## HUGUENOT REFUGEES: SOME LINKS BETWEEN THE CAPE, FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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The Huguenot dispersion from France, greatly accelerated by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October, 1685, inevitably caused many separations in families hitherto closely knit. Not all French Protestants chose exile at the close of the seventeenth century. There were those who clung to their faith in secret, others who drifted into religious indifference and some who became practising Catholics.<sup>1</sup> Among the Huguenots who sought a refuge abroad, members of the same family often chose different paths and, in an age of slow and unreliable communications, must frequently have lost touch with one another. Moreover, a certain restlessness was evident among the refugees, who sometimes found difficulty in establishing themselves in new surroundings and moved from place to place and from country to country.<sup>2</sup> Those who left the old homeland brought with them a variety of skills and although in economic terms the ill effects on France of the emigration have perhaps been exaggerated, productivity in certain areas undoubtedly declined.<sup>3</sup> Europe and a wider world gained, however, and as Andrée Gobert has pointed out, the Huguenot exodus also allowed the direct influence of French civilization to penetrate regions as far from Europe as South Africa and the Americas.<sup>4</sup> But the suppression of the Eglise prétendue réformée in 1685 — a further step towards state uniformity with contemporary parallels in other social fields, including the linguistic<sup>5</sup> — could only be measured in human terms by those who suffered its effects. The terms were harsh indeed: imprisonment, confiscation of goods, forced labour, the disruption of family life, exile and death.

Nevertheless, the flight of the Huguenots did not necessarily cut them off from all contact with the land of their birth. There was, for example, correspondence between French refugees in London and members of their families in the old homeland.<sup>6</sup> This was probably a more frequent oc-

For some statistics for Brie see M. Mousseaux, Aux sources françaises de la réforme (textes et faits): la Brie protestante (henceforth Brie protestante/ (Paris, n.d.), pp.177–9, 219.

- For examples see the alms list of the French church of St James, Westminster (W. and S. Minet (eds), Register of the church of Saint Martin Orgars with its history and that of Swallow Street. Publications of the Huguenot Society of London (henceforth HSL), XXXVII (Frome, 1935), pp.xxxvi—xxxix).
- 3. J. Fromental instances the textile industry of Is-sur-Tille, Burgundy (La Réforme en Bourgogne aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles, Publications de l'Université de Dijon, XLI (Paris, 1968), p.175).
- 4. 'La Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes: ce qu'elle a couté à la France', Revue des deux Mondes. 12, June 15, 1966, p.585.
- By decrees between 1684 and 1700 against Flemish, German and Catalan, Louis XIV sought "l'unité linguistique, symbole de l'unité politique du royaume" (G. Kurth, La Frontière linguistique en Belgique et dans le nord de la France, II (Brussels, 1898), pp.78-80).
- 6. See W. Turner (ed.) The Aufrère papers: calendar and selections, Publications, HSL, XL (Frome, 1940), section III, pp.80-1 et al. War between England and France did not prevent communication.

currence between those of higher social standing and greater pretensions to culture. The majority of those who settled abroad were, however, of modest social background. J.L.M. Franken has reached this conclusion with regard to the Cape Huguenots<sup>7</sup> and his findings are confirmed by an examination of the occupations of French Protestants from two at least of the regions which contributed to the South African settlement. The records of the Protestant church of Guines in northern Picardy show a preponderance of agriculturalists<sup>8</sup> and working-men in the Reformed community living in and around Calais. Those who left it to find at length a home at the Cape are clearly of this class. Again, M. Mousseaux suggests that the Nogentel congregation in Brie, to which the Cape Taillefert family belonged, had fewer pretensions to gentility than other Protestant communities — Mortcerf, for example — in the region.<sup>9</sup>

