

HISTORY

OF THE

Huguenot Emigration

TO

America

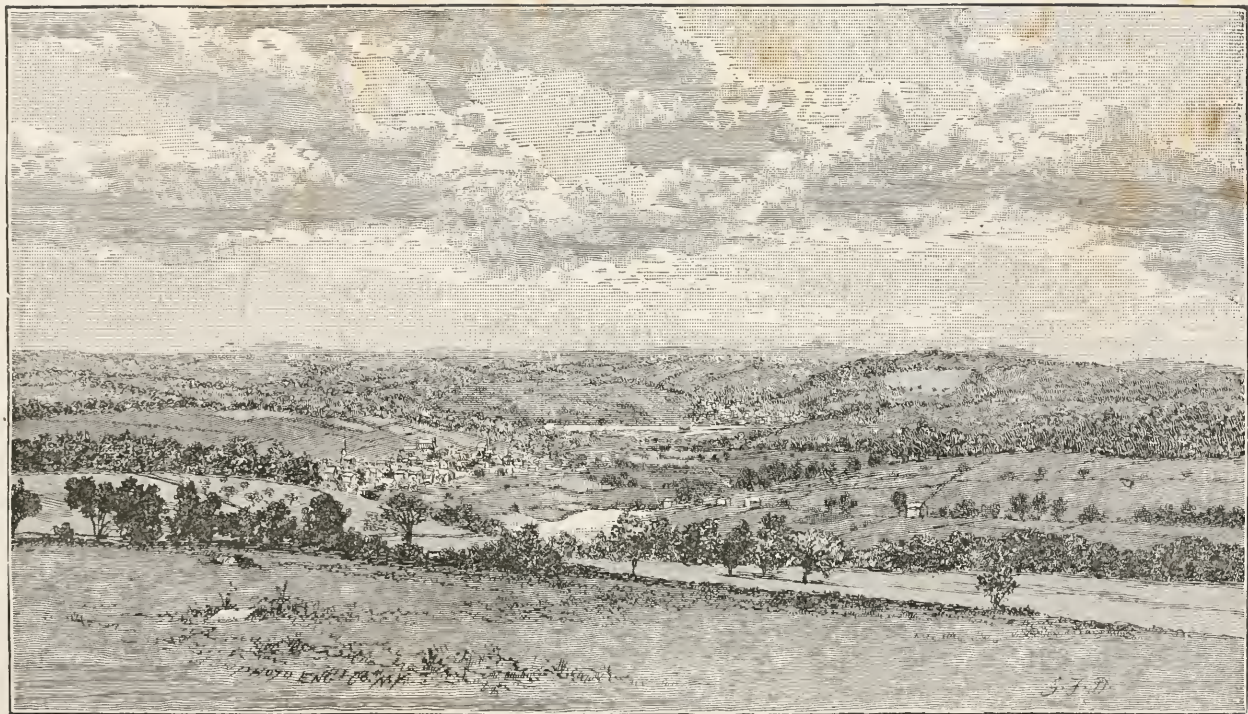
BY

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OXFORD, MASSACHUSETTS, FROM THE SITE OF THE HUGUENOT FORT.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE REVOCATION.

FLIGHT FROM SAINTONGE AND POITOU.

The province of SAINTONGE, now embraced in the department of Charente-Inférieure, presents a coast line exceedingly broken. The low, sandy shore is everywhere indented by bays: outlets of devious rivers, as the Charente and the Seudre; or inlets of the sea, which runs capriciously far back into the land, making irregular peninsulas, and spreading out into broad marshes. Peopled by a simple and hardy race of sailors, fishermen, and salters, this region, we have already seen, was early visited by earnest propagators of the Reformed doctrines, and a large part of the population was won over to Protestantism.

At the time of the Revocation, Saintonge lost many of its most industrious and virtuous families. The facilities for their escape were exceptionally great. The harbors and the landing places, along the Atlantic coast on the west, and up the broad gulf of the Gironde, on the south, were just so many open doors, inviting the persecuted to seek their freedom. Nor could the mounted guards, stationed at inter-

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Facilities
for
escape.

Chap. VI. vals along the coast, however they might hurry
 1681— from port to port, and scan the sands and shal-
 1686. lows to detect some fugitive, prevent many
 from succeeding in the attempt.

Mouth
 of the
 Charente.

Near the mouth of the Charente, on the neck of land formed by that tortuous stream, as it approaches the sea, there were several villages and hamlets where a number of our Huguenot families originated. One of them, Port des Barques, has disappeared entirely from the map and the gazetteer. Three others, Saint Froult, Moïse and Soubise, are obscure and decaying places, of four, five and six hundred inhabitants. Saint Nazaire alone, with a population of some fourteen hundred souls, shows any degree of vitality.

Port des Barques, opposite the island of Oléron, was the early home of Elie Dupeux, François Bridon, Daniel Targé, and others, who came to America. Most of these refugees effected their escape to England as early as the year 1681. The name of Elie Dupeux appears ten years later, among the names of the settlers of New Oxford, Massachusetts.¹ François Bridon came to Boston, and was an Elder of the French Church in that city, by the end of the

¹ Elie Depeux, matelot ; sa femme ; deux enfans ; partis en 1681 : lieu de retraite, Angleterre. Fugitifs du Port des Barques.—(Archives Nationales, Tr., N°. 259.) Elias Du Pus, with Mary his wife, and Elias, John, Mary and Susanna, their children ; naturalized in England, March 21, 1682. "Elie Dupeu" and "J. Dupeu" (probably Jean, son of Elie) were among the French settlers of New Oxford, Massachusetts, in 1691.

century.¹ His son François, while the family were still in England, went back in 1684 to Port des Barques, perhaps hoping to secure some of the property left there at the time of their flight. Word was sent to Paris of his return to the place.² Daniel Targé, ship carpenter,³ another of these fugitives, settled in Rhode Island, where the name slightly changed to Tourgée, has been preserved, and has lately become conspicuous in American literature.⁴ Jacques Billebeau, of Port des Barques, comes to view afterward as one of the inhabitants of Manakin-

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¹ “François Bridon, sa femme, deux enfans,” fled from Port des Barques in 1681, leaving property valued at eight hundred livres.—(Arch. Nat.) Francis Bridon, his wife, Susanna, their son Francis junior, and their servant Elias Vallet, were naturalized in England, March 21, 1682. Francis Bridon [Bredon, Breedon] Elder of the French Church Boston, 1704. Susanne Bridon, wife of Denis Richer, New York, 1704.

² “François Bridon, le jeune, est de retour en 1684, sa famille en Angleterre, et parle de s’en retourner.”—(Arch. Nat.) He reached America, and settled on Staten Island. Will of Francis Bredon, November 7, 1703. Wife, Hester Bodine; son Francis; daughter, Susanna Russhea.—(Wills, Surrogate’s office, New York, VI., 88; VII., 127.)

³ “Daniel Targé, charp^{er} en navire; sa femme,” fled from Port des Barques to England in 1681, leaving property valued at two hundred livres.—(Arch. Nat.) “Jacques Target, matelot, sa femme et une fille; 300 livres;” fled in the same year to England, where he was naturalized, March 21, 1682.

⁴ Both Daniel and Jacques settled first in Narragansett, but removed upon the breaking up of the French plantation to New York, whence a branch of the family, it is believed, returned to Rhode Island some years later. The name had undergone several changes (Target, Targer, Targee, Tergé). But see below, page 312.

Chap. VI. town, Virginia,¹ and Charles Faucheraud and his
 1631- wife Anne Vignaud, with their children, sought
 1686. refuge in South Carolina.²

From the village of Saint Nazaire, several families of Huguenot seamen made their escape about the same time. Jean Martin,³ François Bouquet,⁴ Pierre Til-

¹ "Jean Bilbaud d[it] racouët, matelot, sa femme, biens, 4,000 *livres*," fled from Port des Barques in 1681 to England. Jacques Billebeau [Bilboa, Bilbaud, Billebo,] one of the inhabitants of Manakintown, 1700-1723, was doubtless of the same family.

² "Anne Vignaud, née au Porte des Barques en Xaintonge, veuve de Charles Faucheraud. Anne et Gedson, nés au Porte des Barques, enfans du dit Charles Faucheraud et de Anne Vignaud, Marie, leur fille née en Angleterre."—(Liste des François et Suisses refugiez en Caroline qui souhaitent d'être naturalisés Anglois, 1696.)

³ Jean Martin, S^t Nazaire.—(Arch. Nat.) Jean Martin, one of the settlers of New Oxford, Massachusetts, removed to New Rochelle, N. Y., and was the ancestor of the Martine family of Westchester county, N. Y.

⁴ "François Bouquet, maître de barque, sa femme et cinq enfans ; biens, 4,000 livres," fled to England in 1681 from Saint Nazaire or Port des Barques. (The name is mentioned in connection with both these localities, which were less than two miles apart.) "Led[it] Bouquet est de retour en 1684, et s'en retourne."—(Arch. Nat.) François appears in New York at the marriage of Suzanne [his daughter ?] to Pierre Dasserex, in the French Church, April 22, 1697. He was an inhabitant of New York, paying taxes, in 1701. Guillaume, Jacob, Jeanne (who married Jean Hain), Abijah, or Abigail (who married Jacques Arden), and Marie, were probably children of François. Jacob Bouquet married Marguerite, and died in 1721.—(N. Y. Wills, IX., 278.) Jacob, son of Jacob and Marguerite Bouquet, was born August 23, 1719.—(Records of the French Church in New York.) This family is to be distinguished from that of Bock or Bokee, of Flemish extraction probably, which settled at an early day in Dutchess County, N. Y.—(New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, III., 146 ;

lou,¹ Jean Hain,² Jean Vignaud,³ came to New York: and Mathurin Guérin, with his son François,⁴ settled in South Carolina.

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1686.

comp. X. 30 ; XII., 44, 85, etc.—Early History of America, N. Y., by Newton Reed, pp. 82, 38.)

¹ Pierre Tillou, said to have been the ancestor of the Tillou family in America (N. Y. Gen. and Biogr. Record, VII., 144), fled from France in 1681 (*ibid.*) and was naturalized in England, March 21, 1682, with his kinswoman Magdalen Bouquet, and with Vignaud, and Hain, also of Saint Nazaire. Vincent Tillou, naturalized July 3, 1701, was made a freeman of the city of New York June 9, 1702. He married Elizabeth Vigneau. He was one of the “chefs de famille” in the French Church in New York in 1704. He died before May 20, 1709. In 1725, John, Peter, Elizabeth and Anne Tillou petition for an inventory of the will of their aunt Susanna Bridon.—(New York Historical Manuscripts. vol. LXVIII., p. 59.) The late Francis R. Tillou, Esq., Recorder of New York, was a descendant of Pierre Tillou.—(N. Y. Gen. and Biogr. Record, VII., 144.)

² Jean Elizée et Elizabeth Hains, were among the fugitifs de Saint Nazaire.—(Arch. Nat.) John Hain, naturalized in England, March 21, 1682, was in New York in 1693, when he received aid from the French Church. He married Jeanne Bouquet, February 26, 1701. His posthumous son Jean was baptized in the French Church, April 23, 1704.

³ Jean Vignaud l'ainé, M^e et bourgeois de barque, and Jean Vignaud le jeune, matelot, are mentioned, under both Port des Barques and Saint Nazaire, as fugitives to England in 1681. The former was accompanied by his wife and two daughters; the latter by a son and a daughter. It is noted in 1684 that both had returned, and purposed to depart again. Each had left property to the value of three thousand *livres*. John Vignault, his wife Elizabeth, and his daughters Anne and Elizabeth, were naturalized in England, March 21, 1682. The will of Elizabeth, widow of John Vignau, of New York, signed May 20, and proved September 20, 1709, names her daughter Elizabeth, widow of Vincent Tillou, and her daughter Anne Mace.

⁴ “Mathurin Guerin, natif de Saint Nazaire, en Xaintonge: fils de Pierre Guerin et de Jeanne Billebaud; et Marie Nicholas, sa femme, native de la Chaume en Poitou, fille d'André Nicholas et de Françoise Dunot. François Guer-

Chap. VI. Soubise, anciently a fortified town, and the
 1681— capital of a small principality, gave its name to
 1686. the noble house of Soubise, which was one of
 the last to abandon the Protestant cause. Here
 Pierre Poinset, one of the emigrants to South
 Carolina,¹ Jean Panetier, of Virginia,² Jean
 Doublet³ and Jean Pierrot,⁴ of New York, and
 others were born. Within the limits of the

rain, fils de Pierre Guerrain et de Janne Billebeau, né à St. Nazere en Saintonge. Anne Arriné, sa femme.”—(Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline, etc.) Etienne Guerin was in New York in 1711 and 1715.

¹ “Pierre Poinset, l’ainé, né à Soubize, fils de Pierre Poinset, et Marie sa femme. Pierre Poinset, le jeune, né à Soubize; fils du dit Pierre et Sara Fouchereau, Anne Gobard sa femme.”—(Liste des Français et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline, etc.)

² “Jacques Panetier, fugitif de Soubise.”—(Arch. Nat.) John Pantrier, naturalized in England, March 8, 1682. Panetier, one of the settlers of Manakintown, Virginia, in 1700. Jean Panetier, 1714.

³ “Jean Doublet, laboureur, sa femme, une fille, fugitifs de Soubise en 1681,” went to England.—(Arch. Nat.) John Doublet, carman, was made freeman of New York, February 7, 1695. Jean and Marie Doublet were members of the French Church in New York, 1702. Elizabeth Doublet, wife of Isaac Garnier, 1693.

⁴ “Jean Pierraux, sargier, sa femme, deux enfans, biens, 1500 livres; fugitifs de Soubise en 1681; lieu de retraite, Angleterre.”—(Arch. Nat.) Jean Pierrot and Meta (or Martha) Meby (Maybie) his wife, presented their son Pierre for baptism in the French Church, New York, August 24, 1692.

“Jean Gaultier, charp^{er} de navire, sa femme, trois enfans; fugitifs de Soubise en 1681; lieu de retraite, Angleterre.”—(Arch. Nat.) John Gaultier was naturalized in England, March 8, 1682. La veuve Gautier was assisted by the French Church in New York in 1696. Elizabeth Gautier, wife of Timotée Archambeau, 1692; and Jeanne, wife of Jean Blanchard, 1687, are also mentioned.

principality, and scarcely more than a mile to the south-west of Soubise, is the hamlet of Moïse, the birthplace of Pierre Guimard, and of Elie Neau, the brave confessor, who suffered for the faith in the galleys of Louis XIV., and survived a long imprisonment to become the patient teacher of negro slaves and Indians in the city of New York.¹ The descendants of Pierre Guimard, in Ulster County, New York, have preserved the certificate which their ancestor brought with him from the consistory of the Protestant Church of Moïse, attesting his good character.²

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¹ Elie Neau, originaire de Moïse en Saintonge dans la Principauté de Soubise.—(Histoire abrégée des Souffrances du sieur Elie Neau, sur les galeres, et dans les Cachots de Marseille. A Rotterdam, chez Abraham Acher, Marchand Libraire, pres de la Bourse. M. DCC. I. Page 1.)

² “ Pierre Guinard [Guimard] fils, fugitif de Moïse en 1685 ; son père est vivant : lieu de sa retraite, Angleterre.” —(Arch. Nat.) According to an account preserved by his descendants in Orange County, New York, Guimard fled from France, in company with one Caudebec, whose sister he was engaged to marry. Their flight was so precipitate, that they were unable to provide themselves with means ; but it was arranged that the sister should meet them, at a certain time and place, bringing them a sum of money. They waited for her appearance, but waited in vain ; and the young men, entirely without resources, embarked in their desperation for America. They landed in Maryland, and, after experiencing many hardships, reached the spot now known as the town of Deerpark, in Orange County, New York. Here Guimard and Caudebec joined with five others in forming a settlement. The following record of Guimard's marriage occurs in the register of the ancient French Reformed Church of New Paltz, Ulster county, New York :

“ Le 18^e Avril, 1692, M^r Dailliez a mariéz Pierre Guimar natif de Moize en Saint Onge en France fils de Pierre

Chap. VI. Louis Geneuil,¹ Josué and Daniel Mercereau,² members of the French Church in New York, had also fled from Moïse. They

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1686.

Guimar et Anne Damour ses pere et mere, avec Ester Hasbroucq natif du Palatin en Alemagne fille de Jean Hasbroucq et de Anne Doyœux ses pere et mere."

Guimard was naturalized, July 3, 1701. He died between 1726 and 1732. The will of Paire [Pierre] Guimard, of Wagachkemeck, in the county of Ulster, mentions his only son Paire, and his daughters Hester, wife of Philip Du Bois, Anne, wife of Jacobus Swartwout, junior, Mary, and Elizabeth.—(Wills, N. Y., XI., 395.)

The following certificate, in the possession of Peter L. Gumaer, Esq., of Guymard, Orange County, New York, was probably forwarded to Pierre after his escape to England. The names in italics are doubtless incorrectly given, the signatures being almost undecipherable.

"Nous soussignez ancien du Consistoire de Moïse en l'absence de Monsieur Morin nostre Ministre certifions que Pierre Guimar âgé de ans ou environs fait et a toujours fait profession de nostre Religion en laquelle il est né sans commettre aucun scandalle qui soit venu a nostre connoissance qui empesche qu'il ne puisse estre admis a la participation de nos Sacrement. En foy dequoy nous luy avons signé le present certificat a Moïse vingtiesme d'avril 1686."

"Guymard *Lolsary*. *L Avillaisnez*.

"Billbaud."

¹ "Louis Geneuil, saulnier, sa femme, deux filles, fugitifs de Moïse, en 1681 : lieu de retraite, Angleterre ; biens, 400 *livres*."—(Arch. Nat.) Marie Geneuil de Moyse en Saintonge, was in New York, November 9, 1692, and married Jean Dubois, October 29, 1693. "L[ouis] Geneuil" was a witness to her marriage ; Madelaine Geneuil, sponsor at the baptism of her child, married Jean Pierre de Salenave, January 29, 1701.—(Records of the French Church in New York.)

² This family was in New York as early as the year 1689. Josué Mercereau, de Moïse en Saintonge, married Marie Chadaine, July 16, 1693. Daniel, of Moïse, married Susanne Marie Doucinet, August 6, 1693. Marie, de Moïse, married Jean La Tourette, July 16, 1693. Elizabeth, another sister apparently, was already the wife of Pierre Massé, whose son Daniel was presented for baptism, May 5, 1689.—(Records of the French Church in New York.)

doubtless knew something of the stress of the persecution that visited the inoffensive population of these obscure places. The curate of Soubise was wont to boast that he waged perpetual war upon the Huguenots, who dared not say one word. "They are taken like pheasants by the beak," said he; "and at the slightest sound, off we pack them to the prisons at Rochefort."

Chap. VI.

1681—

1686.

Saint Froul, between Moïse and Saint Nazaire, contains barely four hundred inhabitants. Here Pierre Durand,¹ Jean Dragaud,² and Jeanne du Tay, wife of Jacques Targé,³ refugees in New York, lived before their flight from France.

South of this cluster of villages, upon another marshy delta, stand the village of Hiers and the seaport-town of Marennes. Jean Chadaine,⁴

¹ "Pierre Durand, de Saint Froul, fugitif."—(Arch. Nat.) Peter Durand and his son Charles were naturalized in England, March 20, 1686. Pierre Durand, a member of the French Church in New York, August 4, 1706.

² "Jean Dragaud, marinier, fils de deffunt Pierre Dragaud, saunier et Jeanne Garnié sa vefue, demeurant cy devant à Saint Froul, proche Moïze en Xaintonge," was married in the French Church, Bristol, England, August 26, 1699, to Marie Morrye, of Saint Nazaire. Jean Dragaud and Susanne, his wife, were members of the French Church in New York, 1729, 1732; and Jean was installed an Elder of that Church, May 18, 1729. Jean and Peter Dragaud were inhabitants of Staten Island in 1735.

³ Marie et Jeanne Dutais, fugitives de Saint Froul.—(Arch. Nat.)

⁴ "Jean Chadaine, M^e de barque, sa femme, sa belle-mère, quatre enfants et une nièce, fugitifs de Hiers près Brouage en 1682. Lieu de retraite, Corp [Cork]." Marie Chadaine, de Yers en S^tonge, was married, July 16, 1693, to Josué

Chap. VI. shipmaster, fled from Hiers in 1682, with his
 1681— family, to Cork in Ireland, whence he made his
 1686. way, after some years, to New York. His children
 settled on Staten Island and in New Rochelle.
 Elie Rembert, seaman, and Jacques Rembert,
 salter, fled from Hiers in 1683.¹ Elie and
 Jacques found homes in America, the one in
 New York, the other in New Rochelle. Pierre
 Rusland,² sailmaker, of Hiers, escaped with his
 family in 1682, and after a sojourn of some
 years in England, came to New York. Pierre
 Arondeau,³ mate, accompanied Chadaine to Ire-
 land. He was probably the father of Jacques
 Arondeau, of New York.

The flight of these seafaring men and their

Mercereau, in the French Church in New York. She was a daughter of Jean Chadaine, of Narragansett, and subsequently of Staten Island, N. Y., ship-carpenter, who died in 1708. His will names his wife Mary, and children John, Henry, Martha, Elizabeth, and Mary, wife of Joshua Mercereau.—(N. Y. Wills, VII., 393.)

¹ Elie Rembert, matelot, fled from Hiers with his wife in 1683, to London. Jacques Ramber, saulnier, his wife and four children, sought refuge in Cork in 1682. "Rembert" is named among the settlers of Narragansett; but Elie came to New York as early as 1692. He married first Jeanne Coulombeau, and secondly, Martha Moreau. Elias Ramber, mariner, died in New York in 1706. Jacques was a resident of New Rochelle, 1716-1728.

² "Pierre Rusland, voilier, sa femme, trois garçons et deux filles, fugitifs de Hiers pres Brouage en 1682 : lieu de retraite, à Londres."—(Arch. Nat.). Pierre was a member of the French Church in New York in 1702.

³ "Pierre Arondeau, contre-maître, sa femme, une fille; fugitifs de Hiers en 1682; lieu de retraite, Corp" [Cork].—(Arch. Nav.) Jacques Arondeau, sponsor at the baptism of Jacques, son of Elie Rembert, in the French Church in New York, June 20, 1703.

families, was caused by the measures taken as early as the year 1680, for the purpose of forcing all the sailors and captains of vessels to accept "the king's religion." In April of that year, a circular was sent to the warden of every port in the kingdom, informing him that His Majesty was resolved, "little by little," to remove from the navy all those of the Pretended Reformed religion. An able ecclesiastic would be sent to each port, and upon his arrival they were to be made "very gently" to understand, that His Majesty was willing to bear for a while with them, to see whether they would profit by the facilities given them for obtaining instruction in the Catholic faith; but that after this, should they persevere in their error, he would dispense with their services. Upon receiving these orders, the Count d'Estrées, in command at La Rochelle, wrote to the minister: "You confirm me, Sir, in the resolution which I had formed to devote myself earnestly, during this season, to the conversion of sailors." It must be borne in mind that these pious efforts were put forth, not, as one might imagine, for the moral and spiritual good of seamen—a class greatly needing such philanthropic attention—but for the purpose of either driving from the country, or forcing into a nominal and hypocritical consent to the established religion, those who, as their superiors freely acknowledged, formed the soundest and best part of the seafaring population of France.¹

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1680.

¹ Bulletin de la soc. de l'hist. du prot. franç., II., pp. 332-336.

Chap. VI.

1684.

The
"temple"
of
Marennes.

August
14.

Marennes, twenty-five miles south of La Rochelle, is now a town of four or five thousand inhabitants. It is surrounded by salt marshes, which in former times so insulated this place, as well as the neighboring town of Arvert, that they were known as "islands."¹ This region, at the time of the Revocation, was almost entirely Protestant.² The "temple" of Marennes was still standing in 1684, when all the Huguenot places of worship in the neighbourhood had been destroyed. Thirteen or fourteen thousand persons now gathered, from far and near, to attend its services. The order for its demolition was at length given. To aggravate the distress which this order would produce, it was withheld from the knowledge of the ministers until Saturday night. The next morning, about ten thousand persons were assembled around the Church. Many of them had come from the isles of Ré and Oléron. Twenty-three children had been brought for baptism. Upon learning the doom of their sanctuary, the multitude dispersed slowly, weeping, many of them unable to restrain themselves from sobs and lamentations. Relatives and friends embraced one another in silent grief. Many, with hands clasped, and

¹ Histoire des églises réformées de Pons, Gemozac et Mortagne en Saintonge, par A. Crottet. P. 50.

² Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes [par Elie Benoist]. Tome troisième, seconde partie, p. 683.—Complaint was made, May 31, 1694, that the "nouveaux convertis," in the Island of Marennes and the vicinity, possessed almost the entire region.—Bulletin de la soc. de l'hist. du prot. franç., vol. XXX., p. 320.

eyes turned toward heaven, seemed unable to tear themselves away from the spot, where, in spite of the inclemency of the weather, they had come to seek comfort in God's word and in prayer. Several of the little children died on the homeward journey. The order for the destruction of the "temple" required, as usual, that the Huguenots themselves should be made to demolish it. But the government found it impossible to carry out this design: and it was found necessary to bring workmen from a considerable distance to execute the decree.¹

A number of the Huguenot inhabitants of Marennes came to America. Among these were Pierre Parcot, and Françoise Gendron, his wife,² who settled in New Rochelle; Elie Charron,³ François Basset,⁴ De-

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1684.

¹ Benoist, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, tome troisième, seconde partie, pp. 681-683.

² The Parquot refugee family in London, 1693-1727, was from Marennes. Pierre Parquot was an "ancien" of the "temple" in Soho. Pierre Parquot or Parcot of New Rochelle, N. Y., was doubtless of the same stock. He and Françoise [Gendron] his wife, are named among the inhabitants of New Rochelle in 1698.

³ Elie Charron, matelot, fugitif du Fouilloux, en 1682; lieu de retraite, Baston.—(Arch. Nat.) Marguerite Jamain, veuve de Pierre Charon, fugitive de Marennes.—(Ibid.) Nicolas Jamain, in his will, New York, 1707, mentions Jean and Esther, children of Jean Charon and his "sister Margaret, dec'd."—(Wills, N. Y., VII., 301.) Jean may have been named Jean Pierre. Esther Charron married Pierre Morin, as early as 1700.—(Records of French Church, New York.)

⁴ François Basset, matelot, fugitif de Marennes en 1682; lieu de sa retraite, à Baston.—(Arch. Nat.) He was in New York in 1685: see his adventure in the West Indies, above, vol. I., p. 232. He married Marie Madeleine Nuquerque,

Chap. VI. blois,¹ and Doctor Pierre Basset,² of Boston ;

1681—

1686.

and had two daughters, Susanne-Madeleine, and Susanne, born September 1, 1689, and a son François, born April 17, 1692. He was naturalized April 15, 1693. The will of Francis Bassett, sailor, is dated January 9, 1696-7.—(Wills, N. Y., II., 93.) François was living in 1729. François Basset (le jeune, 1756), was one of the "chefs de famille," in the French Church, New York, in 1763. He took a prominent part in the troubles in that Church, 1765, 1766. Francis Basset was a member of the General Committee for New York, with Jay, Duane, Low, and others, May 1, 1775. Jean Basset, who married Elizabeth Vischer, before 1724, was probably a younger son of François, the refugee. (François and Susanne-Madeleine his daughter, were sponsors at the baptism of Marie, daughter of Jean and Elisabeth Basset, October 27, 1725.) Jean, son of Jean and Elisabeth, was born November 28, 1731. He married Helen Evout, December 10, 1763. Jean, son of Jean and Helen Basset, born October 7, 1764, became a prominent clergyman of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church. (Rev. John Bassett, D.D., minister of that Church in Albany, N. Y., 1787 to 1804, and in Bushwick, L. I., 1811 to 1824, when he died.)

¹ "M. Delbos," noticed in the "Relation d'un protestant françois réfugié à Boston," 1687. Susanne Delbois, of Marennnes, mentioned in the records of the Church of La Patente, London, 1694. Gilbert, Louis and Stephen Delbois were inhabitants of Boston in 1754. "Les de Bloys—famille noble de Saintonge—sont toujours restés protestants."—(La France Protestante, 2^e edition, II., 620.)

² "Pierre Basset et sa femme, fugitifs de Marennnes."—(Arch. Nat.) He was in New York in July, 1686, when M. Daillé wrote of him to Increase Mather in Boston. "Ille Doctor qui tibi reddet hasce meas litteras est optimus homo, reformatæ nostræ religionis, peritissimus in arte suâ. Passus a maximam jacturam, ita ut omnes sarcinas, omniaq, medicamenta injuste amiserit. Vult emere Bastonia medicamenta et ea quæ necessaria sunt."—(Mather Papers, vol. VI., letter No 20, MSS. in the Prince Library, Public Library of the city of Boston.) He seems to have been prevailed upon to remain in Boston, or to return thither : for he was admitted into the colony, February 1, 1691, and is spoken of in 1700 as having left that city. Denization in the province of New York was granted him, September 21, 1699. Pierre and Jean Basset presented their daughter Esther for bap-

André Paillet,¹ Timothée Archambeau,² Pierre Trochon,³ Benjamin and Elie Tadourneau,⁴ of New York; Jean Boisseau⁵ and Pierre Demeon,⁶ of South Carolina. Jean Boisbelleau,⁷ a name-

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tism in the French Church, New York, October 2, 1700. He died in November, 1706.—(Wills, N. Y., VI., 186.)

¹ Paillet, a Marennes name. André was a member of the French Church, New York, in 1690. Madame Paillet received assistance, 1693, 1696.

² Estienne Archambaud, fugitif de Marennes. (Arch. Nat.) Timothy, naturalized in England, January 31, 1690. He and his wife Elizabeth Gautier were members of the French Church, New York, in 1693. Jeanne Archambeau married Abraham Gouin, May 25, 1700, and secondly André Dupuy, July 14, 1705. Judith was the wife of Jacques Vallet in 1699.

³ Pierre Trochon was a member of the French Church, New York, 1700, 1702. Apparently he was afterwards taken captive by Algerine pirates. "Pierre Trochon, de Marennes, racheté de son Esclavage de Maroc, [agé de] 66 ans;" assisted in London in 1705 from the Royal Bounty.

⁴ "Benjamin Tadourneau, natif de Marennes, enterré le 12 Avril, 1689."—(Records of the French Church, New York.) Elie Tadourneau, pilote, fugitif de Marennes en 1685: lieu de retraite, à la Caroline.—(Arch. Nat.)

⁵ "Jean Boisseau, né à Maraine, fils de Jacques Boisseau et de Marie La Court. Marie Postel, sa femme."—(Liste des François et Suisses Refugiez en Caroline, etc.) Jean Boisseau, cooper, was made a freeman of the city of New York, February 2, 1698.

⁶ "Pierre Demeon, saulnier, fugitif de Marennes, 1684, à la Caroline."—(Arch. Nat.)

⁷ "Marc Boisbelleau, pasteur à Marennes, 1682-1684; ministre réfugié à Amsterdam, 1688." Jean Boisbelleau obtained denization in New York, September 2, 1685. See an account of the services he rendered to two French refugees; above, vol. I., page 232. He was sponsor at the baptism of a child of Poncet Stelle, sieur des Lorières, April 7, 1689. (Records of the French Church, New York.) In 1687, he had been living for two years in Gravesend, Long Island, N. Y.—(Documentary History of New York, vol. I., p. 661.)

Chap. VI. sake and possibly a relative of the last pastor
 1681- of Marennes, after an adventurous career found
 1686. a quiet retreat at Gravesend, on Long Island, where he was living in 1687.

About the same period, there arrived in the city of New York an interesting family from the same locality in France. Jacques Dubois, according to a family tradition, had held an important office under the government in France, when compelled at the Revocation to flee from the country. He left Marennes with his young wife Blanche Sauzeau, and their infant daughter, and an orphan boy named **Daniel Mesnard.** Daniel Mesnard, who had been committed to his care. The fugitives made their way first to Amsterdam, thence to the island of Martinique in the West Indies, and finally to New York,¹ where Dubois soon after died.² His widow survived him only a few months.³ Their daughter

¹ Information communicated by Benjamin Aycrigg, Esq., Passaic, New Jersey:

² "Will of James Dubois and Blanche Sauzeau, conjoined in lawful matrimony, living in the borough called Marenne, and of the Reformed Religion. Act of notary drawn up in said place, February 6, 1675, in the presence of Master John Aubin and Michel Rondeau, marshall; Master Nathanael Chapeloupe, notary; Master Peter Delavergne, a Royal Sergeant; John Delafon, chirurgion; Peter Delacheval, shoemaker; John Denis, called la Montagne, and Christopher Legrand, shoemaker, all of Marennes. Copy certified at Marennes, January 4, 1684. Ratified [in New York] by the late James Dubois at the article of death," September 27, 1688. Translated by Stephen Delancey. Attested by Elias Boudinot, Gabriel Leboiteux and Stephen Delancey.—(Wills, N. Y., XIV., pp. 54-57).

³ Inventory of the goods of Madame Blanche Sauzeau, widow of Mr. Jaques Dubois, made by Jean Papin and Jean Bouteillier, April 2, 1690. The property included, "one

Blanche grew up, and became the wife of René Het :¹ and the orphan, Daniel Mesnard, when come to man's estate, married the daughter of François Vincent, and founded a family which is still extant.²

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1686.

The tongue of land, south of Marennes, formed by the estuaries of the Seudre and the Garonne, was covered with villages, the inhabitants of which, principally mariners, were nearly all Protestants, before the Revocation. At La Tremblade, near the mouth of the Seudre, only five or six families professed the Roman Catholic faith, when in 1681 the "temple" of the Huguenots was taken and converted into a Roman Catholic church. The following year, the "temple" of Arvert was demolished. The journal of Taré Chaillaud, a Protestant mariner of La Tremblade,

peece of Land of about one hundred & twenty acres scituated at New Rochell in this Govern^t, upon y^e great Lots coast," valued at £30 : and one young negro, by name Sans Fassons [sans façon], valued, with other chattels, at £40 : total £882. Debts in the island of Martinique are mentioned.—(Wills, N. Y., XIV., 121-123.) Several others of the name of Sauzeau (variously spelled) and natives of Marennes, came to New York. "Madeleine Sozeau de Marenne" was married to Jean Bouyer, November 12, 1693, in the French Church, New York. Her brother Isaac Souzeau obtained letters of administration upon her estate, January 29, 1698. Ester Souseau married Jean Petit before 1694.

¹ Inscription upon her tomb in Trinity church-yard, New York : "Here Lyes Interr'd y^e Body of Blanche, wife of Rene Het, of this City, Dau^r of James Dubois, Born at y^e City of Marrian in y^e Province of Saintonge in France & Died Jan^{ry} y^e 31, 1739-40, in y^e 54th year of her Age." —(Communicated by Mr. Wm. Kelby.)

² Colonel Benjamin Ayerigg is a grandson of Francis, second son of Daniel Mesnard.

Chap. VI. gives a graphic picture of the condition of things
1670- in these obscure and humble places, before and
1682. after the times of violent persecution. In 1670, he writes, "all was going well, though the trade with Newfoundland had begun to diminish. There were many good and generous and brave seamen then in the island of Arvert." In 1680, "This year, France was at rest and in peace. Here, every one lived in tranquillity. But the clergy, sworn enemies of the public repose, wish to destroy the Protestants in France. And this is the way in which they begin : All Protestants occupying any office, whatever it may be, are forbidden to practice their arts, trades or callings. They are despoiled, and the spoils are given to Roman Catholics, however incapable of fulfilling the duties of the office. The clergy cause money to be given to poor people, to turn Catholics, so that those who are without the means of living, take the money, and change their religion, and others go to England and Holland, and empty the kingdom." In 1681 : "There was great fury in France against the Protestants. Everywhere the temples were cast down. In the month of May or June, they took the temple of La Tremblade to serve for a Catholic church. The Protestants left their goods, and fled in great troops to the foreign princes." In 1682 : "There were still at La Rochelle some ten vessels going to Newfoundland, to the coast fisheries, for cod, all of which discharged at La Rochelle ; and there were fourteen ships or more that went to the deep sea fisheries, on the banks of Newfound-

land. But business begins to slacken, for the religion is persecuted every day with greater violence, and the Protestants are emptying the kingdom. In the month of May, the temple of Arvert was thrown down, destroyed to its very foundations. The priest, M. de la Farge, took possession of the materials, and also of the tombstones in the cemetery belonging to us poor Protestants, and used them to rebuild and lengthen the Catholic church. O God! how have we offended Thee, that Thou dost thus give us up as a prey into the hands of those who seek our ruin!"¹

Chap. VI.

1682—

1686.

Numbers of the fugitives from Arvert and La Tremblade found their way to New York. Etienne Bouyer, "of Arver in France," came in 1686, and settled in Southampton, on the eastern shore of Long Island.² Jacques Vinaux and Anne Audebert, his wife,³ and Jean Dubois, of

¹ Journal d'un marin protestant du XVII^e siècle, Bulletin de la soc de l'hist. du prot. franç. ; XV., pp. 327-334.

² He obtained denization in New York, July 29, 1686, and appears to have removed at once to Long Island. In 1729 he presented to the Presbyterian Church of Southampton two silver chalices for the Holy Communion. It is said that he spent his last years in the family of François Pelletreau, who removed from New York to Southampton in 1720. The inscription upon his tomb reads, "Here lyes y^e body of Mr. Stephen Bowyer of Arver in France who came to this place in y^e year 1686. Departed this life Oct. y^e 24 1730 aged 73 years."—(The Early History of Southampton, L. I., by G. R. Howell.)

Charlotte Boyer, perhaps a daughter or niece of Etienne, married Jacques Favières. Their son, born September 25, 1728, was named Estienne Boyer.—(Records of the French Church, New York.)

³ Jacques Vinaux d'Alvert en France, et Anne Audebert,

Chap. VI. Arvert,¹ were members of the French Church in
 1681— New York at an early day. The ancestor of the
 1686. De Cou family,² in New Jersey, came probably
 from the same place. La Tremblade was the
 birthplace of many more. Jacques Paquinet, of
 Boston,³ Jean Germon, one of the settlers of
 Narragansett, Charles Germon, one of the set-
 tlers of New Oxford ;⁴ Jean Melet,⁵ Jean Roux,⁶

du mesme lieu, were married in the French Church, New York, August 16, 1699.

¹ Jean Dubois, du bourg d'Albert en Saintonge, married Marie Genouil, October 29, 1693, in the French Church, New York.

² Marie Decoux, fugitive d'Arvert.—(Arch. Nat.) In 1739, Isaac De Cow was surveyor-general at Burlington, New Jersey, where the name is still extant, and is believed to be of Huguenot origin.

³ André Paquinet, fugitif de la Tremblade.—(Arch. Nat.) Andrew and his son Peter were naturalized in England, in 1690. James Paquenett, or Packnett, was a member of the French Church in Boston, 1748.

⁴ Jean Germon, fugitif de la Tremblade.—(Arch. Nat.) One of the Narragansett settlers, 1686.

⁵ "Jean Melet, matelot, sa femme et une fille, fugitifs de la Tremblade en 1682 ; lieu de retraite, Londres ; biens, 1,000 livres."—(Arch. Nat.) Jean Melet and Elizabeth le Clerc his wife presented their son Pierre for baptism in the French Church in Threadneedle street, London, December 6, 1685. "Marthe, fille de Jean Melet, *absent*, et Elizabeth Cler," was baptized in the French Church, New York, March 9, 1689. Jean was probably lost at sea. Madame Melet received assistance from the Church, and went to South Carolina, where she married Pierre Gaillard.

⁶ "Jean Roux, officier marinier ; Jeanne le Cler, femme ; trois enfans ; fugitifs de la Tremblade en 1682 ; lieu de retraite, Londres."—(Arch. Nat.) Pierre, fils de Jean Roux, et Jeanne Leclercq, was baptized in the French Church, New York, February 9, 1692.

"Jacob Roux, fils d'un ministre françois," was assisted by the Consistory of the French Church of London, September 28, 1707, "pour son voyage pour la Caroline."

André Arnaud,¹ Jeanne de Loumeau,² Jean Equier,³ Isaac Boutineau,⁴ and Pierre Rolland,⁵ of New York; Marie Fougeraut,⁶ Pierre Couillandeau,⁷ and Susanne Dubosc,⁸ were from La

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1686.

¹ André Arnaud, voilier, fugitif de la Tremblade en 1683; lieu de retraite, à Londres.—(Arch. Nat.) Arneau, one of the Narragansett settlers; probably the same with Andrew Arneau, mariner, of New York, 1701, and of New Rochelle, 1711, who died in 1734 or 1735, (Wills, N. Y., XII., 351,) leaving an only son Stephen, and a daughter Mary, wife of Jeremiah Chadaine.

² Jeanne de Loumeau, of La Tremblade, married Jean Andrivet in the French Church, New York, October 18, 1699.

³ "Jean Equier, marinier, natif de la Tremblade, décédé dans le havre de ce lieu [de New York], le 22 décembre, 1689."—(Records of the French Church, New York.)

⁴ "Isaac Boutineau, natif de la Tremblade en France," made public confession in the French Church, New York, July 3, 1698, of the wrong he had committed in yielding to the temptations to which he had been subjected in France to conform to the Roman Church.—(Records of the French Church, New York.) Stephen Boutineau, of Boston, was probably, like Isaac, from La Tremblade.

⁵ "Pierre, Jean et Abraham Rolland, du lieu de la Tremblade," brothers, applied to the Consistory of the French Church in London, May 9, 1698, "déclarant qu'étant nez dans notre religion, et tombez fort jeunes entre les mains des Papistes, ils ont eu le malheur d'être menez souvent à la Messe, mais que Dieu leur ayant fait la grace de sortir de France, ils souhaitent de rentrer dans l'Eglise." They were admitted to make public confession on the following Sunday morning.—(Livre des Actes de 1692—3 à 1708.) Pierre Rolland was naturalized in New York, June 2, 1702. The will of John Roland, of New York, merchant, June 2, 1721, appoints as executors Peter Vallette and John Auboyneau.—(Wills, N. Y., IX., 347.)

⁶ "Marie Fougeraut, veuve de Moïse Brigaud; elle, native de la Tremblade."—(Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés à la Caroline, etc.)

⁷ Pierre Couillandeau, natif de la Tremblade, fils de Pierre Couillandeau et de Marie Fougeraut.—(Ibid.)

⁸ Susanne Dubosc, femme de Isaac Dubosc, fille de Pierre

Chap. VI. Tremblade. Jean Machet, ship-carpenter, who
 1681—settled first in Oxford, Massachusetts, but re-
 1686. moved to New Rochelle, was a native of the
 same place. At the time when the last severities
 against the Protestants began to be exercised, Machet
 was pursuing his trade in the seaport town of Bordeaux.
 “We left our goods, our furniture, and our clothes,” he
 writes, “I, and Jeanne Thomas my wife, and Pierre, Jean,
 Jeanne and Marianne our children, for the sake of our
 religion, and fled from persecution, only saving our
 bodies.”¹ Elie Naudin, shipmaster,

Jean
Machet.

Couillandean et de Susanne Couillandean, native de la
 Tramblade en Xaintonge.—(Ibid.)

¹ “Notre ayde soit au nom de Dieu qui a fait le ciel et la
 terre, amen. Je Jean Machet Charpentier de navires né et
 natif du bourg de la Tramblade & demeurant à Bordeaux en
 France Lequel dit Machet étant fugitif de la persecution
 avec sa famille composée de luy, & Jeanne Thomas sa
 femme, & Pierre, Jean, Jeanne, & Marianne Machet leurs
 enfans & filles, ayant tous abandonné leurs biens meubles
 & effects pour leur Relligion lesquels ils font tous profes-
 sion en la veritable pureté & Relligion Chrétienne que nous
 appellons religion protestante: Et comme le dit Machet
 ayant recogneu être etably en ces lieux, terre et dependance
 d'York en la ville nommée la nouvelle Rochelle sous la do-
 mination de tres haut et tres puissant Monarque, nôtre Roy
 Guillaume de pleine memoire à qui Dieu maintienne son
 sceptre & sa couronne & que sous son regne puissions tous
 vivre en paix & en la crainte de Dieu. Et led[it] Machet
 s'est veu attaqué de maladie, grosse fievre, toutes fois sain
 de memoire & de l'entendem^t & voulant pourvoir à ses af-
 faires pour le repos de sa famille. Premièrement Il recom-
 mande son ame a Dieu le pere tout puissant createur du ciel
 et de la terre, qu'il le venille recevoir dans son Royaume
 celeste, au rang de ses enfans bienheureux & quant à son
 corps il prie et souhaite d'être enterré en les forme &
 maniere de sa Religion & discipline jusques à la consumma-
 tion des siecles & resurrection, ou nôtre Seigneur viendra

of La Tremblade, fled in the year 1682, with his wife and three children, to Southampton, in England, where he died. His widow, Jael Arnaud, came to America some years after, with Arnaud or Arnauld Naudin, whose descendants are numerous in Delaware and Maryland.¹

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1686.

Arnauld
Naudin.

pour juger les vivant et les morts c'est la priere qu'il fait, voulant bien comme un vray Chretien & pere de ses enfans que Dieu luy a donné fait testament . . . Premièrement Led[it] Machet veut et entend & pretend que lad[ite] Jeanne Thomas sa femme soit dame & maitresse de tout generallem^t les bien meubles & acquests que nous avons fait ensemble pendant nôtre vivant & particulierem^t. les acquests que nous avons fait ensemble depuis nôtre sortie de France n'ayant sauvé que nôtre corps seulem^t. & que tout ce que nous avons, nous l'avons gagné ensemble à la peine de nos mains & à la sueur de nôtre visage.—(Wills, N. Y., II., 2. Signed April 17, 1694. Proved November 10, 1699.)

¹ "Elie Naudin, pilote, sa femme, trois enfans, fugitifs de la Tremblade; année de leur depart, 1682; lieu de retraite, Hampton; valeur de leurs biens, 4,000 livres à lui et à sa femme."—(Arch. Nat.) Elias Naudin, Arnauld, Mary, and Elias, children, naturalized in England, March 8, 1682.—Elie Naudin and his wife Jael [Jael] Arnaud, presented their daughter Françoise for baptism in the French Church in Threadneedle street, London, February 7, 1686. He died, it would seem, in England, where also, apparently, his widow married Jacob Ratier, mariner, who was naturalized, with Jael his wife, and Arnold Naudin, May 8, 1697. They came in that year, probably, to New York, where Arnould Nodine obtained letters of denization, November 12, 1697. The granting of these letters was made one of the "heads of complaint" against the governor of New York, Fletcher, because done without any authority, and "in such large and extensive terms as are contrary to the intention of the laws of England which relate to the Plantation Trade." Governor Fletcher affirmed that the letters were granted in the usual form. He wrote, London, December 24, 1698, that he did not remember this particular case, but that the desire of New York and other plantations being for an increase of settlers, he did but follow the example of his predecessor, and grant denization "to several of the poor French," for-

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1686.

Along the Gironde, on the southern shore of Saintonge, are the seaport towns and villages of Royan, Meschers, Saint Palais and Saint Georges. Royan, now a town of four thousand inhabitants, was the cradle of the Lavigne¹ and Quantin² families; and near by, in the village of Chatelas, was the birthplace of Jacques Fontaine, the Huguenot pastor, ancestor of the American families of Fontaine and Maury.³ Two of the refugees in New York, Daniel Lambert⁴ and André

bidding any fee to be taken in such cases. No decision seems to have been reached in the matter.—(Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, vol. IV., pp. 434, 450, 454, 474, 486, 548.)

Elias,² son of Elias and Jael Naudin, was married in Philadelphia, in 1715, to Alida, or Lydia, daughter of Peter and Lydia Le Roux. He was an Elder in the Presbyterian Church, and his lineal descendants Arnold,³ Andrew,⁴ and Arnold,⁵ in successive generations, have like him occupied the office of the Eldership in that church. See the "Hamilton Record," by A. Boyd Hamilton, Esq., of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

¹ "Les Lavigne, fugitifs de Royan."—(Arch. Nat.) "Charles Lavigne, matelot, fugitifs de Royan, parti en 1684 : lieu de retraite, Virginie."—(Ibid.) Estienne La Vigne, one of the French settlers in Narragansett, 1686, was a member of the French Church, New York, April 3, 1692, and obtained letters of denization in the province of New York, February 6, 1696.

² "Les Quantins, fugitifs de Royan."—(Arch. Nat.) Isaac Quantin, or Cantin, was an inhabitant of New Rochelle as early as 1702, and of New York in 1721.

