoches-en-Dunois, Orléanais

Ship: Helmeet
Arrival in the Cape: 1700

Names of Individuals	Age	Place of Origin
Anthonie Bevernagie		Nederbrakel, Flanders
Francina Bevernagie		Nederbrakel, Flanders
Jean Bevernagie		Nederbrakel, Flanders
Joost Bevernagie		Nederbrakel, Flanders

Theunis Bevernagie

Nederbrakel, Flanders

Names of Huguenots that arrived at the Cape after 1700 of which the ship names and year of arrival is known.

Names	Place of Origin	Date of Arrival	Name of Ship
Pierre Labuscaigne	Pontacq, Béarn	1710	Verburgh
André Huibaux	Amiens, Picardie, Flanders	1706	Beloijs
David D'Ailly Vrede	Amsterdam, Netherlands	25 Jan 1708	Generale
Jean D'Ailly Vrede	Amsterdam, Netherlands	25 Jan 1708	Generale
Johannes D'Ailly Vrede	Tessel, Nederlands	25 Jan 1708	Generale
François Louis Migault	Amsterdam, Netherlands	Oct 1713	Strijkebolle
Antoine Faure	Orange, Comtat Venaissin	24 March 1714	Kokenge
Jean le Sage	Dieppe, Normandie	1714	Sleewijck
Jacques Naudé	Berlin, Prussia	1718	Abbekerk
Renaud Berthault de Saint-Jean	Sancerre, Berry	1719	Meijnden
Jean Blignaut Assenburg	Monthelon, Champagne	1723	Huis te
Francois Guillaumé	Saint-Laurent-d'Aigouze,	1726	Berbice, Languedoc
Wife: Claudine Cloy	Bordighera, Liguria, Italy	1726	Berbice
4 Children: Anne	Berlin, Prussia	1726	Berbice
Jeanne	Berlin, Prussia	1726	Berbice
Mathieu	Berlin, Prussia	1726	Berbice
Marie	Berlin, Prussia	1726	Berbice
François le Sueur	Oyen, Gelderland	1729	Midloo

Names of Huguenots that arrived at the Cape after 1700 of which the ship names and specific dates of arrival are unknown:

Names	Place of Origin	Year of Arrival
Suzanne Albert	Marck, Picardie, Flanders	1690
Esaye Engelbertus Costeux snr.	Guines, Picardie, Flanders	1690
Esaye Engelbertus Costeux jnr.	Guemps, Flanders	1690
Suzanne Costeux	Marck, Picardy, Flanders	1690
Jean Costeux	Marck, Picardy, Flanders	1690
Pierre Costeux	Calais, Picardy, Flanders	1690

Pierre Batillé	Niort, Poitou	1691
Jean Mézel	Northeast France	1691
Jean Le Roux	Normandie	1691
Etienne Niel	Dauphiné	1692
Jacques Bourbonnois	Mons, Flanders	1692
Anne Martin	Dieppe, Normandie / Calais, Picardy	1692
Anne Du Puis	Paris, Ile-de-France	1693
Suzanne Du Puis	Paris, Ile-de-France	1693
Guillaume Loret	Nantes, Bretagne	1695
Pierre Dumont	Calais, Picardie, Flanders	1696
Marthe Petel	Clermont-l'Herault / Nimes, Languedoc	1697
Durand Soullier	Clermont-l'Herault / Nimes, Languedoc	1697
Gilles Soullier	Clermont-l'Herault / Nimes, Languedoc	1697
Anne Roulain	Marennes, Saintonge	1698
Gédéon Le Grand	Compiègne, Ile-de-France	1699
Guillaume Le Lievre	Lille, Flanders	1700
Marie Le Lievre	Lille, Flanders	1700
Judith Du Plessis	Ireland	1700
Marie-Catherine Durier	Lille, Flanders	1700
Etienne Terreblanque	Le Luc, Toulon, Provence	1700
Gérard Hanseret	Saint-Omer, Artois, Flanders	1701
Marie Buisset	Sedan, Lorraine	1702
Marie-Catherine Huibaux	Amiens, Picardie, Flanders	1702
David Du Buisson	La Rochelle, Aunis	1705
Ignace Maré	Calabria, Italy / Cambresis, Prussia	1705
Catheine Maré	Calabria, Italy / Cambresis, Prussia	1705
Jean De Camau	Toulouse	1706
Marie Bacot	Pontacq, Béarn	1717
Jean-Diedrich Auchamp	Lorraine	1717
François Labuscaigne	Enkhuizen, Netherlands	1717
Jeanne Bernadine Labuscaigne	Enkhuizen, Netherlands	1717
Jean Labuscaigne	Enkhuizen, Netherlands	1717
Renaud Berthault De Saint-Jean jnr.	Amsterdam, Netherlands	1720
Anne Fourdrinier	Dieppe, Normandie	1720
Elisabeth Des Bordes	Monthelon	1725
Andre Mellet	Languedoc	1731

Wife: Marie Gautier

Guillaume-Henri Bossau	Bordeaux	1741
Jérémie Auret	Anjou	1747
Duvinage		Late 1700's
Duminy		Late 1700's
Tredoux		Late 1700's
Johannes Petrus Serrurier	Hanau	Unknown
Jan Serrurier	Hanau	Unknown
François Bastiaansz	Armentiers, Flanders	Unknown
Guillaume Frisnet	Bergen-op-Zoom, Netherlands	Unknown

(Information Taken from: "Die Hugenote en hul erfenis" by Lynne Bryer & Francois Theron and "The French Refugees at the Cape" by C. Graham Botha and "Huguenots who came to the Cape" by the Huguenot Memorial Museum, Franschhoek)