Certainly, the general level of literacy among the Huguenots at the Cape does not seem to have been high, <sup>10</sup> although there were doubtless more communications between settlers and their friends and families in Europe than have come to light. We know that Jacques<sup>11</sup> de Savoye of Ath in Hainaut corresponded with acquaintances in the Netherlands, <sup>12</sup> but he was obviously better educated than most of his fellows. One letter from France to another settler at the Cape survives in Dutch translation: that of April 2, 1719 from Jacques Therond of Nîmes to his son of the same name, who had first served in the garrison as a soldier in the service of the Dutch East India Company. <sup>13</sup> There seems no reason to doubt its authenticity and Franken is in error in suggesting a faulty date in the light of a reference in it to Franco-Spanish hostilities.<sup>14</sup>

Several of the early Huguenot settlers returned to Europe, De Savoye among them, while Jean Prieur du Plessis and Gilles Sollier both left the Cape, but came back at a later stage.<sup>15</sup> Pierre Simond of Nyons, the first minister to the Cape refugees who had studied theology under Alexandre d'Ize at Die and was pastor at Embrun in Dauphiné when, more than a year before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, worship in the temple there was brought to an end,<sup>16</sup> was another who did not make a permanent home in

- 7. 'Briefies en handtekeninge van die Kaapse Hugenote', Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns (henceforth TWK), 7th year, 1938-9, p.103.
- C. Graham Botha wrongly translates *laboureur* as labourer with reference to Esaye (Isaïe) Caucheteux of Marck, near Guines (*The French refugees at the Cape* (3rd ed., Cape Town, 1970), p.63).
- Brie protestante, pp.200-1. For Guines, a source examined by Botha, see W. Minet and W.C. Waller (eds), Transcript of the registers of the Protestant church at Guisnes, from 1668 to 1685, Publications, HSL, III (Lymington, 1891), app. B, p.283.
- 10. J.L.M. Franken, 'Briefies', TWK, 7th year, 1938-9, pp.100-1.
- 11. The modern spelling of this Christian name, rather than the popular contemporary Jaques, or Jaque, has been followed in this article.
- 12. J.L.M. Franken, 'Die Franse vlugtelinge, IV: die geskil tussen Simond en De Savoye', Die Huisgenoot, X, 211, Apr. 2, 1926, pp.21, 23.
- P.F. Theron, Geslacht lijst ...., MS. comp. 1823—6 (SA Bound Pamphlets, 310, South African Library), pp.4—6. See also J. Noble, Fransche Hoek: the story of our Pilgrim Fathers (Cape Town, 1860), p.26 and A.M. Hugo, Pieter François Theron van Tulbagh (1771—1846): ons eerste Afrikaanse genealoog?, Familia. VIII, 4, 1971, pp.101—8.
- 14. 'Hollandse Hugenotebriefies: Jaques Therond', Die Huisgenoot, XIV, 397, Nov. 8, 1929, p.63.
- 15. Botha, French refugees. pp.66, 87.
- E. Arnaud, Histoire des Protestants du Dauphiné aux XVIe. XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. II, Troisième période: le régime de l'Edit de Nantes 1598—1685 (Geneva, 1970 ed.), pp.352— 3, 403, 431.

South Africa. He sailed for the Netherlands in 1702 with his wife, Anne de Bérault de la Magère of Laigle in Normandy, and their five children born in the settlement. Some years later the conquests of the allies in the War of the Spanish Succession enabled him to revisit France, where he served from 1709 at Lille as second pastor to Jean Louis Bonvoust. The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 brought to an end the revival of Protestantism there, however, and although we know that Simond was then appointed to Furnes in what is now Belgium his subsequent history is uncertain. 17

Of his family we have more information, since his wife and at least four of his children went to England. It would seem that they already had a relative in that country in David Simond of Nyons, son of James (Jacques) and Elisabeth Simond, who was naturalized in 1714.<sup>18</sup> Pierre Simond's daughter Catherine, baptized in March, 1689 with Simon van der Stel as godfather, lived in Wardour Street, London, and died unmarried at an advanced age.Her sister Elisabeth married Samuel Coqutsaute from Nérac in south-western France and their eldest child David was baptized at Southampton in 1719.<sup>19</sup> Both Simond's sons became British subjects, Pierre, the elder, in 1717 and Jacques Cléopas on February 20, 1729/30.<sup>20</sup> Pierre (Peter), a merchant of Nicholas Lane in the City of London, died at the age of 94 on November 23, 1785. A coat of arms was granted to the family in 1760.<sup>21</sup>