³ "Je suis né à Jenouillé, la maison de mon père, dans le village de Chatelas, paroisse de St Pierre de Royan. Saintonge."—(Mémoire de Jacques Fontaine, M.S., in the possession of the family of his descendant, the late William L. Maury, Esq., New York.

⁴ "Daniel Lambert, natif de St Palay," was married to Marie Tebaux, November 8, 1691, in the French Church, New

Jolin,¹ were natives of Saint Palais. Elie Badeau, the head of a family that established itself in the county of Westchester, New York, came from Saint Georges;² and Jean Coudret and his wife Marie Guiton,³ members of the French Church in New York, were of the same place.

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—
1681—
1686.

Meschers, a village of eleven hundred inhabitants, was the home of André Lamoureux,⁴ shipmaster; of Jacques Many and his brother

York. "Lambert," probably the same, had been one of the French settlers in Narragansett.

¹ André Jolin obtained denization in New York, August 6, 1686, and was naturalized, April 15, 1693. He was a member of the French Church, New York, in 1688. His wife was Madeleine Poupin. A family Bible in the possession of T. S. Drake, Esq., New Rochelle, N. Y., contains the name of Guis Jolin. Guy Jaulin, natif de Vaux, paroisse de Saint Palais en Saintonge, was one of the refugees in Bristol, England, in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

² "Elie Badeau, natif de St Georges en Saintonge, fils de Pierre Badeau et de Marie Triau," was married in Bristol, England, August 30, 1696, to Claude, daughter of Daniel Fumé, and widow of François Blondeau. —(Records of the French Church, Bristol.) Elie, son of Elie Badeau and Claude Fumé, born October 29, 1698, was baptized in the French Church, New York. The family took root in New Rochelle, N. Y., and the name is still extant in Westchester county, N. Y., and elsewhere.

³ Daniel, son of Jean Coudret and Marie Guiton, of Saint Georges en Saintonge, was presented for baptism in the French Church, New York, June 7, 1691.

⁴ "André Lamoureux, maître de navire, cy-devant demurant à Méché en Xaintonge, où il etoit Pillotte; et Suzanne Latour sa femme," presented their son Daniel for baptism in the French Church, Bristol, England, January 7, 1693. An older son, Jacques, had died in March, 1689. André and his family were in New York as early as May 15, 1700, and his descendants resided in that city and in New Rochelle.

Chap. VI. Jean, sea-captain ;¹ of Gilles Lieure ;² of Daniel
 1681- Fumé,³ and of Jeanne Couturier, wife of Daniel
 1686. Bonnet.⁴

Within a short distance of the same coast, there are several villages from which other refugees came to America. Saujon, the largest of these, with nearly three thousand inhabitants, was the home of Elie Chardavoine, whose descendants are still to be found in New York and in Alabama.⁵ Three miles southwest of Saujon, is the village of Medis, where Jean Boudin, or Bodin, one of the French settlers of Staten

¹ Jacques Many, de Meschers en Saintonge, was a member of the French Church, New York, November 9, 1692. He married Anne, daughter of François Vincent. Jean, brother of Jacques, known as Captain Many, married Jeanne, eldest daughter of Jean Machet.

² "Les Lievres, fugitifs de Meschers."—(Arch. Nat.) Pierre Lieure, sargettier, of Méché en Xtonge, was married in the French Church, Bristol, England, May 20, 1688. Gilles Lieure signed at the marriage of Jean Le Lieure, marinier, de Saintonge, in the Crispin Street French Church, Spital-fields, London, January 26, 1704. Gille Lieure was an inhabitant of New Rochelle in 1743.

³ "David Fumé, tisserand, demeurant cydevant à Méché en Xaintonge," was a member of the French Church in Bristol, England, as early as 1688. He came to New York, probably with his daughter Jeanne, who had married Isaac Quintard, and was assisted by the French Church in New York, September 13, 1698.

⁴ "Jeanne Couturier, natifue de Méché en Xaintonge," was in Bristol, England, with her husband, in 1693. She was a member of the French Church in New York in 1717.

⁵ Elie Chardavoinne, de Saujon en Saintonge, was married in the French Church, New York, August 24, 1692, to Anne Valos, probably a sister of Etienne and Esaie Valleau.

Island, was born.¹ The little hamlet of Musson,² Chap. VI.
 within the parish of Medis, was the residence 1681-
 of Daniel Gaillard, a Huguenot emigrant to 1686.
 New York.³ From Arces, six miles west of
 Meschers, came Jean Pelletreau and his two
 nephews Elie and Jean, who fled to America
 soon after the Revocation, and established them-
 selves in business as ship-chandlers in the city of
 New York.⁴ Three families that settled in New

¹ "Boudin, fugitif de Medit, Election de Saintes."—(Arch. Nat.) John Boudin and Esther his wife were naturalized in London, October 14, 1681, together with François Bridon, whose daughter he had married on reaching London. He had been married before, and had children "by his first wife."—(Wills, N. Y., VII., 312.) He settled on Staten Island, N. Y., and died as early as March, 1695.—(Wills, N. Y., V., 101.) His wife, Hester Bodine, daughter of Francis Bridon (Wills, N. Y., VI., 88 ; VII., 147), survived him. He left a son, Jean Bodin, and a daughter, Marianne, who married Jean Abelin.—(Records of the French Church, New York) The will of Jean Bodien, dated January 3, 1707, mentions his brothers Eliazor and Francis, and his sisters Esther and Mary.—(N. Y. Colonial MSS., Land Papers, IV., 84.)

² The village of Musson is not on the maps. I find it mentioned in the records of the French Church of Bristol, as in the "paroisse de Medy."

³ Daniel Gaillard, sargettier, of Musson en Saintonge, and Elizabeth Labé his wife, presented their daughter Susanne for baptism in the French Church, Bristol, England, August 29, 1692. Daniel and Elizabeth Gaillard were members of the French Church in New York as early as the year 1702.

⁴ "John Pelletreau, born at Arse in Saintonge, Magdalen [Vincent] his wife, born at St. Martins, and Elie Pelletreau [his nephew] born at Arse in Saintonge," were naturalized in New York, September 27, 1687. Elie was the son of Paul Pelletreau, deceased, and Esther Gouin his wife, both of Arces. Jean, another son of Paul, came also to New York, where the descendants of the two brothers have been numerous.

Chap. VI. Rochelle, Westchester County, New York—the
 1681—Forestiers, Reynauds and Suires—are believed
 1686. to have originated in the same vicinity. Charles,
 Jean and Théophile Forestier, were from Cozes,
 a village of two thousand inhabitants.¹ Daniel
 Raynaud² was a native of Chenac, and Jean
 Suire,³ of Saint Seurin de Mortagne, two neigh-
 boring villages on the bank of the Gironde, where
 the doctrines of the Reformation had early been
 welcomed, and flourishing churches had long
 existed. The "temple" of Saint Seurin was de-
 molished four years before the Revocation of
 the Edict of Nantes: and that of Mortagne soon
 after shared the same fate. But the Protestants
 of these places continued long to hold their
 meetings in secret, gathering sometimes in the
 woods, or in remote and isolated dwellings, but
 oftener along the shore, in crevices and caverns

¹ "Les Forrestiers, fugitifs de Cozes."—(Arch. Nat.) "For-
 retier" is mentioned in the list of the settlers in Narragan-
 sett. Théophile Forestier, aged fifty-six, Charles, aged
 fifty-four, and Jean, were inhabitants of New Rochelle in
 1698; and the family continued to be represented there.

² Daniel Rayneau's family Bible, preserved in New
 Rochelle, contains this entry: "Mémoire du jour que nous
 avons parti de Bristol: ce fut le six^{me} d'avril 1693." The
 records of the French Church in Bristol, England, have the
 name of Abraham Regnaud, "marinier, demeurant cy devant
 à Chinat [Chenac] proche Saint Surin de Mortagne en
 Saintonge." Daniel Rano [Renaud], aged fifty-five years, and
 Judith his wife, aged forty-five, were inhabitants of New
 Rochelle, New York, in 1698. Their descendants are
 numerous in Westchester County.

³ Suzanne Suyre, wife of André Denis, one of the refugees
 in Bristol, England, was a native of Saint Seurin de Mor-
 tagne. John Suire, naturalized in 1701, died in New York
 before 1712. His widow and her son César Suire were in-
 habitants of New Rochelle.

hollowed out among the rocks by the sea, where the sound of their voices in psalm and prayer was less likely to be heard by their persecutors, above the clamor of the winds and the waves.¹

Leaving the sea-coast of Saintonge, we find, in several of the inland towns and villages of this populous province, the localities from which other Huguenot households were driven by persecution to our American shores. In Saint Jean d' Angely, formerly one of the most important strongholds of the Protestants of France, the "temple" of the Reformed congregation was closed in the year 1683. Jean Tartarien,² afterwards an Elder of the French Church in Boston, came from this place: and three of the Huguenot families that sought refuge in South Carolina—the families of Daniel Durouzeaux,³ Elie Bisset,⁴ and Jean Thomas⁵—were likewise from

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1686.

St. Jean
d'Angely.

¹ Histoire des Eglises réformées de Pons, Gemozac et Mortagne, en Saintonge, par A. Crottet. Pp. 200-203.

² "Jean Tartarin, marchand, de St. Jean d' Angely," married Suzanne Jaille, in the Temple de Soho, London, December 21, 1690. He was the son of feu Jean Tartarin and Jeanne Collardeau.

John Tartarien, naturalized July 3, 1701, was an Elder of the French Church in Boston in 1704.

³ "Daniel Durouzeaux né à St. Jean d' Angely en Saintonge, fils de Daniel Durouzeaux et Marie Souchard; Elizabeth Foucheraud, sa femme; Daniel, Pierre, leurs enfans, nez en Caroline."—(Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline, etc.)

⁴ "Elie Bisset, né à St. Jean d' Angely, fils d' Abraham Bisset et de Marie Bitheur; Jeanne Poinset, sa femme; Anne, Catherine, filles, nées en Caroline."—(Liste, etc.)

⁵ "Jean Thomas, né à St. Jean d' Angely en Saintonge, fils de Jean Thomas et d' Anne Dupon."—(Liste, etc.)

Chap. VI. Saint Jean d' Angely. Jean Faget,¹ one of the
 1681- "chefs de famille" of the French Church in New
 1686. York, was a native of Mirambeau. Chalais
 was the birth-place of Jacques Nicholas, dit
 Petit Bois,² one of the French refugees in
 South Carolina. Just beyond the eastern
 boundary of Saintonge, in the neighboring prov-
 ince of Angoumois, was Barbezieux, the home
 of Paul Droilhet, one of the most prominent
 and estimable members of the French colony in
 the city of New York.³

Pons. The town of Pons, in Saintonge, was among
 the first to admit the preaching of the Reformed
 doctrines, near the middle of the sixteenth cen-

¹ "Jean Faget, ouvrier en laine, demeurant cy-devant à Mirambeau en Xaintonge, fils de Jean Faget du dit lieu," was married, November 5, 1691, in the French Church, Bristol, England, to Marie Chrestien, of Normandy. Jean Faget, victualer, was made a freeman of the city of New York, May 26, 1699. He was married to a second wife, Madeleine David, in the French Church, New York, June 29, 1701. He was one of the "chefs de famille" of that Church in 1704.

² "Jacques Nicholas, petit Bois, né à Chalais en Xaintonge, fils de Daniel Nicholas et de Léonore Gast."—(Liste des François et Suisses refugiez en Caroline, etc.)

³ "Paul Drouhet, ancien de l' église de Barbezieux, 1682."—(Bulletin de la soc. de l' hist. du prot. franç. VII., p. 219.) The slight variation in the name does not make it doubtful that this may have been the Paul Droilhet who was for many years an "ancien" of the French Church in New York. Ten children of Paul Droilhet and Susanne de la Vabre his wife were baptized in that Church, between the years 1689 and 1710. He died in 1712 or 1713, leaving a widow and four daughters, who were assisted by the French Church for many years. There is abundant testimony to the esteem and affection in which Droilhet was held by his fellow-refugees, and by the English also, in New York.

tury. It was held by the Huguenots during the civil wars, and secured to them by the Edict of Nantes, as one of their fortified places. Throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, "the best families of the 'noblesse' of Saintonge attended the 'temple' at Pons."¹ On the eve of the revocation of that Edict, Pons still contained a considerable number of Protestants. Elie Prioleau was their pastor, and he remained with his flock through all their tribulations, until, on the fifteenth day of April, 1686, their "temple" was leveled with the ground. While the work of destruction was in progress, Prioleau preached to his weeping congregation, from the words, "He that findeth his life shall lose it : and he that loseth his life for My sake shall find it."² Under the cruelties inflicted upon them, many yielded, and signed an abjuration which their persecutors as well as they knew to be only feigned. Some of these, with others who stood firm in their profession, embraced the earliest opportunity to escape from France. Prioleau himself, and several of his people, reached America. He was the first pastor of the Huguenot Church of Charleston, South Carolina.³ Matthieu Coli-

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1686.

Elie
Prioleau.

¹ Bulletin de la soc. de l' hist. du prot. franç., vol. XI., p. 316.

² Histoire des églises reformées de Pons, Gemozac et Mortagne, en Saintonge, par A. Crottet. P. 139.

³ "Elias Prioleau, fils de Samuel Prioleau et de Jeanne Merlat, né à [blank] en Xaintonge en France."—(Liste des François et Suisses refugiez en Caroline, etc.) His grandfather was Elisée Prioleau, sieur de la Vienne, pasteur de Jonzac et de Niort.—(Histoire des protestants et des églises

Chap. VI. neuau, an advocate and a judge in the town of
 1681- Pons, and a deacon of the Reformed Church in
 1686. that place, settled in New York, and was made
 freeman of the city in 1694.¹ Jean Sarrazin,
 sieur de Frignac, another deacon of Prioleau's
 congregation, followed him to Charleston.²

réformées du Poitou, par Auguste Lièvre. Tome III., p. 306.) His father, Samuel Prioleau, was pastor of Jonzac in 1637, of Niort in 1642, and of Pons in 1650, having already been for some years the colleague of Jean Constans, the preceding pastor.—(Crottet, *Hist. des églises de Pons*, etc., p. 121.) Samuel died February 16, 1683, and was succeeded May 10, 1683, (*Ibid.*, 130,) by his son Elie, who had pursued the study of theology in the Academy of Geneva.—(*Livre du Recteur*, p. 161.) Elie Prioleau married Jeanne Burgeaud, a native of the Isle of Ré, and had two children while in France : Jeanne, born at St. Jean d'Angely, (*Liste*, etc.) and Elias, named in the act of naturalization, but who probably died before his coming to America. He took refuge in England, where he was naturalized, April 15, 1687. It was probably in the course of that year that he came to Charleston, South Carolina, and founded the French Church in that city, perhaps in conjunction with Laurent Philippe Trouillard, his colleague in the pastorate. Elie Prioleau died in the year 1699. "He has left behind him numerous descendants in South Carolina, who cherish his memory and emulate his virtues."—(*History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*. By George Howe, D.D. Pp. 110, 111.)

¹ "Matthieu Colineau, avocat en la cour et juge ordinaire de Pons, diacre de l'église de Pons, 1678 ; chef de famille, 1682."—(Crottet, *Hist. des églises de Pons*, etc., pp. 124, 128.) He married Jeanne Carré.—(*La France protestante*, IV., 522.) Matthew Collineau, naturalized in England, October 10, 1688, petitioned, July 1, 1694, as "a French Protestant," for letters of denization in New York, which were granted him July 12 ; and was made freeman of the city of New York, June 14, 1698. No further mention of him has been found ; possibly he went to South Carolina, where Peter Coloneau was living in 1730.

² "Jean Sarrazin, sieur de Frignac, diacre de l'église de Pons, 1678 ; chef de famille, 1682."—(Crottet, *Hist. des églises de Pons*, etc., pp. 124, 228.) John Sarazin was nat-

The flight of these refugees from the seaboard provinces of France, could the story be told in detail, would fill volumes: and instead of a tedious enumeration of the names of persons and places, we should have a narrative of hair-breadth escapes and adventures of the most thrilling interest. Such accounts were doubtless preserved for several generations in all the Huguenot families that came to America. In most cases, they have reached us only in reduced and often distorted outlines. A striking exception to this rule is presented by the memoirs of Fontaine, of whom mention has already been made: and his account of suffering and peril may serve as an illustration of the general experience.

Chap. VI.

1685.

Family traditions.

Jacques Fontaine, a son of the former pastor of Royan, was living in his own house in the neighborhood of that town, when the year of the Revocation opened. He himself was preparing for the ministry, and had been active, in spite of repeated arrest and imprisonment, in strengthening the faith of his fellow-religionists by his exhortations and prayers. At length, word came that the dragoons, who had been ravaging the homes of Protestants in other

uralized in England, March 20, 1686. Moreau Sarrazin, 1730, and Jonathan Sarrazin, 1772, were in South Carolina.

It has been stated that Prioleau brought with him from Pons a considerable part of his congregation to Charleston. I find little to confirm this statement. None of the French Protestants whose names are given in the "Liste" above quoted, are represented as having come from Pons; and Colineau and Sarrazin are the only refugees in America who appear to have belonged to Prioleau's flock.

Chap. VI. parts of the province, were coming to Royan.
1685. Fontaine strongly advised his friends and neighbors to escape. Great numbers embarked from the little harbor. Others fled to the woods, upon hearing of the arrival of the soldiers. Fontaine left the home of his childhood at midnight. He was well mounted, and accompanied by a servant. For several weeks, he employed himself in traveling through the province, visiting his relatives and other Protestant families, encouraging those who continued steadfast, and striving to reclaim those who had fallen, and persuade them to recall the abjurations they had made under the threats and tortures of the dragoons. While thus occupied, Fontaine learned the news of the actual revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Nothing was now left for those faithful to their Protestant belief, save flight from the kingdom. "I went to Marennes," he writes, "to make preparations in good earnest, and I was so fortunate as to find an English captain of a vessel, with whom I was able to make a bargain. He agreed to take me, and four or five persons with me, to England, at the rate of ten pistoles each; and it was arranged that we should assemble at La Tremblade for embarkation." The party consisted of Fontaine, his niece, his betrothed and her sister. After several days of painful suspense, they received word from the English captain that he would sail the following day, and would send a boat for them, at a spot on the coast which he indicated. His intentions, however, were suspected by the authorities:

Fontaine's
flight.

the vessel was detained at the custom-house; and Fontaine and his friends, with more than fifty others who hoped to make their escape by the same ship, and who had not been sufficiently cautious in keeping their purpose secret, waited all day in vain upon the sands near the forest of Arvert. The disheartened fugitives went back to La Tremblade, where they succeeded in concealing themselves for a number of days in the huts of the fishermen. “At last,” says Fontaine, “the captain came to tell me that he feared he would not be able to take us on board. However, he said, he meant to go to sea the next day, and would pass between the islands of Ré and Oléron; and if we were disposed to run the risk of going out thither in small boats, he might take us on board, after he had gotten rid of all visitors, custom-house officers and others. That very evening we embarked in a little shallop, as soon as it was dusk.” The party had been joined by two young men from Bordeaux, and six young women from Marennes, making twelve in all. “Under cover of the night, we passed, without being observed, all the pinnaces that were keeping guard, as well as the fort of Oléron. At ten o’clock, the next morning, we dropped anchor to wait for the ship. We had agreed with the English captain that when we saw him, we would make ourselves known by hoisting a sail, and letting it fall three times. About three o’clock in the afternoon we first espied the vessel, but she had the officials and the pilot still on board. We watched her move-

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Chap. VI. ments with intense anxiety, and saw her cast
1685. anchor when she reached the extreme point of the Isle of Oléron. Then she put out her visitors and pilot, got under way, and sailed toward us. It was a joyful sight: we felt confident that we had surmounted every difficulty, and expected in a very few minutes to be under full sail for England. Our joy was of brief duration, for at that moment one of the King's frigates hove in sight, and gradually approached us. She was one of the vessels constantly employed on the coast to prevent Protestants from leaving the kingdom; seizing all that were found, to be sent, the men to the galleys, the women to convents. The frigate cast anchor, signaled the English vessel to do the same, boarded her, and searched her throughout. This done, the captain was ordered to sail forthwith. The wind was favorable, so that he could offer no excuse, and we had the misery of seeing him leave us behind." Happily, the boatman in charge of the fugitives was able at this moment to attract the attention of the English vessel by means of the signal agreed upon, without exciting the suspicions of the officers in command of the frigate. Fontaine and his friends lay concealed in the bottom of the boat under an old sail, until twilight came on, when they succeeded in reaching the ship, and in due time were landed safely on the coast of England.¹

¹ Memoirs of a Huguenot family: translated and compiled from the original autobiography of the Rev. James Fontaine, by Ann Maury. New York: 1853.

The province of POITOU sent many excellent Huguenot families to America. From Châtelerault, an important town, which lost by the flight of the Protestant inhabitants more than a tenth part of its population, and that of the best and thriftiest,¹ came Pierre Berthon de Marigny, and Marguerite, his wife, Marie Fleuriau, widow, with her son Pierre and daughter Marquise, and her son-in-law Louis Carré; Ami Canche, and Louise, his wife; and Charles Fromaget. Pierre Berthon or Berton, took the lead of the Narragansett colony, in Rhode Island. Louis Carré came to New York, and became prominent as a merchant, and as a member of the French Church in that city.² Ami Canche was one of the settlers of New Paltz, Ulster county, New York.³ Charles Fromaget

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1681-

1685.

Châtelerault.

¹ Lièvre, Histoire des protestants et des églises reformées du Poitou, II., 225.

² The family was a numerous one, and several of its members went forth into exile at the period of the Revocation. Louis is thought to have been a descendant of the eminent Jean Carré, pastor for nearly fifty years (1618 to 1665 and after) of the Protestant Church in his native town, Châtelerault. Louis and his wife, Prégeante Fleuriau, reached the city of New York in June, 1688.—(Certificate of their naturalization, dated London, April 5, 1688, and entered in the records of the Common Council, New York, June 14 in the same year.) They had been preceded by Prégeante's brothers, Pierre and Daniel Fleuriau, who obtained letters of denization in New York, July 29, 1686. Carré soon became one of the principal merchants of the city, and his children married into several influential families. He was an "ancien" of the French Church in 1713 and in 1724. He died May 29, 1744, aged eighty-five years. His widow, whose name Prégeante had become transmuted to Bridget, died June 13, 1750, aged ninety-one years.

³ Ami Canche and Louise, his wife, "born at Chastelereau

Chap. VI. went to South Carolina.¹ Thus widely were the
 1681— fugitive subjects of Louis XIV. dispersed, over
 1686. a territory that was to be the domain of
 religious freedom and intelligence.

Six miles from Châtellerault, the village of Sossais was the birthplace of Jacques Benoit, who came to South Carolina with his wife, Sarah Monnié, and their son Jean.²

Loudun. At Loudun, the Protestants were numerous : but on the single night of October 30, 1686, two companies of a regiment of dragoons succeeded in compelling fifteen hundred Huguenots to recant. There, as elsewhere, numbers had fled before the approach of these "missionaries" of Rome ; stealing away under cover of darkness from their homes, with the few effects they were able to carry.³ Of those who reached America were Daniel Huger, and Marguerite Perdriau, his wife ;⁴ Jacob Bailler-

in Poictou," were naturalized in New York, September 27, 1687, with their daughter Marianne, "born at St. Christopher's." Marianne became the wife of Abraham Jouneau, of New York.

¹ "Charles Fromaget, né à Chastellerault, fils de Charles Fromaget et de Marie le Nain."—(Liste des François et Suisses refugiez en Caroline.)

² "Jacques Benoit, fils de Jacques Benoit et de Gabrielle Mercier, né à Sussay en Poitou. Sarah Mounié, femme du dit Jacques. Jean, son fils né en France. Jacques et Pierre nez en Caroline."—(Liste, etc.)

³ Lièvre, *Histoire des protestants du Poitou*, II., 153, 166.

⁴ Like others to whom reference has been made (volume I., page 303,) Huger first sought refuge at La Rochelle and on the Isle de Ré, from persecution in his province of Poitou. The official record of fugitives from Aunis mentions him as "Daniel Huger, marchand, sa femme et deux enfans ; sortis de l'isle de Ré, en 1682."—(Arch. Nat.) The

geau,¹ Jacob Ammonet,² Nicolas Malherbe,³ Zacharie Angevin,⁴ emigrants to South Carolina, Virginia, New York.

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Poitiers, the principal town of the province, had for its Protestant pastor, at the time of the Revocation, the learned Jacques Gousset, who took refuge in Holland, where he was called to a chair of theology in the University of Gröningen. Gousset was accompanied by Isaac Bertrand du Tuffeau,⁵ a relative of his wife, who

statement is corroborated by the "Liste des François et Suisses refugiez en Caroline," which mentions a daughter born at *La Rochelle*.—"Daniel Huger, né à Loudun, fils de Jean Huger, et Anne Rassin. Marguerite Perdriau, sa femme. Marguerite, leur fille, née à Rochelle. Daniel et Madeleine, leurs enfans, nez en Caroline.")

¹ Jacob, son of Jacob Baillergeau, by Marguerite his wife, born at Loudun in Touraine, petitioned for denization in the province of New York, 1701. Doctor Jacob Baillergeau was licensed to practice physic and surgery in New York and New Jersey, April 11, 1704. He had been a member of the French Church in Threadneedle street, London, in 1688.

² "Jacob, Pierre et Matthieu Ammonet, chefs de famille à Loudun, 1634."—(*La France Protestante*, s. v.).—Jacob Ammonet was one of the settlers of Manakintown, Virginia.

³ Nicholas Malherbe was a member of the French Church, New York, in 1697, and an inhabitant of that city in 1702-3. His daughter Marie married Isaac Guion, August 25, 1710. Several refugees of this name fled from Loudun.—(*Lièvre*, III., 295, 355.)

⁴ Zacharie Angevin was married in the French Church, New York, March 5, 1690, to Marie, daughter of André Naudin. In 1701 he bought lands in New Rochelle, N. Y., where he spent the rest of his days, and where his descendants long continued to live. Isaac Angevin, de Loudun, fils de feu André Angevin, was married in the French Church, Threadneedle street, London, October 28, 1682. See also *La France Protestante*, s. v.

⁵ *Lièvre*, *Histoire des protestants et des églises réformées du Poitou*, tome III., p. 312.

Chap. VI. became associated with Gabriel Bernon in the
 1681- Huguenot settlement of New Oxford, Massachu-
 1686. setts. From the same place came Pierre Girrard,¹
 one of the refugees in South Carolina, and Aman
 and Goussé Bonnin,² of New York.

Home
 of the
 Marions.

The sea-port town of La Chaume, inhabited chiefly by hardy sailors, whom the dragoons found it difficult to convert, was the birthplace of Benjamin Marion, ancestor of Francis Marion, the brave general in the war for independence.³ Another refugee in Carolina, Gabriel Ribouteau,⁴

¹ "Pierre Girrard, né à Poitiers, fils de Pierre Girrard et de Judith Fruscharde."—(Liste des François et Suisses refugiez en Caroline, etc.) Elizabeth Damaris Girrard, Isaac Girrard and Marie Roubin his wife,—both of these names occur frequently among those of the Protestants of Poitou—were members of the French Church, New York, in 1694 and after.

² Bonnin—"une des plus anciennes maisons du Poitou;" some members of which were included in the list of the "nouveaux convertis" of Poitiers in 1682. Aman Bonnin was naturalized in England, January 5, 1688, and Goussé—who had undoubtedly received that uncommon appellation in honor of the Poitiers pastor, Jacques Gousset—obtained naturalization ten years later, September 9, 1698. The two had come to America in 1688. Aman settled in the city of New York, and was married in the French Church, September 29, 1689, to Susanne, daughter of Esaie Vallean. Six children of Aman and Susanne were baptized in that Church. Goussé Bonnin and his wife Marie Pontin went to Pennsylvania, where their son Simon Pierre was born, January 16, 1689. (Baptized October 6, 1689, in the French Church, New York.)

³ "Benjamin Marion, né à la Chaume en Poitou, fils de Jean Marion et de Périnne Boutignon. Judith Baluet, sa femme. Ester, Gabrielle, et Benjamin, leurs enfans, nez en Caroline."—(Liste des François et Suisses refugiez en Caroline, etc.)

⁴ "Gabriel Ribouteau, né a Lachaume, en Poitou, fils d'Estienne Ribouteau et de Catharine Girardot."—(Liste, etc.)

was a native of this place ; and a third, Jean Girardeau,¹ came from Talmont, a neighboring town, near the same coast.

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Further inland, were the villages of Mouchamps and Sigournais, the abodes of many Protestant families. Gilles Gaudineau,² a Huguenot physician who became active in the affairs of New York during Leisler's time, was a native of Sigournais ; and his daughter Hélène, who was married to Jacques Desbrosses, was

¹ "Jean Girardeau, né à Tallemont en Poitou, fils de Pierre Girardeau et de Catharine Lareine."—(Liste, etc.)

² Gilles Gaudineau, named among the réfugiés du Poitou, (Lièvre, III., 360,) was "born att Sigornay in low Poictou," but removed to "Mouchamps in low Poictou," where his daughters Susanne and Hélène were born.—(Act of Naturalization.) He and his daughters obtained letters of denization in New York, August 26, 1686, and were naturalized September 27, 1687. From the first, Gaudineau took an active part in the affairs of the province. He was made lieutenant of Captain Minvielle's company, October 8, 1686; accompanied Governor Dongan's expedition to defend Albany and protect the Five Nations against the French, in 1687; and took sides in 1689 against Leisler, who put him in prison for refusing to surrender his commission as lieutenant.—(Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York, III., 716.) He was a physician. "Giles Gaudineau, Chirurgien," obtained the freedom of the city, May 27, 1702. He was an "ancien" of the French Church, New York, in 1702, and a vestryman of Trinity Church, New York, in 1708. His daughter Susanne returned to Europe. (Perhaps the Susanne Godineau who was buried in London, October 10, 1692.) Hélène remained in New York, and was married in the French Church, October 18, 1703, to Jacques Desbrosses. Gilles died after May 20, 1709, and before November 24, 1715, when his will, dated August 24, 1694, was admitted to probate.—(Wills, N. Y., VIII., 374.) Jacques Godineau, also of Poitou, and "chirurgien," aged fifty-eight years, received assistance from the Royal Bounty in London, in 1705.

Chap. VI. born in the neighboring town of Mouchamps.
 1681- Desbrosses himself came probably from the same
 1686. neighborhood.¹

A cluster
 of
 Protestant
 villages.

In the southern part of central Poitou, there is a cluster of towns and villages, east and north of the town of Niort, where many of our Huguenot families, transplanted to America, had their origin. Most of these localities are now so insignificant, as to find no place upon ordinary maps. But none of them were too obscure to be visited by the troops of Louis XIV., under the direction of the infamous Marillac, in the course of the spring and summer of the year 1681: and it is probable that this little district witnessed, at that period, as much of concentrated cruelty and misery, as did any other part of France. The soldiers did not leave one parish to go to another, so long as a single Protestant remained, to be either converted or ruined. Houses were pillaged, women were insulted and tortured, men were beaten: and when driven or

¹ See above. The name of Ragnou des Brosses occurs in the same list of réfugiés de Poitou with that of Gaudineau. Jacques first appears in New York in 1701. Six children of Jacques Desbrosses and Hélène Gaudineau were baptized in the French Church, 1705-1718. The eldest, Jacques, became an "ancien" of that church. The youngest, Elie, born April 22, 1718, was one of the vestrymen of Trinity Church, New York, 1759-1770, and one of the wardens, 1770-1778. In his will he "left a legacy to the corporation of Trinity Church in trust for the use and benefit of such French clergyman who shall perform divine service in the French language in" that "city, according to the liturgy of the Church of England as by law established."—(Records of the French Church, New York.) One of the streets of New York is named after this family.

dragged to the churches, those who could be persuaded to kneel before the priest, or place their hands upon the Gospel, were reported as converts. Multitudes of the wretched villagers might be seen flying from their homes, toward La Rochelle, or some other place of fancied security; or gathered in groups along the coast, waiting for some means of escape by sea.

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It is easy to conceive that the bewilderment and consternation produced by the visits of the soldiery, may have resulted sometimes in insanity. Jean Migault relates that in his wanderings he frequently met a woman, with an infant in her arms, and two little children at her side, hastening, crazed by fear, across the fields, under the impression that she was pursued by the dragoons.

Niort, long one of the fortified towns of the Huguenots, was the home of many of the fugitives. Of those who reached America, we have the names of Marie Tébaux,¹ André Foucault,² David Pognin,³ René Gil-

¹ Marie Tebaux, "native de Niord," was married, November 8, 1691, in the French Church, New York, to Daniel Lambert.

² André Foucault, witness to the above marriage, was authorized by the governor, September 13, 1703, to teach an English and French school in the city of New York. He was one of the "chefs de famille" of the French Church in 1704, and is repeatedly mentioned, down to the year 1720. The name is that of a refugee family of Poitou, noted for their sufferings on account of their religion.—(Lièvre, III., 358.)

³ Another witness to the marriage of Marie Tébaux; undoubtedly of the same family with the réfugié Pognant, de Niort et environs.—(Lièvre, III., 357.)

Chap. VI. bert,¹ Jean Coulon,² Daniel Champenois,³ Pierre
 1681— Reverdy,⁴ and Samuel and Moïse, sons of Jean
 1686. Morin,⁵ or Morine.

Twelve miles to the south-east of Niort, lies the village of Thorigné. It was the home of Daniel Bonnet, afterwards one of the settlers of

¹ René Gilbert, "natif de la ville de Niort," died in New York, January 16, 1690.—(Records of the French Church.)

² Jean Coulon, "de la ville de Nyort en Poitou," was married in the French Church, New York, April 27, 1692, to Marie du Tay. Four children were baptized in that Church.

³ Several of this name were persecuted, among them, Jacques Champenois, "le plus riche négociant de Niort." "Mr. Champenois" was in New Rochelle in 1716. Daniel, and his wife Marguerite, were members of the French Church, New York, in 1725.

⁴ Peter Reverdy and his son Benoni were naturalized in England, July 2, 1684. Peter came to New York from London, with pasteur Peiret, on the ship Robert, in November, 1687. He is mentioned in "New England Justified," p. 41, (republished in Force's Historical Tracts, IV.,) as the author of certain Memoirs concerning Sir Edmund Andros.—(Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, III., 651.) He was chosen coroner of Newcastle, Delaware, May 3, 1693.—(Colonial Records, I., 330.) Reverdy was a Niort name. Catharine, de Niort, received aid from the Royal Bounty in London, 1705.

⁵ "Jean Morin, sargettier, demeurant cy-devant à Niort en Poitou," and his second wife Elizabeth Viconte, of Meschers en Xaintonge, had five children baptized in the French Church, Bristol, England, 1687-1694; among them Samuel, born January 19, 1691, and Moïse, born January 12, 1692. Jean died in Bristol, February 5, 1699, aged forty-four years. Samuel and Moïse came to New York. The former married Marie, daughter of Isaac Quintard; the latter married Marianne Bricou. Samuel Morine and Isaac Quintard were among the signers of a petition addressed to the government of Connecticut in May, 1738, for exemption from taxation for the support of the Congregational order.—(History of Stamford, Conn., by Rev. E. B. Huntington, p. 315.)

New Rochelle,¹ and of Jacques Bergeron, who Chap. VI.

1700.

¹ The traditionary account preserved in the Bonnet family concerning their ancestor's escape from France is, that Daniel and his wife attempted to reach the coast,—some forty-five or fifty miles distant,—with their two small children, concealed in the panniers of a donkey, and covered with fresh vegetables. The mother having enjoined upon the children to keep perfect silence, no matter what might occur, they had scarcely commenced their journey when they were overtaken by a trooper, who demanded to know what the panniers contained. The mother replied, Fresh vegetables for the market. As if doubting her words, the rough soldier rode up to the side of the donkey, and thrust his sword into the nearest pannier, exclaiming, as he rode by, *Bon voyage, mes amis!* The agony of the parents may be conceived, until the soldier was well out of sight, when the pannier was immediately opened, and the child was found to have been wounded, the sword having pierced through the calf of the leg. Fortunately, nothing more occurred to interrupt their journey to the coast.—(History of the County of Westchester, N. Y., by the late Rev. Robert Bolton. Revised Edition, Vol. I., pp. 595, 596.) The fugitives succeeded in reaching Bristol, England. Daniel Bonnet, “ouvrier en laine, fils de Louis Bonnet de la paroisse de Torrigny en Poitou,” and his wife Jeanne Coutturier, were members of the French Church in Bristol, England, from 1690 to 1700. Their children, baptized in that Church, were: Pierre, born June 2, 1693; Daniel, born January 29, 1695; and Marie, [who married Jean Soulice,] born May 9, 1697. This Huguenot family removed to America in the winter of 1700, bringing the following certificate, which is preserved by the descendants:

Civitas Bristol. These are to certify that the bearer hereof, Daniel Bonnett, weaver, (as we are very well assured by persons of credit and repute of the French refugees here,) is a French Protestant of good repute, and hath here lived ten years. But in hopes of better maintaining himself and family, is intending to settle himself, with his wife and four children, in some of his Majestie's plantations in America. In testimony whereof, we have hereto subscribed our names, and caused the seal of the mayoralty of this city to be hereto affixed this sixteenth day of November, one thousand and seven hundred.

Thos. Cary, Clerk.

William Daines, Mayor.

Chap. VI. came to New York.¹ The Protestant inhabitants
 1681- of Thorigné showed a firmness almost unexam-
 1686. pled, under the sufferings inflicted by the dra-
 goons of Marillac. Scarcely a single feigned
 conversion was effected. The priest of the vil-
 lage was enraged at the obstinacy of the Hu-
 guenots. He called for a second visit of the
 troops, which proved equally fruitless. The
 soldiers found the houses empty; the inmates
 had escaped to the neighboring forests.

Benet, a town eight miles north-west of Niort,
 was the home of the Soulice family of New
 Rochelle,² and of the Ravard family of New

¹ "Jacques Bergeron, ouvrier en laine, demeurant cy-
 devant à Torigny, Poitou," and Judith Peletan, his wife, were
 members of the French Church in Bristol, England, 1707,
 1708. A son Pierre was born September 25, 1707; a
 daughter Judith, October 12, 1708. Jacques Bergeron and
 Judith Péletan had four children baptized in the French
 Church, New York: Jean, February 24, 1712; Anne, Jan-
 uary 17, 1714; Jean, March 27, 1715; and Elie, January
 27, 1717.

² The name Soulice is of rare occurrence in France, and
 it does not appear at all in the British Patent Rolls, contain-
 ing the names of Protestant refugees naturalized in England.
 I find, however, in the records of the French Church,
 Threadneedle Street, London, mention of the marriage of
 "Jacques Soulice, natif de Benet en Poitou, fils de feu
 Jacques Soulice et feue Marie Ravard," to Marie Amail,
 "native de Roufigny en Poitou:" October 19, 1687. The
 researches of M. Louis Soulice, bibliothécaire de Pau, into
 the history of his family, have established its descent from
 William Soullice, born in Ireland in 1520, who emigrated to
 France in 1540, and settled in Marans, in the province of
 Aunis. His son Jacques, born in 1554, removed to Coulon,
 a village in Poitou, six miles west of Niort, where his
 descendants continued to reside until the period of the
 French revolution. Benet, the birthplace of Jacques Soulice,

York.¹ Cherveux, a village about as far to the north-east, was the birth-place of Pierre Gaillard² and George Juin,³ emigrants to South Carolina, and probably also of Jean Pinaud, of New York.⁴ From Germon, a village north of Cherveux, came Philippe Normand, of South

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the refugee above mentioned, is a village in the immediate vicinity of Coulon, four miles to the north.

The record of the Soulice family of New Rochelle, New York, states that John, their ancestor, was the son of John Soulice and Jane Curterrie [Couturier] his wife. He married Mary, daughter of Daniel Bonnet—see above, page 65. (It is evident that the record confounds the mother of John Soulice with the mother of Mary Bonnet.)

John Soulice, probably a nephew of Jacques of Benet, was born in 1695, and died in New Rochelle, N. Y., August 28, 1776. Mary Bonnet, his wife, born May 9, 1697, died in New Rochelle, September 11, 1778. The family is still represented in that place.

¹ Pierre Ravard was married to Jeanne du Gas (or Dugua) in the French Church, New York, January 7, 1702. The name was extant in 1737.

² "Pierre Gaillard, né à Cherneux [Cherveux] en Poitou, fils de Pierre Gaillard et de Jacqueline Jolain. Elizabeth Leclair, sa femme. Cleremonde, leur fille, née en Caroline. Elizabeth et Marthe Melet, nées à la Nouvelle Yoorck, filles de Jean Melet et de la ditte Leclair."—(Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline, etc.)

³ "George Juing, né à Cherneux [Cherveux] en Poitou, fils de René Juing et de Judith Pié. Suzanne Le Riche, sa femme, née à Londres. Jean Juing, leur fils né en Caroline."—(Liste, etc.) Several refugees of this name were in London in 1694. Jean Juin was one of the inhabitants of New Rochelle in 1709. "Juin" soon came to be "June."

⁴ "Jeanne et Catharine Pinaud, fugitifs de Cherveux-et-françois."—(Arch. Nat.) Jean Pineaud, imprimeur, died in New York, December 22, 1688. "Inhumé dans le cimetière public."—(Records of the French Church, New York.) Paul Pinaud and Elizabeth Audebert were married in that Church, May 5, 1700. Several others are mentioned.

Chap. VI. Carolina.¹ Daniel Seneschaud,² of South Caro-
 1681- lina, and Jean Moreau,³ of New York, were
 1686. natives of Saint Maixent. Lusignan was the
 home of Isaac Quintard,⁴ the ancestor of a
 prominent Huguenot family of New York and
 Connecticut. The villages of Beaussais, Sepvret,
 Chenay, La Forge-Nocey, and Sainte Soline, had
 representatives among the emigrants to America.
 From Beaussais came Marie and Marianne

¹ "Philippe Normand, né à Germain en Poitou, fils de Philippe Normand et de Jeanne Pineau. Elizabeth Juin, sa femme."—(Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline, etc.)

² "Daniel Seneschaud, fils de Jonas et Jeane Seneschaud, de St. Maixant en Poitou. Magdelaine sa femme, fille de Daniel Ardouin et de Marie Ardouin, de Gémoset en Xaintonge. Elizabeth Seneschaud, fille des susdits nez en Caroline."—(Liste, etc.)

³ Jean Moreau, Jeanne Moreau, fugitifs de Saint Maixant.—(Arch. Nat.) John Moreau was one of the inhabitants of New Rochelle in 1712. Jeanne Moreau was a member of the French Church, New York, in 1714.

⁴ The marriage of Isaac Quintard, "ouvrier en laine, demeurant cy devant proche à Luzignan en Poitou," and Jeanne Fumé, was solemnized in the chapel of the Gaunt, Bristol, England, by M. Descairac, pasteur of the French Church, November 26, 1693. Their daughter Marie was baptized in the same chapel, January 13, 1695; and their son Isaac was baptized December 13, 1696. Quintard came to New York in 1697, or the following year. His second son, Abraham, was baptized in the French Church in that city, September 25, 1698, and his third son, Pierre, January 28, 1700. He removed about the year 1708 from New York to Stamford, Connecticut, where his descendants have continued to reside. The Right Reverend Charles T. Quintard, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of the diocese of Tennessee, Protestant Episcopal Church, is a descendant of the Huguenot refugee in the fifth generation.

Bricou;¹ from Sepvret, Pierre Guerri;² from Chenay, Jacques Marseau and his mother, Françoise Mounart;³ from La Forge-Nocey, Auguste Mémin;⁴ and from Sainte Soline, Isaac Caillebœuf.⁵

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Aulnay and La Villedieu, villages now included within the limits of the department of Charente-Inférieure, formerly belonged to the province of Poitou. Pierre and Abraham Michaud, fugitives from La Villedieu, joined the settlement on the banks of the Santee, in South Carolina.⁶

¹ Pierre Bricou, of Beaussais en Poitou, was a member of the French Church, Bristol, and was connected by marriage with Isaac Quintard. In New York, Marie Bricou, wife of Pierre Durand, 1706, and Marianne Bricou, wife of Moïse Morin, 1717, were members of the French Church.

² "Pierre Guerri, fils de Jacques et d'Anne Guerri, de Seuvet et Poitou; et Jeanne sa femme, fille de Louis et de Judith Broussard, du dit lieu. Enfants, François, né à Dublin, Jean, Pierre, Jean Jacques, Jeanne Elizabeth, nez en Caroline."—(Liste des François et Suisses refugiez en Caroline, etc.)

³ "Françoise Mounart, née à Chainé en Poitou, fille de Jacques Mounart et d'Anne Bonneau. Jacques Marseau, né à Chainé en Poitou, fils de Gabriel Marseau et de Françoise Mounart."—(Liste, etc.)

⁴ "Auguste Memin, né à la Forge Nossey, en Poitou, fils de Jean Memin et de Marie Masiot."—(Liste, etc.)

⁵ "Isaac Caillabeuf, né à Ste. Soline, fils de Louis Caillabeuf et de Marie Charuyer; Rachel Fanton, sa femme; Isaac, Etienne et Anne, leurs enfans, nez en Caroline."—(Liste des François et Suisses refugiez en Caroline, etc.)

⁶ "Pierre Michaud, fils de Jean Michaud et de Catherine Michaud de la Ville Dieu d'Onis, province de Poitou. Sara Michaud sa femme, fille de Jacques et Elizabeth Bertonneau, née en l'isle de Ré, cidevant femme de Elie Jodon. Abraham Michaud, frère de sus dit Pierre Michaud idem, et Ester Michaud sa femme, fille d'Elie Jodon, née en

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Severe as the persecution was, it failed to extirpate Protestantism in the villages of central Poitou, that formed this interesting cluster. More than half a century after the Revocation, a Protestant minister who secretly explored this region, for the purpose of discovering its religious condition, wrote: "I could not have believed that the Reformed were in such numbers as I have found in this province. Between Couhé and Niort—a tract of country ten leagues in length by four or five in width—not one-eighth of the population is Roman Catholic. The people are very firm."¹

The province of TOURAINE, adjoining Poitou on the east, contained a large Protestant population. Tours, its principal town, was nearly ruined by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. A number of the fugitive families found their way to America, and some of them, at least, were families of superior social position. Jean de Neufville,² a physician, became one of the

l'isle de Ré. Jeanne, Ester et Charlotte Michaud leurs enfans nez en Caroline. Daniel Jodon, fils de Elie Jodon et Sara Jodon, né en l'isle de Ré."—(Liste, etc.)

¹ Bulletin de la soc. de l'hist. du prot. franç., XI., p. 81.

² "John de Neufville, born at *Xaintonge*," according to the act of his naturalization in New York, September 27, 1687. His will, however, gives his birthplace as Tours "*en Poitou*." Instances of like inaccuracy in the designation of adjoining provinces are not unusual. He styles himself "Docteur en Medecine." His wife, Rachel le Vilain, was a native of the island of St. Christopher: "ma très chere et honorée espouse," he calls her in his will, bequeathing to her all his property, as well in France as in America, "desirant" lui "laisser un témoignage assuré de la veritable et tendre affection que j' ay toujours eue pour elle, fondée sur

original purchasers and first settlers of New Rochelle, in the county of Westchester, New York. Pierre Chardon, a banker, was residing in Paris at the time of the Revocation.¹ He fled to England, and soon after, emigrated to Massachusetts, where he took a prominent place as a merchant of Boston, and as an Elder of the French Church in that city. Pierre Fauconnier² came to New York, and rose to eminence in public life. In 1705 he was made collector of the port, and receiver general of taxes. South

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la vertue, sagesse, et prudence que je lui ai toujours remarquée dans toute sa conduite, et la recognoissance que j'ay de tous les bons fidelles et affectionnés services qu'elle m'a rendus depuis que le Seigneur nous a mis ensemble." The deed of his land in New Rochelle, bought of Jacob Leisler, is dated May 1, 1690. The names and ages of his children are given in the New Rochelle census of 1698 thus: John, age 20; Prudence, 18; Mary 16; Jeanne, 14; James Peter, 12; Sebe [?], 8; Josias, 7; Rachel, 6, and Martha, 3. "Mary Prudence" became the second wife of Aman Bonnin; license of marriage dated December 28, 1705. Jean de Neufville was born about the year 1639.—(Census.) His will, dated May 3, 1712, was admitted to probate, December 21, 1716. He appears to have been one of the most intelligent and cultivated of the refugees in the province of New York.

¹ He was naturalized in England, April 15, 1687, and soon after removed to Massachusetts. He is believed to have been a native of Tours.—(La France Protestante, deuxième édition, vol. IV., p. 46.)

² Peter Fauconnier and Magdalene [Pasquereau] his wife, were naturalized in England, April 4, 1685, in company with Louis Pasquereau and Magdalene his wife, and their children Louis, Peter and Isaac. Madeleine, daughter of Pierre Fauconnier and Madeleine Pasquereau his wife, was baptized in the French Church, Threadneedle street, London, May 13, 1685. Pierre and Estienne, twins, were baptized in the same Church, June 24, 1686; and Estienne was baptized April 20, 1689. Peter and Magdalen Faucon-

Chap. VI. Carolina was enriched by the accession of several important families—Fleury de la Plaine,¹ Royer,² Carron,³ Pasquereau,⁴ and Bacot.⁵

nier were in New York as early as December, 1702, when they petitioned, with others, for certain lands on Staten Island. Fauconnier stood high in favor with governors Bellomont and Cornbury, and was not only advanced to important offices under the colonial government, but also obtained large grants of land from them. His course was severely criticised by the opponents of these governors.

¹ "Abraham Fleury, de la Plaine, né à Tours, fils de Charles Fleury, et de Madeleine Soupzmain; Marianne Fleury, sa fille, veuve de Jacques Dugué, née à Paris; et Marianne Dugué, fille du défunct Jacques Dugué, et du dit Marianne Fleury, née en Caroline. Isaac Fleury, né à Tours, fils de Charles Fleury et de Madelaine Soubmain."—(Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline.)

² "Noé Royer, l'ainé, né à Tours, fils de Sébastien Royer et de Marie Rendon. Madeleine Saulnier, sa femme, native de Chatelleraulx, fille de Jacques Saunier et Judith Baudon. Pierre, Madeleine, et Marie, leurs enfans, nez à Tours. Noé Royer le Jeune, né à Tours, fils de Noé Royer, et de Madeleine Saulnier. Judith Giton, sa femme."—(Ibid.)

³ "Claude Carron, né à Tours, fils de Michel Carron, et de Elizabeth Belong."—(Ibid.)

⁴ "Louis Pasquereau, né à Tours, fils de Louis Pasquereau et de Madeleine Chardon." It would seem that the elder Pasquereau died—possibly in London—leaving four sons; and that his widow, Madeleine Chardon, married again, and came to South Carolina with her second husband Philippe Gendron and his brother Jean and daughter, Madeleine, and with Pierre, Isaac and Charles Pasquereau, younger sons of her former husband. Pierre and Isaac, like Louis, were born in Tours; Charles was born in London.—(Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline, etc.) Pierre Pasquereau, of Tours, aged seventy-two years, received assistance in Southampton, England, from the Royal Bounty, 1706, 1707.

⁵ "Pierre Bacot, né à Tours, fils de Pierre Bacot et de Jeanne Moreau. Jacquine Mercier, sa femme, fille d'Abraham Mercier et Jacquine Sélipeaux. Pierre et Daniel Bacot, leurs fils, nez en France, et Elizabeth, leur fille, née en Caroline."—(Liste des François et Suisses Réfugiés en Caroline.)

The pedigree of the Bacot family represents that the emigrant was the grandson of Pierre, who married Jeanne Moreau. His son Pierre,² married Jacqueline Menissier, and had three children : David, who remained in France, and whose descendants are still residing there ; Pierre, the emigrant to South Carolina ; and a son, name unknown, who went to England. Pierre,³ second son of Pierre and Jacqueline Bacot, was born in Tours, France, about the year 1670, and married Jacqueline Mercier. He emigrated to America with his family in 1694, and settled as a planter at Goose Creek, about nineteen miles from Charleston, S. C. He had three children : Daniel, born in France, of whom nothing further is known ; Pierre, born in La Rochelle, 1694 ; and Elizabeth, born in Carolina, married ——— Boinest. Pierre,⁴ second son of Pierre and Jacqueline Bacot, married Mary Peronneau, and succeeded his father as planter at Goose Creek. He had four children : Samuel, born in 1716, settled in Darlington district, now Darlington county, S. C. ; Mary, born in 1717 ; Elizabeth, born in 1725 ; and Peter, born in March, 1728. Peter⁵ married Elizabeth Harramond, November 11, 1764, and settled in Charleston, as a merchant. He died September 7, 1787.

This family is at present represented by Thomas W. Bacot, Esq., of Charleston, S. C.

Chap. VI.

1681-

1686.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REVOCATION.

FLIGHT FROM THE NORTHERN PROVINCES.

Chap. VII.

1681—

1686.

Protestant
Nobility
of
Normandy.

Whilst the country lying between the Loire and the Gironde sent a larger proportion of Huguenot emigrants to America than any other part of France—if we may judge by the number of families whose derivation has been ascertained—the province of NORMANDY was not far behind Saintonge and Poitou, in its contribution to this movement. Indeed, a special interest may be said to belong to the emigration from Normandy, and the adjoining provinces of Bretagne and Picardy, in view of the social position of some of the emigrants. Several representatives of the Protestant nobility of France, and of that class of enterprising and wealthy manufacturers to whom France had owed so much of the prosperity which she was now insanely driving from her borders, left their estates and their commercial affairs, to seek liberty of conscience in the New World. Sacrifices like these, made at the bidding of principle, reflect honor upon the men, and upon the cause to which they clung. The history of the dispersion of the persecuted Huguenots owes equal recognition to the steadfastness of the poor and lowly, whom no promise

of advantage could tempt to deny their faith, and to the fidelity of the high-born and affluent, who renounced a life of ease, preferring banishment and penury to the abandonment of religious convictions.

Chap. VII.

1681-

1686.

Protestantism, at the period of the Revocation, had long maintained a firm hold upon the population of this province. More than a century before—at the time of the Peace of Amboise—it was said that throughout Normandy, “both the nobles and the people were united and agreed in the observance of the Reformed religion.”¹ In 1681, it was estimated, in government returns, that the number of those who professed the Calvinistic belief reached one hundred and eighty thousand. Already, multitudes had escaped to foreign lands, from the severities visited upon Protestants: and greater multitudes were soon to follow, fleeing before the *dragonnades*.²

The city of Caen, in Normandy, contained a large Protestant population. Its church was one of the strongest and most influential in the kingdom. The “temple” of the Huguenots, erected in 1612, was a building of vast proportions. It was noted as the only Protestant house of worship in France having a belfry like that of Roman Catholic churches, surmounted by a cross. The large and scattered body of worshipers that

The
“Temple”
of
Caen.

¹ Essai sur l'histoire de l'Eglise réformée de Caen, par Sophronyme Beaujour. Caen: 1877. P. 67.

² Le Protestantisme en Normandie depuis la révocation de l'édit de Nantes jusqu'à la fin du dix-huitième siècle; par M. Francis Waddington. Paris: 1862. P. 16, note.

Chap. VII. gathered in this sanctuary, enjoyed the ministrations of several associated pastors, who preached also in a number of places in the neighboring country. This congregation was distinguished for the social standing of its members. Its roll included the names of many of the Protestant *noblesse*. The revenues of the church, arising from bequests and voluntary contributions, was considerable. In 1563, the freeholders and inhabitants petitioned the king to appoint as governor of the town one "living in the fear of God," and professing "the Reformed religion," inasmuch as they were all of that faith.¹

The
"Temple"
demolished.

In the course of the repressive legislation that prepared the way for the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, this important church was first deprived of its ministers, then closed, and finally, on the twenty-fifth day of June, 1685, its destruction was commenced, at the sound of trumpets, accompanied by the shouts of the rabble of Caen. Four months later, at ten o'clock in the morning, on the fifth day of November, the leading Protestants of the town were called together in the town-hall, by order of the public authorities, who informed them that a royal regiment comprising one thousand and six hundred men was to be expected soon, and would be billeted upon such Protestant families as should refuse obedience to the King's command to embrace the Roman Catholic religion.

Among the persons who heard this an-

¹ Beaujour, *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Eglise réformée de Caen* : u. s.

nouncement was a young nobleman, the representative of the Protestant branch of an ancient family originally of Picardy. Etienne de Lancy was now in his twenty-third year. His father, Jacques de Lancy,¹ was dead, and his mother, Marguerite Bertrand, daughter of Pierre Bertrand, of Caen, was advanced in years. Both the widow and her son were staunch Protestants, and neither was disposed to entertain the thought of purchasing exemption from threatened hardships by accepting the King's religion. It was plain, however, that concealment or flight was the only alternative: and young De Lancy chose the latter, while his mother decided to remain. Before parting with her son, she gave him some family jewels, the property that he could carry with him most safely, and dispose of most readily. He succeeded in making his escape to Holland, and from Rotterdam went to London, where he

Chap. VII.
1685.

Marguerite
Bertrand.

¹ Jacques De Lancy, écuyer, was descended from Guy de Lancy, écuyer, vicomte de Laval et de Nouvion (1432), whose son Jean, succeeding him in 1436, had a son Jean (1470). Charles, son of Jean, (1525), was married twice. By his second marriage, to Marie de Villiers (having only a daughter by his first wife) he had two sons: Charles, fifth vicomte de Laval, (1535), and Christophe, seigneur de Rarai. Charles married Isabeau Branche, daughter of Furié de Branche, sieur de Bréan, April 15, 1534. They had three sons: Charles, Jacques, and Claude. The second son, Jacques, had a son Pierre, seigneur de Niville, whose son Jacques was the father of Etienne, the refugee. The American branch of the De Lancy family, represented at present by Edward Floyd De Lancey, Esq., of New York, as its head, is the only one bearing the name; the other branches having become extinct in the male line.

Chap. VII. obtained letters of denization ; and immediately
 1686. afterwards he embarked for America. Etienne de Lancy became a successful merchant in the city of New York. The sale of his family jewels produced a sum that enabled him at once to enter into profitable business ; and his rank and personal character acquired for him a high position among the French refugees in that city. He was one of the first "anciens" of the French Reformed Church of New York, which was formed two years after his arrival. Some years later, he married the daughter of Stephen Van Cortlandt, and founded a family of social and political distinction. His son James became Chief Justice and Lieutenant-Governor of the province.

Governor
De
Lancey.

Several other Protestants of Caen fled to America. Thomas Bayeux¹ became a leading

¹ Thomas Bayeux, merchant, was made free of the city of New York, May 10, 1705. He married Madeleine Boudinot (by license dated July 14, 1703), and had eight children, baptized in the French Church. Thomas, born July 5, 1708, married Mary Lispenard. Jean, born June 14, 1723, died young. Madeleine, born July 22, 1706, married Edward Holland, mayor of New York, 1747 to 1750. Anne, born December 16, 1710, married John Groesbeck. Marie, born July 5, 1716, married the Reverend Richard Charlton. Jeanne, born May 20, 1719. Elizabeth, born July 25, 1721. Marianne, born July 14, 1725. Another daughter, Susanne, wife of Jeremiah Schuyler, is named in her father's will, which also names "my brother John Bayeux, late of London, merchant, deceased." Thomas Bayeux died in 1742, leaving his house in King street, New York, and all his "real and personal estate in the Kingdom of France," to his son Thomas.--(Wills, N. Y., XIV., 257.)

La France Protestante, *s.v.*, mentions several refugees of this name, all from Normandy, and nearly all from Caen.

merchant of New York, and in his will left to his son "all his real and personal property in the Kingdom of France." Daniel Du Chemin had escaped some years before the Revocation to the West Indies.¹ Isaac le Grand, écuyer, son of Jean le Grand, sieur d'Anville;² and Jacques le Bas, whose elder brother founded an important family in England,³ came to South

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1681—

1686.

The wife of Pierre Bayeux, of Caen, was arrested with others in 1687, at Saint Aubin, on the coast of Normandy, in the attempt to escape from France by sea. She was imprisoned at Dieppe, and condemned to be "*rasée et cloîtrée*."—(Memoirs inédits de Dumont de Bostaquet, p. 358.)

¹ Daniel du Chemin, "born at Caen in Normandy," was naturalized in New York, September 27, 1687, with his son Daniel and his daughter Catharine, "born at the Island of St. Christops." Perhaps he returned, as some others did, to that island: for the name does not re-appear until eighty years later, when another Daniel Duchemin obtains a marriage license in the city of New York, July 7, 1767, and receives letters of naturalization, May 20, 1769.

² "Isaac le Grand, écuyer, fils de Jean le Grand, Sr. d'Anville, et de Marie le Grand, natif de Caen en Normandie. Elizabeth le Grand, femme; fille de Jean et de Judith Dieu, de Caen en Normandie. Isaac, leur fils, né en Caen. Elizabeth, leur fille, née en Caroline."—(Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline, etc.)

³ "M^r Jacques le Bas, né à Can, fils de Jean le Bas et Anne Samborne. Pierre le Bas, son fils, né à Can. Sa mère Catherine Varing."—(Liste, etc.)

From the pedigree of the English family of Le Bas, drawn up by Henry Wagner, Esq., F.S.A., of London, it appears that "John le Bass, of Caen, in Normandy, 1609, married Mary, daughter of Robert Paisan. He had a son John le Bass, of Caen, gentleman, who married Anne Samborne, eldest daughter of Richard Samborne, merchant of Caen, in Normandy; also of Maiden Newton, in Co. Dorset, England. Anne died March 11, 1634, aged thirty-two years. The children of John le Bas and Anne Samborne were: John, born March 10, 1625; *ob. s. p.*; James, born June 26,

Chap. VII. Carolina. Daniel Marchand, a member of the
 1681- French Church in New York, died there in
 1686. 1693.¹

The number of Protestants in the city of Rouen was reckoned, shortly before the Revocation, at five thousand. They were noted for their religious zeal, and for the constancy displayed by many of them under persecution. Several prominent members of the Reformed congregation in that city were thrown into prison; their wives and daughters were shut up in convents, where some of them died; and the streets of Rouen witnessed in repeated

1627 [see above]. Richard, born December 30, 1629. Michael, born 1632, *ob. s. p.* Mary, born December 28, 1623; married Jeanblin.

Richard, third son of John and Anne le Bas, was in 1687 "Assistant to Sir Charles Cotterel, M^r of the Ceremonies in England." He married Kiffiana, daughter of Peter Gosfraight, and had a son Charles Samborne le Bas. Charles was "of Pipwell Abbey, Co. Northampton," and married, July 24, 1711, Mary, second daughter of Sir Samuel Moyer, Bar^t, and ultimately his sole heir. Their only daughter and heir was Rebecca, who married Simon, (died September 16, 1777), second Viscount and first Earl of Harcourt; Governor to the Prince of Wales (afterward George III.), 1751; Viceroy of Ireland, 1772; twenty-seventh in descent from Bernard, Lord of Harcourt in Normandy.

"In his will, dated March 18, 1720, Charles Le Bas leaves a contingent remainder of his estate to 'cousin Stephen, second son of cousin Paul Peter Le Bas of Carolina, and his heirs,' and in default, to his eldest brother James; in default, to 'my next heir at law who shall then be a Protestant, and none of my relations now in France, who have changed their religion and keep me out of my estate there.'"

¹ Daniel Marchand, of Caen, was in New York in 1692. His daughter Marianne, was born September 5. His widow Catharine Lavandier, married François le Comte, May 31, 1693.

instances the execution of one of the most Chap. VII.
inhuman and horrible of the abuses inflicted upon 1685.
the dead as upon the living heretic, in the dragging of the naked bodies of persons who had refused with their last breath to renounce their faith, to be cast into the public sewer. One who visited the city shortly after the arrival of the dragoons, in the last days of October, 1685, writes: "Rouen resembled a town taken by assault. Armed men, with proud and insolent looks, were riding up and down the streets. Sadness was imprinted on the faces of the inhabitants; and the perpetual movement of troops, changing their quarters, the moment they had compelled their entertainers to sign the act of recantation, produced the impression that the town was filled with them, and cast an air of terror over all this great and rich city. It was a pitiable sight indeed!"¹

A town
taken
by
assault.

Happily for the persecuted Protestants of Rouen, the way of escape to England was short, and, despite all efforts to close it, was open. The pastor of the Huguenot church in that city rejoiced—a melancholy occasion for joy—that two-thirds of his flock had been able to reach foreign lands. Multitudes of those who apprehended these persecutions had escaped already, and many who, yielding in a moment of weakness, had recanted, seized the first opportunity to follow them.

Among the fugitives from Rouen, were Isaac

¹ Mémoires de Bostaquet, pp. 99, 100.

Chap. VII. Bataille¹ and Daniel le Gendre,² who went to
 1681— South Carolina. Jacques Montier settled in
 1686. Boston.³

Pierre Assire found a home in New Rochelle;⁴
 and Jean Gancel,⁵ Pierre Chaperon,⁶ Abraham
 Dupont,⁷ and Jacob Gosselin, came to New
 York.⁸

Other
 fugitives
 from
 Rouen.

¹ Isaac Bataille, weaver, and Judith Petit his wife, were living in "Ancre street," London, in 1700. Isaac Bataille was an inhabitant of South Carolina in 1720.

² "Daniel, fils de Jacques Le Gendre et de Maurice —, de Rouen en Normandie."—(Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline, etc.)

³ Jean Montier, "de Laon pont Bourg de Darnetal les Rouen, ville de Rouen," was one of the fugitives from Normandy.—(Archives Nationales, Tr. N^o 445.) James Montier was naturalized in England, March 8, 1682, and was admitted into the Massachusetts colony, February 1, 1691.

⁴ David Assire, tailleur, de Rouen, was in London, 1699–1711. Pierre Assire, an inhabitant of New Rochelle, N. Y., in 1714, was of the same craft, and probably of the same family.

⁵ Jean Gancel, natif de Rouen, was married, May 19, 1695, in the French Church, New York, to Judith Le Roy. Their daughter Judith was born November 17, 1700.

⁶ Le sieur Chapron, marchand, is mentioned in a "Mémoire de ceux qui sont plus zélés pour leur religion dans la ville de Rouen," about the year 1688.—(Le Protestantisme en Normandie, p. 25.) Pierre Chaperon, de Rouen, and Elizabeth Rémy his wife, presented their son Pierre for baptism in the French Church, Glasshouse Street, London, September 2, 1688. It was probably this Pierre, junior, who was a member of the French Church, New York, 1717–1720, together with his wife Judith.

⁷ Abraham Dupont, rue des bons Enfants, Rouen, was one of the fugitive "religionnaires" whose goods were confiscated.—(Arch. Nat.) He was in the French Church, New York, in 1695, and resided in South Carolina in 1730.

⁸ "Nom originaire de la Normandie."—(Le Protestantisme en Normandie, p. 18.) "Etienne Gozelin, de Rouen, mis à la chaîne, 1684."—(Id.) Jacob and Marie Madeleine Gosselin

Guillaume Le Conte, of Rouen, became the head of an American family, that has rendered notable services to natural science.¹

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1686.

were members of the French Church in Threadneedle Street, London, October 26, 1690, when their daughter, Marie Madeleine, was baptized. Jacob Gosselin and his wife, Judith L'esveillé, presented their son Josse for baptism in the French Church, New York, November 9, 1701. At the baptism of their daughter Judith, September 5, 1703, Jean Gancel, de Rouen, was sponsor. They had three other children, Jacob, John, and Samuel.—(The Annals of Newtown, by James Riker. P. 346.) Gosselin, a weaver by trade, settled in Newtown, Long Island, N. Y., where he purchased a farm. The name is still represented in that place. It has been corrupted to Gorsline.

¹ Guillaume Le Conte, born in Rouen, March 6, 1659, died in New York, 1720. There is a family tradition to the effect that he was descended, through his mother or grandmother, from the barons of Nonant. He married, February 17, 1701, Marguerite de Valleau, daughter of Pierre Joyeux de Valleau, of Martinique, who died soon, leaving one son, Guillaume, born December 3, 1702. He married secondly, Marguerite Mahault, and had two children, Pierre and Esther. He and his wife died of yellow fever the same day, September 15, 1720. Guillaume, the elder son, married Anne Besly, of New Rochelle, and had two daughters, through the second of whom, Susanne, who married another Besly, or Bayley, comes the family in whose succession were Mrs. Seton, founder of the Sisters of Charity in this country, and the late Archbishop Bayley of Baltimore. Pierre, the second son, a physician of some note, married, first, Margaret Pintard, and three years later, Valeria Eatton, of Eattonville, New Jersey, who had five children, William, John Eatton, Margaret, Thomas, and Peter. Margaret married the Reverend Jedediah Chapman, a prominent minister of the Presbyterian Church. John Eatton, born September 2, 1739, married Jane Sloan, in 1776, and had three children, William, Louis, and John Eatton. Louis, born in 1782, a man of decided scientific tastes and attainments, was the father of Professors John and Joseph Le Conte, of the University of California. John Eatton, born in Shrewsbury, New Jersey, February 22, 1784, was a devoted student of natural history. He married

- Chap. VII. George de Bonneville, a nobleman of Normandy,
 1681- born in the city of Rouen, sought refuge with
 1686. his family in England, where his son George,
 "a protégé of Queen Anne," and in later years
 a leading propagator of the Restorationist doc-
 trine in Pennsylvania, was born.¹

Mary Ann Lawrence, July, 1821, and had three sons, two of whom died in infancy. The youngest was John Lawrence Le Conte, born May 13, 1825, died November 15, 1883. Dr. John L. Le Conte's contributions to the study of natural science have given him the highest distinction. He was "unquestionably the greatest entomologist this country has yet produced." The Transactions of the American Entomological Society, Philadelphia, of which he was president, contain "A Biographical Sketch of Dr. John Lawrence Le Conte," with an appendix on his ancestry, prepared by Mr. Samuel Hubbard Scudder, of Cambridge, Massachusetts.

George
de
Bonne-
ville.

¹ "After the death of my mother," who was of the Granville family, "Queen Anne provided me with a nurse, and she had the care of my first years." In his early youth he was very wild. On one occasion, returning home from a ball, he fell into a fainting fit, and had a vision, in which he saw himself in perdition. "Coming to myself, I cried out, I am damned! Prayers were desired in the French churches [in London], for one who had lost his senses, and was melancholy." This religious impression led to his conversion. He then felt that he was called to preach the Gospel, and at the age of seventeen he embarked for France, where he preached for two years, undergoing great persecution, often narrowly escaping with his life, and much of the time confined in prison. Once, when he was worshipping with others in a secluded spot, the assembly was surprised by a party of soldiers. Many were taken prisoners; among them, De Bonneville, and one Durant, of Geneva, a young man aged twenty-four years. They were conducted to the place of execution. On the way, Durant sang the CXXVIth psalm, and died faithfully. De Bonneville was then led to the scaffold; he fell on his knees in prayer; but while the executioner was binding his hands, a messenger came from the king with a reprieve. He was remanded to prison, but eventually, at the instance of the

A few miles east of the city of Rouen, is the village of Lyons-la-Forêt, the birthplace of Nicolas de Longemare, son of Jacques de Longemare and Adrienne Aracheguene, his wife. Nicolas married Anne le Roy, and removed to Dieppe, where his son Nicolas was born, and became the husband of Marie Bon-

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1681-

1686.

English government, he was released. He went to Germany, and having learned the language with great difficulty, he preached in German as well as in French, but passed much of his time among the French refugees in Berlin, Magdeburg, Brunswick, the Palatinate, and in Holland, and the valleys of Piedmont. Having thus spent eighteen years, he became convinced that he was called of God to go to America and preach the Gospel there. He came to this country in the year 1741, about the same time with Count Zinzendorf. He was induced to establish himself in Oley, Berks county, Pennsylvania, where he spent the greater portion of his remaining life, engaged in teaching, preaching, and visiting the neighboring Indians, as well as in the practice of medicine. In 1745, he married Esther, daughter of Jean Bertolet, by whom he had two sons—the elder of whom, Daniel, served as surgeon during the Revolution—and five daughters. De Bonneville died in the year 1793, aged ninety. He was not formally connected with any ecclesiastical body. In religious belief, he was a “Witter-bringer,” or restorationist. He is said to have been a man of piety and zeal; and “his influence and teaching must have been advantageous, especially at that period of the settlement of the country. He was subject to frequent and very remarkable trances.”—(Bertolet MS., in the possession of Dr. R. M. Bertolet, Philadelphia, Penn.)

Jean Bertolet, of whom mention has been made above, was a native of Chateau-d’œx, in the canton of Vaud, Switzerland, whither his Huguenot ancestors had fled, from persecution in France. From that place, he removed to Gutenberg, in Germany; and in the year 1726, he came to America, with his brother, his wife Susanna, and their five children: Abraham, born December 11, 1712; Maria, July 12, 1715; John, September 28, 1717; Esther, 1720; Susan, November 17, 1724. Another son, Frederick, was born in America.—(Bertolet MS.)

Chap. VII. neau. Both these families found homes on the
 1681— banks of the Santee, in South Carolina.

1686.

The
 dragoons
 in
 Dieppe.

The sea-port town of Dieppe had been enriched by the enterprise of its Huguenot merchants, ever since the days when its bold navigators opened to France the commerce of Canada. After years of restriction and depression, its Protestant inhabitants were still numerous, and high-spirited. Until visited by the dragoons of Louvois, they remained "obstinate beyond all others in the kingdom;" and that minister of Louis XIV., in giving the order for the dragonnades at Dieppe, directed the officer in charge "not to keep the troops within the bounds imposed upon them elsewhere, but to allow them to create whatever disorder might be necessary, to extricate these people from their present state, and make an example of them to the rest of the province."¹

The consternation and despair produced by the brutalities that ensued, are vividly pictured by writers of the day. Some of the sufferers from this persecution reached our shores. Etienne Hamel, "a poore French Protestant, of Dieppe," took refuge, as we have seen, in the island of Guadeloupe, in the West Indies, but was "forced to fly from the Rigorous Persecution" that followed him there, and came to the city of New York in June, 1686, "leaving his Estate behind him."² Two other refugees from

¹ Le Protestantisme en Normandie, p. 2.

² See above, volume I., pp. 230, 231.

the same city, Jean and Pierre Le Conte, settled on Staten Island.¹

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1686.

The family of Josias Le Vilain, escaping from St. Christopher, came to New York in 1687, and joined the little colony then forming at New Rochelle.² Jacques Lardan,³ Nicolas Le Nud,⁴ Marie Brugnet,⁵

¹ Pierre Le Conte, "born at Diep in Normandy," was naturalized in New York, September 27, 1687. He obtained land on the west side of Staten Island. He died in 1704. His wife Marguerite survived him. They had three sons, Jean, Pierre, and Jacques.—(Wills, N. Y., VII., 142 ; XII., 492.)

Jean Le Conte, a brother of Pierre of Dieppe, was also an inhabitant of Staten Island. He died in 1697, leaving a wife Hester, and a daughter Susanne.—(Wills, N. Y., V., 253.)

² Josias le Vilain is named among the inhabitants of St. Christopher, about the year 1677. If he reached New York, he died soon after his arrival ; for in 1687, (September 27,) Marie Guespin, veuve de feu Josias Le Vilain, with her sons Josias and Jean le Vilain, and her daughter Jeanne, "born at the Island St. Xtops," were naturalized in New York. The land of Mary Levilain, in New Rochelle, N. Y., is mentioned as early as the year 1690.

³ "Jacques Lardan, né à Dieppe, fils de Jacques Lardan et de Marie Poulart ; Marthe Moreau, sa femme ; Jacques, leur fils, né en Caroline."—(Liste des François et Suisses refugiez en Caroline, etc.) Jean Lardant, de Dieppe, was condemned to the galleys in March, 1687, for having attempted to leave the kingdom. He was still a galley slave in 1700, on the ship "La Guerrière," and was subject to cruel maltreatment.—(Le Protestantisme en Normandie, pp. 18, 19.)

⁴ "Nicholas, fils de Nicholas et Marie Le Nud, de Dieppe en Normandie."—(Liste des François et Suisses, Réfugiez en Caroline, etc.)

⁵ "Marie Brugnet, née à Dieppe, veuve de Nicholas Postell."—(Ibid.)

Chap. VII. Marie Soyer,¹ Isaac Dubosc,² Jean Potell,³
 1681— and Nicolas de Longemare,⁴ fled to South Caro-
 1686. lina.

Other towns of Normandy contributed to the American emigration. St. Lô was the home of Jean Berteaud⁵ and Pierre Le Chevalier,⁶ of Charleston, and probably also of Jean Le Chevalier, of New York,⁷ and of Pierre Chevalier, of Philadelphia.⁸

¹ "Marie Soyer, native de Dieppe en Normandie ; femme de Jean Aumant, de Nisme.—(Liste, etc.)

² "Isaac Dubosc, fils de Louis et Anne Dubosc, de Dieppe en Normandie. Susanne Dubosc, sa femme."—(Ibid.)

³ "Jean Potell, né à Diepe, fils de Nicholas Potell et de Marye Brugnet. Madeleine Pepin, sa femme. Jean, Pierre, Jacques-Jean, leurs enfans, nez en Caroline."—(Ibid.)

⁴ "Nicholas de Longemare, né à Diepe, fils de Nicholas Longemare l'ainé et d'Anne Le Roy. Marie Bonneau, sa femme."—(Ibid.)

⁵ "Jean Berteaud, né à St. Lô, fils de Jean Bertaud et de Marguerite Robert."—(Ibid.)

⁶ "Pierre le Chevallier, natif de St. Lô en Normandie, fils de Rolland le Chevallier et d'Ester Dallain, ses père et mère, et Madelainne Garillion, sa femme, native de Grenoble, fille d'Israel Garillion et Susanne Saunier, sa mère."—(Ibid.)

⁷ Jean le Chevalier and Marie de la Plaine were married in the Dutch Church, New York, by license dated June 27, 1692. They had two children baptized in the French Church : Marie, born June 6, 1693, and Susanne, born March 11, 1695. Peter Chevalier and Belitje Claerhout had two children baptized in the Dutch Church : Catharine, December 17, 1693, and Peter, January 1, 1695. Peter Chevalier married Cornelia Bosch, in the same church, April 3, 1697.

⁸ "The ancestor of the Chevalier family of Philadelphia was a French Protestant, who at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was constrained to fly from his native country, together with his wife. From the circumstance of his having in his coat-of-arms a *fleur-de-lis*, the family have always conjectured that he was descended from a house of some distinction ; but upon this subject nothing has been known with certainty. His grandsons, who became eminent

The town of L'Aigle was the birthplace of Jacques Gallopin,¹ another South Carolina refugee; and François le Comte,² of New York, was a native of Pont l'Evêque in Normandy.

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merchants in Philadelphia, were advised to visit France in order to ascertain the facts, and to obtain their inheritance; but so great was their dread of the power of the Romish clergy, and of the unfriendliness of the government toward heretics, that they could not be induced to venture into that country. The refugee and his wife settled in England, where their son Peter was born. Peter, after he became of age, married an English lady, and had one daughter before he emigrated to America. This daughter remained in England, and married an Irish gentleman named Gittong. After the arrival of Peter Chevalier and his wife in America, he had two sons, John and Peter, and several daughters, one of whom, Susannah, married ——— Standley, of Philadelphia, and another, Jane, married Garland Anderson, second son of the Rev. James Anderson, the first Presbyterian clergyman settled in New York." (Communicated by Professor Edward E. Salisbury, LL. D., late of Yale College, New Haven, the grandson of Judge Samuel Breese, of Shrewsbury, N. J., whose wife, Elizabeth, was the daughter of Garland Anderson, and the grand-daughter of Peter Chevalier.—Since the above was written, Professor Salisbury has found evidence that the family in question originated in *Bretagne*; the only Chevalier coat-of-arms bearing a *fleur-de-lis* being that of a family of that province.)

¹ Jacques Gallopin, né à Laigle en Normandie, fils de Siméon Gallopin, et de Louise Malherbe.—(Liste, etc.)

² "Natif du Pont Levesque en Normandie, fils de François Lecompte et de Marie Amon." He was married in the French Church, New York, May 31, 1693, to Catharine Lavandier. Two months before, he had made a public abjuration. "François le Comte. . . né et élevé dans la Religion Romaine, ayant demandé diverses fois d'être reçu à faire abjuration du Papisme, Dieu luy ayant fait la grace de connoître la fausseté par la lecture de l'écriture Ste. et autres Livres, et à faire profession de la religion Protestante dont il a pareillement reconnu la vérité après diverses épreuves a enfin été reçu aujourd'hui à la face de cette Eglise où il a protesté qu'il rejette sincèrement toutes les erreurs et tous

Chap. VII. A group of small towns and villages near the
 1681—mouth of the Seine, on the neck of land between
 1686. the estuary of that river, and the ocean, sent a
 number of refugees to America. From the
 ancient seaport town of Harfleur, now eclipsed
 by the neighboring port of Havre, came Abra-
 ham Lesueur, and Catharine Poinset, his wife,
 settlers of South Carolina.¹ Montivilliers, four
 miles north of Harfleur, was the birthplace of
 Jacques Le Moine, who likewise fled to South
 Carolina: and from the same place, probably,
 came Pierre Le Moine, one of the settlers in
 Narragansett, and the founder of the Mawney
 family of Rhode Island.² Bolbec, a town of ten
 thousand inhabitants, fourteen miles to the
 north-east of Harfleur, was the home, it is be-
 lieved, of Jean Mallet, one of the settlers of New

Near
 the mouth
 of the
 Seine.

les faux cultes du dit Papisme et quil desire aussi de tout son cœur de professer toutes les doctrines de la religion Protestante en foy de quoy le present acte a été dressé fait en consistoire le dit an et jour que dessus.”—(Records of the French Church, New York.)

François Lecompte, Victualer, was made free of the city of New York, April 18, 1695. Three children of François and Catharine le Compte were baptized in the French Church: François, born March 2, 1694; Josias, born February 20, 1697, and Madeleine, born March 15, 1698.

¹ “Abraham Lesueur, né à Harfleur en Normandie, fils d’Isaac Lesueur et de Marye Senée. Catharine Poinsett, sa femme.”—(Liste des François et Suisses refugiez en Caroline.)

² “Jacques Le Moine, fugitif de Montivilliers.”—(Archives Nationales.) James Le Moyne, naturalized in England, March 8, 1682, was an inhabitant of South Carolina in 1689. Pierre Le Moine was one of the French settlers in Rhode Island in 1686.

Oxford,¹ and of Nicolas Caron,² who came to New York. Jacques Le Blond, a leading Huguenot in Boston, was probably from Trouville, a small village seven miles east of Bolbec.³

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Jean Carrière, a refugee in South Carolina, was a native of Normandy.⁴ Jacques Caudebec,⁵ “a young man from Normandy,” fled from France, according to tradition, during the persecution, in company with Pierre Guimard, and came, as we have seen,⁶ to the province of New York. Here Caudebec with others—seven in all—bought a tract of land in the valley of the Peenpack. His descendants are still to be found in the town of Deerpark, in Orange County, New York.

Jacques
Caudebec.

The history of the persecution in the province

¹ Several of this name were among the “religionnaires fugitifs de Bolbec.”—(Arch. Nat.) Jean Maillet was one of the inhabitants of New Oxford, Massachusetts, in 1687. He removed to Boston. The will of John Mallet, of Boston, shopkeeper, (wife, Elizabeth,) was signed October 7, 1734, and admitted to probate, January 27, 1741.

² Louis and Daniel Caron, fled from Bolbec. Peter Caron was naturalized in England, January 5, 1688. Nicolas Caron, jeweler, was made free of the city of New York, August 5, 1718. In his will he mentions his “brother Peter, now living in London.”—(Wills, N. Y., IX., 311.)

³ “Abraham et David Leblond, fugitifs de Trouville.”—(Arch. Nat.) Jacques and Antoine le Blond came to Boston. Jacques had nine children baptized, between 1690 and 1709, in Cotton Mather’s church, of which his wife became a member in 1690.

⁴ “Jean Carrière, né en Normandie, fils de Jean Carrière.”—(Liste des François et Suisses refugiez en Caroline, etc.)

⁵ Jacob Codebeck, van Normandyen, was married in the Reformed Dutch Church, New York, September 17, 1695, to Margaret Provost.

⁶ See above, page 19.

Chap. VII. of BRETAGNE, shows some conspicuous names
 1681- that were represented in the emigration to
 1686. America.

The
 princess
 of
 Tarente.

Certain refugees who went to South Carolina were natives of Vitré, a town of some importance in the north-eastern part of the province, and anciently one of the fortified places held by the Huguenots. The Protestants of Vitré had enjoyed for more than a hundred years the right of maintaining public worship, when, in 1671, they were ordered to vacate their "temple," which had been doomed to destruction. But the *château* of Vitré belonged to the Princess of Tarente,¹ a firm and devoted Protestant, who about this time came to reside upon her estate in the country; and until the Revocation, fourteen years later, this lady continued to exercise her manorial right to have religious services in her own house for the benefit of her family and

¹ Emilie of Hesse, widow of Henri Charles de la Tremouille, prince de Tarente et de Talmond, duc de Thouars. Her husband belonged to a family that had long been one of the firmest supports of the Protestant party. He yielded, however, to the urgency of the king, and renounced his faith. His wife and daughter refused to follow his example. He died, September 14, 1672, not long after his abjuration.—(Erman et Reclam : Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des réfugiés dans les Etats du Roy : Berlin, vol. I., pp. 202, 206.) The princess of Tarente was a lady of remarkable native excellence, and of exemplary piety. She was the daughter of the landgrave William of Hesse Cassel. After her husband's death she withdrew to Vitré, where she possessed an estate by right of dower; but after the Revocation, she took refuge in Heidelberg, and in Frankfort, where she died, February 23, 1693, "universally regretted."—(Essai sur l'histoire des églises réformées de Bretagne, 1535-1808, par B. Vaurigaud, III., 94-96.)

her fellow-religionists. Among those who frequented these services were three families of rank, the families of Ravenel, Du Bourdieu, and De Saint Julien. Pierre de Saint Julien, sieur de Malacare,¹ and his brother, Louis de Saint Julien,² his brother-in-law, René Ravenel,³ and Samuel du Bourdieu, écuyer, sieur du Heullet, de la Goulairie, et de la Bachulaye,⁴ came to America in 1686. The first of these emigrants left a considerable estate, which was confiscated by order of the king.⁵ The prop-

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1686.

Ravenel
and
Du
Bourdieu.

¹ "Pierre de St. Julien, Malacare, né à Vitré en Bretagne, fils de Pierre St. Julien, Malacare, et de Jeanne Le Febure. Damaris Elizabet Le Serurier, sa femme, Pierre et Jacques, leurs enfans, nez en Caroline."—(Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline, etc.)

² "Louis de St. Julien, né à Vitré, fils de Pierre St. Julien et de Jeanne Le Febure."—(Ibid.)

³ "René Ravenel, fils de Daniel Ravenel et de Marie Ravenel, de Vitré en Bretagne, Charlotte Ravenel, fille de — de St. Julien de Malacare, née à Vitré en Bretagne : Jeanne Charlotte, Daniel, René Ravenel, enfans des susdits nez en Caroline."—(Ibid.)

⁴ "Samuel du Bourdieu, escuyer, né à Vitré en Bretagne, fils d'Olivier du Bourdieu et de Marie Genne, Judith Dugué, sa femme. Louis Philippe, fils du dit Samuel, et de Louise Thoury, né en Caroline. Samuel, fils du sus dit et de la ditte Judith Dugué, né en Caroline."—(Ibid.)

⁵ "Etat de ce qui se trouve de biens en Bretagne appartenans cy devant . . . aux religionnaires et nouveaux convertis fugitifs, 1685.—Pierre de Saint Jullien, sieur de Malacar, a laissé pour cent soixante et dix livres de rente d'héritages affermé qui font en principal, au denier vingt, trois mil quatre cents liv., cy 3,400 l.

"La vente de ses meubles monte à sept cents livres, qui a esté faite à la requeste du procureur fiscal, cy, 700l.

"Cela fait en tout, en principal 4,100l."
—(Vaurigaud, histoire des églises réformées de Bretagne, III., 67,68.)

Chap. VII. erty of Du Bourdieu, consisting of a house in
 1681- Vitré, and several estates in the neighborhood,
 1686. was claimed by a brother, in virtue of his stand-
 ing as an "ancient Catholic."¹ In their homes
 on the banks of the Santee, these exiles for
 conscience' sake must have remembered, in
 vivid contrast with their humble surroundings,
 the days when, under the protection of "the
 most high and most mighty princess Emilie of
 Hesse, princess of Tarente,"² they enjoyed the
 advantages of their social station, with the ines-
 timable blessings of their religion, in the land
 of their fathers.³

¹ "Biens délaissés par ceux de la R. p. R. qui se sont retirés de la province de Bretagne dans les pays étrangers.— Pierre du Bourdieu a hérité par la fuite de Samuel du Bourdieu, son frère, et d'Elisabeth, Ester, et Renée du Bourdieu, des terres du Heullet, de La Goulairie, de La Bachulaye, scituées èz paroisses de Baluzé, Saint-Aubindes-Landes, et de Pocé, et d'une maison à Vitré.—(Margin :) Le sieur du Bourdieu est ancien catholique."—(Vaurigaud, *histoire des égl. réf. de Bretagne*, III., 176.)

² A sister of the refugees Pierre and Louis de St. Julien was named for the princess, who stood as sponsor at her baptism. The following entry is found in the register of the Protestant Church of Vitré: "Aujourd'hui trois febvrier 1675 a esté batisée, Emilye, fille de Pierre de St. Jullien, sieur de Malacore, et de demoiselle Janne Lefebure, sa femme, de laquelle a esté parein hault et puissant messire Claude-Charles Goyon, baron de Marcé, et marraine très haulte et très puissante princesse Madame Emilie de Hesse, princesse de Tarente. L'enfant né le 30 janvier dernier."—(Vaurigaud, *hist. des égl. réf. de Bretagne*, III., 96, 97.)

³ "Mr. S. Juliens Plantacon" is mentioned in a communication from Dr. Le Jau, in South Carolina, to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, dated May 21, 1715. Henry de St. Julien of St. John's, Berkley, S. C., youngest son of Pierre de St. Julien, died in that parish in 1768 or 1769, aged about seventy

Not far from the city of Nantes, in southern Bretagne, was the seat of the noble house of La Muce-Ponthus. Bonaventure Chauvin, seigneur de la Muce-Ponthus, the head of this house in the early days of the French Reformation, was one of the first among the nobility of the province to embrace the new faith. He became its most earnest supporter, "consumed with zeal" for the cause of religion;¹ and his descendants inherited the same devotion. His three sons fought in the Huguenot armies under Henry IV.; and his grandson David, marquis de la Muce, presided over the political assembly of the Protestants, held in La Rochelle in the year 1621. For his attendance upon that assembly, contrary to the King's commands, he was condemned to be drawn and quartered; a sentence which was executed upon him in effigy; whilst his beautiful castle was actually demolished and razed to the ground. César, his son, and Olivier, his grandson, were elders in the Reformed Church of Nantes. Under the provisions of the Edict of Nantes, the seigneurs de la Muce claimed the right of holding religious services in their own house; and besides

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1686.

December
30,
1620.

years. His sister survived until the year 1780. It was in this family that the invaluable "*Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline*," which we have had frequent occasion to quote from, was preserved.

¹ *La France Protestante*, seconde édition, vol. IV., p. 266.—On the margin of the register of the Protestant Church of Vitré, opposite the record of his decease, these words are written: "Va-t-en au nombre des élus, Bonaventure de la Musse!"—(Vaurigaud, *hist. des égl. réf. de Bret.*, III., 181.)

Chap. VII. supporting this worship, they contributed gen-
1681- erously to the funds of the "temple" in the
1686. adjoining village of Sucé. The church of Sucé
had two pastors, one of whom preached also in
the *château* of La Muce. The ministrations of
these pastors were frequently attended by Prot-
estants from Nantes, who went to Sucé by
water, singing their psalms in the good old Hu-
guenot fashion, as they rowed along the banks
of the little river Erdre, which flows past that
village, and empties into the Loire at Nantes.
Urseline de la Muce, widow of César, renounced
Protestantism at the period of the Revocation;
though complaint was made that she gave no
signs of a true conversion. But her son Olivier,
worthy of his Huguenot ancestors,¹ remained
inflexible. Soon after the Revocation, he fled
from his home, and was arrested on the island
of Ré, while waiting for an opportunity to make
his escape to England. Imprisoned for two
years, first in La Rochelle, and afterwards in
the castle of Nantes, he resisted every effort to
persuade him to deny his faith. At length an
order was given for the expulsion of the
marquis de la Muce from the kingdom, as an
obstinate heretic. Accordingly, he was placed
on board a foreign ship, the captain of which
received orders to land him in England, but
carefully to conceal from him the fact that he
was about to be set free. This method was

¹ Among them was the famous Huguenot leader, François, sieur de la Noue.

occasionally resorted to by the government, in dealing with Protestants of high rank, whose prolonged imprisonment or summary execution would be likely to attract public notice and occasion remonstrance from abroad. The mystery maintained to the last in such cases was designed to deepen the terror of the prisoner, and perhaps induce him to recant before the moment set for his actual liberation. Ignorant of his destination—supposing that like many others at that period he was but to exchange a prison for slavery in the West Indies—his suspense terminated only when the vessel came in sight of the English coast.¹

Twelve years later, we find Olivier de la Muce at the head of a large expedition sailing from England for America. The Breton nobleman became the founder of the Huguenot settlement on the James river, known as Manakintown, or King William Parish, in Virginia. He was a man of recognized excellence of character. The historian Benoist speaks of him as a young nobleman of substantial piety, of which he gave admirable proofs during his long imprisonment. A younger sister of Olivier de la Muce, who died in 1681, at the age of sixteen years, was a kindred spirit. The beauty of her character, and the strength of her religious faith, were so

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Founder
of the
Settlement
on the
James
River.

¹ Benoist, Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, tome troisième, seconde partie, pp. 1000, 1001.—Vaurigaud, Hist. des égl. réf. de Bretagne, III., 99–144. La France Protestante, seconde édition, gives these facts, but does not narrate the subsequent career of Olivier de la Muce.

Chap. VII. marked, that an account of "the last hours of
 1681- Mademoiselle de la Musse" was published in
 1686. Holland, two years before the Revocation.

From other places in Bretagne fled Jean Lebert,¹ Joseph Marbœuf,² and Paul Micou. The first two settled in South Carolina. Paul Micou, a native of Nantes, educated for the bar, after spending some years in England, came to Virginia, and took up his abode on the Rappahannock, near a landing-place which bears his name.³

Earlier
 emigra-
 tion.

The province of PICARDY had sent a number of important Huguenot families to America, in the earlier days of religious persecution. By this time these families were firmly rooted there. David de Marest, Nicolas du Puis, Philip Casier, Jean Mesurole, Marc de Chousoy, Benjamin de la Noy, and others, had now been residents of

¹ "Jean Lebert, né à Redon en Bretagne, fils de Pierre Lebert et de Jeanne Guernier."—(Liste, etc.)

² "Joseph Marbeuf, natif de Viellie Vigne [Vieilleville], en Bretagne, fils de Julien Marbeuff et d'Ester Robin."—(Liste, etc.) "Joseph Marbœuf, apothiquaire, (paroisse de Vieilleville,) passa en Angleterre, il y a un peu plus d'un an ; ses immeubles sont situez en Poitou."—(Estat général des gens de la R. p. R. qui ont sorty de la province de Bretagne depuis l'année 1681.—Vaurigaud, III., 88.) Several other refugees of this name fled from Bretagne.

³ "A man of great and acknowledged worth. He died May 23, 1736, aged seventy-eight years. His tombstone, of heavy black marble, is still to be seen, deeply sunk in the earth. One of his daughters married Mr. Gisborne, an Episcopal minister in Richmond county. Another daughter, Judith, married Lunsford Lomax. Another married Moore Fauntleroy."—(The Huguenots, or, Reformed French Church. By William Henry Foote, D.D.—Richmond, Va., 1870. Pp. 571, 572.)

the city or colony of New York for more than a quarter of a century, and had already acquired wealth and influence.¹ This fact may have determined the choice that was made by several of the fugitives from Picardy, at the period of the Revocation, in seeking the same refuge.

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1686.

Daniel Crommelin was the thirteenth child of a rich manufacturer of Saint Quentin.² After various adventures, he reached New York toward the close of the seventeenth century, and there became the head of a well-known family, whose ancient country-seat in Ulster county probably took its name "Gricourt," from their former home in northern France.³

Greycourt.

¹ See volume I., page 172.

² Jean Crommelin, of Saint Quentin, had fifteen children. Daniel, the thirteenth, was born February 28, 1647. He entered into business in Paris, and married, in October, 1674, Anne Testart. He remained in Paris until 1680, when he engaged in trade with South America, but lost every thing, and returned to Europe penniless. After spending ten or twelve years in England, he went with his elder son Charles and two nephews to Jamaica, where his nephews died of a contagious fever within a few days after their arrival. Daniel and his son escaped to New York, and were soon joined by his wife and younger son Isaac, both of whom died in that city in 1702 or 1703.—(Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du protestantisme français, vol. VII., pp. 478-495.)