There were other Cape settlers from France with English connections, although in some cases the precise relationship is not clear. Thomas and Joseph Malan of Mérindol in Provence, the sons of Thomas and Anne Malan, were naturalized in Britain by an act of parliament which received the royal assent on February 25, 1731/2.<sup>22</sup> The Huguenot refugee at the Cape, Jacques Malan, was also from Mérindol.<sup>23</sup>

Salomon de Gournay, who came to the Cape in 1688, decided thirty years later to join his eldest brother Jean in London. <sup>24</sup> Jean de Gournay's name appears as a witness at marriages celebrated in 1715 and 1718 at the church of St Martin Orgars. <sup>25</sup> This refugee church in St Martin's Lane (now Martin Lane) off Cannon Street had been built on the site of an Anglican place of worship destroyed during the Great Fire of London in 1666. <sup>26</sup> St Martin Orgars, like the more famous French church of the Savoy with its aristocratic congregation, was a conforming church, having adopted the Anglican liturgy. That many Huguenot congregations in London took

- 19. H. Wagner, 'The Huguenot refugee family of Simond', *The Genealogist*, new series, XXIV, Jan., 1908 (offprint, no p. no.).
- 20. Shaw (ed.), *Letters*, pp.122, 134. The younger son's birthplace is described as "the Cape of Good Hope in Affrica". English dates are in the old style.
- 21. Wagner, 'Huguenot refugee family', *The Genealogist*, new series, XXIV, Jan., 1908 (off-print).
- 22. Shaw (ed.), Letters, p.137.
- 23. See J. Malan (comp.), Die Malan-gedenkboek..... (n. pl., 1951), pp.40-1.
- 24. Botha, French refugees, p.70.
- 25. Minet and Minet (eds), Register of the church of Saint Martin Orgars, 505 and 518, pp.30-1.
- 26. *I bid.*. p.xvi.

<sup>17.</sup> For Simond at this period see J. de Hullu, 'Registers of the Protestant churches of Lille 1708-1713, Béthune 1711-1712, and Mons 1713-1715', Proceedings, HSL, XVI, 1, 1938, pp.99-101.

<sup>18.</sup> W.A. Shaw (ed.), Letters of denization and acts of naturalization for aliens in England and Ireland 1701-1800. Publications, HSL, XXVII (Manchester, 1923), p.118.

this course may be attributed to the friendly attitude of the Church of England, contemporary suspicions in England of nonconformity and the breakdown of the French system of ecclesiastical regulation by conference (colloque) and synod.

Salomon de Gournay had married Anne Martin, widow of Jean du Puy, at the Cape. The Martins came from Guines and Fréthun near Calais and it is probable that Marye (Marie) Martin of Guines, who married in London in February, 1692/3, was related to Anne.<sup>27</sup> The surname Martin is not a common one in the Guines registers. The name Pierre Gournay appears in London records. Pierre, who abjured the Catholic faith in July, 1689 at the Savoy church before entering military service, came from Blangis in Artois (Blangy-sur-Ternoise in the present Pas-de-Calais).<sup>28</sup> This may well be the place of origin of Salomon and Jean de Gournay.