Daniel Crommelin was made free of the city of New York, June 18, 1698. His wife was in New York as early as May 17, 1696, when she signed as sponsor at the baptism of Gabriel, son of Daniel and Charlotte Streing.—(Records of the French Church, N. Y.) Charles Crommelin married in 1706, Hannah Sinclair, and had two children baptized in the French Church, New York: Elizabeth, born November 6, 1715; and Robert, born February 13, 1718.

³ "The elder Crommelin was a part owner of the Wawayanda patent in Orange county, where, in 1716, he made a

Chap. VII. Jean Cottin of Bohain, in the same neighborhood, belonged to another prominent family of manufacturers in Picardy. He is named in the list of escaped "religionnaires et nouveaux convertis," whose goods were confiscated by order of the king, between the years 1685 and 1688. Coming to America, he made his way up the Hudson river to Kingston, where a few French Protestants had already settled, and there pursued a flourishing trade, chiefly in peltries. Cottin was one of the most enterprising and successful of the Huguenot refugees, and a devoted son of the persecuted Church of France.¹

Jean
Cottin.

settlement, calling it *Greucourt*."—(The Annals of Newtown, in Queen's Co., N. Y., by James Riker ; p. 145.) The Grey Court House, as it was commonly called, stood near Chester, N. Y., "on the north edge of the Greycourt meadows."—(Eager's History of Orange county, N. Y., pp. 476, 477 ;—where an absurd explanation of the name is offered.)

Gricourt, now a village of eight hundred inhabitants, was a hamlet of less than three hundred inhabitants in 1696. It stands within four miles from St. Quentin.—(Melleville, Dictionnaire historique du département de l'Aisne, I., 430.)

¹"Jean Cottin" is named in the "Etat des biens des religionnaires et nouveaux convertis qui se sont absentés du royaume ; saisis par l'ordre du roi." 1685-1688.—(La Réforme en Picardie, par O. Douen.—Bulletin de la soc. de l'histoire du prot. franç. VIII.) Jean Cottin was naturalized in the county of Ulster, province of New York, December 2, 1687 ; shortly after his arrival in Kingston, in that county. His account-books—two folio volumes, in the possession of the consistory of the First Reformed Church of Kingston, N. Y.—show that he carried on an extensive business for more than thirty years, in correspondence with the French merchants in the city of New York—Etienne De Lancey, Auguste Jay, Barberie, Faneuil, Bayeux, Freneau, and others. He married Catharine, widow of Louis Du Bois. She died October 18, 1713. He survived her eight

Pierre le Grand was likewise from Bohain. Chap. VII.
 He joined Cottin in Kingston, but returned to
 the city of New York, where his daughter Marie 1681—
1686.

years, and died July 31, 1721, apparently while in the city of New York. His gifts and bequests show that he was wealthy and generous : and the provision that his will makes for the maintenance of religious services in New Rochelle proves his strong and jealous attachment to the doctrines and the discipline of the Reformed Churches of France. The will of Jean Cottin, of Ulster county, in the province of New York, York, merchant, "now in the city of New York," leaves to Messrs. Jean Barberie, Stephen De Lancey, Abraham Jouneau, Elias Pelletreau, and Jean Cazalls, of New York, merchants, the sum of two hundred and fourteen pounds, to be put out at interest, for the maintenance of the French minister of the Reformed Protestant French Church of the City of New York, as long as the said Church shall remain and continue under the discipline and Church government as was used in the Reformed Protestant Churches of France. Another sum of one hundred and nine pounds is left in like manner for the relief of the poor of the said Church. A third sum, of thirty-six pounds, is left to the same trustees, the interest of which is "to be paid to such minister or ministers of the French Reformed Protestant Church of the City of New York as yearly go to New Rochelle in the province of New York to preach to such of the Inhabitants there as continue in the Discipline and church government of the aforesaid Protestant Churches of France." Other bequests are made, to the Reformed Protestant Dutch Churches of Kingston, New York City, and Harlem.—(Wills, Surrogate's Office, New York, IX., pp. 250-256.)

Cottin's
bequests.

Among the legatees mentioned by Jean Cottin in his will, are his "loving brother Daniel Cottin, living at Bohein near St. Quentin in the Kingdom of France"; his "sister Susanne, widow of Louis Libot, living at Bohein"; his "sister Marie Cottin, wife of Philip Gilliot, senior"; his "cousins Daniel and Jacques Libot and their sister, children of Daniel Libot, son of my sister Susanna Cottin, now living at Amsterdam, in Holland"; and his "nephew Philip Gilliot, now living in the city of New York." Daniel, the brother mentioned above, is probably the person referred to as "Cottin, marchand de la paroisse de Bohain," October 17, 1700 : a Huguenot, whose children were taken from him and put under the care of the *curé*.

Chap. VII. became the wife of Jean Canon.¹ Abraham
 1681- Sauvage, of St. Algis, in Picardy, came to Bos-
 1686. ton.² Jacques le Serrurier, one of the leading
 members of the Reformed Church in Saint
 Quentin, before the Revocation, escaped to
 England in 1683. His son Jacques came to
 South Carolina, while others of the name went
 to the West Indies and the Cape of Good Hope.³

¹ Pierre Legrand is named among the "Religionnaires de Bohain, dont les biens ont été saisis par l'ordre du roi." He was naturalized in England, March 8, 1682. Perhaps he went to the island of St. Christopher, where Pierre Legrand is mentioned in a list of inhabitants. "Pieter le Grand and wife" were admitted as members of the Reformed Dutch Church in the city of New York, December 5, 1684. They removed, April 30, 1685, to Esopus or Kingston, and returned March 5, 1686, but ultimately joined the French Church. Peter Legrand, tobacconist, was made free of the city of New York, August 30, 1698. His wife, Jeanne de Wendel, died May 20, 1699. His daughter Marie was married September 23, 1697, in the Dutch Church, to Jean Canon. Their children, baptized in the French Church, were, Jeanne, born September 24, 1698; Catharine, born August 30, 1700; André, born August, 18, 1701; and Abraham, baptized September 9, 1702.

Pierre
Le Grand.

² Abraham Sauvage, "veuf, natif de St^e Algi près de Guise," was married October 17, 1677, in the French Church, Threadneedle Street, London, to Marie Bridou. Abraham Sauvage was in Boston, Massachusetts, September 4, 1696. Thomas, marchand, de Boston, and M^e la veuve Elizabeth Sauvage, de Boston, are named in Gabriel Bernon's accounts, 1704, 1706.

³ Jacques Le Serrurier was one of the "chefs de famille" of the Church of St. Quentin in 1668. His son Jacques "s'est retiré en Angleterre en 1683, où son père est allé le rejoindre."—(Douen, *La Réforme en Picardie*.) James and Peter Le Serrurier were naturalized in England, July 2, 1684. James went to South Carolina. "Jacques Le Serrurier, né à St. Quantin en Picardie, fils de Jacques Le Serrurier et de Marie Le Comte. Elizabet Leger, sa femme."—(*Liste des François et Suisses refugiez en Caroline*.) Peter

Several other refugees in the South were natives of Picardy: Louis Dutarque,¹ Solomon Bremar, of Ansême,² and Isaac Baton, the son of a prominent "religionnaire," of Leschelle, whose property was confiscated after his flight.³

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1681-
1686.

From the adjoining province of Artois, came Louis Gourdain, who settled in South Carolina,⁴

went to the West Indies, and like too many of his fellow-refugees, translated his name into English. In his will, on record in the city of New York, he appears as "*Pierre Smith, marchand à St. Thomas.*" He makes bequests to "mon frère Josias le Serrurier, demeurant à St. Quentin en France"; to "ma soeur Elizabeth le Serrurier, épouse du Sieur Daniel de Clues, demeurant à Paris"; to "ma soeur Lydie Simmons, épouse de M^r Thomas Simmons, ministre du S^t Evangille à Londres;" and to "ma soeur Madeleine de Serrurier, épouse du sieur Jacques du Montier de Vabre, demeurant à S^t Quentin." He also mentions "mon beau-frère Jaques Smith" living in St. Thomas, and "mon cousin Pierre Genilliat." Suzanne Le Serrurier, wife of Jean François Gignilliat, is named in the *Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline*.—Wills, Surrogate's Office, New York, VIII., 13.

¹ "Louis Dutarque, né en Picardie, fils de Mathieu Dutarque, et de Anne Foulon."—(Liste, etc.)

² "Solomon Bremar, natif d'Anseme en Picardie en France, fils de Jacque Bremar et de Marthe Le Grand; et sa femme Marie Sauvagot."—(Ibid.)

³ "Isaac Baton, né à l'Echelle en Trévache, fils de Cornille Batton et de Judith Voienne; et Isaac Batton, son fils né en Carolinne; et Jacques Batton, son fils né à Londre. Leur mère est morte; elle s'appelloit Marye de Lorme, native de Vadenouste."—(Liste, etc.)

Cornille Baston, is mentioned in a list of the "religionnaires" of Leschelle, Picardie.—(Douen.)

⁴ "Louis Gourdain, né à Concourt en Artois, fils de Valentin Gourdain et de Marye Piedeuin." [Piedevin].—(Liste, etc.)

Chap. VII. and Norbent Félicien Vigneron, a physician,
 1681- who established himself in Rhode Island.¹

1686. Few, comparatively, of the Huguenot exiles from the more central provinces of France reached America. The city of Orléans was the birth-place of Daniel Streing,² and his wife, Charlotte Lemestre,³ of Louis and Gabriel Thibou,⁴

¹ Norbent Félicien Vigneron, a native of the province of Artois, reached America in 1690. He died in Rhode Island in 1764, aged ninety-five. "He was well educated, and a popular practitioner." His wife died in 1748-9. Charles Antonio, son of Norbent Vigneron, was born in Newport, Rhode Island. He attained eminence in the medical profession. He married — Fish, and had five sons and three daughters. He died in the city of New York in 1772, aged fifty.—(History of the Medical Profession in Rhode Island, by Usher Parsons, M.D.)

Daniel
Streing.

² The signature of "Daniel String Genabensis," occurs in the matriculation book of the Academy of Geneva (Livre du Recteur), as that of a student of philosophy, entered July 29, 1672. A comparison of this signature with that of Daniel Streing, the refugee, establishes the identity; notwithstanding a difference in spelling, several examples of which are to be found in the records of the French Church, New York. Indeed, such variations in form, not affecting the sound of a name, were then considered immaterial. Daniel himself, however, habitually wrote his name *Streing*. Of L'Estrange, or D'Estrange, said to have been the original form, I have found no instance. Daniel Streing, and Charlotte his wife, were naturalized in England, March 21, 1688. Several children are mentioned, but the names in the Patent Roll—Peter, Matthew, Mary and Anne—do not correspond with those in the family record, and have probably been transposed in the Roll from their proper place.

³ Charlotte Lemestre, femme de Daniel Streing (Records of the French Church, New York), belonged probably to the Lemaistre family of Orléans, mentioned by Haag, La France Protestante, several members of which took refuge in England. An apparent connection with the Thibou family of Orléans—see below—also favors this view.

⁴ Louis Thibou, né à Orléans, fils de Jean Thibou et de

and of Mariette, one of the refugees in Boston.¹ Chap. VII.
 Several of the settlers of Orange Quarter, South 1681-
 Carolina, were natives of the Orléannais. An- 1686.
 toine Poitevin, the elder, was born in Orsemont ;²
 Antoine, the younger, in Maintenon ;³ Pierre
 Dutartre, his brother-in-law, was of Châteaudun ;⁴

Marie Callard, was one of the French refugees in South Carolina, with his wife Charlotte Mariette, and his children Louis and Charlotte, born in Paris ; Gabrielle, born in London ; Isaac, born in New York ; and Jacob and Louise, born in Caroline.—(Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline.)

Gabriel Thibou, perhaps a brother of Louis of South Carolina, was a member of the French Church, New York, in 1700 and 1702. Louis, son of Gabriel Thibou and of Marie Couly his wife, was presented for baptism, August 11, 1700 ; Jacob Thibou and Louison Streing, sponsors. Another son, Jean, was baptized December 20, 1702. The names Gabriel, Charlotte, Louise, were also given to Daniel Streing's children.

¹ Mariette, an Orléans name (see above). Claude Mariette, from Orléannais, "galérien pour cause de religion, 1681." "Le sieur Mariette, propriétaire à Blois," was one of the "fugitifs de l'élection de Blois" in 1687.—(Bulletin de la soc. de l'hist. du prot. franç. XXX., p. 89.) Mariette, one of the refugees in Boston, and a member of the French Church before 1700.

² "Anthoine Poiteuin, natif d'Orsemont, province de Gaule en France, fils de Jacques Poiteuin et de Jenne Modemen ; et Gabrielle Bérou sa femme, native d'Ormeu en Bause, fille d'Urope Bérou et d'Andrée Le Prou."—(Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline.)

³ "Anthoine Poiteuin, fils, né à Maintenon, fils de Anthoine Poiteuin et de Gabrielle Béron. Margueritte de Bourdeaux, sa femme, native de Grenoble en Dofiné, fille de Jacques de Bourdeaux et de Madalenne Garilian."

⁴ "Pierre Dutartre, fils de Daniel Dutartre et d'Anne Rénault, natif de Chathaudun en Bause, province de France, et Anne Poiteuin sa femme, native de Duplesis Morné, province de Gaule en France, fille d'Anthoinne Poiteuin et de Gabrielle Bérou."—(Ibid.)

Chap. VII. and Daniel Trezevant, another relative, of Anthon en Perche, in the northern part of the neighboring province of Maine.¹

1681—

1686.

Pasteur
Trouillard

These refugees were accompanied to South Carolina by an excellent Minister of the Gospel from the same region. Laurent Philippe Trouillard, the first pastor of the little colony of Orange Quarter, was born in La Ferté-au-Vidame, at the time when his father, Pierre Trouillard, was settled in that place.²

¹ "Daniel Trezevant, fils de Théodore Trezevant et de Suzanne Menou, natif d'Anthon en Perche, et Suzanne Maulard sa femme, natif de Chanseuille en Bause, Province en France, fille de Lubin Maulard et de Gabrielle Berou. Daniel Trezevant, fils de Daniel Trezevant et de Suzanne Maulard."—(Ibid.)

² "Laurent Philippe Troillart, né à la fette Regnault Roidam, fils de Pierre Trouillard et de Marie. Madeleine Maslet sa femme née a cet. Elizabet et Madeleine leurs fils nez en Caroline."—(Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline.) Elsewhere, in the same document, the name is given as "Florent Philippe Trouilliard, natif de la Fette Regnault, ditte le vidame, fils de défunct Pierre Trouillard, vivant professeur en Théologie." "Florent" unquestionably is a mistake for "Laurent."

Pierre Trouillard, the father, was a native of Sedan in Champagne. He served several churches in that province and elsewhere: among them the church of la Ferté-au-Vidame. The Revocation found him in Calais, whence he took refuge in Holland, and afterwards in England, where he became minister of the French church in Canterbury. (Bulletin de la soc. de l'hist. du prot. franç., VIII., p. 605. Burn, Foreign Churches, p. 45.) Perhaps it was during his stay in Holland that he occupied a chair of theology, as stated above.

The son, Laurent, came to South Carolina, and was there "in the latter part of 1686."—(Howe, History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina, I., p. 108.) His first pastorate was in Charleston, as colleague with Prioleau. Upon Prioleau's death, in 1699, he relinquished his charge. The

Under the panic caused by the dragonnades, in these and other provinces of France, some of the unfortunate Protestants fled for greater security to Paris. Two motives prompted this singular course. First, it was thought incredible that the quartering of troops upon families would be practiced in the capital; and many were influenced by the hope that they might there escape the barbarities suffered in remote parts of the country. Besides, many persons contemplating marriage, found it necessary to come to Paris to have that rite administered, according to the usage of the Reformed Churches: for, by this time, throughout one half of the kingdom, all exercises of the Protestant religion had been forbidden. An old Huguenot custom required the presence of numerous relatives and friends, on such occasions: and not unfrequently large companies were to be seen, attending the contracting parties on their errand to the capital for this purpose. Thus it came to pass, that on the eve of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the city was crowded with strangers, and the taverns and lodging-houses were filled to overflowing. Determined to cut off all hope of escape, the government now ordered every Protestant to return to

Chap. VII.

1681—

1686.

Wedding
companies.

consistory of the French church in Charleston wrote, March 3, 1700, to the consistory of the French church in London, asking for a minister "pour remplir la place que M. Trouillart laisse vacante dans notre Eglise." He became pastor of the French congregation in St. John's, Berkley, and continued in office until his death in 1712.

Chap. VII. the province and the town to which he be-
 1681- longed. A week before the signing of the Edict
 1686. of Revocation, notice was published in Paris
 that all persons who had resided in that city less
 than one year should depart within four days.
 In the confusion that followed, not a few of the
 Huguenots found opportunity to leave the city
 and the kingdom. Whole families fled together,
 wandering from town to town, until at length
 the good providence of God opened to them a
 door of escape from the country.

Wander-
 ing
 from
 town to
 town.

These facts, which are related by the historian
 Benoist,¹ strikingly confirm certain interesting
 traditions preserved by Huguenot families in
 America. We give one of these traditions in
 the homely language in which it was written
 down, many years ago, from the lips of an aged
 person :

“The Requa² family lived in Paris, previous
 to their departure from France in consequence
 of the persecution by the Romish Church
 against the Huguenots, as they were called.
 They departed in the night, to save their lives,
 leaving the greater part of their property, which
 they could not convert into money. There were
 eleven other families that went at the same time.
 The priests used to search every house where
 they imagined that there were Bibles or meet-
 ings held. They concealed their Bible for some
 time, but finally it was discovered and taken

¹ Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, tome troisième, seconde
 partie, pp. 863, 864.

² Perhaps originally Requier or l'Escuyer.

away. They managed, however, to retain some leaves, which were concealed under the bottom of a chair. The twelve families fled by night from Paris to La Rochelle, where they continued for some time. But intelligence from Paris to La Rochelle soon detected their several abodes. Their houses were to be broken into on a certain night. They would all have been cut off, had it not been for a good man, a Catholic, who had become acquainted with them. He gave them notice; so they fled the night before, at about one or two o'clock. The twelve families muffled the wheels of their waggons, so as not to make any noise, but they were discovered on the way and pursued to a river, before they were overtaken. Ten families got over the stream safely, but two were taken. The others succeeded in getting aboard a ship which sailed for America."¹

Chap. VII.

1681-

1686.

Requa's
escape.

Daniel Streing and his wife were also in Paris at the time of the Revocation. Leaving his wife there in possession of his property, the hus-

¹ Document in the possession of F. R. Fowler, Esq., of Peekskill, New York. The document proceeds to state, that among the fugitives who escaped were Requa and his family. During the voyage, a fever broke out among the passengers, many of whom died. Among the victims were Requa and his wife, who left an only son, Claude, to become the founder of the family in America. Tradition gives the name of the emigrant as Gabriel; but the English patent rolls mention the naturalization of John and Claude Esquier or Equerie; and the Records of the French Church, New York, mention the decease of Jean Equier, marinier, natif de la Tremblade, who died in the harbor on a ship from London, December 22, 1689.

Chap. VII. band embraced an opportunity to remove to En-
 1681- gland, where he obtained a lieutenant's commis-
 1686. sion in the guards of James II. Meanwhile,
 the severities directed against the Protestants
 increased; the property of the refugee was con-
 fiscated, and the wife found herself friendless
 and destitute. Baffled in repeated attempts to
 escape, she at length in her desperation gave her
 child, two years old, into the care of the sentry
 who detained her at the city gate, in pledge for
 her speedy return from the suburbs, whither she
 professed to be going in search of food. She
 succeeded in reaching England, made her way
 to London, and while wandering through the
 streets of that city, was noticed and recognized
 by some friends of her husband, who conducted
 her to him.¹

Charlotte
 Le Mestre.

There were other residents and natives of

¹ "A Memorandum of the family of Daniel L'Estrange and of Charlotte his wife, who escaped from France in the year 1685, in the time of the persecution under Lewis XIV. and came to America in 1688 and settled at New Rochelle in the County of Westchester then Province of New York." (MS.)

"Mr. L'Estrange shortly after was from the extended benevolence and bounty of the English government enabled to settle himself in the city of London where he resided and remained some time; he continuing in the Guards until about the year 1688 when he having disposed of his commission was enabled thereby to aid himself, and did embark with a number of other Protestant refugees his associates, many of whom were his acquaintances, for America, and arriving there landed at the City of New York in the course of the year 1688 with his wife and one son or more children. Mr. L'Estrange now in company with many of those his associates proceeded to New Rochelle in the county of Westchester, where they making a settlement did settle themselves in their respective callings of life."

Paris who joined the emigration to America. Chap. VII
 Henri Colié fled to England, upon the increase 1681—
 of persecution in 1681; but subsequently while 1686.
 on a voyage he was shipwrecked upon the coast
 of France, and taken a prisoner. He obtained
 his freedom through a feigned abjuration, which
 he hastened to disavow when he arrived in Lon-
 don a second time. He came to New York,
 some years later.¹

Jonas Bonhoste,² Elie Horry,³ Louis Picard,⁴
 went to South Carolina; and Jean Beauchamp
 became a prosperous merchant in Boston, Mas-
 sachusetts.⁵

¹ Henry Collier was naturalized in England, March 8, 1682. "Henry Colié, natif de Paris, s'est présenté à la compagnie pour faire reconnaissance de l'abjuration qu'il a faite de notre religion en France, où le vaisseau dans lequel il étoit étoit. Il le fera dimanche prochain."—(Records of the Consistory of the French Church in London, September 20, 1700.) Henry Collier signed the protest against the dismissal of pasteur Rou, in New York, September 24, 1724. His widow, Susanne Colié, received assistance from the French Church, New York, in 1726.

² "Jonas Bonhoste, né à Paris, fils de Pierre Bonhoste et de Marie Garlin, Catherine Allaire, sa femme, Jonas, leur fils né en Caroline."—(Liste des François et Suisses refugiez en Caroline.)

³ "Ellye Horry, né à Charenton, fils de Jean Horry et de Madelaine Du Frène."—(Ibid.)

⁴ Louis Picard was in South Carolina in 1695. Apparently, he returned to England, where in 1705 Louis Picard, of Paris, aged sixty years, was assisted, with his wife Anne, by the Committee charged with the distribution of the Royal Bounty.

⁵ Jean Beauchamp, a French Protestant refugee, was in Boston as early as the year 1687, when his second daughter was born. He removed to Hartford in Connecticut after 1720, and his descendants, who intermarried with other Huguenot families,—Chenevard, Laurence, Sigourney,—are

Chap. VII.

1681—

1686.

Two or three families that joined the emigration to South Carolina, came from villages and hamlets in the immediate neighborhood of Meaux,—thirty miles to the north-east of Paris,—where the first open preaching of the doctrines of the Reformation took place, under the patronage of Bishop Briçonnet. It is possible that these refugees in “Orange Quarter” may have been the descendants of some of the first converts in France, who received the Gospel at the lips of Lefèvre and Farel, and whose faith was confirmed by the testimony of one of the earliest martyrs of the French Reformation, Jean Leclerc, “the wool-carder of Meaux.”¹

still to be found in that beautiful city. Beauchamp died in Hartford, November 14, 1740, aged eighty-eight years. “Jean Beauchamp, fils de Samuel Beauchamp et de Marie Malherbe,” was baptized at Charenton, June 3, 1656. The father, a lawyer, and one of the influential members of the Church of Paris, fled, upon the Revocation, to England, and died in Thorpe in 1688.—(*La France Protestante*, seconde édition, vol. II., p. 9.)

¹ History of the Rise of the Huguenots of France, by Henry M. Baird. Vol. I., pp. 73-89.

Nicholas Bochet, a native of Nanteuil-lès-meaux, son of Nicholas Bochet and Marguerite Petit; Susanne Dehays, his wife, born in Magny, paroisse de Boutigny; with Susanne their daughter, born in Fublaines; and Abel Bochet, brother of Nicholas, born in Nanteuil; were among the settlers of Orange Quarter. Noé Seré, a native of Lumigny [Lumigny], son of Claude Seré and Esther Gilliet; and Catharine Challion his wife, also went to South Carolina.—(*Liste*, etc.)

Nanteuil, two miles from Meaux, is a village of twelve hundred inhabitants. Fublaines, close by, contains but four hundred. Lumigny, with five or six hundred inhabitants, lies within the canton of Rosoy, whither Leclerc retired from Meaux after his first punishment for heresy, by whipping and branding.—*Rise of the Huguenots*, I., 87.

The village of Saint Sévère, in the province of Berri, was the birthplace of Isaac Porcher de Richebourg, the ancestor of a prominent Huguenot family of South Carolina. Isaac was a physician, and had taken his degree at the University of Paris. With his wife, Claude Chérigny, a native of Touraine, he fled soon after the Revocation to England, perhaps in company with his relative, Claude Philippe de Richebourg, a Protestant minister, afterwards pastor of the French colony on the James river in Virginia, and of the French church in Charleston. The Porchers were descended from the Counts of Richebourg.¹

Chap. VII.

1681—

1686.

Isaac
Porcher.Pasteur
De
Riche-
bourg.

¹ “Isaac Porcher, né à St. Severe en Berry, fils d’Isaac Porcher, et de Suzanne Ferré. Claude Cheriny, sa femme. Isaac, Pierre, Elizabeth, Madelaine, et Claude, leurs enfans, nez en Angleterre, et en Caroline.”—(Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline.)

“This family is descended from the Comtes de Richebourg. Isaac Porcher de Richebourg, M.D., of the University of Paris, married Claude Cherigny, of the province of Touraine, and after the Edict of Revocation, they fled to South Carolina under British rule. Their son was Joseph Porcher, father of Paul Porcher, who married Mary Du Pré; and his son, Josias Du Pré Porcher, removed from Charleston, South Carolina, in 1768, being brought to England by his uncle, James Du Pré, who had been governor of Fort George, Madras. His son was Josias Du Pré Porcher, Esq., of Winslade House, Devonshire. M. P. for Old Sarum, who married Charlotte, daughter of Sir William Burnaby, and sister of the wife of John Chamier, Esq., who died in 1820. His eldest surviving son, Rev. George Porcher, married in 1818, Francis Amelia, daughter of John Chamier, Esq.; and his sons are George Du Pré Porcher, Esq., barrister, and Captain Edwin Augustus Porcher, R. N.”—(Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Lewis XIV. By the Rev. David C. A. Agnew. II., 256.)

To the same family, doubtless, belonged Claude Philippe

Chap. VII. From the neighboring town of Buzançais, the
1681—brothers Pierre and Isaac Dugué, with their
1686. sister Elizabeth, made their escape at the same
period, and ultimately reached South Carolina.¹

de Richebourg, a Huguenot pastor who came to Virginia in 1699, as minister of the French colony at Manakin town, on the James river. In 1712 he left that colony and removed to South Carolina, where he succeeded Pierre Robert as minister of the French settlement at Santee. He died in 1719.

The Porcher family in South Carolina is at present represented by Frederick A. Porcher, Esq., of Charleston.

¹“Pierre Dugué, Isaac Dugué, son frère, et Elizabeth Dugué, leur sœur, nez à Bésance en Bery, enfans de Jacques Dugué et Elizabet Dupuy.”--(Liste, etc.)

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REVOCATION.

FLIGHT FROM THE EASTERN AND SOUTHERN PROVINCES.

The hopes of the persecuted Protestants in Eastern France, and especially in those provinces of CHAMPAGNE and LORRAINE that reached out into the German territory, were naturally turned in their extremity to the region, comparatively accessible, beyond the river Rhine and the Jura mountains, where "the Protestant Princes," and the friendly States of Switzerland and Holland, waited to show them kindness. There, indeed, the greater number of the exiles found permanent abodes ; while some, choosing rather to seek for themselves and for their children a home in the New World, pursued their journey northward to the German ocean, and embarked from some English port for the colonies in America.

Chap. VIII

1681-

1686.

The names of but few refugees from those provinces have been transmitted to us, in connection with the places from which they fled. Nicolas Vignon, a native of Metz, in Lorraine, came to New York soon after the Revocation, and died there in October, 1689.¹

¹ Records of the French Church, New York.

Chap. VIII

1681-

1686.

It was probably from the neighborhood of the same town that Abraham Rutan, one of the Huguenot settlers at New Paltz, escaped to the Palatinate.¹

Sedan, in the province of Champagne, was the home of the Tiphaine or Tiffany family.²

From Sedan came, also, Susanne Rochette, who afterwards married one of the French refugees in Virginia. Susanne was the youngest of three daughters, the eldest of whom was sixteen years of age at the time of the Revocation. Their home had been repeatedly visited by the priests, who questioned the children, seeking to find some occasion for sending them to the Roman Catholic schools. At length the father determined, if possible, to send his eldest daughter out of the kingdom, and accordingly put her under the care of a niece, who with her infant child was about to set out for the nearest seaport, hoping to escape to Holland. They were conducted by men, dressed in women's clothes.

¹ Refugees of this name fled at an earlier day from persecution in Saint Mihiel to Metz.—(Bulletin de la soc. de l'hist. du prot. franç., vol. II., p. 426.)

The emigrant Rutan appears to have accompanied Abraham Hasbrouck to this country. He reached New York as early as May, 1680. Five children of Abraham Rutan and Marie Pétilion, his wife, were baptized by pastor Daillé in the French church of New Paltz, 1683-1691.

² James (Jacques) Tiphaine and his wife Elizabeth, with six sons, were naturalized in England in 1682. Of these sons, two, Jean "de Sedan," and Daniel, remained in London, where several of their children were baptized; and another, Pierre, with his wife Susanne Renel, came to New York. Jacques, son of Pierre and Susanne Renel, was baptized in the French church, New York, Oct. 15, 1704.

On the journey, while crossing in the night a small stream, the mother stumbled on some rocks, and the child cried out. A party of soldiers stationed at a mill near by, roused by the sound, came forth, captured the women, and took them to prison. The father was permitted to bring his daughter home. A second attempt was more fortunate, and he succeeded in sending his two elder daughters to Amsterdam. The youngest, Susanne, was afterwards forwarded to her sisters, concealed in a hogshead, and committed to a friendly sea-captain. The family remained in Holland until the marriage of the elder daughters, who removed to the West Indies. Susanne became the wife of Abraham Micheaux, a Huguenot, who ultimately settled in Virginia.¹

Chap. VIII

1681—

1686.

Barthélemy Dupuy, the ancestor of a Huguenot family that took root in Virginia, originated, it is believed, in this part of France. According to the tradition maintained in various branches of that family, Dupuy was born in the year 1650, entered the army at the age of eighteen, and served for fourteen years, during which he fought in as many pitched battles, in Flanders. Promoted to be lieutenant, he was transferred to the household guards of Louis XIV. While in this service, he was occasionally sent on important errands, provided with a written pass from the king, requiring all persons to allow him to proceed on his way without hindrance. About the year 1682, he retired

Captain
Barthel-
emy
Dupuy.

¹ The Huguenots; or, Reformed French Church. By William Henry Foote, D.D. Pp. 541-545.

Chap. VIII
1682. from the service, purchased an estate, and married a Countess Susanne Lavillon. He retained the favor of the king, though known to be a staunch Huguenot; and shortly before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a messenger from the court came to apprise him of the measure then preparing, and urged him to abjure, promising him substantial reward. Soon after, the *curé* of the parish, with whom he was on friendly terms, called upon him, accompanied by six armed men. At the sight of this force, Dupuy drew his sword, but the priest entreated him to forbear, inasmuch as resistance would be hopeless, and besought him to be reconciled to the Church of Rome. An earnest discussion ensued, and finally Dupuy asked for a little time to reflect upon the matter. To this the *curé* consented, and he was left alone. That night, accompanied by his wife, disguised in male attire as his servant, he set forth on horseback. Before dawn, they were far on their way to the German border. Interrogated from time to time by the military authorities whom he encountered, he pleaded urgent official business, and when pressed, exhibited a pass, bearing the royal signature. At length the fugitives found themselves beyond the boundary of France; and dismounting, they kneeled by the roadside, and prayed and wept together, and sang the psalm of deliverance, "I waited patiently for the Lord, and He inclined unto me and heard my cry."

Dupuy remained fourteen years in Germany. In 1699, he went to England, and soon after

joined the French colony on the James river in Virginia, where he ended his days. His descendants in the United States are very numerous.¹

Chap. VIII

1681-

1686.

The city of Lyons had at one time a large Protestant population; but during the period of severe religious persecution, nearly the whole of that population left the kingdom. Among the fugitives was François L'Egaré,² whose eldest son, Solomon, became the founder of an influential family in South Carolina. According to the family legend, Solomon, a youth of eighteen or nineteen, was absent from home, at college, when his parents made their escape from France. Word was brought to him by a trusted servant, directing him to disguise himself as a peasant, and proceed to Geneva. He succeeded in doing this, and in due time joined the family in Bristol, England, where they resided for some years, before coming to America. François L'Egaré, with his two sons, was admitted into the Massachusetts colony in 1691.³

Lyons.

¹ The Huguenots; or, Reformed French Church. By William Henry Foote, D.D., pp. 549-555. The name of Barthélemy Dupuy appears in a list of the inhabitants of Manakintown, in 1714.

² So the tradition runs.—MS. in the possession of Mrs. Eliza Fludd, Charleston, S. C.

³ Francis L'Egaré, jeweler, his wife Anne, and their sons Francis Solomon, Daniel James, and Stephen John, were naturalized in England, March 8, 1682. Francis Legare, goldsmith, and two sons were admitted into the colony of Massachusetts, February 1, 1691. "Legare," perhaps one of the sons, joined the short-lived settlement in Narragansett.

Chap. VIII

1681—

1686.

Solomon removed to Charleston, South Carolina, where he lived to enter his ninety-eighth year. A man of strict uprightness and earnest piety, he was of an excitable temper, and determined will. It is said that he would never permit the French language to be spoken in his family, wishing to break every tie that could unite them to the land of their ancestors. Often, relating the scenes of horror he had witnessed and heard of, in that country, he warned his children never to return to France. The Honorable Hugh Swinton Legaré, a distinguished American statesman and man of letters, was a descendant of this Huguenot refugee.

La
Voulte.

The town of la Voulte, in Languedoc, on the west bank of the Rhone, seventy miles below Lyons, was the birth-place of Judith Giton, afterwards the wife of Gabriel Manigault. A letter that she wrote upon reaching America, to her brother, in Germany, gives a graphic account of her flight from France. "For eight months we had suffered from the contributions and the quartering of the soldiers, on account of religion, enduring many inconveniences. We therefore resolved on quitting France at night, leaving the soldiers in their beds, and abandoning the house with its furniture. We went to Romans, in Dauphiny, and there contrived to hide ourselves for ten days, whilst a search was made

The will of François Légaré, of Braintree, Suffolk county, Massachusetts, is dated February 3, 1710=11.—(Probate, January 26, 1711=12.) It mentions his wife, Ann, his son Solomon, "now at Carrolina," and his son Daniel.

for us ; but our hostess, being faithful, did not betray us when questioned if she had seen us. Thence we passed on to Lyons, and thence to Dijon, from which place, as well as Langret, my eldest brother wrote to you ; but I know not if either of the letters reached you. He informed you that we were quitting France. We went to Madame de Choiseule's, but accomplished nothing, for she was dead, and her son-in-law had the control of everything. Moreover, he gave us to understand that he perceived our intention to escape from France, and that if we asked any favors from him he would inform against us. We pursued our way towards Metz, in Lorraine, where we embarked on the river Moselle, in order to go to Treves. Thence we proceeded to Cochem and to Coblentz, and thence to Cologne, where we left the Rhine and took wagons to Wesel. There we met with an host who spoke a little French, and who told us that we were only thirty leagues from Luneburg. We knew that you were there, in winter quarters, for we had received a letter of yours, fifteen days before our departure from France, telling us that you would winter there. Our deceased mother and I entreated my eldest brother to consent that we should go that way ; or else, leaving us with her, to go himself to see you. It was in the depth of winter. But he would not hear of it, having nothing in his mind but ' Carolina,' and dreading to miss any chance of coming hither. The thought that we thus lost so good an opportunity to see you at least once more, has

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1685. been a constant source of grief to me, ever since. After this, we passed into Holland, in order to go to England. We were detained in London for three months, waiting for a vessel ready to sail for Carolina.”¹

East of the river Rhone, some fifty miles from the home of Judith Giton, is the town of Die, in DAUPHINY, in the neighborhood of which René de Durand, a Huguenot gentleman, was residing, a few years before the Revocation. The Protestant “temple” in the village adjoining his estate was one of the first to be destroyed in that district. Undaunted by threats and prohibitions, Durand assembled his family and friends, and resorted every Sunday to the site of the demolished sanctuary, to hold a service of prayer and praise amidst the ruins. For this daring act he was proscribed, his dwelling was plundered and torn down, and his large estates were confiscated.²

It was a brother of this nobleman who came to Maryland and Virginia in the year 1686, and

¹ Judith Giton, the writer of the letter above quoted in part, was married upon her arrival in South Carolina to Noé Royer, and after his death became the wife of Pierre Manigault. The original letter is in the possession of his descendant, Dr. Gabriel E. Manigault, of Charleston, S. C. I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Manigault for a transcript, which will be found in the Appendix to this volume.

² In a list of pastors and other persons persecuted in France, who had, in 1683, taken refuge in Geneva, the name of “M. De Durand, gentilhomme du Dauphiné, 50 ans,” occurs. He was accompanied by his wife and four children.—Bulletin de la soc. de l’hist. du prot. franç., XIX., p. 313.

who published upon his return to Europe a "De-
 scription" of those parts of America. The narra-
 tive of his flight from Dauphiny gives us a vivid
 picture of the effects of the dragonnades in that
 province, as he witnessed them.

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"As yet, no soldiers had been sent into this
 province, which was reserved for the last, inas-
 much as it contained only seven thousand
 families of the Reformed religion. I gave direc-
 tions, in the neighborhood of my home, that I
 should be apprised of their coming; and on the
 eighteenth day of October, 1685, about noon, I
 learned that some had entered by way of Taras-
 con. Accordingly I started, about midnight,
 with three horses and two servants. I presumed
 that I should have time enough to reach Mar-
 seilles before the troops could advance; for I
 knew that there were in that vicinity five or six
 large boroughs, of several hundred inhabitants
 each, among whom there was scarcely a single
 Papist; and I knew of several persons in those
 places who were worth as much as a hundred
 thousand *écus*, and who were ardently attached
 to 'the Religion.' I judged, therefore, that
 there was not one of these localities where the
 regiment would not be detained for a month
 before the inhabitants could be induced to suc-
 cumb. Great, then, was my surprise, when on
 the morrow, late in the afternoon, I saw a quan-
 tity of yellow cloaks descending a hill in the
 distance. I could not doubt that these were the
 dragoons. Concealing my party in a hollow
 near by, I waited on the roadside, putting on

Conver-
 sions
 en masse.

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 1685. dragoons passed by.

Disap-
 pointment
 of the
 troopers.

“So soon as they were out of sight, I hastened forward, and journeyed all night, in order to go out of the bishopric (of Die). Meeting some soldiers, I asked them the news. They told me, with evident dissatisfaction, and interlarding their statement with oaths, that they had that day passed through two or three large boroughs, filled with Huguenots, who displayed so little attachment to their religion, that no sooner did they hear the beating of their drums than they rushed *en masse* to the churches, to make their abjurations. It was true, my informants continued, that the first towns they visited upon entering the province made resistance for three days, and they had settled up well with them in consequence ; but as for the rest, they had not been suffered to unbridle their horses in one of them, or take so much as a fowl from the roost.

“I was astonished at the rapidity of these conquests, and finding myself now beyond the limits of the bishopric, and learning moreover that there were no troops coming in that direction, I resolved to stop at a place called Mérindol,¹ and rest for a short time. I found the poor people of this town in a lamentable state. Their consciences had begun to reproach

¹ A village six miles south of Nyons, now in the department of Drôme, with a population of three hundred and seventy-six inhabitants ; to be distinguished from Mérindol on the Durance, mentioned further on.

them with the crime they had committed so precipitately in abjuring. I lodged afterwards in other places where there were no Protestants at all. Here the dragoons had been quartered, in consequence of the easy conversion of the Huguenot villages, and so accustomed had they become to license and extortion, that with the exception of personal maltreatment, they practiced upon these Roman Catholics the very same outrages as upon Protestants; a course that called forth from the unfortunate people the most dreadful imprecations upon that infernal enterprise of the dragonnades." ¹

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From Dauphiny came also Jacques de Bourdeaux ² and Paul Pepin, ³ of Grenoble; and André Rembert, ⁴ of the neighboring town of Le Pont en Royans. These emigrants went to South Carolina. The Bard family, of New Jersey, ⁵ and the Bessonets of Pennsyl-

¹ Voyage d'un François exilé pour la religion, avec une description de la Virgine et le Marilan, dans l'Amérique. A la Haye, imprimé pour l'auteur, 1687.

² "Jacques de Bourdeaux, né à Grenoble, fils de Evremond de Bourdeaux et de Catherine Fresné. Madeleine Garillond, sa femme. Madeleine, Judith, leurs filles, nez à Grenoble. Anthoine, Jacques, Israel, leurs enfans nez en Caroline."—(Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline)

³ "Paul Pepin, né à Grenoble, fils d'Alexandre Pepin, et de Madeleine Garillon."—(Ibid.)

⁴ "André Rembert, fils de François Rembert et de Judith Rembert, de Pont en Royan, en Dauphiné. Anne, sa femme, fille de Jean et Louise Bressan, du dit lieu. Anne, André, Gerosme, Pierre, Susanne, Jeanne, enfans, nez en Caroline."—(Ibid.)

⁵ Several of this name are mentioned in lists of the persecuted Protestants in Dauphiny.—Archives Nationales,

Chap. VIII vania,¹ originated probably in the same
 1686. province. From the Vaudois village of Mé-
 rindol, on the Durance, came Jean Andrivet,²
 whose name appears among the names of the fu-
 gitive Protestants condemned by the parliament
 of Grenoble in 1686. At a later day, Jean Henri
 la Motte, "a Huguenot, supposed to have been
 from Provence, and to have resided for some
 time in Holland," came to Charleston.³

TT.—La France Protestante, s. 71.—Jacques Barde and Marie his wife had a daughter baptized in the French Church, Les Grecs, London, August 15, 1706. Peter Bard, a native of France, was naturalized in New Jersey, June 12, 1713. John and Samuel Bard were prominent physicians of New York in the last century.

¹ A Protestant family of Dauphiny. Claudé de Bessonnet, sieur de Gatuzières, is mentioned, 1598 to 1614.—(La France Protestante.) A century later, another Claude Bessonnet was naturalized in England, March 11, 1700. He settled in Waterford, Ireland, where the family occupied a high social position. (Agnew's Prot. Exiles from France, vol. II., p. 272.) Francis Bessonnet was minister of the French Church in Dublin, 1765.—(Ibid, vol. I., p. 210.) Daniel Goudon Bessonnet, fils de — Bessonnet, was baptized in the French Church, New York, July 30, 1710. The family settled about the year 1720 in Bristol, Pennsylvania, where Charles Bessonnett was deputy postmaster during the Revolution.

² "Jean Andrivet, banni du royaume pour dix ans," is mentioned among the "religionnaires fugitifs emprisonnés et jugés par le parlement de Grenoble en 1686."—(Bulletin de la soc. de l'hist. du prot. franç., VIII., p. 308.) Jean Andrivet and Antoinette Buvier his wife were in New York, May 14, 1693, when pastor Daillé baptized their son Pierre. Three other sons of the first wife were baptized in the French Church; and "Jean Andrivet de Mérimindol en Provence" was married to a second wife, Jeanne de Loumeau, October 18, 1699. Denization was granted him, April 18, 1695, and April 24, "John Androuet, Victualler," was made free of the city.

³ He arrived in South Carolina about the year 1727. Some years after, he removed to Hagerstown, Maryland, but was

In no other part of France had Protestantism flourished more remarkably than in the important province of LANGUEDOC. Its adherents, shortly before the Revocation, exceeded two hundred thousand; and in many of the towns, they still outnumbered the Roman Catholics. Yet, half a century of repression, and of not unfrequent persecution, had greatly weakened a cause which, in the early days of the French Reformation, bade fair to gain over almost the entire province. Montpellier, its principal city, welcomed the Reform with unexampled alacrity. Within a single year from the time of its introduction into the place, the Protestants were in the majority. In an outburst of misguided zeal, they seized the churches, destroyed some of them, and abolished the mass, which was not said for many years after.¹ As in La Rochelle,

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driven from the place at the time of Braddock's defeat. He went to the neighborhood of Hanover, Pennsylvania, and died in York, in that State, in 1794, aged eighty-nine years. Upon his arrival in America, he married a widow Bollinger, from Switzerland, and had five sons, John, Daniel, Henry, Francis, and Abram. "He was a very reticent man, and his own family did not know that he could speak French until the time of La Fayette's first visit to America, when a Captain Nicolas de la Motte, who claimed to be his cousin, called upon him, with other French officers; and from the profound deference with which they treated him, and the little that he said of himself, it is believed that he was of high rank." The descendants of Jean Henri de la Motte are to be found at present in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and North Carolina.—(Information received from William John Potts, Esq., of Camden, New Jersey.)

¹ Histoire de l'Eglise Réformée de Montpellier depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours; par Philippe Corbière. Montpellier: 1861, p. 53.—Sixty years later, when at the close of

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1685. some members of the monastic orders embraced the new faith, and the bishop himself was thought to favor it.

Montpellier was one of the strongholds of the Huguenots during the civil wars, and one of their cautionary towns under the Edict of Nantes. Since the breaking up of the political party, Protestantism had waned, under the systematic oppression which was to culminate in the abrogation of the edict. The two "temples" of the Huguenots were destroyed, the one in 1670, the other in 1682; and in the autumn of the year 1685, sixteen companies of troops entered the city, to commence the "dragooning" mission which had been so fruitful of "conversions" elsewhere. As elsewhere, the terror produced by this apparition proved irresistible. That very day, six thousand of the Protestants of Montpellier abjured, and obtained the certificates¹ which exempted them from the visits of the "booted missionaries" of Rome.

the siege of that city, Louis XIII. entered it, he found not a church left standing, in which mass could be said. Declining to follow the suggestion of some who urged him to seize the "grand temple" of the Protestants, he ordered a public hall to be fitted up for the purpose.—(Ibid., p. 162.)

¹ These certificates were printed forms, duly filled up. We translate a specimen given by Corbière.—(Histoire de l'Eglise Réformée de Montpellier, p. 261.) The words in italics were supplied with the pen.

"Extract from the registers of new converts of the diocese of
MONTPELLIER.

"The year 1685 and the 29th day of the month of *September*, *Sieur Pierre Restouble*, fish-monger, aged 45 years or thereabouts, residing in this town of *Montpellier*, after having been sufficiently instructed, made abjuration of the heresy

Abjuration, in multitudes of cases, was followed as speedily as possible by flight. Many persons, however, had avoided the snare of a forced conversion, by a timely escape, and were now beyond the reach of persecution. It is not always easy to say to which of these two classes our American refugees belonged. In the list of religionists and new converts, whose goods were seized, upon their departure from France, we find the name of Pierre Monteils, an iron merchant of Montpellier, born in Canet, in the diocese of Lodève, in Languedoc. Before leaving his home, with his wife Jeanne de Bosson, and one of their daughters, Monteils made over his property to his son-in-law, Noé Cazalet, also a merchant, who remained in that city, professedly a "nouveau converti." His sincerity however was suspected. Questioned by the priests with reference to his conformity to the rules of the Church, Cazalet answered that he had directed his children to attend mass, but as for himself, "it must come from God." He gives no evidence of Catholicity, adds his examiner.¹

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of Calvin, and public profession of the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion, *in the chapel of the seminary*, at the hand of *Pierre Fressinaud, priest of the oratory*, in the presence of Brothers *André Péraud and Claude Gilles*, who have signed the original. Compared with the original by me, secretary of my lord the bishop.

SAUVAIRE, *of the oratory.*"

¹ "FUGITIFS : Pierre Monteils, marchand de fer, sa femme et une de ses filles.—POSSESSEUR DES BIENS : Le sieur Cazalet, près la croix des Sevenols, paroisse Notre-Dame.—*Première note* : "Il m'a répondu qu'il avait baillé ses enfants, qu'ils allaient à l'église, mais que pour lui il fallait

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1685. Monteils had taken refuge in London, where he resided for a number of years. He came to New York early in the eighteenth century,¹ and was accompanied or followed by Cazalet.²

Toulouse, the capital of the province, had been noted since the early days of the Reformation in France, for its bitter hostility to Protestantism. Twice, in the course of the sixteenth century, the streets of the city were stained with the blood of many of the inhabitants, massacred as heretics. In spite of its well-established character,

que cela vînt de Dieu."—*Deuxième note* : "Il ne donne aucune marque de catholicité." (Etat des biens des religieux et nouveaux convertis sortis du royaume, situés dans le diocèse de Montpellier, qui doivent estre saisis.—Corbière. Histoire de l'église réformée de Montpellier, pp. 290, 525.)