Blangis (Blangy) is not difficult to identify, but other localities appear in contemporary records in less recognizable forms. The Huguenot Society of London has done invaluable work in this field and the researches of its members enable us to determine the site of at least one birthplace listed in Cape documents. Marie Plé from Villebec (*sic*), near Paris, was married in London at the church of the Tabernacle in March, 1697/8 <sup>29</sup> and the Cape refugee Jean Parisel is described as coming from Willebeck, some three hours distant from the French capital. <sup>30</sup> C. Graham Botha does not attempt to identify this place; moreover he omits the important fact that it lay three hours *on foot* from Paris, a circumstance which considerably narrows the area of search. <sup>31</sup> This locality is clearly Villiers-le-Bel in the Pontoise district of the modern Seine-et-Oise, where several hundred Protestants are known to have lived in the mid-seventeenth century. <sup>32</sup>

Nicolas Labat of Drakenstein, who received financial help at the Cape in 1690, 33 came from Fontenay-le-Comte in Poitou. The son of Jacob Labat and Susanne Laurent, he married Elisabeth Vivier, also of Huguenot refugee stock, in June, 1717 and died on December 30 of the same year. <sup>34</sup> News of his death reached his elder brother Jacob, a sword cutler<sup>35</sup> living in the parish of St Martin's-in-the-Fields, London, and he laid claim to Nicolas's estate. On October 12, 1724 a group of Huguenot refugees which included the pastor Jean Hudel declared in London before Jacques de Brissac, solicitor, that they knew the Labat family of Fontenay-le-Comte and on June 19, 1726 De Brissac drew up a power of attorney appointing François

- 29. Minet and Minet (eds), Registers ..... of the Tabernacle, p.4. She married Nicolas Triponet from the Palatinate on Mar. 8, 1697/8.
- 30. Botha, French refugees, p.80.
- 31. 1St.B, 18/2, Testamente, 1698—1713: 13, Jan Parisel, May 13, 1707, aged 40 (Cape Archives, henceforth CA).
- 32. S. Mours, Le Protestantisme en France au XVIIe siècle (Paris, 1967), p.63. For the identification see Minet and Minet (eds), Registers ..... of the Tabernacle, p.xxv.
- 33. J.L.M. Franken, 'Die Franse vlugtelinge, II, Vestiging', Die Huisgenoot. X, 194, Nov. 27, 1925, p.21.
- 34. Botha, French refugees, p.74.
- 35. There is a small error in Botha, where the word "cutter" is used (Ibid., p.52).

<sup>27.</sup> W. and S. Minet (eds), Registers of the churches of the Tabernacle Glasshouse Street and Leicester Fields 1688—1783, Publications, HSL, XXIX (Frome, 1926), p.41. She married François Faure of Serres, Dauphiné on Feb. 26, 1692/3.

<sup>28.</sup> W. and S. Minet (eds), Livre des conversions et des reconnoissances faites à l'église françoise de la Savoye 1684—1702, Publications, HSL, XXII (London, 1914), pp. xi, 4. The abjuration was made on July 30, 1689. Gournay was 35 years of age.

Guilliaumé to administer Nicolas's estate on his brother's behalf. Guilliaumé came out to the Cape shortly afterwards to superintend the founding of a silk industry  $^{36}$  and Jacob Labat's claim was discussed by the Council of Policy on August 28, 1727. It was decided that as Dutch and English laws of inheritance differed, Jacob's application should be deferred until the death of a younger brother Paul could be established and that it was certain that neither he nor a fourth brother Jean and a sister Catherine, both deceased, had left descendants.  $^{37}$ 

In addition to Nicolas, there was at the Cape a Jacques Labat. The historian of the Huguenot emigration to South Africa, C. Graham Botha, asserts that the two were brothers and that the latter, having returned to England, was the Jacob who claimed the inheritance. <sup>38</sup> This does not accord with the known facts. There is no mention in the document of 1724 of a brother Jacques and nothing in the Cape records to confirm the relationship. Moreover, it is unlikely that a man who signed himself Jaques Labat without the 'c' in the Christian name as was then more usual — would call himself Jacob in England. Those there who decided to anglicize their names adopted the closest English equivalent and Jacques, as with Pierre Simond's younger son, became James. 39 There is no certainty that Jacques Labat went to England, but what is certain is that he was still at the Cape in 1701.40 However, on July 14, 1700 a Jacob Labat of Fontenay-le-Comte, aged 42, his wife Anne, 32 years of age, and their four small children acknowledged membership of the reformed religion at the French Savoy church in London.41 Jacob seems to have been one of those who found it difficult at first to settle in England. In 1690 the elders of the church of St James, Westminster gave the sum of ten shillings (R1) to Jacob de la Bat, fourbisseur (sword cutler) of Fontenay-le-Comte to help him make his way to the Netherlands. 42 This must surely have been the elder brother of Nicolas Labat, the Cape refugee.

A trading connection between visiting Englishmen and Cape Huguenots is not without interest. In 1714 Pierre Joubert of Provence purchased "two Madagascar negro Ladds" imported aboard the vessel *Delicia*. This ship was commanded by Woodes Rogers, who had earlier visited the Cape on his celebrated privateering expedition. 43 Payment was effected through one of the Sollier brothers, Durand and Gilles. The latter is known to have had some English and to have entertained visitors from British vessels at his

<sup>36.</sup> G.C. de Wet (ed.), Suid-Afrikaanse argiefstukke: resolusies van die Politieke Raad, VII (Johannesburg, 1971), p.xxv.

Ibid., pp.356-8, including the supporting statements from London, transcribed from C 22, Resolusies, pp.202-13 (CA).

French refugees. p.52, which summarizes the resolution of Aug. 28, 1727. See also pp.73–4.

<sup>39.</sup> Shaw (ed.), Letters, p. 134. That Jacques Labat was called Jacob in a Dutch document does not invalidate the argument (MOOC 8/1, Inventarissen, 1692—1705: 52, Mar. 20, 1699 (CA)). Botha (French refugees, p. 73) says Bordeaux was given as a place of origin in 1695. In fact it was Bourdeaux and as he was elsewhere described as from Savoy, this could be Bourdeau, near Chambéry (CJ 298, Criminele Processtukken, 1695: May 17, 1695: 177-9; MOOC 8/1: 52, Mar. 20, 1699 (CA)).

<sup>40.</sup> MOOC 8/1: 54, Feb. 25, 1701 (CA).

<sup>41.</sup> Minet and Minet (eds), Livre des conversions et des reconnoissances, p.29.

<sup>42.</sup> Minet and Minet (eds), Register of the church of Saint Martin Orgars, p.xxxvi.

A.J. Böeseken (ed.), Suid-Afrikaanse argiefstukke: resolusies van die Politieke Raad, IV, 1707-1715: Mar. 21, 1711, pp.196-8, transcribed from C 8, Resolusies, pp.43-56 (CA).

house,44 circumstances which suggest that it was Gilles Sollier who handled the matter.45

What has been described as an "eloquent little story of misfortune" in 1722<sup>46</sup> forges yet another link between the Huguenots of England and their brethren at the Cape. The great storm of June, 1722 in Table Bay was of unusual severity and caused the loss of all ten ships then lying at anchor. More than 600 men perished, and goods, coin and bullion to a considerable value went to the bottom. Six of the vessels were outward-bound East Indiamen, five Dutch and one British, two were British ships returning from the east and the remaining two were employed in coastal waters by the Dutch East India Company.<sup>47</sup> On one of the ocean-going vessels was a French Huguenot, Jacob de Banc, who wrote on June 25 from the Cape to Marie Berthe, the daughter of a Paris banker, Jean Berthe, and widow of the minister Claude Groteste de la Mothe of the French Savoy church in London.<sup>48</sup> De Banc does not name his ship, but from evidence in his letter it was probably William Mackett's *Nightingale*, outward-bound from London, or possibly the Dutch *Lakenman*. commanded by Hermanus Branus.<sup>49</sup>