¹ Pierre Montels, a native of Canet, diocèse de Lodève, married demoiselle Jeanne de Montels et de Bosson. He had two daughters, Marie, who married Noé Cazalet, and Marguerite, who married François Besart, merchant, of London. Montels fled to England, where he was naturalized, January 5, 1688, and was living in the parish of St. Martin, London, July 4, 1699, when he made the will which mentions several of the foregoing particulars. Pierre and Marguerite Montels were sponsors at the baptism of Pierre, son of Gabriel Montels, in the French Church, Swallow Street, London, July 18, 1695. He came to New York and was made free of that city, May 27, 1702, as "Peter Montels, Gent." He and his wife were members of the French Church, New York, of which he was one of the "chefs de famille," in 1704. By his will, proved January 20, 1707, Montels left all his property, in France or elsewhere, to his wife.—(Wills, New York, VII. 334.)

² Noé Cazalet was made free of the city of New York, August 22, 1709, and was chosen constable in 1710. Five children of Noé Cazalet and Elizabeth Ony his wife—apparently by a second marriage—were baptized in the French Church, New York, 1711-1717. Both were deceased in 1743-4, when letters of administration were granted to John Cazalet.—(Wills, New York, XII. 110, 147.)

however, Toulouse was still the abode of a number of Huguenots at the period of the Revocation. Among those who took refuge in America, was Vincent de Laymerie, son of Noé de Laymerie, and Marie Elisabeth his wife.¹

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A few emigrants from Montpellier, with their families, reached South Carolina. Joachim Gaillard,² François de Rousserie,³ and a "Monsieur Brie," are mentioned.⁴ The Garrigues family of Pennsylvania are descended, it is believed, from a brother of David Garric, who fled like him from Montpellier, at the time of the Revocation, and came to this country, where he joined the Society of Friends.⁵

Castres, in Languedoc, one of the most important of the towns of that province, had been among the first to welcome the Reformed doctrines. Its Protestant inhabitants were subjected for half a century to numberless vexatious

¹ Naturalized in England, April 15, 1693, as *de Lainerie*; and in New York, 1705, as *de Laymerie*.—(Book of Deeds, Albany, New York, X., 151.)

² "Joachim Gaillard, fils de Jean Gaillard, de Montpellier en Languedoc. Ester Gaillard, sa femme, fille de André Paparel et Catherine Paparel, de Bouin en Foret. Jean, Pierre, enfans du susdits."—(Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline.) The French refugee in Boston, 1687, wrote, "M. Gaillard, que mon père connoit, est arrivé avec toute sa famille en Caroline."—(Relation d'un François réfugié à Boston.)

³ "François de Rousserie, né à Montpellier, fils d'Alexandre De Rousserye, et de Marie Suranne."—(Liste, etc.)

⁴ Relation d'un François réfugié à Boston.

⁵ Another brother, it is said, fled to Germany, where the name still exists, slightly modified, as Garrigue. This family is represented by William H. and Samuel B. Garrigues, of Philadelphia, Penn.

Chap. VIII restrictions ; yet, as late as the year 1670, they
 1681— formed a majority of the population. Near
 1686. Castres was the birth-place of John Paul Mascarene, lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia from 1740 to 1749. He was descended from one of the most ancient families of Languedoc.¹ His

¹ The family of Mascarene, or Mascarenc, as the name seems then to have been written, attained considerable importance at Castres in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Jacques and Antoine Mascarenc, brothers, were among the bravest Huguenots of that brave little city. Jacques Mascarenc was one of three Protestant soldiers who, when Castres had fallen into the hands of the Roman Catholics, undertook the perilous venture of endeavoring to ascertain whether an entrance could be effected through the grated vault of a mill adjoining the walls, and who brought word back to their brethren that the project was practicable. —(*Mémoires de Jacques Gaches*, p. 146.) This occurred on Sunday, July 5, 1573. The plan was discovered by the enemy, and failed ; but about a year later (Monday, August 23, 1574), a band of thirteen Huguenots succeeded in a still more daring enterprise which resulted in the recovery of Castres by the Protestants. "It would be gross ingratitude to these brave men," says Gaches, p. 178, "were their names to be concealed from posterity ; and I shall therefore commit them to paper that I may be the herald of their valour." Jacques and Antoine Mascarenc figure among the immortal thirteen, and seem to have fully equaled, if they did not surpass, their associates in intrepidity. Raised to the dignity of captains, both of the brothers distinguished themselves for the effective help they gave to the Protestant cause. In 1581, Antoine was murdered in a time of peace ; but his elder brother continued for many years to be a trusted leader.

Beside Jacques and Antoine, there was another Mascarenc, a Huguenot, who, in 1580, was one of the consuls of Anglès (*Mémoires de Jacques Gaches*, p. 271). He may have been an ancestor of Paul Mascarene, who, as we learn from his narrative, had some lands near that place.

The pedigree preserved by the descendants of Jean Mascarene, in Massachusetts, is as follows :

Martin Mascarene, born 1535, married Elisabeth de Siton. They had three sons, of whom Jean, born 1550, died

father, Jean Mascarene, a devoted and an intelligent member of the Reformed Church of Castres, and a man of high legal attainments, was councilor in the Chamber of the Edict, which still existed, though now united to the parliament of Toulouse. Upon the approach of the dragoons, in the summer of the year 1685, Jean Mascarene removed with his wife, Marguerite de Salavy, who was then pregnant, to his country house at Carrelle, near Anglès, six leagues from Castres. But hearing that Anglès was also to be given up to the soldiery, he sought refuge in a peasant's cottage on one of the neighboring mountains. Here Jean Paul was born, in October, 1685. So soon as the child was weaned, he was carried to his grandmother in Castres, with whom he lived until the

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1660, married Guilste Dimbert. Their son Jean married, April 26, 1649, Louise de Balarand, born August 8, 1642, died December 13, 1731. Jean died in 1682. Jean Mascarene and Louise de Balarand had eleven children, eight of whom died young. Jean, the eldest, born April 20, 1660, died April 6, 1698. He married, August 4, 1684, Marguerite de Salavy, and had one son, Jean Paul, born October, 1685, died January 15, 1760. Jacques, eighth child of Jean and Marguerite, died in 1718. César, youngest child of Jean and Marguerite, married, in 1702, Elisabeth Termangen, and died in 1730. They had two children, Henri, born in 1703, and Anne. Henri married Baudecour, and had two daughters, Elisabeth and Anne.—New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. IX., p. 239 : where the date of Jean Paul's birth is given incorrectly : compare vol. XXXV., p. 223.

Arms of the Mascarene family :—"Argent, a Lion, Rampant, Gules, with a chief azure charged with three Mulletts, and a Mullet of the same for crest."—N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register, vol. IX., p. 247.

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1686. age of eleven. His parents remained concealed in their mountain retreat, until the following February, when they made their way to Toulouse, and embarked on the Garonne, for Agen, hoping to remain there unnoticed for a while. But the officer in command of the troops quartered upon the Protestants at Agen, was a native of Castres; and the fugitives, fearing discovery, again took passage on the Garonne, this time for Bordeaux. Scarcely had they gone on board the boat, however, when a lieutenant accosted them, and asked them if they did not profess the "religion called Reformed." Upon receiving an affirmative answer, he ordered them to follow him. They were conducted to prison, and in due time were brought before the criminal judge, at Castres, charged with a violation of the king's edict, that forbade his subjects to depart from the kingdom. Mascarene made his defense, modestly, but with great firmness. Asked if it were not true that he had intended to depart the kingdom, he replied that he "loved his country too well to leave it, unless forced to do so." Asked what was his object in going to Bordeaux, he replied that he went because he could not safely remain in Agen, and was in hope that he might pass a few days there unnoticed and in quiet. Asked whether it were true that when questioned by a gentleman as to his willingness to change his religion, he had answered that he was convinced of the truth of his religion, and hoped to be faithful to it all his life, he not only admitted the fact, but told

the judge that if he would take the trouble to put the same question to him, he would ever make the same reply. This courageous confession did not avail him. In April, 1686, with a fellow-prisoner, Dupuy of Caraman, he was sentenced to the galleys for life. His property was confiscated, and a fine of three thousand *livres* was imposed upon him. He calmly made his appeal to the Parliament of Toulouse, and as he left the court, said, "My God abandoned everything for my sake, and expired upon the cross. It is right that I should make for Him the small sacrifice to which I am condemned. I am persuaded that He will never forsake me, so long as I remain faithful to Him."

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Mascarene's imprisonment lasted for upwards of two years. On the 7th of May, 1687, he had a hearing before the Chamber of Parliament in which he had himself been councilor. "The humiliating posture in which he was placed—the chains on his legs, the presence of fourteen judges—did not in the least dismay him. He maintained an admirable firmness and composure of mind, heard all his judges, answered each of them without the slightest discomposure: defended himself with singular ability, and even obtained from the court permission to interrogate one of the judges who had put a question to him—a thing quite unprecedented." At the close of the trial, he was asked whether he still persisted in his belief. He replied, "Yes, I am ready to follow my God whithersoever He may please to call me. He gave up everything for

Chap. VIII me; it is but just that I should give up every-
1686- thing for Him." He was remanded to the prison
1688. of the "Conciergerie," and a few days later, was removed to that of the Hôtel de Ville. This was usually done in the case of criminals destined for execution, and Mascarene concluded that the end of all his troubles was at hand. But as time passed on, and no notice to this effect reached him, he took courage, and made every effort to secure a vindication of his rights, but all in vain. At length, early one morning in April, 1688, an officer came into his cell, and ordered him to rise immediately. Not doubting that his last moment had come, he answered, "Give me time to say my prayers, and I shall be ready to go where God may call me." Half an hour later, the officer returned, and having blindfolded him, led him out, and placed him in a sedan chair, seating himself at his side. He was then carried to the frontier, set at liberty, and commanded in the king's name never to re-enter the kingdom. He thanked the officer for the care he had taken of him, but told him it was scarcely worth while to detain him two years, and finally to carry him whither he desired to go; adding, that he took comfort under all his sufferings, as he looked upon them as nothing in comparison with the glory which was to be revealed, and which he firmly believed that he would enjoy. He reached Geneva on the 10th day of April, "having nothing but what he carried on his back." His mother sent him from time to

time such assistance as she could. He lived for ten years after his release, and died in Utrecht on the 6th of April, 1698, aged thirty-eight years.

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Jean Mascarene was a heroic confessor of the Reformed faith. Several interesting memorials of him have been preserved by his descendants. They will be found in the appendix to this volume. Some of the sentences which he addressed while in prison to the lawyer whom he requested to plead his cause, show us the man.

“Although my religion passes for a crime, and I well know that but for my religion I should not be in my present position, I make bold to justify this so-called crime, and choose rather to be the criminal that I am, than to recover all I have lost.

“All discussion apart, I am persuaded of the truth of my religion; my conscience refuses that which is offered me, and I have an uncontrollable aversion to hypocrisy.

“It is my opinion that all that can bring us to embrace any religion is the knowledge we have of God and of what He has done for us, the love and gratitude we feel toward Him, our recognition of the truth, and our love of it, our fear of infinite and eternal misery, and our hope of perfect and eternal happiness.

“I am resolved to use all the influence of my friends and connections, all that I can claim of them, and all that is left to me, to make good my defense, leaving the issue to the will of God. If I must suffer, I shall suffer more patiently,

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1696. knowing that I have not to blame myself for neglect in any respect. To my thinking, it is as much a man's duty to sacrifice his possessions in order to save his life, as it is to sacrifice both life and possessions to save his soul."

Meanwhile, the son, Jean Paul, had been brought up in Castres, under the care of his grandmother, Louise de Balarand, and of his uncle César Mascarene. When he had entered his twelfth year, it was decided, at his father's urgent request, to send him to Geneva. Accordingly, in the latter part of November, 1696, the uncle set forth, accompanied by a trusty servant, and by Jean Paul, disguised as a page in green livery. The three took the road to Lyons, designing to cross the Rhone at a village named Seiffel, instead of passing over the bridge at St. Esprit. They found a boatman just about to loose from the shore, carrying a load of hay to the other side of the river. The boatman consented to take Paul and his portmanteau on board; but the uncle and groom were obliged to remain behind. Paul, "with all the resolution of a man of twenty-four," took off his green livery and donned a sailor's costume. His portmanteau was stowed away in the hay; and after parting with his friends, he took the oar, and crossed the Rhone in safety. He reached Geneva on the 14th of December, 1696. He was there placed under the care of M. de Rapin, who superintended his education. After some years he went to England, where he was naturalized in 1706. He entered the army, obtain-

ing a lieutenant's commission, and after a long career of efficient and distinguished military service, retired to private life, spending his last years in Boston, Massachusetts.¹

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Among the Protestants of Castres, imprisoned in 1687 on account of their religion, and subsequently transported to the French West Indies, was Susanne de la Vabre. This was the name of the wife of Paul Droilhet, one of the first Elders of the French Church in New York.

Nismes, in Languedoc, long a Protestant city, was still the abode of a large Protestant population, at the time of the Revocation. About two hundred persons succeeded in making their escape, before the coming of the dragoons. Many more, when they learned that the troops had actually arrived, prepared at once for flight. Hastily removing their furniture from their houses, they piled it up in the streets, and offered it for sale to any who would purchase. But the authorities of the town instantly published a decree, forbidding all persons to buy the goods of the heretics, upon pain of fine and imprisonment. Learning this, the unfortunate Huguenots abandoned their property, and rushed to the city gates, intent upon flight, though utterly destitute, and not knowing whither to turn their steps. Here, however, they were met by dragoons, who sternly forced them back. Com-

¹ Some of the particulars in the above account have been gathered from statements made by a relative, in a letter written in 1763 to the grandson of Jean Mascarene.

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1686. pelled to return to their dwellings, and there await the coming of their merciless tormentors, they yielded at last. Within a week, four thousand were led into one of the largest churches, to make their public abjuration; and the Duke of Noailles, who conducted the dragonnade, wrote to Louvois, the King's prime minister, "The persons of chief importance in Nismes made their abjuration, the day after my arrival; subsequently, there came a slackening; but by means of the quartering which I ordered in the case of the most obstinate ones, matters have got well under way again. The number of religionists in this province is two hundred and forty thousand. I think that by the end of the month all will be expedited."

Louis Bongrand, merchant, "born at Nismes in the lower Languedoc within y^e Realm of France," was one of the first settlers of New Rochelle, Westchester county, New York.¹

Louis Liron, another fugitive from the same city, established himself in trade at Milford, Connecticut.² Jean Aunant, of Nismes, fled to

¹ He was naturalized in New York, September 27, 1687, and bought lands in New Rochelle of Jacob Leisler, May 21, 1690, but sold them three years later, reserving a plot which he gave to the inhabitants for a church-yard. He married Mary Van Bursum, by license dated November 8, 1695. Appointed constable of the North Ward in the city of New York, October 14, 1696, he prayed to be excused from serving, "being above 60 years of age, and not understanding the language." He was one of the "chefs de famille" of the French Church in 1704, and at his death in 1709 left £10 to the poor of that Church.

² Denization was granted in New York, October 28, 1696,

South Carolina.¹ The family of Says² came at an early day to Delaware; that of Imbert,³ to Pennsylvania and Virginia. Jean Courdil, a native of Nismes, was a Protestant minister, officiating in the house of the sieur La Cassagne, near that city. In 1683, he went to London, took orders in the Established Church, and was appointed to a charge in St. Paul's Cathedral. Three years later, he came to New York, where he remained until the summer of 1689. On his way back to England in a British ship, he was taken prisoner, with three other French Protestants, and carried into the harbor of Nantes. After lying two months in prison, Courdil was

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to 'Lewwis Lyron, a French Protestant.' He was naturalized, September 9, 1698. He was associated in business with Bongrand. His tombstone in Milford, Connecticut, bears the inscription, "Mr. Louis Liron Merchant Departed this life ye 18, Sept. 1738 In ye 88 year of his Age." By his will, dated October 9, 1736, he left £200 to the French Church in Boston, and £100 to the French Church in New Rochelle, "whereof Mons. Mulinor is or lately was the pastor or minister." Liron left no children. He married, late in life, the widow of Alexander Bryan, but she is not named in his will, and doubtless died before him.

¹"Jean Aunant, natif de Nisme, fils de Jean Aunant et de Sibelle Dumas; et sa femme Marie Soyer."—(Liste des François et Suisses Réfugiez en Caroline.) "Jean Aunan, marchand de soye, et famille."—(Liste de réfugiés nîmois en 1686. Bulletin de la soc. de l'hist. du prot. franç. XIV., p. 260.)

²Richard Seays, a Huguenot settler of Delaware.—(Early History of Delaware, and of the Drawyers Congregation, by Rev. George Foot.) Louis Says, marchand.—(Liste de réfugiés nîmois.)

³Andrew Imbert promised obedience to the government of Pennsylvania, July 10, 1683. Imbert, one of the settlers of Manakintown, Virginia, 1699. Jean Imbert, réfugié nîmois.—(Ibid.)

Chap. VIII placed on board a vessel bound for Copenhagen.
 1681— One of his companions, who like himself had
 1686. left France before the Revocation, was permitted to return to his home, on condition of becoming converted. The other two, having fled since the Revocation, were condemned to the galleys.¹

There were other emigrants, from smaller places in Languedoc. Jacques Du Bosc was a native of Saint Ambroix;² Jean Guibal, of Saint André de Valborgne;³ Moïse Carion, of Faugères. These refugees settled in South Carolina. Jean Balaguier, of New Jersey, was probably from Puylaurens.⁴ Guillaume Barbut, of Boston, and subsequently of Rhode Island, was a native of this province.⁵

¹ *Essai sur l'histoire des églises réformées de Bretagne, 1535-1808.* Par B. Vaurigaud. T. III., pp. 152-154.—“Courdil Ministre” officiated at the baptism of a child in the French Church, New York, April 25, 1689.—(Records.) He had come to New York “pour y voir des François de ses amis.”—(Vaurigaud.) The consistory of the French Church in Threadneedle Street ordered the treasurer, June 24, 1694, to give twenty shillings to supply the necessities of M. Courdil, Ministre.

² “Jacques Du Bosc, né à St. Ambroise en Languedoc, fils d'André DuBosc, et Marie Le Stoade. Marie Dugué, sa femme, Marie, leur fille, née en Caroline.”—(Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline.)

³ “Jean Guibal, fils de Henry Guibal et de Claude Guibal de St. André de Val [borgne] en Languedoc. Ester Guibal, sa femme, fille d'André Paparel et Catherine Paparel, de Bouin en Forest.”—(Liste, etc.)

⁴ Jean Ballaguier, a French settler of New Jersey, lived in 1716, “within one mile of Burlington.”—(Memoirs of a Huguenot Family: Journal of John Fontaine. P. 301.) “Jean, fils de Barthélemy Balaguier, ministre de cette église,” was baptized in the French “temple,” Soho, London, January 30, 1692.

⁵ Several of this name—all from Languedoc—are men-

Jacques Gautier, "supposed to have descended from a noble family of that name, formerly of Languedoc, emigrated to this country shortly after the Revocation," and settled in the city of New York.¹ Jean Pierre Richard, and Marthe Pont, his wife, both of Languedoc, were members of the French Church in New York in 1692.²

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GUYENNE, the camping-ground of the Huguenot armies, the stronghold of Henry of Navarre, had witnessed many scenes of bloodshed during the civil wars of the sixteenth century, and after the close of the last war of religion, in the reign of Louis XIII. But never before had military force been employed to inflict so cruel a blow upon the unfortunate Protestants of this province as now befell them, after sixty years of peace, when the soldiery of Louis XIV. came into their towns and villages to drive them into the Roman fold. It was true that in Guyenne, as in other provinces, this blow had been preceded by

tioned in *La France Protestante s. v.* William Barbut, naturalized in England, January 31, 1690, was admitted into the Colony of Massachusetts, February 1, 1691. He joined the settlement in Narragansett, but went to Boston after its dissolution, and was an Elder of the French Church in that city in 1696. He returned to Rhode Island about the year 1700.

¹ New York Gen. and Biog. Record. III. Pp. 1-9.

² Records of the French Church, New York.

Jacques Jerauld was of this province. His parents were silk weavers, but the son—one of twenty-one children—had begun the study of medicine, when the Revocation occurred. On his voyage to America, he formed the acquaintance of a family of refugees, the youngest daughter of which, Martha

Chap. VIII many significant measures aimed at the destruc-
 1661- tion of the Reformed religion. "Long muttered
 1686. the thunder, before the lightning struck." It
 was in this province that the quartering of
 troops upon Protestant families in a time of
 peace, was first resorted to, in the year 1661, at
 Montauban, when, upon some slight pretext, that
 Protestant town was occupied during four
 months by a force of five thousand men, distrib-
 uted in the homes of the inhabitants, for the
 purpose of compelling their conversion. Already,
 the Calvinistic worship had been suppressed in
 many places of the province, where not a single
 Roman Catholic was known to exist. One by
 one, the churches were closed. The Protestant
 academy of Montauban, founded in 1599, was
 first weakened, by transfer to another town, and
 finally abolished, in March, 1685. Under multi-
 plying vexations and injuries, the Huguenots
 continued pacific and loyal. With their prover-
 bial patience, they submitted, and waited, praying
 and hoping for better times. No province had
 proved itself more true to the government of
 France. When, upon the accession of Louis
 XIV. to the throne, the prince of Condé raised
 the standard of rebellion, the Protestants of
 Guyenne, his own province, refused to join him,
 and sent reënforcements to the royal army.

Dupee (Du Tay?), he afterwards married. Jerauld settled
 in Medfield, Massachusetts, as a physician, and died at an
 advanced age in the year 1760. His son, Doctor Dutee
 (Du Tay) Jerauld, practiced medicine in East Greenwich,
 Rhode Island, where he died in 1813, aged ninety-one.

“The crown was tottering upon the king’s head,” said the royal minister in 1651, to the deputies of Montauban. “It is you that have steadied it.” Loyal still, with the same submissiveness, and the same wonderful patience, the persecuted Huguenots now bore the extremest severities. Forced to see their “temples” destroyed, the homeless congregations gathered around the ministers, who continued to preach amidst the ruins of these sanctuaries, until arrested and imprisoned for this offense; and then, quietly, in their dwellings, or in some secret place of assembly in the forests or the mountains, they endeavored to maintain the worship of God according to the dictates of their consciences.

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Yet the dragonnades were not less effective in Guyenne than in the provinces of the west and the north. “Sixty thousand conversions!” wrote Louvois, the royal minister. “Sixty thousand in the district of Bordeaux, and twenty thousand in that of Montauban! Such is the rapidity of the work, that by the end of this month there will not remain ten thousand religionists in the district of Bordeaux, where in the middle of last month there were a hundred and fifty thousand.” These wholesale conversions were procured, as usual, through the terror that was inspired by the very approach and appearance of the dreaded troops; or under the brutalities that they were licensed to commit, in the homes of those who did not yield at once to the command to abjure their faith.

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We have no account of the circumstances in which the refugees from Guyenne who reached America made their escape. The names that have come down to us represent, we may be confident, but a small portion of the emigration from this province. Several of the settlers in South Carolina were of this number. Jean Boyd fled with his family from Bordeaux.¹ Pierre La Salle was of the same city.² Jean Pécontal was a native of Caussade.³ Among those who came to New York, were Henri de Money,⁴ Jean Bouyer,⁵ and Josué Lasseur,⁶ of Bordeaux; Denis Lambert,⁷ of Bergerac; Jean

¹ His three sons, Jacques, Jean, and Gabriel, were born in that city. Three other children, Jeanne Elizabeth, Jacques and Jean Auguste, were born in Carolina, where the father died before 1696. His widow was Jeanne Berchaud, a native of La Rochelle.—(Liste des François et Suisses réfugiés en Caroline.)

² "Pierre La Salle, né à Bordeaux, fils de Charles La Salle, et de Suzanne Hugla. Elizabeth Messett, sa femme, Pierre et Elizabeth, leurs enfans nez en Caroline."—(Ibid.)

³ "Jean Pecontal, né à Cossade en *Languedoc*, fils de Jean Pécontal, et d'Anne Nonnelle."—(Ibid). Caussade is, however, within the limits of Guyenne.

⁴ "Henry Monye, van Bordeaux," was married in the Dutch Church, New York, April 25, 1701, to Marianne Grasset. Four children of Henry and Marianne de Money were baptized in the French Church, 1702-1719. In 1721, he was engaged in business in Elizabethtown, New Jersey.

⁵ "Jean Bouyer, de Bourdeaux," was married, November 12, 1693, in the French Church, New York, to Madeleine Sauzeau, de Marennes.

⁶ Letters of administration on the property of Josué Lasseur, of Bordeaux, France, were granted in New York, in 1684, to Gabriel Minvielle.

⁷ "Denis Lambert, natif de Bergerac en France, décédé Mardy 29 Septembre, enterré 1 Octobre, 1691."—(Records

Jacques Fouchard,¹ of Duras ; Isaac de la Garde,² of La Roche Chalais, in Périgord, and Jérémie Latouche, of Villeneuve.³

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Jean Barbarie, one of the principal refugees in New York, was also, it is believed, a native of Guyenne.⁴

of the French Church, New York.) His widow, Françoise Brinqueman, married Jean Barbarie.

¹ "Jean Jacques Fouchart, natif de Duras en Agenois, fils de feu Simon Fouchart, et feue Suzanne Roche," was married, October 31, 1688, in the French Church, Threadneedle Street, London, to Suzanne Noger, also a native of Duras. John James Fouchard, victualer, was made free of the city of New York, May 2, 1704, and was elected constable, October 15, 1705. His will, signed June 14, 1723, proved August 25, 1724, mentions his son Jacob, and two daughters, Marie, wife of "one Mr. Williams, Deptford, Great Britain," and another Marie in New York.—(Wills, N. Y., IX., 488.)

² "Isaac de Lagarde, son of Abraham Delagarde by Mary, his wife, born at Laroche Chaylay in Perigord," petitioned for denization in New York, and was naturalized by act passed in the twelfth year of King William III.—(Book of Deeds, Albany, N. Y.)

³ "Jérémie, fils de Isaac Latouche, fils de deffunt Pierre Latouche, demurant à Villeneuve de puichegru en Agenois du Guyenne," was baptized in the French Church, Bristol, England, June 9, 1694. Jérémie Latouche, merchant of New York, and Jeanne Soumain his wife, had three children baptized in the French Church in that city, 1724-1738. He was chosen "ancien et diacre" for one year in 1740.

⁴ Jean Barbarie, naturalized in England, January 5, 1688, with his two sons Pierre and Jean Pierre, came to New York in the spring of that year, and from the first took a prominent place in the community. He was an enterprising merchant, and at the same time was active in political affairs. He was apparently the principal founder of the French Church in New York, which dates from the year of his arrival, and of which he was Elder and Treasurer. He married Marie Brinqueman, widow of Denis Lambert and niece of Gabriel Minvielle. His son Pierre married Susanne Lambert, and connected himself with Trinity Church, New York, of which he was a vestryman and a warden. He

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 1686. Gabriel Minvielle, of Bordeaux, had preceded these emigrants by several years. At the time of the Revocation, he was one of the most prosperous merchants of the city. His term of office as mayor of New York had just expired, and he was succeeded in that office by another Huguenot, Nicholas Bayard.¹

Of the settlers of New Rochelle, several were natives of Guyenne. Jean Magnon²

owned valuable lands, both in the city of New York and elsewhere in the province. The name of "Barbarie's Garden" was long familiar to the inhabitants of New York.

¹ Gabriel Minvielle, of Bordeaux, went to Amsterdam as early as the year 1669, and came to New York in 1673, or before. He was chosen alderman in 1675, and mayor in 1684. He held many important trusts, and was one of the representative men of the province. He was a member of the council under four of the governors. He married Judith Van Beeck, August 5, 1674, in the Dutch Church, New York. The wife named in his will, was Susanna. Minvielle lived "in the broad way next to Balthus Bayard." He left no children. His will mentions four children of his deceased brother, Pierre Minvielle:—Isabeau, Jean Jacques, Jane, and David:—and the children of a daughter of his sister, Marie Minvielle, who had married one Brinqueman. Jean Jacques Minvielle, made free of the city of New York, May 27, 1702, married Susanne Papin, December 28, 1702, and had two children baptized in the French Church, New York—Jacques, born November 1, 1705, and David, born August 16, 1707.

² "Jean Magnon, tailleur d'habits, demeurant cy devant à Tonneins en Guyenne, fils de feu Jacques Magnon et Judith Herbe," was married, February 4, 1695, in the French Church, Bristol, England, to Claude, daughter of Elie Badeau. Their son Jean was baptized in that Church, July 25, 1697. John Magnon, "taylor," came to New York that year or the following year, and was made free of the city, May 15, 1705. He had two children baptized in the French Church: Elie, October 23, 1698, and Marie, February 4, 1700. He was one of the "chefs de famille" in 1704. In 1707 he had removed to New Rochelle, N. Y., where the name became "Mannion."

came from Tonneins; and Pierre Villeponteux and Jeanne Rivasson his wife, from the neighborhood of Bergerac.¹ Abraham Tourtellot, a native of Bordeaux, came to this country with Gabriel Bernon, and settled in Rhode Island.² Philip Salue, of Bordeaux, had been educated for the Protestant ministry; but forced to flee from France at the time of the Revocation, came to America, and settled first in Edgar-

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¹ Pierre Villeponteux was naturalized in England, March 5, 1691. He bought the lands of David de Bonnefoy in New Rochelle. He had trouble in 1701 and 1702 with the sheriffs of Westchester county, and was for some reason deposed from the Eldership of the French Church, New Rochelle, by pasteur Bondet, against whom he made complaint to the governor. After this, he disappears from view. Rivasson and Villemonteix—perhaps a clerical mistake for Villeponteix—were both names of Protestants persecuted in Bergerac and its vicinity.

² Abraham Tourtellot came to Boston in the autumn of the year 1687, on the ship *Friendship*, of Boston, John Ware, commander. Benjamin Tourtellot, probably his brother, embarked with him, but died at sea, September 25, 1687. Abraham was a widower, with three children, Jacques Thomas, Jacques Moïse, and Jean.—(Act of naturalization.) He married Marie, daughter of Gabriel Bernon. (So stated in deed executed June 1, 1699. Suffolk Deeds, Boston, lib. XIX., fol. 179.) He joined the Narragansett colony, and after its dissolution removed to Roxbury, Massachusetts, where two of his children were born: Gabriel, September 24, 1694, and Esther, June 12, 1696. He removed with Bernon, his father-in-law, to Newport, Rhode Island. It is said that he sailed from that place as master of a vessel, with his eldest son, and that both were lost at sea.—(Memoir concerning the French Settlements in the Colony of Rhode Island, by Elisha R. Potter, pp. 118-121.) The descendants of Abraham Tourtellot and Marie Bernon are numerous. The family tradition that the emigrant's name was Gabriel is erroneous.

Chap. VIII town, and afterwards in Harwich, Massachusetts.¹
 1681- Jean Chabot, one of the members of the French
 1686. Church in Boston, before the year 1700, was
 probably of Bergerac.² From Montauban came
 Antoine Trabue, one of the French settlers on
 the James river, in Virginia ;³ François Benech,⁴

¹ Information from T. G. Sellew, Esq., New York.

² "Chabot ; famille influente de Languedoc, qui embrassa les doctrines de la Réforme aussitôt qu'elles s'introduisirent dans cette province."—(La France Protestante.) Bernard Chabot, de Bergerac, married Anne Ouradour, in the French Church, London, May 16, 1690.

³ Antoine Trabue died in Manakintown, Virginia, in January, 1724, aged fifty-six or fifty-seven years. A family of this name still exists in Montauban.

Daniel Trabue, a grandson of the refugee, (born March 31, 1760, died in 1840,) has left a "memorandum" of his family history, in which the following statement occurs : "My grandfather, Anthony Trabue, fled from France in the year of our Lord, 1687, at the time of a bloody persecution against the dissenters by the Roman Catholics. The law against the dissenters was very rigid at that time. Whoever was known to be one, or even suspected, if he would not swear to suit the priest, his life and estate were forfeited, and [he was] put to the most shameful and cruel torture and death. And worse than all, they would not let any move from the kingdom. Guards and troops were stationed all over the kingdom, to stop and catch any that might run away. At every place where they would expect those persons might pass, there were guards fixed, and companies of inquisitors, and patrols going on every road and every other place, hunting for these heretics, as they called them ; and where there was one who made his escape, perhaps there were hundreds put to the most shameful torture and death.

"When the decree was first passed, a number of the people thought it would not be put in execution so very hastily ; but the priests, friars and inquisitors were very intent for their estates, and they rushed quick.

"I understood that my grandfather, Anthony Trabue, had an estate, but concluded he would leave it if he could possibly make his escape. He was a very young man, and he and another young man took a cart, and loaded it with

Isaac Garrison,² and David Minvielle, nephew of Gabriel.³ Thomas Lanier, "a Huguenot," of Bordeaux, France, who was driven out of that country by religious persecution, went to Virginia, some years before the Revocation.⁴ The Aydelott family, of Delaware, originated likewise in Guyenne.⁵

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wine, and went on to sell it to the furthestmost guard : and when night came, they left their horses and cart, and made their escape to an English ship, which took them on board, and they went over to England, leaving their estates, native country, relations, and every thing, for the sake of Jesus who died for them."—(Communicated to the Richmond Standard, May 10, 1879, by R. A. Brock, Esq., Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society.)

¹ François Benech, a member of the French Church, New York, in 1698. Antoine Benech, fugitif de Montauban. —(Archives Nationales, Tt. N°. 445.)

² Isaac Garrison, son of Isaac Garrison and Catharine de Romagnac. His wife was Jeanne. Naturalized in New York, 1705.—(Book of Deeds, Albany, N. Y., X., 151.)

³ David Minvielle, son of Peter Minvielle and Paul his wife, born at Montauban, was naturalized in New York, 1705.—(Book of Deeds, *u. s.*) He came to America after the death of his uncle Gabriel, (see above,) and married Susanne Boudinot. Six children of David and Susanne Minvielle were baptized in the French Church, 1711–1721.

⁴ Sketch of the Life of J. F. D. Lanier. New York : 1871.

⁵ "It is the tradition of the family that the Aydelotts are all of Huguenot origin. They settled in what is now the State of Delaware, at Indian River, Sussex county. They are still numerous there, but many years since, they spread south and west, into Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Kentucky."—Letter from the late Reverend B. P. Aydelott, D.D., Cincinnati, Ohio.—The name is that of a Huguenot family that fled to England after the Revocation. "Isaac Aydelot, de Mauvoisin en haute Guiesnes," married Martha Bonnefous, October 30, 1688, in the French Chapel of the Savoy, London.

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Several of the pastors, who at an early day accompanied the refugees to America, or followed them, were from this province, and from the adjoining Conté de Foix. William Gilet, the ancestor of the Gillette family in America, is believed to have come from the town of Bergerac, whence "in consequence of his continuing to preach the Gospel, he was banished; his property was confiscated, and his life exposed to imminent danger." He settled in Milford, Connecticut.¹ Louis Latané went in the year 1701 to Virginia, and was for more than thirty years minister of South Farnham parish in that province.²

¹ Gilet was a Bergerac name. "Jacques Gilet, de Bergerac, ministre," was married to Jeanne Mestre, October 11, 1701, in the French Church, Crispin Street, Spitalfields, London. "Elie Gilet, de Bergerac," living in Ireland, received aid from the Royal Bounty in 1705.—In America, the family has been noted for the large number of ministers, of different religious bodies, that it has produced. William, mentioned above, was married, November 14, 1722, in Milford, Connecticut, to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Welch. He early commenced the practice of medicine; and after acquiring sufficient knowledge of the language, resumed his labors as a minister also. He lived to the age of ninety-two. He was distinguished for his zeal and self-denial, and for his eccentricity also. Elisha, his son, a devoted minister, born in Milford, August 17, 1733, spent the greater part of his career on Long Island. He died near Patchogue, in 1820.—(Annals of the American Pulpit, by Wm. B. Sprague, D.D. Vol. VI., p. 719.)

² "Petrus Lataneus Neracensis," was matriculated at the Académie de Genève, November 22, 1605. Isaac Latané, pastor of sundry churches in l'Agenais, asked permission to leave France upon the Revocation. The reply was, "*Comme c'est un homme fort considéré et de beaucoup d'esprit, il vaut mieux le laisser en prison, que de permettre son expatriation.*"—(Bulletin de la soc. de l'hist. du prot. franç., III.,

Jean Cairon, a native of Figeac, in Guyenne, escaped to Switzerland at the time of the Revolution. After spending some years in the Pays de Vaud, he came to America, and in 1714 was pastor of the French colony of Manakintown.¹

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Jacques Laborie, of Cardaillac, pursued the study of theology in the academy of Geneva. Upon completing it he went to Zurich, where he was ordained to the holy ministry. He "arrived in England at the time of King William's Coronation," and ten years later removed to Massachusetts.² His wife was Jeanne de Res-

p. 499.) He escaped, however, to Holland. Daniel Latané fled to England.

Louis Latané, the refugee in America, took Episcopal orders while in England, and came in 1701 to Virginia. He became the minister of South Farnham parish, Essex county, and continued in office until his death in 1732. He was a man of blameless life and devoted to the work of the ministry.—(The Huguenots; or, Reformed French Church. By W. H. Foote, D.D. Pp. 572-574.) A number of Mr. Latané's descendants are now living in Essex county.

¹ "Jean Cairon, né à Figeac, ci-devant ministre de Cajarc dans la Haute Guyenne," was one of the French pastors who in 1688 had taken refuge in Zurich. In 1714 he was minister of the French settlement on the James river, Virginia. He was then a widower, with three sons.—(Liste generale de tous les François Protestants Réfugiés, Etablys dans la Paroisse du Roy Guillaume, Comté d'Henrico.)

² "Jacobus Laborie Cardailhacensis apud Cadurcos," completed the study of theology in the Academy of Geneva, March 12, 1688.—(Livre du Recteur.) He was ordained in Zurich, October 30, 1688, and went to England, where he obtained a license from the Bishop of London, for teaching grammar and catechising in the parish of Stepney. He officiated in several of the French churches of London for nine or ten years, and then, in 1698, came to America. After ministering for some time to the French colony in New Oxford, Massachusetts, and laboring as a missionary

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 1686. *siguier*. About the same time with Laborie, came Alexandre de Ressiguier—perhaps a relative—from the little village of Trescléoux, in Dauphiny. His name appears in 1696, in the list of the principal silk manufacturers employed by the “*compagnie royale des lustrez*” in London. His son Alexander settled in the town of Norwalk, Connecticut.¹

From the small county of Foix, in the extreme south of the kingdom, bordering on the Pyrenees, came one of the most devoted Huguenot pastors in America. Pierre Peyret was the grandson and the namesake of a Protestant

among the savages in the vicinity, he went to New York and took charge of the French Church in that city, as Peiret's successor, for two years, October 15, 1704, to August 25, 1706. After this, he engaged in the practice of medicine and surgery, and as early as the year 1716 settled in Fairfield county, Connecticut, as a physician, occasionally assisting the Church of England missionary. He married a second wife, Abigail Blacklach, August 29, 1716, and died in or before 1731, leaving two sons, James and John, both of whom embraced the medical profession.

¹ “Alexander Resseguie and his wife, Huguenot refugees, had two sons. The elder was educated with a view to his return to France to claim the family possessions, the titles to which had been preserved by Alexander: but as he was about to sail from New York, he was seized with the small-pox, and died. The younger son, Alexander, purchased land in the town of Norwalk, Connecticut, in 1709, and in the same year married Sara, daughter of Peter Bontecou, of New York. The family flourished for many years in Norwalk and the adjoining towns, but is now represented in that region only by Mr. Abijah Ressiguie and his daughter, of Ridgefield. Mr. Ressiguie is ninety-two years old, a warden of the Episcopal Church, and held in high esteem. Many of the name are to be found in the interior of the State of New York.”—(Communicated by John E. Morris, Esq., Hartford, Connecticut.)

officer, who distinguished himself by his bravery in the siege of Mas d'Azil. He married Marguerite de Grenier la Tour, des Verriers de Gabre. "Driven from France on account of religion," Peiret "preached the Word of God for seventeen years" in the French Church of the city of New York, "living as he preached," until his death, on the first day of September, in the year 1704.¹

Chap. VIII

1681-

1686.

The accounts of the London committee for the distribution of a sum of twelve thousand pounds sterling, granted by the queen to poor French Refugees, mention among extraordinary cases relieved in the year 1705, that of "Marguerite Peyret, of Béarn, widow of a minister deceased in New York, where she now is, with two children: twelve pounds."²

¹ The remains of this excellent minister lie in Trinity church-yard, in the city of New York. His tomb bears the following French and Latin inscription:

Ci-gît-le-reverent-Mr Pierre-Peirete-M:D-St-Ev-qui-chasse-de-France pour la-religion-a preche-la-parole-de-Dieu-dans-l'Eglise-Francoise-de-cette-ville-pendant-environ-17-ans-avec-l'approbation-generale-et-qui-apres-avoir-vescu-comme-il-avoit-preche-jusques-a-l'age-de-60-ans-il-remit-avec-une-proffonde-humilite-son-esprit-entre-les-mains-de-Dieu-le-1-Septembre-1704.

Hic-jacet-reverd-Dom-Petrus-Perrieterus-V-D-M-qui-ex-Gallia-religionis-causa-expulsus-verbum-Dei-in-hujus-civitatis-ecclesia-Gallicana-per-annos-17-cum-generale-approbatione-proedicavit-quique-cum-vitam-proedicationibus-suis-conformem-duxeretusque-ad-60-aetatis-suae-annum-tandem-in-manus-Domini-spiritum-humiliter-deposuit-I-mens-Sept-ann-Dom-1704.

² Another refugee from Béarn joined the French colony in the city of New York. This was Jean la Tourette, "natif d'Osse en Béarn," who married Marie Mercereau, July 16, 1693, and had three children, Marie, Jean, and David, baptized in the French Church. Pierre Latourette, perhaps a brother of Jean, married Marie Mercereau. David married Catharine, daughter of Jacques Poillon. David and Pierre were members of the French congregation on Staten Island in 1735.

CHAPTER IX.

THE REFUGE.

ENGLAND.

Chap. IX. A standing invitation had gone forth to the
1684- persecuted Huguenots, from the Protestant
1686. powers of Europe, to take refuge among their
fellow-religionists in foreign parts. Multitudes
had already accepted that invitation, and were
now enjoying a generous hospitality in England,
Holland, Germany and Switzerland. For those
who remained behind, the thought of the kind-
ness and the proffered protection of the “Prot-
estant Princes” was a strong consolation. At
length the moment came, when the hope thus
set before them was all that was left to the vic-
tims of the dragonnades: and they hastened to
avail themselves of it. Three hundred thou-
sand persons made their escape from France.
The largest numbers fled to Holland. But En-
gland was the “city of refuge” for very many
of those who ultimately reached America; and
in the following pages we shall attempt to trace
the fortunes of our refugees in that country
principally.

The flight was, in most cases, précipitate and
blind. It is true that there were those among

the wealthier classes of the French Protestants, whose knowledge of foreign lands, and whose relations with their exiled countrymen abroad, enabled them to select the localities for their refuge, and to make some arrangement for reaching them. Not so, however, with the majority. Ignorant of the land, as of the language; trusting themselves to the winds and waves, or to the guidance of strange captains and pilots; the fugitives had little choice, generally, as to the port they would make. Often, the place whither a favoring providence brought them, became the place of their permanent residence; and little colonies of French Protestants were formed in many of the towns along the English and Irish coasts. London, however, was the destination of the greater number of the refugees; and from Plymouth, and Barnstaple, and Southampton, and other harbors, they soon made their way to the capital, where many of their countrymen were already settled, and where a French Protestant Church had long existed.

Arrived in London, our refugees found themselves in a newly built city. The streets, indeed, were crooked and narrow, and wretchedly paved; but the houses, for the most part, were fresh and substantial. In fact, London might almost be called a new city. Scarcely twenty years had passed since the "great fire" swept away nearly the whole of the city within the walls; and the old buildings of wood and plaster, with stories projecting over each

Chap. IX.
1686.

September,
1666.

Chap. IX. other, and “so nearly approaching together, on
1686. opposite sides, that people could hold a *tête-à-tête* in a low whisper from the windows across the street,” had given place to buildings of brick—buildings “without magnificence, or anything like it,” but suggestive of comfort and security. Twenty churches had been erected, or were now in process of erection; and new Saint Paul’s, commenced ten years before, was now sufficiently advanced to display something of the grandeur of its proportions.¹ The emigrants, few of whom probably had ever visited their own capital, saw much to amaze and delight them in this populous town. They greatly admired the shipping, especially; the forest of masts rising in the midst of the metropolis; the beauty of the Thames, above and below the town; and the facilities of travel which the river afforded, by means of the boats that were continually plying along its banks. The freedom and heartiness of English manners surprised them much. Lords and commoners alike availed themselves of the hackney-coaches in the streets, and the barges on the river. The coffee-houses and cook-shops were “extremely

¹ The workmen were engaged (1685–1686) in pulling down the old western gable; in removing the partition wall between S. Gregory’s and the Cathedral; in taking down the old Lanthorn on Lollard’s tower; and in erecting scaffoldings about the works. The choir walls seem to have been complete up to the cornice; the “legs of the dome,” to the capitals from which the arches spring; the nave, carried about two bays west of the dome.—(Information kindly communicated by the Rev. Dr. Sparrow Simpson, through the Very Rev. the Dean of St. Paul’s.)

convenient." It was a novel but not a displeasing sight, to behold the English mode of salutation, by shaking hands, instead of the more formal uncovering of the head. But the consideration of transcendent interest to every refugee, was the fact, that he had now reached the city which had been the asylum of his exiled countrymen for more than a hundred years, and where, like them, he might enjoy the priceless boon of liberty of conscience, denied him in his own land.

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1686.

One of our American Huguenots has left on record his first impressions of London. So few accounts of this kind have come down to us, that we are tempted to give the homely story, very much as he relates it.

Durand, of Dauphiny, had escaped from Marseilles to Leghorn, where he embraced the first opportunity to embark for England. After a long and dangerous voyage, he landed at Gravesend, on the last day of March, 1686. Leaving his family there, he took boat for London. "Not aware of the great extent of the town, I went ashore," he says, "where I saw the first houses, and asked for a room to let; but I could not make myself understood. I kept on for a considerable distance, until at length, by signs and otherwise, I acquainted a man with my desire to be conducted to a place where there were Frenchmen, accompanying the request with a promise of some money, which I showed him. He led me finally to the Exchange, and left me, having put me in the care

Chap. IX.
—
1686.

of one of my countrymen. To excite this person's compassion, I related to him what had happened to me; but he told me that he no longer belonged to 'the Religion;' assuring me, however, that I need not give myself any uneasiness on that account, for though he lived at a distance of a league and a half from there, he would not leave me until he should see me safe in lodgings. We inquired, but without success, for a room in that quarter; and I found myself obliged to have recourse to the letter which had been given me at Leghorn for one Mr. John Brokin. We ascertained his address, and had no trouble in reaching the house, but he was not at home. However, I begged his wife to open the letter, and to direct me to some place where I might lodge; and she at once sent her maid, who engaged a room for me in a house across the way, and ordered food for me. This did not come amiss, for it was now six in the evening, and I was worn out with fatigue after my long walk, the pavements of London being the very worst that I had seen as yet.

"The following day being Saturday, I returned early to Gravesend, and brought my family to London. The custom-house officers allowed us to take none of our effects with us, except our beds. It was fortunate that my lodgings were quite near the river; for I was compelled to carry my little boy almost the whole way in my arms. On the morrow, which was Sunday, I made particular inquiries, and after being directed to several of

the English churches, was finally conducted to the French "temple" of London, where I arrived a good while before the first "prêche" began. It was with inexpressible joy that I again beheld the precious torch of the Gospel, which had been transported out of our kingdom to this place. I rendered my most humble thanks to the Almighty for my escape from Babylon, and for my happy arrival in this favored land, where the truth is preached without let or hindrance."