De Banc wrote that he had lost practically all his possessions, but had managed to save his life by swimming naked to the shore, with a shirt, his watch and seven  $\acute{e}cus$  tied round his waist. After reaching land he had been compelled to walk a good three miles to the town in high wind and rain. He had decided to return to England by the first available British ship and in the meantime requested Mme de la Mothe, a woman noted for her charitable acts, to continue her friendly ministrations to his poor family. He ended his letter by sending a respectful greeting to Susanne Groteste de la Buffière, niece by marriage of Mme de la Mothe.<sup>50</sup>

The Grotestes were a distinguished Orleans family, which even before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes had split into a Protestant and a Catholic group. Considerable ties of affection bound the family together and neither exile nor religious differences seem to have loosened them. Many family letters have survived <sup>51</sup> and in them Claude Groteste's Catholic brother Abraham, an advocate of the Paris *parlement*. "appears", in the words of Winifred Turner, who edited the correspondence, "as a humorous, mellow old man, whose frank and affectionate relationship with his heretic sister-in-law (Claude's widow) is very attractive". <sup>52</sup> Another of Claude's brothers, the pastor Marin Groteste des Mahis, abjured and at his death in 1694 was a canon of Orleans cathedral. <sup>53</sup> A third brother, Jacques Groteste de la Buffière, remained in France as a Protestant. His position was not an easy one and it was doubtless to save his eldest daughter, Susanne, from

- 45. MOOC 14/5, Liquidation Accounts, annexures, 1723-1737: 2/71, Pieter Joubert, Dec. 16, 1714, signed J.W. Ker (CA).
- 46. Turner (ed.), Aufrère papers, section III, I, p.214.
- 47. G.M. Theal, History of South Africa (Cape Town, 1964 ed.), III, pp.495-6.
- 48. Turner (ed.), Aufrère papers, section III, F, p.75.
- 49. C 604, Dag Register (duplicate), 1717–1722: June 6, 1722, p.982 (CA).
- 50. Turner (ed.), Aufrère papers, section III, I, p.214.
- 51. Ibid., section III, F, pp.80-112.
- 52. Ibid., section III, F, p.76.
- 53. E. and E. Haag, La France protestante. ou vies des protestants français ..... (Geneva. 1966 ed.), V, pp.372-3.

<sup>44.</sup> J.L.M. Franken, 'Die Franse vlugtelinge, VII, Die Franse en Beck in die kampanjie teen Willem Adriaan van der Stel', *Die Huisgenoot*. XII, 298, Dec. 9, 1927, p.37.

more strenuous efforts to convert her to Catholicism that he placed her in the home of her kindly uncle, Abraham Groteste. 54

Claude Groteste de la Mothe emigrated to England in 1685 on a passport granted to him by the French government. 55 He was almost certainly known to the Cape Taillefert family of Château-Thierry, who worshipped at Nogentel, since he was pastor at nearby Lizy-sur-Ourcq immediately before the revocation and took part as a secretary in the last provincial synod for Paris and north-eastern France, held there in 1681 or 1683.56 Some years after his death in 1713 his niece Susanne came from Paris to live in London with her aunt, his widow. It was probably in her house that she met Peter Simond, elder son of the Cape's first minister to the refugees. The friendship deepened and on January 11, 1724/5 in the Spring Gardens chapel attached to the French Savoy church the couple were married under licence from the Archbishop of Canterbury by the Rev. Pierre de Tache. 57 Susanne's Catholic uncle in Paris, Abraham Groteste, expressed his pleasure in characteristic style: "C'est un bon enfant et je suis persuadé que Monsieur Simon(d) en est fort content; les gens d'esprit savent distinguer le vrai mérite", 58

Abraham Groteste was a little premature in complaining in 1727 that his favourite niece was being somewhat unreasonable in presenting the family with nothing but daughters, <sup>59</sup> for a son Pierre François was born on October 30 of that year.<sup>60</sup> Two of the Simond daughters, however, made excellent matches. The eldest child, Susanne Louise, who was baptized on November 5, 1725 at St Martin Orgars,<sup>61</sup> married John, 11th Lord St John of Bletso at St Anne's church, Soho on December 13, 1755. A younger daughter, Louise Marianne, who was christened in 1735, married Sir John Trevelyan of Nettlecombe, 4th baronet and member of parliament, at the church of St Peter le Poer on April 20, 1757.<sup>62</sup> From this marriage is descended the distinguished historian George Macaulay Trevelyan, who is thus a direct descendant of Pierre Simond of Dauphiné, pastor to the French refugees at the Cape of Good Hope.<sup>63</sup>