Durand gives us his impressions of the capital and of the kingdom. "The Savoy," he writes, "is the largest suburb (*faubourg*) of London. It is the part that contains the palace of the king, and that of the queen dowager, and the residences of nearly all the great lords of the court. There are two French churches in this suburb, and there is one in the city proper. The greater number of the French lodge here, and in the district of Spitalfields, (*faubourg Despedlefil*), which is on the other side, and where rents are lower than in London.¹

"England," he continues, "is a fine country, very rich, and abounding in all sorts of grains and vegetables, and especially in pasture lands. Quantities of cattle are raised; and the only

¹ "The peopling of the waste Spital Fields was entirely due to the French: in a generation nine churches had arisen there: and the workmen were so many and so busy that the silk manufacture of London was multiplied twenty fold."—(A History of the Huguenots of the Dispersion at the recall of the Edict of Nantes. By Reginald Lane Poole. Pp. 82, 83.)

Chap. IX. fault to be found with the butchers' meat is, that
1686. it is too fat. The productions of the country being subject only to the tithes for the support of the bishops and ministers, and imposts being levied only upon merchandise and the tin extracted from the mines : this, together with the vast commerce of the nation, makes it the wealthiest in Europe. Scarcely any poor are seen in the streets and at the doors of the churches. But what contributes most, doubtless, to the fertility of the soil, is that throughout winter and the spring it rains nearly every day ; or else a species of fog broods over the land ; and one seldom sees a very clear and serene sky. This renders the air very damp and thick, and persons unaccustomed to it become rheumatic."

Finding himself inconvenienced by the detention of his effects in the custom-house at Gravesend, and not knowing where to seek relief, Durand went on the following Wednesday to the weekly "prêche" in the French Church, and after that service sought an interview with the Consistory. "These gentlemen requested Mr. Herman Olmy, a worthy English merchant, to assist me in this matter. He did so with the utmost kindness ; nor was it the only service I received from him. He spoke French very well ; and so obliging was he, that as often as I had occasion to resort to him—as I did daily, on account of the language—he would leave everything to attend to me—though he had much business—and would never suffer me to leave

his house without making me take a glass of Spanish wine. Meanwhile Mr. Brokin returned from the country, and immediately sent for me. He offered me a thousand services, and often had me at his table ; indeed, I might have taken a meal with him every day, had I so chosen."

The refugees were not always left to chance acquaintance for guidance and relief. Many of them, like Durand, had brought some property with them, and could live with economy in London or elsewhere. But many more had arrived empty-handed and utterly destitute. For these, provision already existed, in the balance that remained of a fund that had been raised five years before, by collections throughout the kingdom, for the relief of French Protestant refugees. That amount was now swollen by similar collections, made on the twenty-third of April, 1686, and after. The fund thus created, eventually reached the sum of a quarter of a million pounds sterling. It was known as the Royal Bounty. But never was there a greater misnomer. For neither of the kings under whose auspices it originated—Charles II. and James II.—had any sympathy with the movement, or compassion for the persons to be helped. The fund was The English People's Bounty ; the magnificent testimonial of a nation's pity, and of a nation's hospitality. A royal brief or letter, however, enjoining these collections, was necessary in order to their legality, and this brief, James the Second, like Charles, was induced, though most reluctantly, to order.

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1686.

The
English
People's
Bounty.

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1686.

Burning
of
Jean
Claude's
book.

The attitude of the king and of his government toward the refugees, was indeed anomalous. James was an avowed Roman Catholic, and was believed to be bent upon bringing back his people to the allegiance of Rome. The Huguenots had escaped from the rule of Louis the Fourteenth, to put themselves under the protection of an English monarch, who in bigotry and intolerance was not a whit behind Louis, and who had made himself the servile tool of the French king. It was no secret that he looked with an evil eye upon the fugitives from France. And of this fact they soon had startling evidence. One of the banished Huguenot pastors, Jean Claude, the famous preacher of Charenton, had published an account of the sufferings of the French Protestants. A translation of that book appeared in England. Upon complaint of the French ambassador, James ordered both the translation and the original to be publicly burned in London by the hangman. This was done on the fifth day of May, 1686—one month after Durand's arrival;—and the enthusiastic Frenchman, with others of his fellow-refugees, happening to pass the Exchange, may have seen their great countryman's book committed to the flames, in this opprobrious manner.

The king was their enemy; but an enemy shorn of his power to molest them. England was their friend. The sufferings of the Protestants of France had stirred the heart of the English people to its very depths; and the

Protestant feeling of the nation, aroused as never before by the arbitrary conduct of the king, and his undisguised purpose to reinstate the Romish religion, went out in kindness and helpfulness to these strangers who had fled to them for protection.¹ The Church of England extended to them a generous welcome. The non-conformists greeted them as brethren. The refugee pastors were aided from the "Royal Bounty." Worshipers who could not find room in the "temple" already existing in Threadneedle Street, were assisted in obtaining new

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1686.

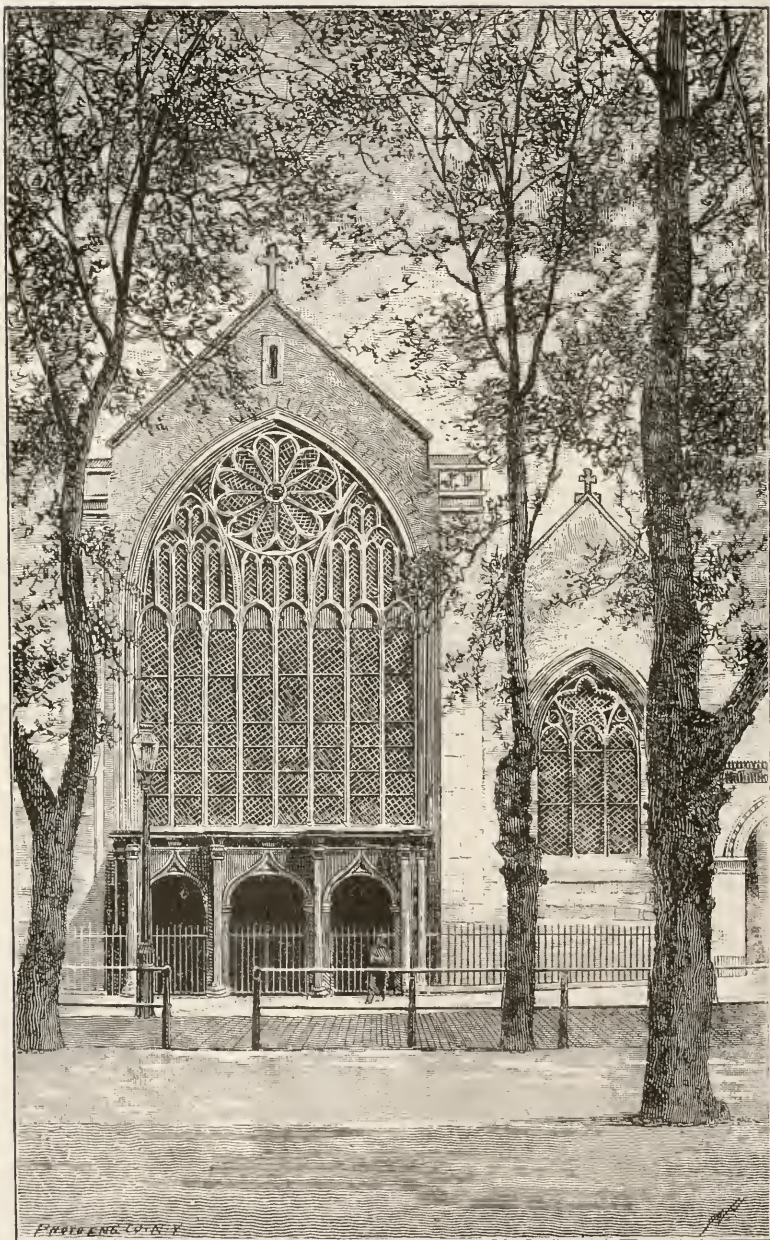
¹ An interesting memorial of that kindness still exists in London. It is the "Hospital for poor French Protestants and their descendants residing in Great Britain." This hospital—long known among the refugees themselves by the name of "La Providence"—was founded in the year 1708 by M. de Gastigny, who bequeathed the sum of one thousand pounds sterling, to be applied by the distributors of the royal bounty, toward the building and maintenance of such an institution. Other donations and bequests were soon added, and in 1716 a site for the projected hospital was purchased in Bath Street, St. Luke's, near the City Road. From time to time, the fund created for this charity was increased by gifts and legacies, from Englishmen as well as from Frenchmen; and by the year 1736, the directors were able so to enlarge the hospital as to provide for as many as two hundred and thirty persons. In 1862, it was thought expedient to remove the institution from its ancient site, to a locality north of Victoria Park, and not far from the districts of Spitalfields and Bethnal Green, whence a large majority of the inmates of the hospital are drawn. Here a stately and spacious building, surrounded by attractive grounds, affords a peaceful asylum for some of the poor and aged descendants of the French refugees. The directors of the institution are chiefly representatives of French Protestant refugee families. The present governor is the Right Hon. the Earl of Radnor. The secretary is Arthur Giraud Browning, Esq.

Hospital
of
"La
Provi-
dence."

Chap. IX. sanctuaries ; and in the single year 1687, fifteen
 1686. French churches were built with the aid of
 moneys drawn from this charitable fund ; three
 in London, and twelve in provincial towns.

Plymouth, on the south coast of England, and
 Bristol in the west, were the chief among these
 provincial towns. At Plymouth, there were said
 to be about three hundred French Protestants
 in January, 1686. It was here that Pierre Jay
 rejoined his family upon escaping from La Ro-
 chelle. The greater number of the French in
 Plymouth, however, removed very soon to other
 towns. Bristol, at that time second only to
 London in commercial importance, was a more
 permanent home. Of all the refugee colonies in
 Great Britain, this one possesses the greatest
 interest for Americans. The register of the
 Huguenot congregation of Bristol, from its
 formation in 1687 to the close of the century,
 abounds in names that have become naturalized
 with us. Here were the Badeaus, the Bonnets,
 the Morins, the Quintards, and others, whose
 flight from the towns and villages of western
 France we have already traced, and whose hap-
 piness it now was to be gathered in a harmoni-
 ous brotherhood in the hospitable city of Bristol.
 The marriages and baptisms that occurred
 among these friendly exiles, were occasions of
 special interest. It was a Huguenot fashion,
 very characteristic of that warm-hearted and
 cheery race, to honor such domestic solemnities
 by a large attendance ; and even during their
 persecutions in France, the danger of detection

September
 25,
 1687.



THE MAYOR'S CHAPEL, BRISTOL, ENGLAND.
(Occupied as a French Protestant Church, from 1687 to 1721.)

and punishment did not prevent them from assembling at such times in companies far beyond the limit set by the law, which restricted the number of "assistants" to twelve, and those only the nearest of kin. The sober citizens of Bristol often saw the lively and social foreigners trooping to their "temple," on week-days as well as Sundays, accompanying to the altar some happy pair, who perchance were soon to seek a home beyond the seas; or following the proud father and the demure "marraine," as they bore to the font some future emigrant to Massachusetts or Carolina.

This little colony of refugees composed a select and favored group. They enjoyed the patronage of the Bishop of Bristol, Sir Jonathan Trelawney—that Trelawney who a few months later became the hero of popular song in England, as one of the seven prelates whose resistance to James the Second precipitated the Revolution of 1688.¹ It was this good bishop's influence, doubtless, that procured for the refugees of Bristol the privilege of using as their house of worship the beautiful church known as St. Mark's, or the Gaunt's Chapel. Anciently attached to the Hospital of St. Mark, founded in the thirteenth century, this building had been granted by the crown in 1540 to the mayor and burgesses of Bristol for public uses; and it was with their consent that the French

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1686.

Chapel
of the
Gaunt.

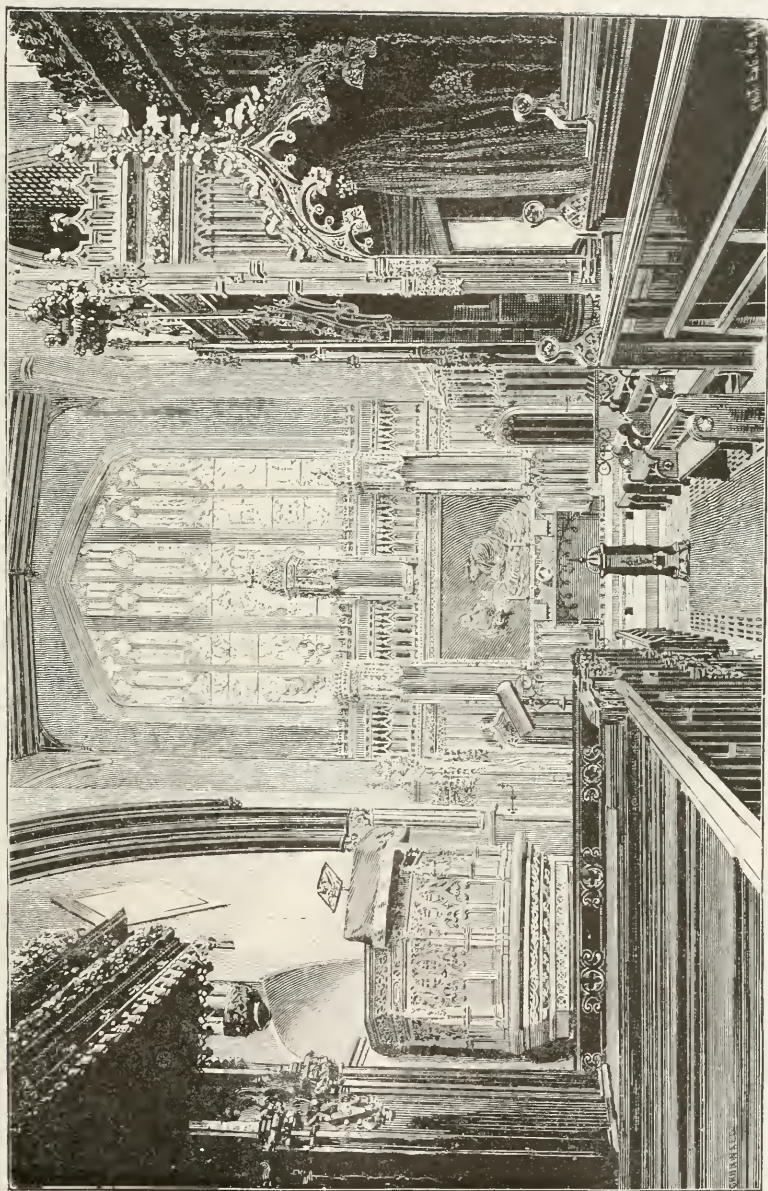
¹ The History of England from the Accession of James II. By Thomas Babington Macauley. Vol. II., p. 341.

Chap. IX. Protestants worshiped here, from the year 1687
 1687—to the year 1721. The first ministers were
 1721. Alexandre Descairac and Jérémie Tinel. The
 excellent Descairac, who had been pastor in
 Bergerac before the Revocation, was stricken
 with apoplexy while preaching to his flock in
 Bristol, on Sunday, the fourteenth day of June,
 1703; and on the following Tuesday he was
 buried in the Chapel of the Gaunt, the bier be-
 ing carried from the house to the church by the
 clergy of the city, followed by the entire con-
 gregation.

The
 Peloquins.

The French colony in Bristol was strengthened from time to time by fresh arrivals from the land of persecution. In the early part of the eighteenth century, it had grown to be considerable. "The chapel was full to excess, the aisle filled with benches as well as the altar, so that there must have been several hundreds." The leading family among the Bristol Huguenots was that of Etienne Peloquin, a native of La Rochelle, and a merchant of high standing. It was a son of this refugee whom the citizens of Bristol in 1751 elected to the office of mayor. The elder Peloquin married the sister of Pierre Jay; and it is more than probable that Jay himself, after removing from Plymouth, took up his abode in Bristol. The families were intimate; and the intimacy was continued in succeeding generations.¹

¹ Jay Papers. (MSS.)—The four children of Etienne Peloquin, the refugee, remained unmarried, and the family became extinct. The name, however, has been preserved in



THE MAYOR'S CHAPEL, BRISTOL, ENGLAND.

The French congregation of Bristol, like that of Plymouth, was a "Conformist" congregation. Its ministers, Descairac and Tinel, had taken orders in the Church of England, and had adopted the Book of Common Prayer. Upon this subject of conformity, the refugees of England, as well as their pastors were greatly divided. Equally attached, doubtless, when they left France, to the Presbyterian discipline and to the Calvinistic worship of their own Reformed Church, they differed in their views of duty and expediency when they found themselves on British soil. Many of them clung to the ecclesiastical system that had been maintained by the Protestants of France, so long as they were allowed by the government to keep it up: and these were in favor of establishing, for the Huguenot congregations in England, "colloques" and synods, such as they had maintained at home, and such as the refugees in England who preceded them had continued to maintain. Others were willing to surrender their preferences, and fall in with the

honorable remembrance in the city of Bristol, through a well known charity trust, known as "Mrs. Mary Anne Pelouquin's Gift." This maiden lady died on the twenty-third day of July, 1778, leaving to the mayor and aldermen of Bristol the sum of nineteen thousand pounds sterling, upon the condition that they and their successors in office should yearly, upon St. Stephen's day, apply the interest of three hundred pounds of that sum to the rector, curate, clerk and sexton of St. Stephen's Church, Bristol, for reading prayers and preaching a sermon on the afternoon of that day in the said parish Church: and also the revenue from fifteen thousand two hundred pounds for distribution among thirty-eight poor men and thirty-eight poor women, on the same day.—(Communicated by John Taylor, Esq., Bristol.)

Chap. IX. methods of the Episcopal Church, by law estab-
 1686-lished. Acknowledging the Scriptural sound-
 1688.ness of its creeds, and finding little to object to
 in its ritual, they were not disposed to remain
 aloof from it upon grounds of church order.¹

Meanwhile, a certain degree of pressure was
 used, to lead them to conform. It was urged—
 and the argument had weight with sensitive and
 grateful souls—that those who had received so

Calvin's
 position.

¹ The cordial understanding that existed between the Reformed Churches of France and the Church of England, dated from the times of Calvin. That great reformer, clear in his own convictions as to the Scriptural and primitive warrant for the mode of ecclesiastical government which he advocated, had no word of condemnation to utter with reference to the forms of polity preferred by other Protestant Churches, sound in doctrine. His relations with the English Reformers and Bishops, were most friendly ; and he deprecated any disposition to break the unity of the national body on account either of ceremonies or of modes of discipline. "*Touchant des cérémonies,*" he wrote, "*pource que ce sont choses indifférentes, les Eglises en peuvent user diversement en liberté. Et quant on seroit bien advisé, il seroit quelque fois utile de n'avoir point une conformité tant exquise, pour monstrier que la foy et chrestienté ne consiste pas en cela.*"—(*Lettres de Jean Calvin, recueillies par Jules Bonnet. Lettres françaises, Vol. II., pp. 29-30.*). And upon the subject of polity he expresses himself not less forcibly : "*Talem nobis hierarchiam si exhibeant, in quâ sic emineant episcopi, ut Christo subesse non recusent ; ut ab illo tanquam unico capite pendeant, et ad ipsum referantur ; in quâ sic inter se fraternam societatem colant, ut non alio nodo quam ejus veritate sint colligati : tum vero nullo non anathemate dignos fatear si qui erunt qui non eam reverenter summâque obedientiâ observent.*"—(*De Necessitate Reformandæ Ecclesiæ.*)

On their part, the English Reformers showed no less cordiality toward Calvin and other continental Divines ; freely acknowledging the validity of their orders, and inviting their counsel and concurrence in the most important measures.

much kindness from the State and from the State Church, might with a good grace accept the invitation to identify themselves with the laity and clergy of that Church. No such argument in behalf of conformity would have been necessary in the Protestant lands of continental Europe. The Huguenots who fled to Holland found there a Walloon Church, which formed part and parcel of the Reformed Church of the nation, and with which they became incorporated at once. In Switzerland, there was a ready fusion of religious as of social life. In Germany, the French Protestants either maintained their own church organizations, which in many cases received State support, or else blended them at will with those which they found already established. Nowhere, on the continent, was the ministerial standing of the pastors questioned. And nowhere did the refugees on their part find occasion to mistrust the Protestant character of the National Churches. It was otherwise in England. The Church of England now made ordination by the hands of bishops a rigid condition for the exercise of the ministry within its pale. It could not be easy for men who had preached the Gospel for years under the cross of persecution, to submit to this condition. At the same time, the refugees met with some things that tended to repel them from the Establishment. Some, like Bostaquet, took exception to the ceremonial of the Anglican worship, which seemed to them "very much opposed to the simplicity of our Reformed religion." Others, like

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1686-

1688.

The
conti-
nental
Churches.

Chap. IX. Fontaine, were thrown among those who
1686- regarded the Establishment with no friendly
1688. feeling. The recollections of the Act of Uniformity, and of St. Bartholomew's day, were still living in the minds of English Non-conformists; and their resentment had been sharpened by the more recent atrocities inflicted upon their brethren by Lord Jeffries. It is not surprising that many of the French imbibed this feeling, and were strengthened in their determination to cling to their "ancient discipline."

But just at this time, the Church of England became immensely popular. Forced by the encroachments of James II. to take a stand for their Protestant principles, the clergy, headed by the bishops, refused to sanction a royal measure designed to strengthen the Papal interest. "Never had the Church been so dear to the nation as on the afternoon of that day. The spirit of dissent seemed to be extinct. Baxter from his pulpit pronounced a eulogium on the bishops and parochial clergy. The Dutch minister, a few hours later, wrote to inform the States-General that the Anglican priesthood had risen in the estimation of the public to an incredible degree. The universal cry of the Non-conformists, he said, was that they would rather continue to be under the penal statutes, than separate their cause from that of the prelates."¹

May
20,
1633.

This tide of popularity, doubtless, helped to float the newly-arrived French Calvinists into

¹ Macaulay, History of England, II., 327.

the haven of the Established Church. Indeed, not a few of the refugee clergy had already entered, despite the bar of reërdination. It is difficult to determine the proportion which these bore to the numbers of the French who remained Huguenots in church polity and worship, during the first generation. But it seems probable, from the facts before us, that whilst more than half of the congregations of French Protestants existing in London and elsewhere in England maintained their original constitution,¹ at least until the close of the seventeenth century, the greater portion of the body of the Huguenot "pasteurs" conformed to the Established Church. This accession was an enrichment. Many are the distinguished names that occur in the list of the French Conformist ministers; and many more have been the useful and illustrious men among the Anglican clergy, who have traced their descent from the pious exiles for conscience' sake that fled to England after the Revocation.

Those, however, who were now meditating a speedy removal to America, had little occasion to concern themselves at present about conform-

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1688.

¹ Of twenty-two French churches in London that were founded before the close of the seventeenth century, thirteen or fourteen continued to be non-conformist churches until 1700 at least; while the remaining seven or eight were either founded as conformist churches, or became such. Of twenty churches founded elsewhere in England before the close of that century—some of them at a much earlier date—fully one-half appear to have continued non-conformist until 1700.

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1688.

ity. Their stay in England was brief. The Huguenots who came by way of England to Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, and Carolina, reached these colonies, for the most part, very soon after their flight from France.

The subject of emigration to America was occupying many minds, in the French quarters of London. Frequent and lively were the discussions in the coffee-houses resorted to by the refugees in Soho and St. Giles, and in the weavers' shops of Spitalfields, over the relative advantages of the northern, the middle, and the southern colonies, and the ways of reaching them. It was not a new subject, by any means. The thoughts of the suffering Huguenots of France had long turned towards the New World. Those who came from the maritime provinces possessed some knowledge of it, through the commercial relations of these coasts with Canada, Boston, and New York; and even in the central and eastern parts of France, much interest had been awakened in the matter of emigration, through printed broadsides and pamphlets that had been stealthily circulated among the Protestants, already before the Revocation. Some came to England, "having nothing but Carolina in their minds," all eagerness to reach that land of fruits and flowers. Others were intent upon joining their countrymen who had already become domesticated and prospered in the more northerly settlements, particularly New York and Boston.

The Dauphinese emigrant Durand, whose "relation" we have already quoted, was much

inclined towards Carolina. But before deciding upon his course, he went to see the "famous Monsieur Du Bourdieu," formerly minister in Montpellier, and now pastor of the French Church in the Savoy, with his son Jean Armand as colleague. He was received with open arms by the warm-hearted old "pasteur." Du Bourdieu, however, strongly advised him to relinquish his design. In common with many of the refugees, he still cherished the hope that the persecutions in France would soon abate, and that the government of Louis XIV. might be induced to alter its policy toward the Protestants. He counseled Durand not to leave England, and promised to use his influence for the purpose of procuring him a comfortable subsistence there, for two or three years. "After that," he added, "as we belong to neighboring provinces, we must return to France together;" for though now seventy years old, he did not expect to die without preaching once more in Montpellier. "This shook my resolution somewhat," says Durand; "but on leaving him I met an acquaintance, who informed me that Monsieur Pyoset, pastor of the Church of London, had received a letter from America, addressed to him by a merchant from his own place, who had lately gone thither. Accordingly, I went to see him. He told me that his correspondent wrote only in favorable terms of Carolina, and he advised me to go thither, cautioning me at the same time to be careful as to the vessel in which I should embark; inasmuch as his friend complained that he

Chap. IX.

1686-

1688.

Chap. IX. had been very badly treated by the captain with
1686- whom he had come over."

1688.

Gabriel Bernon, formerly of La Rochelle, was now in London, meditating a settlement in Massachusetts. He had been engaged for years, as we have seen, in trade with Canada; and upon leaving France at the period of the Revocation, his thoughts naturally turned to the northern colonies of America. Bernon arrived in London from Amsterdam early in the year 1687. Here he chanced to meet a fellow-refugee, who introduced him to the president of the Society for Promoting and Propagating the Gospel in New England. That society had been formed in Cromwell's day, nearly forty years before, in consequence of the interest awakened in Great Britain by the news of Eliot's successful labors among the savages. The president of the corporation, Robert Thompson, was a London merchant of high standing. Business considerations mingled with his philanthropic designs respecting the wilds of America: for the General Court of Massachusetts, in recognition of valuable services rendered to the colony, had given him five hundred acres of land in the Nipmuck country, a territory as yet unoccupied, in the interior of the province. At the same time, the General Court had granted to a company, organized in London, with Robert Thompson at its head, a larger tract of land—eight miles square—for the site of a settlement. The terms of this grant required that thirty families should occupy the land, within four years from the date

of the grant ; and that they should be accompanied by an able orthodox minister. When Bernon made his appearance, the four years had nearly elapsed ; the company had not yet succeeded in effecting the settlement ; and at their request the General Court of Massachusetts had extended the term for three years more. To the associates, the intelligent and enterprising Frenchman was a godsend indeed ; while to Bernon himself, the vision of a "seigneurie," or at least a "gentilhommière," to be set up in the new and free country whither he proposed to remove, must have been a tempting one. He was immediately chosen a member of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, and was offered a share in the company's Massachusetts lands. A further inducement to engage in the scheme of colonization soon presented itself. Isaac Bertrand du Tuffeau, a refugee from Poitou,¹ hearing of Bernon's plans, offered to cross over at once to New England, obtain a grant of land, and begin a plantation. Bernon was persuaded to acquiesce in this arrangement. He advanced the money required for the settlement ; and in the spring of the following year, stimulated by the letters that he received from Bertrand, decided, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, to remove to Boston.

Other colonies besides Massachusetts and South Carolina had their advocates in London, eager to secure the French refugees for settlers.

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¹ See above, page 51.

Chap. IX. Chief among these was Pennsylvania. There
1686— were no emigrants whom William Penn desired
1688. more ardently for his plantations on the Delaware and Susquehanna, than the persecuted Huguenots; and many of them, even before reaching England, had heard of the advantages possessed by Pennsylvania, through the statements which his agents circulated in all Europe. The proprietors also of certain lands in Virginia, bordering upon Occoquan Creek, were busily distributing their proposals, and offering either to sell in fee simple, or to rent upon easy terms, the eligible lots laid out in the neighborhood of the town of Brenton, then building.

Disinterested benevolence had perhaps little to do with any of the schemes that were pressed upon the attention of our refugees during their stay in England. Yet it is probable that the inducements held out were in most cases sincere, and the transactions were genuine. There was, however, one notable exception. The unscrupulous Atherton Company had its agents in London, and they succeeded but too well in securing purchasers among the French Protestants. A party of forty-five families, designing to settle in the Narragansett country, within the territory claimed by Rhode Island, sailed for New England in the autumn of the year 1686. The emigrants had with them a minister and a physician. The minister was Ezéchiél Carré, formerly pastor of Mirambeau and of La Roche Chalais, in France. The physician was Pierre Ayrault, a native of Angers, in the province of

Anjou. At the head of the expedition was Pierre Berthon de Marigny, the representative of a prominent family of Châtellerault, in the province of Poitou. No other band of French emigrants bound for America, left England better equipped, and with fairer prospects; and no other was doomed to suffer greater hardships, and experience more bitter disappointment.

Chap. IX.

1686.

Much thought was given by the refugee to his outfit for emigration. Materials to build with, could indeed be found in abundance in the American forest; but iron tools, and iron fastenings, must be carried with him. More important than these, however, in the Frenchman's esteem, were the plants that might be domesticated in a foreign soil, and made to give a touch of home to his rude dwelling in the wilderness. New emigrants were strongly recommended by friends who had crossed the ocean before them, to bring with them a supply of the best varieties of the vine. A bill of lading that describes the worldly goods of one of the Huguenot families that removed to Massachusetts, mentions, in curious juxtaposition, a "bundle of wrought yron," and "two chests of vine plants." Other provisions were laid in, according to the taste and the means of the purchaser. The poorer refugees were assisted in their preparations by the committee that dispensed the Royal Bounty, or by the Consistory of the French Church in London. Those in better circumstances, like Durand of Dauphiny, were at no loss for advisers in the expenditure of their funds. "My

Vine
plants.

Chap. IX. mind having now been made up to emigrate,"
 1687. writes the garrulous refugee, "I began to buy articles of furniture, implements of labor, and hardware for building purposes ; but as money has no flukes wherewith to anchor itself to its possessor, I no sooner bought one article, than I was counseled to buy another, because those who had preceded me to America provided themselves with the like ; and thus by the end of my six weeks' stay in London, I had spent in these purchases some forty *louis-d'or*."

Letters
 of
 deniza-
 tion.

Many refugees before leaving England applied to the British Government for letters of naturalization. It was not always without a struggle that the French Protestant resigned himself to the necessity of renouncing forever the country that had refused him the exercise of his religious and civil rights, and declaring himself the subject of a foreign prince. Often, the emigrant delayed this action for a number of years, or even spent the rest of his days in the land of exile as an alien, without resorting to it. But more generally, those who were about to seek a refuge in some distant dependency of Great Britain, saw the wisdom of securing her protection, and obtaining the privileges of trade, as naturalized subjects. To such, letters-patent of denization were readily granted, upon individual application. Hopes had indeed been held out to the persecuted French, when invited by Charles II. to take refuge in England, that a general act for their naturalization would be passed by Parliament. The promise was not fulfilled until long after the

Revocation. Meanwhile, the refugee could obtain from the government a grant, under the royal seal, securing to him and to his family, "all rights, privileges and immunities" enjoyed by free denizens of the realm. No fees or other charges were to be required, and no condition binding upon the applicant was attached to the earliest of these grants, except that of actual residence in England, or elsewhere within the king's dominions. At a later day, some additional requirements were made. The applicant for naturalization was expected to present a certificate, showing that he had received the Holy Communion. Later, a promise was exacted, that he would take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, within a year from the date of his denization. Some of the letters-patent issued by James II. were conditioned upon participation in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper "according to the usage of the Church of England." But both of these clauses were soon afterwards omitted.

The British Patent Rolls, or lists of persons of foreign birth, naturalized by royal letters-patent, contain the names of a large number of the French Protestants who actually removed to America. Not a few, however, waited until their arrival in the New World, before seeking naturalization. This was particularly true of the settlers in New York, Virginia and South Carolina—provinces that received the greater portion of the refugees. Scarcely any more interesting memorials of the Huguenot immigration exist

Chap. IX.

1687.

Condi-
tional
clauses.

Chap. IX. than the petitions, in which the applicants for
 1687. naturalization sometimes recite the sufferings
 through which they have passed on account of
 their religious faith. The colonial legislatures
 encouraged such applications, and granted them.
 Virginia was foremost in taking this course. As
 early as the year 1671, the General Assembly of
 that province passed an act, admitting all strangers
 desirous of making it the place of their permanent
 home, to the liberties, privileges and immunities
 of natural born Englishmen, upon their petition
 to the Assembly, and upon taking the oaths of
 allegiance and supremacy. New York adopted
 a similar measure in the year 1683.¹ Fourteen
 years later, the Assembly of South Carolina
 passed an act "for making aliens being Protest-
 ants free" of that province. Many hundreds of
 French and other foreign Protestants were
 admitted under these acts to naturalization.

Naturaliz-
 ation in
 the
 provinces.

But all this was done without the sanction of
 the home government. For England held per-
 sistently, that no provincial legislature, or pro-
 vincial governor, had power to grant letters of
 denization. It was a prerogative of Parliament,
 or of the Crown, to do this. It is true that in
 the year 1740, a statute was passed, for the
 special benefit of the British colonies in America,
 providing for the admission of all Protestant

¹ "Where I met with a merchant among the French, and known to be a good Protestant, to such I grant letters of Denization." Lord Bellomont to the Lords of Trade, New York, Sept. 21, 1698.—Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York. Vol. IV., p. 379.

foreigners to the privileges of natural-born subjects, upon a residence of seven years, and upon taking the required oaths, and receiving the sacrament. Yet as late as the year 1773, the king in council disallowed certain laws, passed in some of the colonies in America for conferring the privileges of naturalization on aliens; and the governors of the colonies were forbidden to give their assent to any bills that might have been or that might thereafter be passed by the colonial assemblies for such naturalization. But at best, the advantages conferred could be enjoyed only within the limits of the colony conferring them. Frequently, the refugee, after obtaining letters of denization from the provincial government under which he was living, made application in England for letters-patent from the Crown.

Chap. IX.

1687.

The expenses of transportation to America were usually borne by the Relief Committee in London. In fact, no small part of the Royal Bounty—the English People's Bounty—went to pay for the passage of the refugees across the ocean. “An account of Monies received towards the Reliefe of Poore Protestants Lately come over from the Kingdom of France,” beginning on the second day of the year 1681, contains the following items:—

The
Relief
Committee.

“January 29th, 1682, Paid Mr Peter Du Gua, Elder of y^e french at y^e Savoy, toward the charge of twelve persons in their voyage to Jamaica, sixty pounds sterling. May 3rd, 1683, Paid Mr David Dushaise, Elder of the French Church of London, for fifty-five french Protestants to goe

Chap. IX. to Virginia, seventy pounds sterling. June 15th,
 1683- 1683, Paid Mr Daniel Duthais, for transportation
 1700. of several french protestants to the West Indies,
 twenty-six pounds sterling. October 12th, 1684,
 Paid Mr Peter Delaforetre, being allowed to
 him and two others with their familys to go to
 America, twelve pounds sterling."¹ In the single
 year 1687, six hundred French Protestant refu-
 gees were sent to America at the Committee's
 charges.

Settlers
 for
 Virginia.

Some years later—just as the seventeenth cen-
 tury was closing—a yet larger body of foreign
 Protestants, one thousand in number, received
 aid from the same source, for their removal to
 America. A few of these emigrants went to
 Florida, more settled in South Carolina ; but the
 greater part, seven hundred at least, were bound
 for Virginia, where many of them formed a set-
 tlement known as Manakintown, on the James
 river. I shall anticipate the order of events, for
 the purpose of presenting here the facts con-
 cerning this later emigration, in connection with
 the work of the Committee for the distribution
 of the Royal Bounty, from which the expenses
 of transportation to America continued to be
 drawn.

It was in the spring of the year 1700, that a
 fleet of four vessels set sail from Gravesend,
 having on board two hundred French Protest-
 ant refugees. They were followed within two

¹ Documents preserved in the Library of Guildhall, Lon-
 don.

months by a second company, of one hundred and seventy. A third detachment sailed not long after, and a fourth, with one hundred and ninety-seven emigrants. In all, the colonists numbered over seven hundred.¹ At their head was the brave and devoted Marquis de la Muce, of whom an account has been given in a preceding chapter.² Associated with him was another Huguenot of position, Charles de Saily. Three ministers of the Gospel, and two physicians, accompanied the expedition. The ministers were Claude Philippe de Richebourg, Benjamin De Joux, and Louis Latané. The physicians were Castaing and La Sosée.

Preparations for this important movement had long been on foot, and more than once its destination had been changed. Two years before the date of the embarkation, negotiations were opened by the leaders of the body, with Doctor Daniel Coxe, "proprietary of Carolana and Florida," for the purchase of half a million acres of land in the latter territory. The tract in question was situated near Appalachee Bay, and the purchasers were to have the privilege of an additional half-million acres, at the nominal rent of "a ripe Ear of Indian Corne in the season," for the first seven years. At another time, Carolina was the objective point of the expedition. A third site suggested for the settlement

¹ I have not found the number of the *third* detachment. If it approached that of the first, the second, or the fourth, the aggregate must have exceeded seven hundred.

² Pages 87-90.

Chap. IX. was in Norfolk county, Virginia, on the Nanse-
mond river, in the neighborhood of the Dismal
1700. Swamp. Eventually, the emigrants upon their
arrival in Virginia were directed to a spot some
twenty miles above Richmond, on the James
river, where ten thousand acres were given them,
on the lands of the extinct Manakin tribe of
Indians.

It may be safely said that no more interesting
body of colonists than that conducted by Oliver
de la Muce, had crossed the ocean within
the last half of the century then coming to a
close. Many of them belonged to the perse-
cuted Waldensian race. Several thousands of
1686. these people had taken refuge in Switzerland,
when driven from their valleys in Piedmont by
the troops of Louis XIV. In 1698, the number
of the exiles was increased by new arrivals, and
the Swiss cantons, finding themselves unable to
support so many strangers, took steps for their
removal to other and wealthier Protestant coun-
tries. In England, the appeal for aid to accom-
plish this end, met a liberal response. A refugee
pastor was sent over to the continent for the
purpose of enlisting the Vaudois in the scheme
of emigration to Virginia. Printed proposals
and maps were circulated in several of the cities
of Switzerland, Germany and Holland. How
many actually joined the expedition, cannot be
stated. An account of moneys received for the
transport and supply of the French Refugees,
mentions a party of seventy-five who had come
from Switzerland by way of Rotterdam. It

Refugees
from
Piedmont.

seems probable that a large proportion of the emigrants may have been Waldenses. Certain of the names of the Virginia colonists indicate this; while the prominent mention made of the Vaudois in the accounts of the Committee for the distribution of the Royal Bounty, would lead us to believe that they may have formed the larger portion of the emigrating body.

Chap. IX.
1700.

A brief for a collection in behalf of the Protestant refugees was issued by King William III., in the year 1699. The proceeds, amounting to nearly twelve thousand pounds, were intrusted as usual to the Chamber of the city of London for safe-keeping. From this fund, disbursements were made by the Chamberlain, upon the order of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir William Ashurst, and others composing the Committee. On the twenty-fourth of April, 1700, the Chamberlain was desired to pay to Sir William Ashurst the sum of eighteen hundred pounds sterling. This was the remainder of a sum of three thousand pounds, appropriated, at the rate of six pounds per head, "for the transportation of five hundred Vaudois and French refugees designed for some of his Majesties plantations; to be paid to Sir William Ashurst upon an account given by him for so many of them as from Tyme to Tyme shall bee on shipboard in order to their transportation." In the following June, the sum of thirty-eight pounds was given, "out of the collection," "to Mons^r Benjamin De Joux, Minister, appointed to goe to Virginia; besides twenty-four pounds for the providing of himself

Chap. IX. with necessarys for the voyage." In August,
1700. the Bishop of London writes to the city Chamberlain, "Sir: the bearer, Monsieur Castayne, is going out Surgeon to y^e French now departing for Virginia. He wants twenty pounds to make up his Chest of Drugs and instruments. It is a very small matter for such a voyage; but if you have in yo^r hands to supply that summe, I will answer for my Lord of Canterbury, that he shall allow of yo^r so doing." In November, the Chamberlain is requested to pay to Sir William Ashurst, Knight, and Alderman of London, two thousand pounds for the use of such Vaudois & French refugies as design to settle in Virginia, to be distributed among them at the rate of six pounds p^r head when on shipboard, in order to their transportation. And in December, an additional sum of one thousand pounds was ordered to be paid to the same person, in behalf of other "Vaudois and French Refugies designing to settle in Virginia or some other of his Majesties Plantations." ¹

¹ Documents preserved in the Library of Guildhall, London.

CHAPTER X.

THE EMIGRATION.

ON THE HIGH SEAS.

Two hundred years ago, a transatlantic voyage was necessarily attended with inconveniences and perils, of which we have little conception at the present day. Almost inevitably it was a long voyage, for the pathway of commerce and emigration across the deep was as yet but imperfectly defined ; and the small, unwieldy ships that pursued it doubtfully could make but poor progress, save with the most favorable winds. A passage of three or four months was not uncommon. The uncertainties of navigation were very great. The shipmaster had indeed his compass to guide him ; but he was unprovided with either quadrant or chronometer. His charts were exceedingly imperfect, and often utterly untrustworthy. Measuring the ship's headway by dead reckoning, he would not unfrequently mistake his position by a whole degree, and was tolerably satisfied if not more than a hundred miles out of his true longitude. Dangers thickened as the vessel approached the coast. There, no pilot was waiting to conduct her into port ; and no light-house sent its beams across the waters, warning the sailor of hidden rocks.

Chap. X.

Dangers
of the
passage.

Chap. X. — Many a ship was foundered on some treacherous reef, when the long cruise had nearly come to its desired end. Such was the fate of one of the vessels that bore Huguenot refugees bound for Massachusetts. The French Protestant pastor Sautreau, with his wife Elisabeth Fontaine, and their five children, “were wrecked, and all drowned, within sight of the harbor of Boston.”

Piracy. Piracy greatly increased the voyager’s apprehensions, and added much to his actual discomforts. For fear of the corsair and the privateer, even the smallest craft crossing the sea must needs carry ordnance and ammunition. Happy was it if these preparations proved unnecessary, and no report of an unfriendly ship, sighted in the distance, spread consternation through the crowded company of refugees.

Disease. The liability to contagious disease was yet more to be dreaded. Many of the accounts that have come down to us mention the terrible ravages of fever during those weary months spent on the ocean. A company of Huguenots that reached Boston in the summer of 1686, lost “their Doctor and twelve Men” during their “long passage at sea ;” and the survivors were greatly reduced by sickness. “We were three months in London,” wrote Judith Manigault, “waiting for a vessel ready to sail for Carolina. Once embarked, we were miserably off indeed. The scarlet fever broke out in our ship, and many died, among them our aged mother. We touched at two ports, the one Portuguese, and the other an island called Bermuda, belonging

to the English. Here our vessel put in for repairs, having been badly injured in a -severe storm. Our captain having committed some dishonesty was thrown into prison, and the ship was seized. It was with the greatest difficulty that we secured our passage in another ship, for our money had all been spent. After our arrival in Carolina, we suffered all sorts of evils. Our eldest brother died of a fever, eighteen months after coming here, being unaccustomed to the hard work we were subjected to. We ourselves have been exposed, since leaving France, to all kinds of afflictions, in the forms of sickness, pestilence, famine, poverty, and the roughest labor. I have been for six months at a time in this country without tasting bread, laboring meanwhile like a slave in tilling the ground. Indeed, I have spent three or four years without knowing what it was to eat bread whenever I wanted it. God has been very good to us in enabling us to bear up under trials of every kind. I believe that if I should undertake to give you the particulars of all our adventures, I should never get through. Suffice it to say that God has had pity on me, and has changed my lot to a happier one, glory be to His name."

We must take these various inconveniences into view, thoroughly to appreciate the jubilant and grateful tone of a letter written by one of the French Protestants shortly after landing in Boston in the autumn of the year 1687. "By the goodness of God," says he, "I arrived in

Chap. X.
1686.

Judith
Mani-
gault's
account.

Chap. X.

1687.

perfect health in this favored land on the seventeenth day of last month, after a passage of fifty-three days—counting from the time we left the Downs, sixty miles from London, to the time we reached Boston—and I have to say that few ships make the trip in so short a time. Our voyage was a very happy one, and with the exception of three days and three nights, during which we experienced a heavy storm, the time passed agreeably and delightfully, enjoyed by every person on board. The women, the young girls and the children, gathered on the forward deck, almost every day, diverting themselves. We did not have the pleasure of fishing on the Banks, for we sailed fifty leagues to the south of them, our course being almost uniformly from east to west.

Fishing
on the
Banks.

“Whoever wishes to come to this country should embark at London, from which place a ship sails about once a month. The most suitable time for embarking is the latter part of March, or the end of August and the beginning of September. Then, the weather is neither too hot nor too cold; and besides, one avoids the dead calms that occur frequently in summer, and on account of which some vessels are four months in making the trip. It is well to have a physician on board, as we had in our ship. With regard to danger, one must be particular to take passage on a good vessel, well equipped with men and with cannon, and well supplied with victuals, especially with plenty of bread and water. As to the route, there is risk only

in approaching land, and on the sand-banks. We took soundings twice, off Cape Sable, and on St. George's Bank. After that, we took no more soundings; for three days later we sighted Cape Cod, which is sixty miles from Boston, toward the south; and on the next day we reached Boston, after passing a multitude of exceedingly pretty islands, most of which are cultivated, and present a very pleasing appearance."

Very different were the fortunes of another refugee, bound for South Carolina. His voyage lasted over four months. The captain, inexperienced and headstrong, instead of holding on in a southwesterly direction, sailed to the north-west, hoping to meet northerly winds when off the coast of America. "In due time, we found ourselves several degrees north of the latitude of New England, where we saw monstrous whales." During a violent storm encountered at a distance of six hundred miles from Charleston, the ship's stores were damaged, and the passengers were reduced to short rations; three pounds of mouldy biscuit, per week, being allowed to each person. The water gave out, and several died of exhaustion and privation. Fortunately, as the vessel approached the shore, the sailors succeeded in catching a quantity of fish, to eke out the supply of food. At length, land was seen, and the emigrants, "greatly delighted, began to prepare to go on shore, expecting to sleep that night in Charleston." They were charmed by the sight of innumerable birds,

Chap. X. of all varieties, that perched upon the masts and
 1687. rigging. But their joy was short-lived. By noon, although the wind had not increased, the violence of the waves became such as to shatter the bow of the vessel. The foremast was swept away, and in its fall broke two of the mainyards. The disabled ship was forced to seek the open sea, and eventually cast anchor at the mouth of York river, four hundred miles from the place of its original destination.

From
 London
 to
 James-
 town.

Descendants of the Huguenots may be curious to compare the accommodations provided for their ancestors on the long voyage to America, with the luxuries enjoyed in the floating palaces that now accomplish the same trip in a single week. A contract for carrying two hundred French emigrants, in the year 1700, from London to Jamestown in Virginia, gives us an insight into the arrangements for the comfort of passengers, on a vessel of the better class. The Nassau was a ship of five hundred tons burden. Her owner engaged to supply the emigrants "with the same sort of provisions as those for the ship's company." Their daily allowance was to be furnished to them in messes, of eight passengers to a mess; and on every Monday morning the weekly allowance of bread, butter and cheese was to be distributed. The bill of fare ran as follows: "Every passenger above the age of six yeares to have seven pounds of Bread every weeke, and to a mess eight passengers; and to have two pieces of Porke, at two pounds each peece, five days in a weeke, with

pease; and two days in a week, to have two four-pound peeces of Beeffe a day, and peese, or one four-pound peece of Beeffe with a Pudding with Peese; and at any time if it shall happen, that they are not willing the Kettle should be boyled, or by bad weather cannot, in such case every passenger shall have one pound of cheese every such day; and such children as are under six yeares of age, to have such allowances in flower, oat-meal, Fruit, Sugar and Butter, as the overseers of them shall judge convenient." The ship was to be fitted out with "Lodgings or Cabbins for the said passengers with two in an apartment, and with hammocks" for beds. One-fourth part of the hold was reserved for the emigrants. The price agreed upon for the passage was five pounds sterling for each person, and one hundred pounds in addition for the use of the part of the ship reserved to the emigrants. Stores of "Brandy, sugar, figgs, raisons, and sugar-biscuit for the sick," were laid in, besides abundant supplies of garden seeds and tools, fire-arms, nets, and other articles for the projected settlement. There was a special provision for the accommodation of the passengers in case the ship should put into port or other place, in the course of the voyage. "If any of the said passengers shall be on shore, then the said ship shall stay for their returning on board twenty-four hours in the whole after the wind shall be fair, and send the ship's boats on shore to bring them off—after which four-and-twenty hours, the ship to have liberty to proceed."