Although Pierre's elder son never revisited the distant land of his birth, he was able to make at least one journey to the country from which his father had been expelled. Peter Simond assumed certain responsibilities in connection with Mme de la Mothe's financial affairs and in 1726, partly in connection with these domestic obligations, he travelled to Paris as a free

- 54. Turner (ed.), Aufrère papers, section III, F, p.92: Jacques Robethon, Paris, to Jean Robethon, Hanover, 1714.
- 55. Ibid., section III, F, p.75.
- 56. Mousseaux, Brie protestante, pp.153-8.
- 57. W. and S. Minet (eds), Registres des églises de la Savoye de Spring Gardens et des Grecs 1684-1900, Publications, HSL, XXVI (Manchester, 1922), p.160.
- 58. Turner (ed.), Aufrère papers, section III, F, p.105: to Mme de la Mothe, (Paris), Apr. 24, 1726.
- 59. Ibid., section III, F, p.112: to Mme de la Mothe, (Paris), Jan. 4, 1727.
- 60. Minet and Minet (eds), Register of the church of Saint Martin Orgars, 279, p.16. The baptism took place on Nov. 5, 1727.
- 61. *Ibid.*, 248, p.14. Capt. David Simond was godfather. A second daughter, Marianne, was baptized on Nov. 23, 1726 in this church, with Anne de Bérault, Pierre Simond's widow, as godmother (*Ibid.*, 262, p.15).
- 62. Wagner, 'Huguenot refugee family', *The Genealogist*, new series, XXIV, Jan., 1908 (offprint).
- 63. Burke's peerage (103rd ed., London, 1963), pp.2429-31.

man and a British citizen.64

This exploration of certain links between the Huguenots of the Cape and those of Europe cannot pretend to be exhaustive. Much more remains to be discovered in the archives and libraries of France and her neighbours, and possibly in those of countries more remote. It is a field still wide open to the diligent researcher whose training and enthusiasm can scarcely fail to bring to light material of a historical, sociological and genealogical nature to enrich our knowledge of the Huguenot past. Earlier studies have concentrated largely on documentary evidence available at the Cape and in the Netherlands; surprisingly little research has been undertaken in other parts of Europe. One man in recent years has, however, shown the way. It is therefore fitting that this brief exploration should conclude with a sincere tribute to Professor André Malan Hugo of the University of Cape Town, A classicist by training and profession, he was never able to devote all his attention to the exploration of French documentary sources on the Huguenots who made the Cape of Good Hope their home. Always willing to share-the results of his researches with others, Professor Hugo was a belated pioneer in a neglected area of South African history. 65 His tragically early death is widely lamented and not least by those whose interests lie in the historical field to which he devoted so many of his leisure moments. His name will not be forgotten.

64. Turner (ed.), Aufrère papers. section II, p.15.

<sup>65.</sup> Particular attention is drawn to his challenging address to the Genealogical Society of South Africa on Oct. 16, 1973 ('Die Kaapse Hugenote', *Familia*. XI, 1, 1974, pp.1--7) and to the following articles on research in France: 'Op soek naar ons stamouers in die argiewe van Frankryk', *ibid.*, I, 1--2, 1964; 'Die Franse voorgeslagte van ons families Hugo en Blignaut: 'n kort verslag van verdere ondersoek gedoen in die Champagne', *ibid.*, X, 1--4, 1973; 'Anne Hugot, nouvelle convertie: 'n interessante mededeling uit Frankryk', *ibid.*, XI, 1, 1974, pp.21--4.