CHAPTER XI.

THE SETTLEMENT.

BOSTON.

Chap. XI. No facts concerning the various emigrations to America that took place in the course of the seventeenth century, are better understood, than those that account for the coming of the Protestant refugees from France. The persecutions to which they were subjected in that country because of their conscientious belief, stand out distinctly to our view as the procuring cause of this expatriation.

Little attention, however, has been given to the particular reasons for the settlement of the Huguenots in the several colonies to which they came. Originating in a forced flight, the movement continues to present to the imagination the appearance of a dispersion, hasty and incoherent; and we think of the fugitives as crossing the ocean, very much as many of them crossed the British Channel, panic-stricken, and nearly desperate, abandoning themselves in utter ignorance to a guiding power in which they religiously trusted. It will be found, on further inquiry, that the emigration was an intelligent one. Providentially directed, its course was shaped by the mature judgment of well-informed

men, who were enterprising and practical as well as devout. Chap. XI.

Thus the Huguenots who came to Boston, had their reasons for so doing. That city had long been known in the seaports of western France, and especially in La Rochelle. The trade with Canada, and still more that with Nova Scotia, chiefly controlled by the Protestant merchants and conducted by the Protestant shipmasters of La Rochelle, had brought the French in frequent contact with the coastwise commerce of New England. More than once, also, in the course of the quarrels and intrigues of those rival Acadian chieftains, La Tour and Charnisé, who were always eager to drag Massachusetts into their dispute, a ship from La Rochelle had looked in upon Boston harbor; and her crew, whether Protestant or Romanist, had received the hospitality of the town. In these ways, and in others besides, the Huguenots of western France had gained a more distinct and more favorable impression of the Puritan capital, than of any other American locality; and though it seemed almost impossible for them to write its name correctly, the geographical position, and the social and commercial advantages of "Baston"¹ were widely understood among them.

¹ So the word constantly appears, not only in private letters, but also in government reports, in charts, and in the *Mercure historique*. Possibly an orthoepic reason may be assigned. The broad French sound of the letter A, in the dialect of Saintonge especially, would best represent the anomalous English sound of the letter O, in "Boston." I may add that I am sustained in this opinion by the judg-

Chap. XI.

1660.

1680.

Salem.

It was doubtless on this account that, as we have seen, a body of French Protestants expelled from the city of La Rochelle petitioned the Governor and magistrates of the Massachusetts colony, in the year 1662, for liberty to settle among the English in their jurisdiction.¹ For the next twenty years, no considerable number of refugees came to Boston. But meanwhile the population of the neighboring town of Salem received some valuable accessions from the Channel Islands of Jersey and Guernsey. These islands, lying off the coast of France, originally belonged to the dukes of Normandy, and remained subject to the English crown after the Norman conquest. The inhabitants were for the most part of French descent, and spoke a French dialect. At the time of the Reformation they embraced the Protestant faith; and from the reign of Elizabeth, these islands became a place of refuge for many of the persecuted Huguenots. They brought with them their own ecclesiastical customs, and organized churches "after the model of Geneva."²

ment of the learned Rochellese historian, M. Louis Meschinot de Richemond.

¹ See volume I., p. 270.

² Among these refugees were nearly fifty ministers, some of them men of distinction for rank and learning. "So effectually did they beat down every superstition remaining, that in a little while not a Papist was left in the island (of Jersey), nor has there been one ever since." (Caesarea: or an account of Jersey, the greatest of the islands remaining to the Crown of England of the ancient Dutchy of Normandy. Second edition. By Philip Falle, some time Rector of St. Saviour's and Deputy from the States of the

Enjoying special opportunities and privileges of trade, these islands furnished many bold and enterprising mariners, to whom the coasts and seaports of New England were well known. Salem, in particular, sustained commercial relations with the island of Jersey, as early as the year 1660; and subsequently, a number of persons from that island came to establish themselves there. Philip English, John Touzell, John Browne, Nicolas Chevalier, Peter Morrall, John Vouden, Edward Feveryear, Mary Butler, Rachel Dellaclose, the Valpys, Lefavors, Beadles, Cabots, and other inhabitants of Salem, were natives of Jersey. Most of these names suffered some change in the transplanting. John

Chap. XI.

1660—

1680

Jersey
and
Guernsey.

Island to their Majesties William and Mary. London: 1734. First published in 1681.) These ministers introduced the discipline and liturgy of the French Reformed Churches, in place of the English service-book, which had been translated into French under Edward VI., and used in all the churches of the island. They ordained elders and deacons, in the church of St. Helier, the chief town, and prevailed with the magistrates and many of the principal inhabitants to petition the Queen for leave to have all the other churches modeled like unto that of St. Helier. This she refused to do, while permitting the order instituted in that church to be continued. By degrees, however, the example set them was followed; and in June, 1576, a synod of ministers and elders was called to meet in the town of St. Peter Port, Guernsey, and a form of ecclesiastical discipline was adopted for the Reformed Churches in the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Selk and Oriny, with the approval of the governors of the islands. The Queen took no notice of these changes, and James I., in 1603, confirmed the order thus established. Some modifications were subsequently introduced; the office of dean was revived, and the English liturgy was recommended, but great liberty was allowed in its use.

Chap. XI. Browne was probably Jean Le Brun. Philip
 1670. English was Philippe L'Anglois, son of Jean
 L'Anglois, as his baptismal certificate shows.¹

Philip
 English.

April
 21,
 1692.

Philip English came to Salem about the year 1670, and soon rose to be a prosperous merchant. He carried on an extensive trade with France and Spain, and with the West Indies. At the height of his success, in 1692, he owned twenty-one vessels, fourteen buildings in the town, and a wharf and warehouse. His own dwelling was a stately mansion, long known as "English's great house," which remained standing until 1833. His business accounts were chiefly kept in the French language, and he long maintained a correspondence in the same language with his relatives in the island of Jersey. From time to time, he brought over from that island a number of young men and young women; the men, to be let out at sea-service for a term of four years, and the girls to serve as apprentices for seven years. He was a man of indomitable energy, high-spirited and impulsive, and intolerant of wrong. During the terrible reign of the witchcraft delusion in Massachusetts, English was a prominent sufferer. His wife, a daughter of William Hollingworth, a wealthy merchant of Salem, was accused of witchcraft, and committed to prison. Her hus-

¹ Some Remarks on the Commerce of Salem from 1626 to 1740—with a sketch of Philip English—a Merchant in Salem from about 1670 to about 1733-4. By George F. Chever. (Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, vol. I., pp. 67-91, 117-143, 157-181.)

band was subsequently arrested, and with five others, they were removed some time after to Boston. All were put to death, except English and his wife, who escaped from prison with the connivance of the authorities, and fled to New York. The following year, when the storm of fanaticism had abated, they returned to Salem, to find their home sacked by the mob, and their goods attached and confiscated by the sheriff. English manfully set himself to rebuild his fortunes; but his wife died not long after from the effects of the brutal treatment she had received. The husband lived to a good old age, and died in the year 1736. It is highly probable that the Huguenots who came to Massachusetts from time to time found a warm and generous friend in this Salem merchant. Bernon mentions him with great respect, as one who was cognizant of the affairs of the Oxford plantation.

Other emigrants from the Channel islands came about the same time to Boston. Jeffrey Foye and John Foye, "well known in London, and in all Boston, as a pious, good and discreet man," were probably from Guernsey. John Augustine, a native of Jersey, settled in Reading, but removed in 1680 to Falmouth. Captain Philip Dumaresq, at a later day, brought over a considerable number of Huguenots from the same island; and in 1716, Dumaresq himself settled in Boston. In 1711, Joseph Roy, of the parish of St. Aubin, in the island of Jersey, came to Boston with his infant son John. He remained eleven years in that town, and then removed to

Chap. XI.
1692.

Captain
Foye.

Philip
Dumaresq.

Joseph
Roy.

Chap. XI. Woodbridge, New Jersey. His family finally
 1680. settled in Basking Ridge, where five generations
 have lived. The family tradition represents the
 emigrant as a Huguenot who had fled to Jersey
 from France.¹

Deputa- Early in the year 1680, a deputation from La
 tion Rochelle. visited Boston, commissioned to ask
 from permission in behalf of their brethren to settle
 La within the bounds of the colony.² The request
 Rochelle. was granted; but either the project fell through,
 or the refugees were drawn to some other col-
 ony; for no account of their arrival in Massa-
 chusetts appears.

Soon after this, however, the increasing per-
 secutions in France gave a fresh impulse to

¹ "Francis Gerneaux escaped from (to?) the island of Guernsey, during the bloody persecution that arose in consequence of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz. One of his neighbours having been martyred, a faithful servant of his deceased friend informed him that he himself had been doomed to the same fate, and that he was to suffer that very night, at twelve o'clock. Being a gentleman of wealth, and having trustworthy and influential friends around him, he at once secured a vessel, and, having caused his family to be placed on board, he was himself conveyed in a hogshead to the same retreat, and before morning, the vessel was not to be seen from the harbor. Mindful of the condition of other persons, at other Protestant settlements, he so managed as to send his boat ashore at several of those places and by this means his company of emigrants was much enlarged. They sailed for America, and arrived safely at New York. * * * Mr. Gerneau died at the extraordinary age of one hundred and three years." (Annals of the American Pulpit, by William B. Sprague, D.D., vol. VI., p. 62.) The name became corrupted to Gano. The Rev. John Gano, an eminent Baptist minister, (born 1727, died 1804,) was a great-grandson of this refugee.

² Voyage to New York, by Dankers and Sluyter, p. 390.

emigration; and in 1682 a few fugitives found their way over, in a state of destitution that appealed powerfully to the sympathies of the people. An order of the Governor and Council informed the churches of Boston and the neighboring towns that "Several French Protestants have fled hither for shelter by reason of the present sufferings in their own country." They came, recommended by known persons of eminent integrity in London. The Council, taking into consideration the distressed condition of the strangers, and how much it might be for the credit of religion that they should be suitably and seasonably relieved, recommended that collections be made for the benefit of "these Christian sufferers." The next Thursday was to be a general fast; and the ministers were requested to publish to their congregations, in the morning of that day, that such collections would be made in the afternoon.¹

Chap. XI.

1682.

June
15.Collections
in the
Churches.

The refugees were twelve in number—four men, three women and five children. Few as they were, and far as they were from France, the persecuting government of that country had its eye upon them. An official list of the families of the Pretended Reformed Religion who went from Aunis and the coasts of Saintonge to foreign countries, between the year 1681 and the year 1685, contains the following names and annotations:—"Marie Tissau, widow of Jean Paré, parish of S. Sauveur, La Rochelle, with

¹ Massachusetts Archives, vol. XI., p. 22.

- Chap. XI. her three daughters. Year of departure, 1681.
 1682. Place of retreat, New England. Property left, an estate at Marsilly, and a house in town." "The widow Guerry, with her two sons, her son-in-law, and two small children. Year of departure, 1681. Place of retreat, Baston. Property left, none." "Elie Charron, seaman. Year of departure, 1682. Place of retreat, Baston." "François Basset, seaman. Year of departure, 1682. Place of retreat, Baston."¹

Judith,
 Marie
 and
 Susanne
 Pare.

It is pleasant to know that the kindly welcome extended to these strangers, upon their coming to Boston, was, to some of them at least, the presage of happiness in after days. Marie Tissau's three daughters found homes in America, that made up, it is to be presumed, for the loss of the town house in La Rochelle, and the country-seat at Marsilly. Judith Paré married Stephen Robineau, a Huguenot refugee, who settled in Narragansett. Her sister Marie became the wife of Ezekiel Grazillier, one of the leading members of the Huguenot colony in New York; and Susanne married the excellent Elias Neau, the first

¹ Archives Nationales, T^T. N^o. 259. "Liste des familles de la religion prétendüe reformée qui sont sorties des pays d'Aulnix, Isles et costes de Xaintonge pour aller dans les dits pays estrangers depuis l'année 1681, jusques à la fin de May, 1685."

The malevolent interest with which Louis XIV. traced the fortunes of his escaped subjects, has another illustration, in a map of the town, bay, and environs of "Baston," drawn in 1693 by Franquelin, "hydrographe du Roy." The locality of the Huguenot Church in Boston is indicated on this map by the words "renegats françois."—(Fac-simile in the Public Library of Boston.)

catechist of Trinity Church in New York, and one of the most remarkable of all the French Protestant refugees that came to this land.

Chap. XI.

1686—

1692.

Boston was the first home of Elias Neau in America, and he resided there for six years. It was at this period that he became acquainted with the famous apostle to the Indians, John Eliot, and saw something of his work among the Christianized tribes in Massachusetts. That work, in Eliot's own words, was then under "a dark cloud;" and Neau seems to have formed an unfavorable opinion of the sincerity and steadfastness of the "praying Indians;" yet one cannot help thinking that the young Frenchman must have caught something of the zeal and the pity that he displayed afterwards in his own unwearied labors among the Indians and negroes of New York, from the veteran missionary of the cross, whose career was nearly finished.

John
Eliot.

But the blow designed to annihilate Protestantism in France, had now fallen. The Edict of Fontainebleau, revoking in form all those provisions of the Edict of Nantes which had already been annulled one by one, was signed by Louis XIV. in October, 1685. It was at this period, when hundreds of thousands fled the country, that Massachusetts received its largest accession of Huguenots. A letter from La Rochelle, written to some person in that colony, on the first day of the memorable month of the *dragonnades* and the Revocation, announces in quaint English the coming of many of them.¹

¹ See volume I., page 314.

Chap. XI. "The country where you live (that is to say
 October 1, New England) is in great esteem; I and a great
 1685. many others, Protestants, intend to go there.
 Tell us, if you please, what advantage we can have
 there, and particularly the boors who are accous-
 tumed to plough the ground. If some body of
 your country would hazard to come here with a
 ship to fetch in our French Protestants, he would
 make great gain."

1686. The ship did not come; but fertile in expedi-
 ents, many of the persecuted Rochellose man-
 aged to escape from France, and in due time to
 reach New England. Meanwhile, the summer
 and autumn of the next year witnessed the arrival
 of several other companies of Huguenot refugees.
 In July, 1686, application was made by certain
 French Protestants "lately arrived from St.
 Christophers" for admission to the colony; and
 July 12. the Council passed an order, not only for the
 applicants, but also for such other French Prot-
 estants as might come into that territory, that
 they should be allowed to reside in his Majesty's
 said dominion, and to proceed from and return
 hither as freely as any other of his Majesty's
 subjects, upon taking the oath of allegiance be-
 fore the President of the Council.¹ In the fol-

¹ Massachusetts Archives. Council Records, 1686 & 1687.
 P. 52.

12th July, 1686.

* * * * *

"Upon application of the French Protestants (lately arrived
 from St. Christophers) to the President for admission to
 reside and dwell in this his Maj^{ty}'s Dominion and to bring
 their effects and concerns here.

"Ordered, That upon the takeing the oath of Allegiance

lowing month, a "brief" was prepared and appointed to be read in all the meeting-houses of the colony, setting forth the necessities of a number of emigrants "lately arrived here in great distress." The congregations of Boston and other towns were apprised, that "There are lately arrived fifteen French families with a Religious Protestant Minister, who are in all, Men, Women and Children, more than fourscore soules, and are such as fled from France for Religions sake, and by their long passage at sea, their Doctor and twelve Men are Dead, and by other inconveniences, the living are reduced to great sickness and poverty and therefore objects of a true Christian Charity." They were told also that "many other poor French Protestants" were "daily expected, as letters inform," who would "bring further distress and charge with them." Two of the principal citizens of Boston, Captain Elisha Hutchinson and Captain Samuel Sewall, had consented to receive and distribute the moneys that might be collected, for the relief of these needy strangers; and the ministers of the churches were desired, not only to publish this order from their pulpits, but also to "put forward the people in their charity."¹

Chap. XI.

1686.

August
5.

before the President, and under his hand and seal of his Maj^{ty}s Territory and Dominion, they be allowed to reside and dwell in his Maj^{ty}s s^d dominion, and to proceed from hence and return hither as freely as any other of his Maj^{ty}s subjects, and this to be an order for all such French Protestants that shall or may come into this his Maj^{ty}s Territory and Dominion."

¹ Mass. Archives, Council Records, 1686 & 1687. P. 67.

Chap. XI.

1686.

September.

Five weeks later, the expected visitors arrived. A small ship entered the port of Salem, having on board a third company of persons "flying for shelter from the great Persecution against the Protestants in France." "Necessitated to leave the said kingdom to seeke out a place where they might live in peace in the free exercise of their Religion according to a good conscience," they had been "encouraged by severall of their Friends that they would be received and bid welcome in this Country." The good people of Salem were not slow to show their compassion toward these immigrants ; and

August the 5th, 1686.

"Ordered : 'That a Brief be drawn up & printed, and read in all Meeting houses to supply the necessities of the French lately arrived here in great distress ; a coppie whereof followeth :

" 'There are lately arrived fifteen Families with a Religious Protestant Minister, who are in all Men, Women and Children, more than fourscore soules, and are such as fled from France for Religions sake, and by their long passage at sea, their Doctor and twelve Men are Dead, and by other inconveniences, the living are reduced to great sickness and poverty & therefore objects of a true Christian Charity.

" 'Alsoe fifty persons, Men, Women and Children, which were by the cruelty of the Spaniards beaten off from Eleatheria (an Island of the Bohemiahs) naked and in great distress, as also many other poor French Protestants are dayly expected (as letters inform) who will bring further distress and charge with them. The President and Councill have intreated Capⁿ Elisha Hutchinson and Capⁿ Samuell Sewall to receive & distribute the same among them according to the direction of the President and Councill from time to time for their respective necessities, and to whom such as are Betruſted in the severall Townes are desired to return what shall be collected ; and the Ministers in the severall Townes are desired to publish this order and to put forward the people in their charity."

the Council ordered that "the money lately gathered at Salem by way of contribution for the relief of the poor distressed French Protestants be returned thither for the necessary support" of the new comers.¹

Chap. XI.
1686.

Some fifty years ago, the "French house" in Salem was still pointed out, as the place where many of these immigrants were sheltered upon their arrival.²

But the Huguenots did not long continue to require commiseration or assistance. Habits of industry and thrift enabled them, in a new and free country, soon to provide for their own and for another's wants. Moreover, these destitute fugitives were followed, in the two succeeding years, by many who had been more fortunate in carrying with them from France a portion at least of their property. The ships that sailed nearly every month from London for Boston, were now bringing over families whose names have become historic with us, and not a few of whom had inherited wealth and ancestral rank. Bernon, Baudouin, Cazneau, Sigourney, the Faneuils, the Allaires, were here by the autumn

"Men of
Estates."

¹ Mass. Archives, Council Records, 1686 & 1687. P. 79.
Sept. the 27th, 1686.

"Ordered: That the money lately gathered at Salem by way of contribution for the relief of the poor distressed French Protestants be returned thither for the necessary support of the French lately arrived there and to be distributed according to discretion."

² Boston News-Letter and City Record, vol. I., p. 199. The house in question stood in a lane near High Street, at the head of the South river.

Chap. XI. of the year 1688. Mr. Palfrey has stated¹ that
 1687— about a hundred and fifty families of French
 1688. Huguenots came to Massachusetts after the
 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. The
 estimate is probably too low. But if such an
 estimate were based only upon the names that
 can be gathered at this distance of time, the
 proportion of those that have been conspicuous
 and honored, would be found very considerable.

The good ship John and Elizabeth, of London, Jonas Leech, master, sailed from the river Thames in March, 1688, with a number of French emigrants on board. Several families crossed in the same year on the ship Dolphin, John Foy, master. A third detachment came over about the same time on the Friendship, a vessel of one hundred tons, carrying fourteen guns, and commanded by captain John Ware.

First
 impressions
 of
 Boston.

The first impressions of our Huguenots on approaching Boston, were very favorable. "We passed," wrote one of them, "a multitude of exceedingly pretty islands, most of them inhabited and cultivated by peasants, and presenting a very attractive appearance. Boston," he continues, "is situated within a bay three or four leagues in circumference, and shut in by these islands. Here ships ride in safety, in all kinds of weather. The town is built upon the slope of a little hill, and is about as large as La Rochelle. With the suburbs, it nearly forms an island. It would only be necessary to cut through a sand-

¹ History of New England. Vol. I., Preface.

bar, three hundred paces wide, and in less than forty-eight hours Boston would be an island, with the sea beating upon it on all sides. The town is constructed almost entirely of wood; but since the ravages made by fires, it is no longer allowed to build of wood, and several very handsome houses of brick are at present going up.”

The strangers who now arrived did not all establish themselves in Boston. Some, whose circumstances permitted, purchased or leased small farms in the neighborhood. “Several of the French families,” wrote the refugee whose letter we have just quoted, “have bought English habitations already improved, and have obtained them on very reasonable terms. M. de Bonrepos,¹ our minister’s brother, has secured

Chap. XI.
1687.

Elie de
Bonrepos.

¹ The following petition for naturalization, addressed by Elie de Bonrepos to the governor, is without date, but occurs in the Council Records for the years 1686 and 1687 :

“To His Excellencie S^r Edmund Andros, Governour & Cap^t Generall of His Maj^{ties} Territories of New England & in America. The humble Petition of Elias De Bonrepos, Frenchman, late of St. Christophers, m^{ch}ant, Humbly sheweth unto your Excellency that being forced by the Persecution at France ag^t all Protestants, hee retired to this Towne of Boston (by vertue of his Maj^{ties} of Great Brittans Proclamaçon in Favor to all French Protestants) Vnder your Excellencies protection together wth his Famillie, being Five in Number, whoe haveing a dessigne to Establish himself & to finish the rest of his dayes in this Countrie, hath bargained with M^r John Nelson for a House and about five Acres of Land scituate neere Salem w^{ch} bargain he would not conclude wth out Leave from your Execellencie that in case your humble Petitioner should suddainly depart this Life his Famillie might be disposest thereof being in hopes that his Maj^{tie} will be soe bounteous as to send orders to your Excellencie in there favor for there Naturalizeing that soe his Children & there successors may not be troubled in

Chap. XI. one at a distance of fifteen miles from here, and
 1687. within three miles of Salem, a very pretty town, having a considerable trade ; for which he paid sixty-eight pistoles, or six hundred and eighty French *livres*. There are, connected with it, seventeen acres of land completely cleared, and a small orchard. Mr. Légaré, a French merchant—a goldsmith—has purchased a property twelve miles to the south,¹ with ten acres and a half, which cost him eighty pistoles, or eight hundred *livres*. M. Mousset, being burdened with a family, has rented a farm, for which he pays eight pistoles a year. It has a good dwelling house, with twenty acres of cleared land."

The
Oxford.
planters
arrive.

Among the French who arrived in the spring and early summer of the year 1688, was a company of some forty persons, headed by Gabriel Bernon. The greater number of these emigrants were destined for the plantation at Oxford ; but Bernon himself, with his nephews Allaire and Depont, and his connections Benjamin and André Faneuil, settled in Boston,² where they were soon

there right possession. Wherefore your humble Petition humb * * * Excellencie to grant him Libertie to make the sd Purchase & Negotiate as a Merchant in buying & s * * * nance of his Familie within the Extent of your Excellencies Territories and Governm^t as if he were a * * * subject & he will ever be bound humbly to pray for your Excellencies Long Life and prosperitie."

¹ At Braintree, Norfolk County, Massachusetts.

² Almost the first concern of the refugees—particularly of those among them who were "Men of Estates"—was the registration of their names as naturalized subjects of Great Britain. Thus Bernon—who, as we shall see in the next chapter, arrived in Boston on the fifth day of July, 1688—is

joined by another exile from La Rochelle, Pierre Baudouin. Chap. XI.

1687.

Pierre Baudouin was a native of La Rochelle, and sprang from one of the most ancient and important families of that town. The severities that were practiced in France toward the Protestants, compelled him to depart from that country with his family, and to take refuge in the realm of Ireland, in the city of Dublin. There he obtained a position in the royal Customs, but a change of officers left him without employment, and he was consequently induced to come to America, and settle in Casco—now Portland—in Maine. In the summer of the year 1687, Baudouin petitioned Governor Andros for one hundred acres of land.¹ His prayer was

found on the twentieth of that month in the office of the registry of deeds for the county of Suffolk, where Thomas Dudley, clerk, “at the Desire of M^r Gabriel Bernon one of the Partys therein mentioned,” records the letters-patent of denization that have been issued in London on the fifth of January in the same year, in favor of some four hundred French Protestant exiles and their families.—(Liber XIV., folio 212.) Not one in ten of these families came to America; yet nothing short of the entire transcription of the patent would content the refugee, accustomed to the scrupulous formality of all civil procedures in his native country. Similar instances of exactitude occur in the deed-books for the province of New York. The names of persons naturalized by letters-patent issued in London, March 21, 1682, in behalf of Stephen Bouchet and thirty-five or forty other French Protestants with their families, are entered in Liber IX., folio 326, for the sole benefit of François Vincent, his wife Anne, his children Anne and François, and John Hain. A note appended states that the parties sailed from London for New England, March 28, 1682.—(See also Liber X., folio 40.)

¹ “A Son Excellence, Monsieur le gouverneur en chef de la nouvelle Angleterre.

Chap. XI. granted; but the patent for the land was fraudu-
 1688. lently withheld from him by the surveyor; and
 in the autumn of the next year he was forced to
 seek redress. His letter to the governor is on

“Supplie humblement Pierre Baudouin, disant que les rigeurs qui ce exzercere en France contre les protestans, lauroyent obligé den sortir auecq sa famille et ce seroyent refugies en le royaume dirlande en la ville de Dublin, auquel lieu il auroit pleu a messieurs les receueurs des droits de sa majesté dadmettre le suppliant a vn employ de garde des bureau mais comme du despuis il y a heu changement d’officiers il seroit demeuré sans employ, ce quy auroit esté cause que le supp^{ant} et sa familles quy sont aau nombre de six personnes se sont retirez dans ces territtoire, dans la ville de Casco en la conté de Mayne, et d aultant quil y a plusieurs terres quy ni sont point occupée et principalement celles quy sont située a la pointe dusus de Barbary Crike Ce considéré monsieur il plaize a vostre Excellance, ordonner quil en soit deliuré au suppliant jusque au nombre de cent acre, aux fins que ce luy soit un moyen dentretenir sa famille et il continura a prier Dieu pour la santé et prosperité de vostre Excellance.

“PIERRE BAUDOUIN.”

(Endorsed 2d August, 1687.)

The original of the above letter is in the possession of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Boston. A fac-simile is given in a volume of Mr. Winthrop’s occasional addresses, entitled “Washington, Bowdoin, and Franklin.”

¹ A warrant dated October 8, 1687, signed by Governor Andros, and directed to Mr. Richard Clements, deputy surveyor, authorizes and requires him to lay out one hundred acres of vacant land in Casco Bay for Pierre Baudouin, in such place as he shall be directed by Edward Tyng, Esq., one of his Majesty’s Council. “Before the warrant was executed, however, Pierre Baudouin had obtained possession of a few acres of land on what is now the high road from Portland to Vaughan’s Bridge, a few rods northerly of the house of the Hon. Nicholas Emery. A solitary apple-tree, and a few rocks which apparently formed the curbing of a well, were all that remained about twenty years ago, to mark the site of this original dwelling-place of the Bowdoin in America.”—(The Life and Services of James Bowdoin: by Robert C. Winthrop.)

record in the archives of Massachusetts, and like the writings of other refugees that have come down to us, almost uniformly, its construction shows that the petitioner was a man of intelligence and cultivation. He represents that in his flight from the kingdom of France, he has lost nearly the whole of the property which he possessed ; and what remained has been used in conveying himself and his family, consisting of six persons—four of whom are little children not yet old enough to earn their livelihood—to this country. He prays therefore to be exempted for a few years from taxation, having already been compelled to sell at a sacrifice some of his effects, in order to pay for the survey of his land.¹

Chap. XI.

1688.

¹ “ A son Excellence monsieur le gouverneur en chef de la nouvelle Engleterre.

“ Supplie humblement Pierre Baudouin, disant quil a pleu a Vostre Excellence de luy accorder cent acre de terre en la despan[dan]ce de Falmouth province de Mayne, et mesme ordonne au sieur Richard Clements harpanture [charpenteur ?] en cette partie deputté d'en faire charpantement, apres quoy en faire son raport aux fins quil soit delivré patentes ou baillettes de la ditte terre. Et d'autant que par la fuitte du sup[pl]iant du royaume de France, pays de sa naissance, causée par les rigeurs quy cy exerce contre ceux de sa religion, il a preque tout perdu le bien quil poceddoit et ce quy luy restoit a este employé a son transport et de sa famille en ces territoires estant au nombre de six personnes ayant quatre petits enfans quy ne sont encore en age de gaigner leur vie ce consider[ant], monsieur il plaist a votre Excellence en continuant vos faveurs envers le supliant de luy faire delivrer la ditte baillette pour dieu [?] et de l'exan[tir] pour quelques année des taxes quy selevent sur les proprietaires des terres et le supliant continuera a prier Dieu pour la prosperité de Vostre Excellence, ayant desia payé audit Clements trante quatre shillings et deux penny en

Chap. XI.

1687.

The
Faneuils.

Benjamin and André Faneuil¹ came, like Baudouin, from La Rochelle. Thoroughly trained to business, alert and self-reliant, they were prepared to enter at once upon trade in Boston ; and we soon find the firm of " Faneuil and Company " well under way. Benjamin was the elder, and for the first few years his name is prominent. Of André we hear little, until the early part of the eighteenth century ; and it may be that within this period he visited Holland, where he was married. Meanwhile, Benjamin became one of the solid men of Boston. Gabriel Bernon, with whom he was interested in the settlement of New Oxford, mentions him foremost among the "several worthy Gentlemen" whose testimony he gives concerning the purchase. About the year 1699, however, Benjamin removed to New York, where he is shortly after heard of as "a person of considerable note" among the French inhabitants of that city. He married Anne, daughter of François Bureau. André now re-appears, as a man of rapidly rising fortunes. He soon takes rank among the wealthiest and most enterprising citizens. His ware-

argeant tant pour charpantement de 90 acres de la ditte terre, que pour les certificats comme il apert par son mesmoire ayant esté obligé de vandre quelque esfaits quy luy restoyent a moytyé de juste pris pour avoir argeant pour le dit Clements.

"PIERRE BAUDOUIN."

Mass. Archives, vol. CXXIX., p. 237.

(Dated in the index, October 7, 1688.)

¹ See volume I., page 281. .

houses were on Butler square, near State street. Chap. XI.
 His residence was on Tremont street. Erected 1687-
 in 1711, this edifice must have presented an 1700.
 imposing appearance. It was built of brick,
 painted white; and over the entrance-door was
 a semi-circular balcony. "The hall and apart-
 ments were spacious, and elegantly furnished.
 The terraces, which rose from the pavement be-
 hind the house, were supported by massy walls
 of hewn granite, and were ascended by flights
 of steps of the same material."¹ But the occu-
 pant of this palatial dwelling was childless. At
 his death, in 1737, it became the home of his
 nephew Peter Faneuil, the eldest son of his
 brother Benjamin; whose name was destined to
 live in the history of his country, through its
 association with the "cradle of Liberty," Faneuil
 Hall.

François Bureau, whose daughter became
 the wife of Benjamin Faneuil, was also of
 La Rochelle. He came to America in 1688,
 bringing with him his wife Anne, two daughters,
 and two sons. He was the brother of Thomas
 Bureau, one of the principal French merchants
 in London, "living near y^e Savoy great gate in
 the Strand." François, who invariably signed
 himself "Bureau l'ainé," joined the settlement
 in Oxford, and upon the breaking up of that
 colony, removed to New York.

Within the last decade of the seventeenth
 century, the following Huguenot residents ap-

¹ Memorial History of Boston, vol. II., p. 259.

Chap. XI. pear in Boston : Louis Allaire,¹ William Barbut,²
 — Philip Barger,³ David Basset,⁴ Peter Basset,⁵
 1687— Peter Baudouin, Jean Beauchamp,⁶ Gabriel Ber-
 1700. non, Isaac Biscon,⁷ Louis Boucher,⁸ Stephen

¹ Louis Allaire was a son of Antoine Allaire, of La Rochelle, and a nephew of Alexandre Allaire, one of the early settlers of New Rochelle, New York. He probably accompanied Gabriel Bernon, whom he calls his cousin, to Boston.—The connection was not very close. Jean Allaire, a brother of Antoine and Alexandre, had married Jeanne Bernon, Gabriel's sister. Louis joined the Narragansett colony upon his arrival, but soon left it, and became a resident of Boston. The firm of "Louis Allaire and Company" was already established in 1692, and was carrying on a trade between Boston or Salem and southern ports. Louis removed some years later to New York, and died, apparently of a lingering illness, before April 30, 1731, when administration upon his estate was granted to his widow, Abijah. (Wills, N. Y., XI., 127.) M. Torterue Bonneau, of La Rochelle, wrote to his cousin Peter Jay, of New York, May 21, 1726, "Ce que vous me dites du pauvre Allaire m'afflige beaucoup. Je prie le Seigneur qu'il l'ait soulagé dans un mal aussy facheux que celui la."—(Jay Papers.)

² See page 134 of this volume.

³ Philip Barger, a Huguenot exile, came about 1685 to Casco with Pierre Baudouin. He died in 1703, leaving a widow Margaret, and probably a son Philip, who died in 1720.—(Savage, Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England.)

⁴ David Bassett, a French Protestant, had two children baptized in the Old South Church ; Mary, April 13, 1684 ; and David, September 25, 1687.—(Ibid.)

⁵ See page 26.

⁶ See page 103. John Beauchamp, leather-dresser, bought the house which pasteur Daillé had occupied in Washington street. By his will, he left ten pounds to the French Church in Boston.

⁷ See volume I., page 311. Isaac Biscon was admitted a resident of the colony, February 1, 1691.

⁸ Louis Boucher was naturalized in England, March 20, 1686. "Mr. Louis Boucher, marchand à Boston," is mentioned in Gabriel Bernon's accounts, March 23, 1703, to August 15, 1704.

Boutineau,¹ Francis Bridon,² Francis Bureau, Chap. XI.
 Peter Canton,³ Paix Cazneau,⁴ John Chabot,⁵ 1687—
 Peter Chardon,⁶ Deblois,⁷ James and Gabriel 1700.

¹ See page 33. "Stephen Boutineau, a Huguenot merchant, came from La Rochelle to Casco, 1686; accompanied his friend Baudouin, 1690, to Boston, and married, August 22, 1708, Baudouin's daughter Mary. He had six sons and four daughters:—Anna, born April 24, 1709; James, January 27, 1711; John, April 1, 1713; Mary, August 5, 1715; Elizabeth, February 11, 1717; Mary (2nd), January 18, 1719; Stephen, May 22, 1721; Peter, December 11, 1722; Thomas, October 11, 1724; and Isaac, June 22, 1726."—(Savage, Gen. Dict.) Administration was granted, November 6, 1745, to James Boutineau, of Boston, merchant, upon the estate of his brother Peter, formerly of Boston, but late resident of St. Christopher's, merchant. —(Probate Office, Suffolk Co., No. 8365.)

² See page 14.

³ Peter Canton was engaged, in partnership with Gabriel Bernon, 1692–1694, in making rosin.

⁴ Paix Cazneau, or Cazaniau, resided in Boston after the breaking up of the Oxford colony. Letters of administration on the estate of Adam De Chezeau were granted in 1738 to his brother-in-law Isaac Casno, of Boston, saddler. Bonds were given by Peace Casno, felt-maker, and others. (Probate Office, Suffolk Co., No. 7206.)

⁵ See page 142. Chabot is mentioned in 1700 among the leading members of the French Church, Boston, who were designing to leave it. Apparently, he removed to New York, where in 1711 John Chabot subscribed 16 shillings toward the expense of building the steeple of Trinity Church.

⁶ See page 63. The family became affluent and influential. Peter Chardon, "a prominent merchant of the Huguenot stock," lived "on the corner of the street bearing his name."—(Memorial History of Boston, II., p. xlviii.) The last of the Chardons, Peter, of whom John Adams speaks in 1758 as among the young men of Boston "on the directest road to superiority," (ibid.,) died in the West Indies in October, 1766.

⁷ See page 25. Deblois went first to South Carolina, but soon left for the north.—(Relation d'un protestant réfugié à Boston, 1687.) Gilbert and Louis Deblois, braziers, convey property in Boston to Stephen Deblois, in 1754. —(Memorial History of Boston, II., xviii., xli.)

- Chap. XI. Depont,¹ Broussard Deschamps,² Benjamin and
 1687- André Faneuil, Bastian Gazeau,³ René Grignon,
 1700. Louis Guionneau,⁴ Daniel Johonnot,⁵ James
-

¹ They were the sons of Paul Depont and Suzanne Bernon. James removed from Boston to Milford, Connecticut, and died in or before 1703.

² Isaac Deschamps, "likewise known by the name of Saviot (or Sceviot) Broussard," was in New York as early as the year 1674. In 1683, he bought a parcel of land in that city for Pierre Daillé. He removed to Boston, but returned in 1686 or before, to New York, where he made trouble in the French Church. His wife, whose name he seems to have assumed, was Mary Broussard. Deschamps was one of the settlers in Narragansett. His last abode was in New Rochelle, where Marie Broussard in 1709 sold land formerly belonging to him. His daughter married first Benjamin D'Harriette, and after his death André Stuckey.

³ Bastian Gazeau, whom Savage supposes to have been a Huguenot, was in Boston, 1686-1690. Several refugees of this name, from Saintonge and Poitou, are mentioned.

⁴ See volume I., page 287. "Marchand à Boston," 1706, 1707.—(Bernon Papers.)

⁵ Daniel Johonnot, "born in France about 1668, was [the head of] one of thirty families who arrived in Boston in 1686, in company with his uncle André Sigourney, distiller, from La Rochelle. They went to Oxford, and remained till the Indian massacre of August 25, 1696. The victims were John Johnson and three children. Mrs. Susan Johnson was the daughter of André Sigourney, and was saved from the massacre, so the tradition runs, by her cousin Daniel Johonnot, to whom she was married by Rev. Samuel Willard of the Old South Church, 1700. Johonnot was a distiller, and was followed in his business successively, by his son André and his grandson André. He died in Boston, 1748, aged eighty years. The children of Daniel and Susan Johonnot were: Zacharie, born January 20, 1701; Suzanne, born April 18, 1702; Daniel, born March 19, 1704, died 1721; André, born June 21, 1705; Marianne, born August 17, 1706; and François, born November 30, 1709, died March 8, 1775."—(Memoranda of the Johonnot family: in the New England Historic-Genealogical Register, October, 1852, and April, 1853.)

and Anthony Le Blond,¹ Francis Legaré,² Jean Maillet,³ Francis Mariette,⁴ Bartholomew Mercier,⁵ John Millet,⁶ James Montier,⁷ Thomas Mousset,⁸ John Neau,⁹ Anthony Olivier,¹⁰ John

Chap. XI.

1687-

1700.

¹ See page. 83. "Mr Jacques Le Blond," December 18, 1702. "Mr Anthoine Blond, chandellier, à Boston," February 6, 1703.—(Bernon papers.) "James Le Blond, 1689, probably a Huguenot, whose wife Ann united in 1690 with Mather's church."—(Savage, Gen. Dict.) Their children, baptized in that church, were, James, June 7, 1691; Peter, January 6, 1695; Gabriel, March 6, 1698; Ann, December 15, 1700; Philippa, April 23, 1704; Marian, March 10, 1706; and Alexander, September 4, 1709.—(Ibid.)

² See page 111.

³ Jean Maillet, one of the inhabitants of Oxford, settled afterwards in Boston. The will of Jean Mallet, shopkeeper, of Boston, signed October 7, 1734, was offered for probate, January 27, 1741.

⁴ See page 97.

⁵ See volume I., page 292. Bartholomew Mercier made petition, October 29, 1684, in New York, for exemption from payment of duties, having come from Boston to settle in that city. He obtained denization for Catharine and Henry Mercier and himself, October 17, 1685. His wife, Catharine Laty, was a relative, probably a sister, of Marthe de Lasty, wife of Guillaume Le Conte.

⁶ Jean Millet was an inhabitant of Oxford, and an "ancien" of the French Church in that place.

⁷ See page 74. Jacques Montier was a resident of Boston in 1696 and in 1703.—(Bernon Papers.)

⁸ "Thomas Moussett, Boston, by wife Catherine, had son Peter, born October 18, 1687. He owned land in Roxbury, 1698, and had lived in Braintree."—(Savage.) Mousset was one of the Elders of the French Church, Boston, in 1696.

⁹ Mentioned in the Bernon Papers, 1703.

¹⁰ "Mr Anthoyne Olivier, chandellier, de Boston, 1704, 5." (Bernon Papers.) "Olivier, en Angleterre," is named among the fugitives from Niort, in Poitou. John and Peter Olivier were naturalized in England, November 12, 1681. "Antoine Olivier, the Huguenot"—probably in the second generation—"had by wife Mary fifteen children born between 1712 and 1731. Susanna married Andrew Jonhannot. It

Chap. XI. Pastré,¹ John Rawlings,² Stephen Robineau,³
 1687— Joseph Roy, Abraham Sauvage,⁴ Peter Signac,⁵

1700. has been found impossible to trace out this line satisfactorily, since the English name of Oliver is often found on our records; but the family was represented here in 1850 by George Stuart Johonnot Oliver."—(W. H. Whitmore, in *Memorial History of Boston*, II., p. 554.)

¹ John Pastré was naturalized in England, October 10, 1688. In 1689, he was a merchant in Boston, and one of the leading members of the French Church. Administration was granted, December 11, 1745, to Margaret Pastree, widow, on the estate of her grandson George Pastree, glazier, late of Boston.—(Probate Office, Suffolk Co., No. 8396.)

² Joshua Moody wrote from Portsmouth, March 20, 1683-4, to Increase Mather, "If one Mr. John Rawlings brings this himself, and you bee at leisure to admit any discourse with him, you will find him serious and pious. Hee hath been a Ruling Elder of the french church in South-Hampton. He is often with us, and you may hear from him more fully how matters are here. He is sober and credible."—(*Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Vol. VIII., Fourth Series. P. 363.) Rawlings was one of the Elders of the French Church, Boston, 1696.

³ Stephen Robineau, perhaps a native of Poitou, where the name was borne by several Protestants who went into exile, was naturalized in England, April 15, 1687, with his wife Judith and his daughter Mary. Judith Paré, wife of Stephen Robineau, was a sister of Susanne Paré, wife of Elias Neau. (See the will of Mary [Paré] Grazillier, in Surrogate's Office, New York, VII., 465.) Mary, daughter of Stephen (deceased) and Judith Robineau, was married May 9, 1703, in the French Church, New York, to Daniel Ayrault. For an account of the descendants of Daniel Ayrault, see *Memoir concerning the French Settlements in the Colony of Rhode Island*, by Elisha R. Potter, pp. 105-109. The statement made in that account, that Mary was the granddaughter of Elias Neau and Susanne his wife, is incorrect.

⁴ See page 94.

⁵ "Mr. Peter Signac, merchant, of Boston," is mentioned in the Bernon Papers, 1702-1705. Also, "Coysgame (?) et Signac et Compagnie." Administration was granted, March 20, 1732, to Ann Signac, spinster, with others, upon the estate of her father, Peter Signac, formerly of Boston, but late

Andrew Sigourney,¹ John Tartarien,² Abraham Tourtellot.³

Chap. XI.

1687-

1700.

Among these names, there is one that claims a special notice. Of Gabriel Bernon, we know indeed much more than of any other of the French Protestant emigrants to Massachusetts. He was a ready writer, and he carefully treasured up his family papers and correspondence. The Revocation, we have seen, found him a prosperous merchant in the city of La Rochelle. Leaving his affairs in the charge of a brother-in-law, he fled, in the month of May or June, 1686, to Amsterdam. A balance sheet drawn up with great precision, just before his departure, shows on the credit side the sum, considerable for those times, of fifty-one thousand seven hundred and sixty-two *livres*. But the amount which he succeeded in transmitting to his bankers in Amsterdam was scarcely a tenth of this sum. From Holland he proceeded, in February of the following year, to London; and in the summer of 1688 he came to Massachusetts.

While in England, Bernon was induced to associate himself with another French refugee, Isaac Bertrand du Tuffeau, for the settlement of a plantation in the township of Oxford, in Worcester county, fifty miles from Boston. This

of Newfoundland, merchant, deceased.—(Probate Office, Suffolk Co., No. 6398.)

¹ See volume I., pages 282, 324, 325. A "Genealogy of the Sigourney Family, by Henry H. W. Sigourney," was published in Boston in 1857.

² See page 41.

³ See page 141.

Chap. XI.

1688.

enterprise, which proved every way unfortunate, swallowed up a great part of the means he had brought away from France ; but it did not absorb his energies. Soon after his arrival in New England, we find him engaged in the manufacture of rosin, and other naval stores, for exportation to Great Britain. His success in this manufacture was such as to attract the attention of a government agent, who had been sent over by the Earl of Portland, to ascertain what advantages existed in the American colonies for supplying the royal fleet with these articles. By the agent's advice, Bernon crossed the ocean, in 1693, for the purpose of communicating his views, and the results of his experience, to the government, and of obtaining a patent for the manufacture of such naval stores. He was well received in London, by Lord Portland, and by Lord Carmarthen, president of the royal council ; and in spite of powerful opposition, headed by Sir Henry Ashurst, afterwards agent in England for Massachusetts, he succeeded so far as to secure a contract with the government for a certain term of years.

Bernon made a second visit to London, upon the same errand, in December, 1696. He returned to Boston in the following spring, in company with Governor Bellomont, to whom he had been introduced and strongly recommended, while in England, by the Earl of Galway and other distinguished persons. Lord Bellomont entered heartily into his plans for the encouragement of colonial products, and urged upon

the royal council the expediency of appointing Bernon to superintend the manufacture of naval stores. The project seems to have been favorably considered. It was brought again and again to the notice of the Lords of Trade. But nothing ever came of it. The government, it would seem, could not bring itself to depart, even in a matter that so nearly concerned the public interest, from the policy of discouraging all colonial industries.

Chap. XI.

1696.

Meanwhile, Bernon's indomitable energies were seeking new channels. We find him, as early as the year 1692, engaging with the Faneuils and Louis Allaire in trade with Pennsylvania and Virginia; exporting goods to England and the West Indies, in partnership with other Boston merchants; and joining Charles de la Tour in the peltry trade with Nova Scotia. He was interested in the manufacture of nails, in the making of salt,¹ and in the building and purchasing of ships.²

¹ "The L^t Governor and near twenty of the most considerable merchants at Boston employed a Frenchman to make salt work there. The Frenchman performed his part, and some hundred bushels of salt were made."—(Earl of Bellomont to the Lords of Trade, November 28, 1700.)

² It is more than likely that Bernon, in common with other refugees who were "men of estates" in their own country, received remittances more or less regularly from correspondents in La Rochelle. Long after the Revocation, many representatives of Protestant families that remained in France—perhaps as "new Catholics" or professed converts—looked after the interests of relatives who had fled to foreign parts, and transmitted to them with scrupulous fidelity the revenues from funds left in their keeping, or the portion that fell to them upon a division of inherited prop-

Chap. XI. Nor was his activity confined to the furtherance
 1690. of the arts of peace. In April, 1690, he enters upon an agreement with one Jean Barré, a fellow-refugee, promising to furnish him with "one firelock muskett of three pounds valeu, one pistoll of twenty shillings price, one Carthuse Boxe of three shillings, one hatchet of two shillings," and other necessities, besides three pounds in money, "for his now intended voyage on Board the Good shipp called the Porkepine, Cap^t Ciprian Southack, Commander, now bound to sea in a warfareing voyage."

Captain Southack was a Boston skipper, who became noted at a later day for his success in breaking up piracy. The "good ship Porcupine" belonged to the fleet that was then getting ready to sail from Boston harbor, under Sir William Phips; and the "warfareing voyage" in question, was the expedition for the capture of Port Royal, or Annapolis, in Nova Scotia, which Massachusetts sent forth in the spring of the year 1690, preliminary to the enterprise then on foot for the conquest of Canada.

The expedition for the capture of Annapolis was thoroughly successful, and it awakened eager hopes in Boston for the more important undertaking of which this was but the first step—the attack about to be made upon Quebec. None

erty.—(Les Protestants rochelais depuis la Révocation de l'Edict de Nantes jusqu'au Concordat. Par M. L. Meschinot de Richemond. P. 4.)

were more keenly interested in these movements than the newly arrived Huguenots in Boston. "Our fleet," wrote Benjamin Faneuil, in great glee, on the twenty-second of May, to Thomas Bureau in London, "our fleet which we sent out from here to take Port Royal, has sent back a ketch, which has arrived this day, with news of the taking of the place, on capitulation. They have seized six ketches, or brigantines, loaded with wine, brandy, and salt, together with the governor and seventy soldiers, and have demolished the fort. They have also taken twenty-four very fine pieces of cannon, and thirty barrels of powder. We expect them hourly. Our fleet which was composed of six vessels, one of which carried forty guns, will be reënförmed with a number of strong ships, and will be sent with twelve hundred men and some Indians, to take Canada. I hope it will succeed."¹

Chap. XI.

1690.

May
22.May
19.

¹ "Notre flotte que nous auions envoyé dicy pour prandre Port Royal a envoyé une Ketch qui est arrivée aujourd'hui avecq la nouvelle de la preize de la place à compassission. Ils ont pris six Ketches et brigantins chargez de vin o de vie [eau de vie] et sel avecq le gouverneur et 70 soldats et ont desmoly le fort. Ils ont pris aussy 24 piece de très baux cannon et 30 barils de poudre. Nous les attendons à toute heure. Notre flotte estoit composée de six batimens dont il y en a vng de 40 piece de cannon. On va la ranforcer encore de quelques navires de force et on envoie douze cents hommes et des Indiens pour prandre Canada ce que jespere quy reussira." (Mass. Archives, French Collection, vol. IV., p. 13.) The letter is addressed "For M^r Thomas Bureau, french merchant Liuing near y^e Savoy great gatte in the Strand in London. P^r Cap^t Sampson, L D G [livrez de grace]." From the fact that this letter found its way into

Chap. XI.

1697.

Massachusetts could ill afford to lose so active and enterprising a merchant as Gabriel Bernon. There was scarcely a branch of colonial traffic to which the versatile Frenchman did not turn his hand. After a residence of nine years, however, he left Boston in 1697, and made his home for the rest of a long life in Rhode Island. About the same time, a number of other Huguenot merchants removed from that city to other parts. A letter written by the Elders of the French Church in Boston, in June, 1700, states that Bernon, Tourtellot, Basset, Mariette and others, have already left, and that Bernard, Grignon, Bureau, Barbut and Chabot, are about to leave them.

The French Church in Boston existed as early as the year 1685. There are indeed indications of an earlier origin; and it seems highly probable that this congregation, like some others, may have been gathered by the excellent Pierre Daillé, shortly after his coming to America in 1682 or 1683.¹ But we first hear of

the archives of the French government, we infer that it was intercepted, and never reached its destination. Soon, however, Faneuil's correspondent must have learned through other channels the ignominious failure of the expedition, which returned from Quebec, repulsed by Frontenac, damaged by tempestuous weather, and utterly demoralized.

¹ The precise date of Daillé's arrival in America is not known. It has been believed heretofore that he came at the call of the Consistory of the Protestant Reformed Dutch Church of New York, to preach to the French in that city. —(Manual of the Reformed Church in America, by E. T. Corwin, D.D., p. 229.) But from a letter addressed by the Rev. Christopher Bridge, of Boston, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, October 15,

the Church at a later date, through a correspondence between Daillé himself, then in New York, and the Reverend Increase Mather, minister of the North Church in Boston, and president of Harvard college.¹ This correspondence attests the kindness which the ministers of Boston had shown to the little flock of strangers among them. The public authorities were not less kind. On the twenty-fourth day of November, 1687, the Council granted liberty "to the French Congregation to meete in the Latine Schoolhouse att Boston as desired."² The schoolhouse was situated on School street, between Tremont and Cornhill, now Washington street. The schoolmaster, at the time, was the celebrated Ezekiel Cheever. Permission to meet in this building, and in the "new school-house" that succeeded it, was continued so long as it was needed; and the French Protestants of Boston had no other place of worship for twenty-nine or thirty years. In 1704, the congregation sought leave to solicit money from "well-disposed persons," for the building of a church.³ They represented to the Council, "that

Chap. XI.
1686.

March-
July.

November
24,
1687.

1706, it would appear that Daillé was sent out by the Bishop of London. See below, page 236.

¹ See the appendix to this volume.

² Mass. Archives. Council Records. 1686 and 1687. P. 155.

³ Mass. Archives, vol. LXXXI., p. 472. (Minutes of Council, January 12, 1704.) "Upon a Representation made by M^r Daillé Minister and the Elders of the French Protestant Church in Boston That his late Majesty, King William, had bestowed on them Eighty-three pounds to be Employ'd towards building them a House for the publick

Chap. XI. his late majesty, King William, had bestowed on
 1704. them eighty-three pounds to be employ'd" toward this purpose; and that they had "purchased a piece of Land in Schoolhouse lane for that use." The petition was granted, but the selectmen of Boston refused their consent to the erection of the small wooden "temple" which the petitioners proposed to build, renewing, however, the "offer of the free liberty to meet in the new schoolhouse," which was "sufficient for a far larger number of persons" than that composing the congregation. Their plans for building were accordingly deferred, and it was not until after Daillé's death, in 1715, that a house of worship was erected on the plot of ground purchased ten years before.¹

Worship of God, setting forth, That they have purchased a piece of Land in Schoolhouse Lane in Boston for that use, Praying to be Licensed to aske and receive the Benevolence of well-disposed persons that shall be willing to encourage so pious a worke to assist them in the said Building: Advised That License be accordingly granted and the moneys thereby collected to be put into the hands of Simeon Stoddard Esq^r and to be applyed for the use afores^d and no other. And the House when built to be forever continued and improved for religious worship."

¹ The Huguenots of Boston were very sensible of the kindness shown them by the magistrates and by the people. At a later day, Andrew Le Mercier, Daillé's successor in the pastorate of the French Church, expresses this feeling in the following terms :

"When we consider the fiery Persecution of the Churches of God in our native Country, the destruction of his Sanctuaries, his Rod, resting so heavily and so long upon us, we cannot but be affected as Jeremiah the Prophet, when he foresaw and foretold the Ruin of Jerusalem and the Temple, *Chap. 9.* Our Eyes then must need be turned into Rivers of Waters to weep Night and Day the Desolation of the

The friendly feelings of the ministers and the civil authorities of Boston, toward the little com- Chap. XI.
1685.

Daughter of our People. But when from that sad Spectacle we cast our Eyes towards the Mercys of God, when we consider how graciously he hath been pleased to give us Places of Refuge, and after a Flood of Miseries, preceeded by a Flood of Sins, he hath vouchsafed to afford us in Foreign Places, the comfort of serving Him, both according to his Word, and the Dictates of our Consciences, and to send us a Branch of Olive by the divine Dove, the Holy Spirit, the Comforter ; we may, nay, we should praise him, bless him and rejoice in him. That made me chuse for the Text of the first Sermon that I preach'd in this House of Prayer of ours, built soon after my arrival here, those Words of the same Ezra, in the 6th Chapter 16th Verse, *And the Children of Israel, the Priests and the Levites, and the rest of the Children of the captivity, kept the Dedication of this House of God with joy.*

“ Let us never forget, I beseech you in the Name of the Lord, as Ambassador of Christ, as Messenger of Peace and good Tidings, his unspeakable, undeserved Favours : How we have happily fled from Persecution, found acceptance before the People of this Land ; how, when we were Strangers, they have taken us in ; how several have contributed towards the building of our Place of Worship ; how the pious and reverend Ministers have readily joined with us on our Fast Days, to implore for and with us, *God's* Forgiveness and Peace for the remainders of the faithful in France ; how the honourable the General Court have chearfully admitted us into the great and valuable Privileges which they enjoy themselves as Englishmen, by their Act of Naturalization of Protestant Foreigners, and their favourable Answer to our Petition ; how *God* has not only fed and clothed you, but even granted to some of you considerable Estates, having after that manner really and literally fulfilled this Promise of Christ in the 19th Chapter of Matthew : *Every one that hath forsaken Houses or Brethren, or Sisters, or Father, or Mother, or Wife, or Children, or Lands for my names sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and inherit everlasting Life.* In order to obtain the second and most valuable part of the Promise, you are to make a holy use of the fulfilment of the first, by dedicating your Riches to the Glory of his Name, the relief of the Poor, the service of his Church.

Chap. XI. pany of Huguenots, were severely tried by the
 1685. conduct of the first pastor, Laurentius Van den Bosch, or Laurent du Bois. This erratic person, a Frenchman by birth, or of French parentage, had sojourned in Holland, where like some others he adopted a Dutch patronymic. Removing to England, he conformed to the English Church, and then came to America with a license from the Bishop of London. In Boston, he soon brought upon himself general displeasure by his disregard of ecclesiastical and civil rules, and by his haughty and stubborn demeanor when reprovèd ; and managed at the same time to embroil his little congregation. Daillé wrote anxiously to Mather in their behalf. “ I beg you, most honored sir, that the annoyance occasioned by Mr. Vandembosk may not diminish your favor toward the French who are now in your city, and those who shall in future betake themselves thither. The fault of a single person ought neither to be imputed to others, nor to procure harm to them. I hope, therefore, that you will give proofs as formerly of your charity toward those faithful refugees, who have suffered the severest persecution. Nor can I doubt your willingness to lend a hand to the restoring of the French Church in Boston.

March
 2,
 1686.

“ Let us be thankful and ready to do any good Service to those that have so kindly entertained us.

“ Let us take care not to give Offence by our bad Conduct and vicious Lives. Let us on the contrary, set before them holy Examples, that they may have reason not to repent their Kindness towards us.”

(Le Mercier : A Treatise against Detraction. Dedication.)

In this matter I offer my own help, that the affairs that have been mismanaged may be redressed. May there be occasion in future of merited gladness to you and your learned colleagues, in place of unmerited sadness. We are brethren ; therefore brotherly friendship should be cherished between us." ¹

Chap. XI.
—
1686.

Van den Bosch soon left Boston, making way for a man of a very different spirit. The French Protestants who came to Massachusetts from the island of St. Christopher, in June or July, 1686, were accompanied, or soon followed, by their minister, David de Bonrepos,² afterwards pastor of the Huguenot colonies of New Rochelle, Staten Island, and New Paltz, in the

¹ See the appendix to this volume.

² David was the brother of Elie de Bonrepos, one of the emigrants from St. Christopher's. (See volume I., page 231.) I think it probable that he may have been the pastor of the "French Protestant Church att St. Christopher's," mentioned in 1680. (See volume I., page 206.) His subsequent connection with New Rochelle, where a number of these emigrants settled, favors this view. The refugee in Boston whose "relation" we have had frequent occasion to quote, alludes to him as minister of the French Church in that town, at the time when he wrote—the winter of 1687-8. ("M. de Bonrepos, frère à nostre ministre.") A year earlier—September 20, 1686—Domine Selyns, minister of the Protestant Reformed Dutch Church in New York, wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam, stating that "the Rev. ——— instructs and comforts the French refugees at Boston." The name, in the transcript of the correspondence of the Classis, is undecipherable.

The "Religious Protestant Minister," who arrived a few weeks later, with "fifteen French families. . . . fled from France for Religion's sake," (page 199) was doubtless Daniel Bondet, pastor of the Oxford colony. (See the next chapter.)

Chap. XI.
—
1686.

province of New York. The arrival of this company contributed greatly to the strength of the little Church ; and David, aided by his good wife Blanche, succeeded in healing the divisions caused by Van den Bosch. But the congregation was a fluctuating one. "There are not more than twenty French families here," wrote the refugee, in the winter of 1687 ; "and their number is diminishing daily, as they remove into the country to buy or take up lands for cultivation, with a view to permanent settlement. Others however are expected in the spring." De Bonrepos himself left before the following October, for New Rochelle, and the Church remained without a pastor for the next eight years. Meanwhile, Ezechiel Carré, the minister of the French colony in Narragansett, and Daniel Bondet, the minister of New Oxford, frequently preached to the congregation in Boston ; and the pulpit was also supplied occasionally by the Reverend Nehemiah Walter, Eliot's successor in the pastorate of the First Church in Roxbury, who was an accomplished French scholar.

David
de
Bonrepos.

In 1696, Pierre Daillé came to Massachusetts from New York, where he had been settled as minister of the French congregation in that city, ever since his arrival in America. His pastorate in Boston continued until his death, nineteen years later ; and this period was the meridian of the Church's prosperity. Daillé's relations with the ministry of Boston, were already friendly, as we have seen ; and when he came to reside per-

manently among them, he was received with the utmost consideration. Something of this deference may have been due to the distinguished name he bore—that of the famous minister of Charenton, Jean Daillé, one of the most erudite scholars and theologians of his age. How Pierre stood related to his great namesake, we do not know. It is thought that he may have belonged to a branch of the same family with Jean;—a family seated at Châtellerault, in the province of Poitou. But our Huguenot pastor brought other credentials. Before coming to America, he had been professor in the great Protestant Academy of Saumur, the most celebrated of the four Protestant colleges of France. Saumur was for eighty years “a torch that illuminated all Europe.” Its course of instruction was very complete. There were two professors of theology, two of philosophy, a professor of Hebrew, and one of Greek, and a principal having the oversight of the whole course of instruction. It is not known which one of these chairs Daillé filled. But Saumur was noted for the care taken to admit only men of recognized capacity to its corps of instructors; and the fact that Daillé was connected with that academy, attests his reputation for learning. Like other scholars of his day, he wrote Latin fluently. His letters, several of which have been preserved, reveal the courtliness, the moderation, and the keen intelligence, of a Huguenot of the finest type.¹ But

Chap. XI.

1696.

The
Academy
of
Saumur.

¹ See the appendix to this volume.

Chap. XI. Daillé's best qualification was his earnest and
 1696. unaffected piety. "He is full of fire, godliness, and learning," wrote Selyns, from New York. "Banished on account of his religion, he maintains the cause of Jesus Christ with untiring zeal." The congregations to whom he ministered, made up of men and women who had known the heat of persecution, listened to him as to one who had walked through the same fires.

English
 hearers
 in the
 "Temple,"

In Boston, the English sometimes came to hear the Huguenot preacher. Highly as they respected him, the stricter class of Puritans could not be altogether pleased with a liturgical worship, and with the observance of Christmas and Easter. That admirable man, Samuel Sewall, was constrained to enter a gentle protest, as his diary tells us, against one of these practices. "This day I spake with Mr. Newman about his partaking with the French Church on the 25th of December on account of its being Christmas day, as they abusively call it."¹ But these differences scarcely qualified the cordial regard felt for the French exiles by their Puritan neighbors. "'Tis my hope," said Cotton Mather, "that the English Churches will not fail in Respect to any that have endured hard things for their faithfulness to the Son of God."²

¹ Diary of Samuel Sewall, vol. I., p. 491.

² Prefatory Recommendation to M. Carré's sermon, "The Charitable Samaritan."

At the funeral of Cotton Mather's wife, November 11, 1713, "Mr. Dallie" was chosen to be one of the "bearers." —(Diary of Samuel Sewall, vol. II., p. 407.)

To the ministers of Boston, the Huguenots were the objects not only of Christian commiseration,¹ but also of some theological specula-

Chap. XI.

1689.

¹ It is worthy of notice that a Boston minister published as early as the year 1689 a graphic account of the sufferings of the Protestants of France at the period of the Revocation. This was several years before the appearance of the great work of Elie Benoist, (*Histoire de l'édit de Nantes* ; Delft, 1693, 1695,) the last volume of which is occupied with a circumstantial recital of those sufferings. Cotton Mather doubtless obtained his information from the refugee pastors, particularly Daillé and Carré, and from his correspondents in Europe, of whom he counted more than fifty. His version of the painful story agrees with that of Benoist, which it antedates, and furnishes another of the confirmations of that historian's accuracy that have been supplied of late by the publication of contemporaneous statements. We give it here, (in part,) as representing the current view of the subject, at the time when our refugees came to Massachusetts.

"After innumerable previous Abuses and Injuries at the year 1680, the poor *Protestants* in *France* found themselves losing all sorts of Offices, until at length not so much as a *Midwife* of that Religion might be allowed.

"The new *Converts* were discharged from the payments of their debts ; and the *Resolv'd Confessors* might not sell their own Estates, to assist their escape from the Storm now breaking on them ; but instead thereof, were forced to bear all the duties and *charges* of their *Apostate* Neighbors ; and Parents were compelled to bear the Expenses of a *Popish Education* for their own children, whom they had rather seen perishing in the Rivers of *Egypt*.

"When the project was grown ripe for it, the *French Tyrant* employed a vast Army of *Dragoons* for the afflicting and Reducing of the many scores of thousands of Protestants whom the former Temptations had not yet overcome. The Leaders of these *New Apostles* first summoned the Inhabitants of the several Towns together, to let them know 'twas the Kings pleasure they should turn *Roman Catholicks* ; and the poor people humbly Replying, *That they would gladly sacrifice their Lives and Estates in the Service of the King, but their Consciences were to be disposed of by none but God alone,* These Dragons then furiously possessed themselves of the several Towns, and were every-

Chap. XI. tion. The opinion had been broached, in Prot-
 1689. estant Europe, that the great persecution in
 France was the theme of Apocalyptic vision,
 and that the suffering Huguenots were symbol-
 ized in the book of Revelation by the Two Wit-
 nesses clothed in sackcloth, slain in the street
 of the great city. Those who held this view,
 with Jurieu, looked for the fulfillment of proph-
 The two
 Witnesses. ecy, in the restoration of this persecuted people
 to their country ; and the oracular divine, whom
 we have already quoted, and who, if not the most
 judicious, was doubtless the best informed man
 of his day in America, did not hesitate to pro-
 nounce himself on the subject, and to found
 upon his theory an argument for kindness and

where quartered in the Houses of the Protestants, like
Locusts devouring all before them. When these *Monsters*
 had wasted all the *Goods* of this distressed People, they then
 fell upon their *Persons*, * * * * * using therewithal
 ten thousand other Cruelties, which none but the wit of
 Devils could have invented for them. And if none of these
 things brought the Protestants to Renounce the Truth of
 the Lord Jesus, they were cast into horrible Dungeons,
 where they pined away to Death. If any were caught mak-
 ing an Essay to *fly away*, they were treated with Cruelties
 more intollerable (if any could be so) than those that have
 been related ; and never were *wild Beasts* pursued with
 such Eagerness and watchfulness, as these poor Lambs were
 by their Wolfish Persecutors.

“ Nevertheless, many thousands of the Protestants found
 a merciful Providence assisting their escape ; and some of
 them have arrived into *New-England*, where *before* they
 came, there were *Fastings* and *Prayers* employ'd for them,
 and *since* they came, they have met with some further
 kindness, from such as know how to *sympathize with their*
Brethren.”

(Prefatory Recommendation of M. Carré's Sermon, “ The
 Charitable Samaritan.”)

helpfulness toward the strangers. "We have cause to think," said Cotton Mather, "that the Resurrection of the slain Witnesses in France, is now very near; and if any of us have been Compassionate Samaritans towards this afflicted people, we shall rejoice with them in the Redemption which draweth nigh."

Chap. XI.
1689.

The liturgy observed by the refugees in their public religious services, was that which had been in use among the Reformed Churches of France for nearly a century and a half. Modeled by Calvin upon primitive offices, it was of rigid simplicity, yet it was orderly and impressive. The Sunday service was preceded by the reading of several chapters of Holy Scripture. The reading was performed, not by the clergyman, but by a "lecteur," who was also the "chantre" or precentor, and who frequently united with these functions those of the parish schoolmaster during the week. In Daillé's day, the "lecteur" was probably "old Mr John Rawlins," whom the pastor remembered affectionately in his will. The reading ended with the Decalogue; and then came the service conducted by the minister. It began with a sentence of invocation, followed by an invitation to prayer, and a general confession of sins. The congregation rose with the words of invocation, and remained standing during prayer, but resumed their seats when the psalm was given out for singing. This was the people's part—the service of song—in a ritual without other audible response; and all the Huguenot

Order
of
Worship.

Chap. XI.

. 1689.

The
French
Psalms.

fervor broke out in those strains that had for generations expressed the faith and the religious joy of a persecuted race.¹ A brief extempore prayer preceded the sermon. The general supplications were offered after the sermon. They closed and culminated—except when the Holy Communion was to be administered—with the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed; and after the Benediction, the congregation was dismissed with the word of peace, and an injunction to remember the poor, as they passed the alms' chests at the church door.²

A prominent seat was reserved in the Huguenot "temple" for the "anciens" or Elders of the congregation. These, with the pastor, constituted the "Consistoire," or Church-session, having the oversight of the flock, and the charge of its temporalities, as well as of its spiritual interests. The "anciens" were elected by the people, and held their place for a term of years. In the absence of the records, no complete list of the persons who filled this office in the French Church in Boston can be given; but the following are the names of the "anciens"

¹ A touching practice that had been prescribed a short time before the Revocation, was probably observed by the Huguenots of Boston. The assembly held at Toulouse in 1683, ordained that when the psalms that related to the condition of the Church were sung, the congregation should kneel, in token of humiliation before God under the afflictions of His people.

² It appears that in 1689, the French congregation in Boston failed for some reason to observe this ancient custom. The omission was noticed by pastor Carré, who made it the subject of a discourse which was afterwards printed. See below, chapter XIII.

who served between the years 1696 and 1705 :—
 Pierre Chardon, Jean Millet, Jean Rawlings,
 Mousset, Guillaume Barbut, René Grignon,
 Jean Tartarien, François Bridon, Jean Dupuis.¹

Chap. XI.

1700.

May
30.

Strong testimony to the worth of the refugees and the excellence of their religious teachers was given by the Earl of Bellomont, while governor of Massachusetts. Addressing the General Court, upon his last visit to Boston, he said : “ I recommend to your care the French Minister of this Town, who is destitute of a maintainance, because there are so very few families here. Let the Present raging Persecution of the French Protestants in France stir up your Zeal and Compassion towards him. I wish for your sakes the French Protestants had been encouraged among you. They are a good Sort of People, very ingenious, industrious, and would have been of great use for peopling this country, and enriching it by trade.”

Lord
Bello-
mont's
testimony.

Stimulated by the governor's advocacy, the “ French Protestants in Boston,” a few weeks

¹ In 1705, and again in 1729, John Dupuis or Dupee is mentioned as an Elder of the French Church in Boston. His will, dated January 4, 1734, and entered for probate, June 9, 1743, names his sons John, Daniel, Charles, Isaac, and Elias. Charles, who died before February 28, 1743,—when a letter of administration on his estate was granted,—left a son Charles, born in Boston, October 18, 1734. He married in 1755, Hannah Smith, who died April 2, 1813. He died August 12, 1802. His eldest son, James, was born in Walpole, Massachusetts, in 1756. He married Esther Hawes, and died in 1819, leaving a number of children, one of whom, James, was born in 1787, married Ursula Plimpton, and died in 1875. His only son is James A. Dupee, Esq., of Boston.

Chap. XI.

1700.

June.

Petition
of the
Elders.

later, presented their petition to him, and to the Council and Assembly of Representatives then in session in that city, for aid in the support of the Gospel ministry among them. They "take leave to signifie" to these gentlemen, "that many of their flock being already gone away who contributed much for the Subsistance of their Minister, the few that remain" are not "capable of furnishing the one-half that is necessary for his maintainance;" and "they must undergo the unhappyness of being deprived of the consolations of the holy ministry of the word of God, (whereof the unheard of cruelty of the persecutors of the Church had depriv'd them in their own Countrey) unless they may obtain your Christian Assistance. And seeing," they add, "our great King William, with all England as also the Dutch, the Duke of Brandenburg, and all other protestant States, have always maintained a great multitude of the French Protestants and their Ministers, they hope that you will likewise shew the same spirit of holy charity." In support of their request, the petitioners state that they "have borne great charges in paying Taxes for the Poor of the countrey, and in maintaining their own poor of this Town and those of New Oxford, who by occasion of the War withdrew themselves, and since that they have Assisted many who returned to Oxford in order their resettlement." For these reasons, they now "have recourse to this honourable Assembly, which God has established for the succour of the afflicted, especially the faithfull that are

strangers, that we may obtain your reliefs for the Subsisting of our Ministers, whereof there is so much need.”¹

Chap. XI.
1700.

This prayer of the Elders was referred to a committee, who gave their opinion “that for their Encouragement as Strangers and for the Carrying on the Publick Worship of God amongst them there be paid unto their Minister Twelve pounds out of the Publick Treasury.” The report was read and passed, and concurred in by the Council without delay. The relief was welcome, but there is no trace of further aid from the public funds. Daillé’s support was meager and precarious, and it seemed to him doubtful whether he could remain with his beloved people. But “a Minister must use every expedient,” he was wont to say, “before deserting his flock.” In 1706, he wrote to the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, stating his necessities.² The application was supported by the recommendation of Governor Dudley, and by that of the Church of England ministers in Boston. Dudley speaks of him as “an Honest man and good Preacher,” who “has long showed his Loyalty and peaceable temper toward the Government. His congregation,” he adds, “is poor, and I believe he has not more than thirty pounds per annum.” The rector of King’s Chapel, Mr. Myles, writes: “The people

June
29.

September
6.
1706.

October
10.

¹ Mass. Archives, vol. XI., p. 150. The petition was signed by Jn^o Rawlings, Peter Chardon, and René Grignon, Elders for the French Congregation.

² See Daillé’s letter, in the appendix to this volume.

Chap. XI.

1706.

October
9.October
15.

of the French Church in this town are so few in number that they are not able to afford a competent maintenance to their present minister (a very worthy good man);" and hopes that the Society will "make such provision for his comfortable subsistence as in their wisdom they may judge expedient." The Reverend Christopher Bridge, lately assistant minister of King's Chapel, commends the French pastor to the Society's regard, as "a man of great learning and sobriety, and very industrious in his ministerial functions. He was episcopally ordained, and many years past sent into these parts by the Lord Bishop of London."¹

March
21,
1707.

The Society's reply, however, was unfavorable. Mr. Daillé had not been sent out under its auspices, nor was his congregation "conformable to the Church of England." Thus, between the "standing order" of the Puritan colony, and the ecclesiastical establishment of the mother country, the good Huguenot pastor was left to end his days in straitened circumstances.

Daillé was growing old, but his interest in public affairs did not diminish. A letter written about this time to Bernon—"one of my earliest and best friends," as he styles him—shows us with what keen vision the veteran refugee was watching the events of the age, and how completely the naturalized Englishman had espoused the cause of his adopted country. "We had already

¹ Letter-books of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

received the following news, or at least a good part of it," he says, "but it has been confirmed within the last three or four days. The French having besieged Barcelona by sea and by land, admiral Leake has forced them to raise the siege, by taking six of the enemy's men-of-war, and destroying all the rest of the fleet. The flagship itself, a vessel of one hundred and ten guns, on board of which was the Count of Toulouse, was burned, and the Count was taken prisoner and sent to England. The Duke of Berwick was killed. The Earl of Galway has achieved many brilliant exploits. He has advanced into the very heart of the kingdom of Castille, having taken several important towns, and he marches with twenty thousand men toward Madrid, where indeed it is thought that he has already arrived. The Duke of Marlborough has defeated the French in Flanders, having killed a great many, and taken four thousand prisoners, among whom are the son of Marshal Tallard, the nephew of the Duke of Luxembourg, and several prominent officers. The enemy lost all their guns and baggage. The French have also been beaten in Italy by Prince Eugene, who has killed fifteen hundred, taken two battalions, and wounded or taken prisoners seven hundred men. May it please God to bless more and more the arms of our queen and of her allies!"

Pierre Daillé died on the twentieth day of May, 1715. He had reached his sixty-seventh year. His third wife, Martha, survived him. In his will, no mention is made of children by the

Chap. XI.

1706.

August
5.Barcelona
relieved.Battle of
Ramilies,
May 23,
1706.

Chap. XI.

1715.

Death
of
Daille.

last marriage, or by either of the preceding ones. He leaves the residue of his estate, after certain bequests, to his loving brother Paul Daillé, in Holland. His devotion to the people he served zealously for nearly twenty years, found expression in these bequests. He left his French and Latin books to the Church, for the use of its ministers, together with the sum of ten pounds to be expended in the erection of a meeting-house, and one hundred pounds, the interest of which was to be used for the minister's support.¹

¹ The will of Peter Daillé, of Boston, clerk, is on record in the Probate Office of Suffolk County, Boston. (No. 3663.) Among the directions regarding his funeral, there is a "restriction, that there be no wine," and a request that "all Ministers of the Gospel within the s^d Town of Boston (and M^r Walter," *interlined*) "shall have scarffs and Gloves, as well as my Bearers." The following bequests are made :

"I give all my French (and Latin) Books to the French Church in Boston (whereof I have been a Teacher) as a Library to be kept for the use and benefit of the Ministers of the s^d Church for the time being forever. I also give the sum of One hundred pounds . . . to be let out at Interest on good security by the Elders of the s^d church for the time being forever, and the yearly Interest thereof shall be for the help and support of the Minister of the s^d Church for the time being forever. And I likewise will that the sum of Ten pounds be put into the hands of the s^d Elders to be improved for the use of the s^d Church till they shall erect a Meeting house for the Worship of God at which time the s^d ten pounds shall be paid toward the charge thereof. (I give five pounds to old M^r John Rawlins, French schoolmaster.)

"Item I give and bequeath to my loving wife Martha Daillé the sum of Three hundred and fifty pounds in Province bills or silver equivalent thereto, and my Negro manserv^t named Kuffy, and also all my plate, cloaths, household goods and furniture, to hold the same, to her the s^d Martha Daillé her heirs executors admin^{rs} and assigns forever.

All the facts that have come down to us regarding this Huguenot pastor, go to prove that he was a worthy representative of the race and the order to which he belonged, and that he enjoyed the esteem and confidence of good men in his day. A characteristic sentence in one of his private letters, gives us some insight into a nature that fully deserved that confidence and esteem: "I have always determined to injure no one by my words or otherwise, but on the contrary to serve whomsoever I might be able to serve."

Chap. XI.

1715.

The vacant pulpit of the French Church was filled with little delay. Before the end of the year, André Le Mercier, a young man lately graduated from the Academy of Geneva, came to the people at their invitation. Le Mercier was a native of Caen, in Normandy. The call from Boston reached him in London. A salary of one hundred pounds was promised him by the congregation, which had grown richer, if not more numerous. Thirty years had now elapsed

Daille's
Successor.

"Item I give devise and bequeath unto my loving Brother Paul Dailé (Vaugelade in Amsfort) in Holland and to his heirs and assigns forever all the residue of my Estate both real and personal wheresoever the same is lying or may be found.

"Ult^o I do hereby nominate and appoint my (good friend M^r James Baudoin the sole) Executor of this my last Will and Testament. In Witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal the day and year first within written. "Dailé" (Seal).

The witnesses were, Benjamin Wadsworth, Phebe Manley, and Martha Willis.

Offered for probate, May 31, 1715.

Chap. XI.

1715.

since the founding of the Church ; and the representative names of the original immigration were still connected with it. Andrew Faneuil, James Bowdoin, Daniel Johonnot, Andrew Sigourney, were leaders in the congregation, and each at his death left a generous bequest to the pastor. The " meeting-house " for which they had waited so long, was built soon after Le Mercier's arrival. It was a small brick edifice, on School street, erected upon the land which had been purchased with King William's gift, ten years before.

The
first
Sermon.

The young preacher did not disappoint the expectations of the flock that gathered to hear his first sermon. With earnestness, yet with a modesty becoming his youth and inexperience, he set forth the aims of the Christian ministry, and avowed his purpose to reach after them ; asking the prayers and the coöperation of his people, and their forbearance in view of the deficiencies of which he was conscious. A feeling reference to their " late pastor of blessed memory," whose example it would be his ambition to follow, was accompanied by a fervent appeal to his hearers, that they would prove faithful to their religious profession.¹

¹ I find the peroration of this sermon among the manuscript discourses of Le Mercier in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The text is taken from the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, Chapter II., v. 2. " For I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified." * * * Vous pouvez conter que nos vœux les plus ardens seront votre prospérité et votre bonheur pour ce monde et dans l'autre, et que ce sera là la matière de nos prières à notre Dieu père et créateur de toutes choses et à J. C. son fils bien aimé.

In the course of Le Mercier's long ministry of thirty-four years, the number of worshipers in the French Church dwindled perceptibly. The rising generation naturally inclined to frequent the American churches. The middle of the eighteenth century was at hand ; a period which

Chap. XI.

1715-

1748.

Qu'enfin nous tacherons de remplir la vocation sainte à laquelle Dieu nous a lui-même apellés de si loin, en faisant valoir les talens et la mesure de grace qu' il nous a départie soit dans nos discours publics soit dans les particuliers, soit par nos exemples en suivant celui de votre dernier Pasteur de bénite memoire, et dont sans doute vous vous souvenés avec plaisir suivant l'exhortation de l'Apôtre aux Hebreux en considérant quelle a été l'issue de la conversation de ce conducteur du troupeau à qui je parle. Voila, mes très chers frères en notre S. J. C., quelles sont nos intentions qui sont pures et justes, mais en meme tems si difficiles à remplir que nous aurons sans doute besoin que vous excusiés souvent nos foiblesses et que vous vous souveniés que nous avons notre thrésor dans des vaisseaux de terre, afin que l'excellence de cette force soit de Dieu et non point de nous. Nous vous demandons la communion de vos prières pour parvenir à nos fins, et pour nous acquiter dignement d'une charge aussi au pénible qu'elle est glorieuse. Encouragés-nous vous mêmes par votre conversation sainte à soutenir avec joye ce grand fardeau ; ce sera par là que nous deviendrons de plus en plus diligens à semer dans une terre où nous verrons produire des fruits et rapporter trente, soixante, et cent grains pour un seul. Ce plaisir sera suffisant pour nous delasser de toutes nos fatigues. Si vous en usés ainsi, comme je l'espère de la piété que vous avés déjà fait paroître, et comme je vous en conjure au nom de n. Sauveur J. C. qui a été crucifié pour vous—si disje vous faites la volonté de notre père commun, et si vous écoutés comme vous devés la parole de son fils, vous serés veritablement mes pères et mes mères, mes frères et mes soeurs. Vous serés notre consolation dans cette vie, et dans le siecle à venir notre joye et notre couronne. Nous nous trouverons tous ensemble par la grace de Dieu devant son throne, et vous présentant à lui nous dirons, me voicy Seigneur et les enfans que tu m'as donné. Accorde-le nous, o Dieu, et à toi Pere et au Fils et au Saint Esprit soit gloire, force, et magnificence aux siècles des siècles. Amen."

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1748.

may be called the dead-line of the refugee congregations in this land. Few of them lived to cross it, and fewer still retained the French language beyond it. Daillé's successor was not his equal, probably, as a preacher; his writings are characterized by the diffuseness and verbosity of the *réfugié* style; yet it may be questioned whether Daillé himself could have retained in the "temple" on School street the "young people" whom Le Mercier was charged with having "driven to other churches."¹ We have no reason to doubt his own statement, that during the greater part of his pastorate, "an uninterrupted Peace and Union" reigned in the congregation.

Huguenot
versatility.

If he was not a brilliant preacher, Le Mercier showed himself, like so many of his fellow-exiles, an industrious worker in various fields of research and of practical enterprise. Two books from his pen are extant: the one a history of the Church and Republic of Geneva;² the other a Treatise against Detrac-

¹ Memorial History of Boston, vol. II., p. 257.

² The Church History of Geneva, in Five Books. As also a Political and Geographical Account of that Republick. By the Reverend Mr. Andrew Le Mercier Pastor of the French Church in Boston. Boston, New England; Sold by S. Gerrish and other Booksellers. 1732.

This little volume (4½x7 inches) contains two distinct publications, with separate title-pages:—

(1.) The Church History of Geneva, in Five Books. Wherein the State of Religion in that Place before Christianity is described; and also how the Gospel was first preached there, and by whom. A Catalogue of all the Bishops of Geneva, to the Time of the Reformation. The State of that Church in Times of Popery. An exact Account

tion.¹ Other interests also, beside those of religion, engaged his attention. He busied himself in the improvement of agriculture in Massachusetts, and was very zealous in humane endeavors to preserve the lives of seamen ship-

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of the Blessed Reformation. The History of that Church from that Time to this. And lastly, Several Things, concerning the Church-Government, the Discipline, the Ministers and the Manners of that Church. Boston, New England: Printed by B. Green, and Sold at the Booksellers Shops. 1732.—Pp. 1-220.

(2.) A Geographical and Political Account of the Republick of Geneva. Containing an exact Description of it's Scituation, publick Buildings, the Lake and the River Rhone, its Trade, Academy, Territorys, Fortifications, Interest, &c. Wherein the Mistakes of a great many English & French Authors are rectified. By the Author of the Church History of Geneva. Boston in New-England: Printed by B. Green, and Sold by the Booksellers. 1732.—Pp. i-vi., 1-76.

History
of
Geneva.

¹ A Treatise against Detraction, in Ten Sections. By the Reverend Mr. Andrew Le Mercier, Pastor of the French Church at Boston in New England. Printed at Boston in New England, and Sold by Daniel Henchman. 1733.—Pp. i-iv., i-viii., 1-303. (5¼x8 inches.)

The "Treatise against Detraction" is sensible, interesting, and—making allowance for the defective translation, for which the author apologizes as "kept very close to the French," and hence perhaps marred by "impropriety or obscurity,—" very well written. It is not wanting in vivacity and shrewdness, and though largely interspersed with anecdotes and quotations, classic, patristic, and modern, is not the work of a mere pedant. The characteristic moderation of the Huguenot appears in what is said of detraction as applied to the civil power. "To speak Evil of Sovereigns is one of the Highest Degrees of Sin that Detraction can rise to. . . . With regard to foreign Princes, whose Subjects we are not, indeed it is not so great an Evil to speak evil of them as of our own. But yet it is not an inconsiderable Sin,

Treatise
against
Detrac-
tion.

1. Because," etc.* * * "If Subjects are oppressed, Satyrs (satires) against their oppressors are not like to relieve them very much."

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1715-

1748.

Sable
Island.

wrecked upon the dangerous coast of Nova Scotia. In 1738, he petitioned the governor and council of Nova Scotia for a grant of Sable Island, off that coast, that he might erect buildings thereon, and stock the island with such domestic animals as might be useful in preserving the lives of escaped mariners. The grant was made, and the colonial governments of Nova Scotia and Massachusetts issued proclamations, warning all persons against removing or destroying the improvements that might be made by the proprietor of the island.¹ It is said that many lives were saved in consequence of this benevolent action; although much was done to frustrate it, by the killing of the stock, and by depredations upon the property. Sable Island has continued to be the scene of frequent shipwrecks; and at the present

¹ The History and Antiquities of Boston : by Samuel G. Drake. P. 488.—Haliburton, however, states that the grant was withheld by the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, inasmuch as M. Le Mercier declined to accept it on the terms proposed, of paying a quit-rent to the king.—(An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia. Vol. II., p. 269.)

In February, 1753, M. Le Mercier offered "the Island Sables" for sale. "Said Island is situated at the Distance of about forty Leagues from Halifax, thirty from Cape Breton, and fifty from Newfoundland : a good Market for the Produce of the Island, Cattle, and Roots of all sorts. It is about 28 Miles long, one Mile over, and contains about ten thousand Acres of Land, 500 of which are quite barren, all the rest produces or may bear something.* * * The Advantages which do accrue or may accrue from the Improvement of the Place are so great that I would not easily part with it if I was so skilful in Navigation and Shipping as it is necessary."—(The Boston Weekly News-Letter. No. 2640. Thursday, February 8, 1753.)

day, the good work attempted by the Huguenot pastor is carried on by the government at an expense of four thousand dollars annually, maintaining a force of men, furnished with provisions and appliances for the relief of shipwrecked sailors.

At length, in 1748, the membership of the French Church of Boston had become reduced to a mere handful, and the dissolution of the society was inevitable. Its house of worship passed into the possession of a new Congregational society, with the proviso that the building was to be preserved for the sole use of a Protestant sanctuary forever. Notwithstanding this restricting clause, the Huguenot "temple," forty years later, was sold to the Roman Catholics, and mass was said within its walls, by a Romish priest, on the second of November, 1788. Le Mercier lived for sixteen years after the dispersion of his flock. His last days were spent in Dorchester, where he had purchased an estate in 1722. He died after a long illness, on the last day of March, 1764.¹

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1748.

Le
Mercier's
death.

¹ The will of Andrew Le Mercier, clerk, of the town of Dorchester, dated November 7, 1761, is on record in the Probate Office of Suffolk County, Boston. (No. 13,459.) He orders the payment of all his just debts, "in the number of which I reckon the money due by my son Bartholomew to Thomas Hancock, Esq., for goods he had of him, for which I was answerable, and of which I have paid already the greatest part." "Secondly and lastly, I order that my estate shall be equally divided among my loving children Andrew, Margaret, Jane, and my son Bartholomew if alive, and I do appoint my two daughters Margaret and Jane to execute this my last will and testament, in witness

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1750.

Peter
Faneuil.

No longer represented in Boston by a distinct religious corporation, the Huguenot element in that town continued to be illustrated by some conspicuous names. Foremost among these was the name of Faneuil. Upon the death of Andrew, in 1738, his fortune, "the greatest of any" in the place, went by will to his nephew Peter, the eldest son of Benjamin, of New York. Peter Faneuil was a sagacious and an energetic merchant, intent upon gain, yet lavish in expenditure. His letter-books, which have been preserved, give a graphic picture of the man of business and the high-liver, keenly looking after his pecuniary interests, and at the same time thoughtful of his wine-cellar and of his kitchen. His "handsome chariot," with the family arms, must have been the admiration of the town. Peter's exterior was not impressive. Of low stature and dropsical habit, his complexion was swarthy, and he had been lame from childhood.¹ The hot temper, which effervesces in his correspondence, must have found expression in speech and gesture as well, with little regard to personal dignity. But he was also a man of

whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal. Andrew Le Mercier."

A codicil added February 3, 1764, substitutes Zechariah Johonnot, as executor, for his daughter Margaret, who is of disordered mind.

¹ "A fat corpulent brown squat man hip short lame from childhood," in the inelegant language of a cotemporary. (Notes on a copy of Dr. Wm. Douglass's Almanack for 1743, &c. By Samuel Abbott Green, M. D.—Reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, February, 1884.)

benevolence, whose deeds of charity were manifold ;¹ whilst his public spirit, as a citizen of Boston, was displayed by one act which has immortalized his name. Soon after coming into possession of his uncle's large fortune, Peter Faneuil offered to construct a public market-house, and present it to the town. The generous offer was accepted, and in due time Faneuil Hall was completed and delivered over to the authorities. The liberal Huguenot had studied only the convenience of his fellow-townsmen ; but in carrying out this purpose, he builded better than he knew. The second story of the new edifice was appropriated as an audience room, capable of accommodating one thousand persons. Here, on ordinary occasions, the town-meetings were held ; and here, in the exciting times of the Revolution, some of the most important political debates took place, and some of the most fervid appeals to the popular love of freedom were heard. Faneuil Hall became famous as the cradle of American liberty.

The descendants of Pierre Baudouin,² in sev-

¹ Thursday, March 3, 1743. "Peter Faneuil Esq^r. between 2 & 3 o'clock in y^e afternoon dyed of a dropsical complayca (tion). * * * (In my opinion a great loss to this Town aged 42-8 m.) & I think by what I have hear'd has done more Charitable deeds than any man y^t ever liv'd in this Town & for whom I am very sorry."—(Notes, etc.)

² Pierre Baudouin (died September, 1706) and his wife Elizabeth (died August 18, 1720) left two sons, James and John, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary. James (died September 8, 1747, aged 71) was married three times. By his first wife, Sarah Campbell (married July 18, 1706, died

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1740.

eral succeeding generations, made their Huguenot patronymic a distinction. James, the son of Pierre, rose to the first rank among the merchants of Boston. He was a member of the Colonial Council for several years, and left the greatest estate, it is said, that had ever been possessed by one person in the province. His son and namesake, known as Governor James Bowdoin, was an eminent statesman and patriot. Entering upon public life at the age of twenty-seven, he took a prominent part in the opposi-

The
Bowdoin
family.

December 21, 1713) he had six children; four of whom died in infancy. His daughter Mary, born June 27, 1708, married Balthazar Bayard, February 12, 1729, and died July, 1780. His son William, born June 14, 1713, died February 24, 1773, married Phœbe Murdock. By his second wife, Hannah Portage, (married September 15, 1714, died August 23, 1736) James had four children: Samuel, (died in infancy,) Elizabeth, born April 25, 1717, died October 20, 1771, married James Pitts; Judith, born March 5, 1719, married Thomas Flucker; and James (Governor of Massachusetts) born August 7, 1726, died November 5, 1790, married Elizabeth, daughter of John Erving, died May 5, 1803. Governor James Bowdoin had two children. His son James, born September 22, 1752, married Sarah, daughter of William Bowdoin, and died October 11, 1811, without issue. His daughter Elizabeth (died October 25, 1809) married Sir John Temple, first British Consul-general to the United States; and had two sons, Sir Grenville, and James, and two daughters; Elizabeth, who married Thomas L. Winthrop, Lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, and Augusta. The Hon. Robert Charles Winthrop is the youngest of the fourteen children of Thomas L. Winthrop and Elizabeth Temple.

Pierre Baudouin's second son, John, removed to Virginia, and died before 1717, leaving descendants. Pierre's daughter Elizabeth married — Robins; and his daughter Mary married Stephen Boutineau, August 22, 1708.—New England Historical and Genealogical Register. Vol. X., pp. 76-79.

tion to the encroachments of the crown, during the period preceding the Revolution. Not long before the rupture with England, he was president of the council of government. The convention that assembled in 1779 to form a constitution chose him as its presiding officer; and at the close of the war he was elected lieutenant-governor of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and succeeded John Hancock as governor. "In this office, his wisdom, firmness and moderation reflected the highest honor upon his character, and crushed in its infancy and without a single execution an insurrection against the government," which had been "stimulated by an unwise taxation," and which was "secretly cherished by every mischievous and discontented citizen. This measure preserved the State, perhaps the Union, and deserved for the author of it a statue."¹ Gov. Bowdoin died on the sixth of November, 1790, at the age of sixty-four. For "more than thirty years of his life, he was a professor of religion, and exemplarily adorned his profession. In all the duties enjoined by the Gospel, both of piety and charity, he abounded throughout his life, and at his death left the world, urging upon his family the religion which he had professed. His name will descend to posterity as the odor of sweet incense."²

Chap. XI.
1779.

Bowdoin
College.

Bowdoin College, in Maine—then a part of Massachusetts—was so called in honor of Gov-

¹ Travels in New England and New York, vol. I., p. 523; by President Timothy Dwight.

² Ibid.

Chap. XI. ernor James Bowdoin. His only son James, a
 1794. man of fine scholarship and literary tastes, was
 like him active in public affairs. In 1805, he
 was appointed by the government of the United
 States, minister plenipotentiary to the court of
 Madrid. He was the munificent patron of the
 college that bore his family name. He died
 childless; and "with him the name of Bowdoin,
 by direct descent in the male line, passed away
 from the annals of New England."¹

John Paul Mascarene, of whose parentage
 and early life we have given some account in
 preceding chapters, came to Boston soon after
 his appointment to a military command in Nova
 Scotia. Here he married Elizabeth Perry,
 in 1714.² His house stood on School street,

John
 Paul
 Mascarene.

¹ The life and Services of James Bowdoin. An Address delivered before the Maine Historical Society, at Bowdoin College, September 5, 1849. By Robert C. Winthrop. P. 82.

² Their marriage was published in Boston, April 21, 1714. They had four children: Elizabeth, born in 1717, Joanna, born in 1720, John, born April 11, 1722, and Margaret, born in 1726. John married, August 9, 1750, Margaret Holyoke, and died in 1778, leaving one son, the last of the name. Elizabeth married, in 1741, Thomas Perkins, and died June 30, 1745, giving birth to a son, Thomas. Joanna married, March 3, 1744, James Perkins, and had two sons, Thomas and James, and a daughter Joanna. Thomas, son of Joanna Mascarene and James Perkins, married, first, Miss Appleton, who left a daughter Eliza, and secondly, Anna Powell, by whom he had three children: Miriam, who married F. C. Loring; Anna, who married — Rogers; and Powell. James, son of Joanna Mascarene and James Perkins, died without issue. Joanna, daughter of Joanna Mascarene and James Perkins, married William Hubbard, and had several children, among them Samuel Hubbard, born June 1, 1788; married Mary Ann Coit; died December 24, 1847. He was

hard by the French Church. This was the home of his family during much of the time while he was in active service; and when, in 1749, he resigned the office of lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief of the province of Nova Scotia, he came to Boston to spend the rest of his days with them. His relations with the principal people of the town had long been intimate. He died in Boston, on the fifteenth day of January, 1760, at the age of seventy-five, leaving a son John, and two daughters.¹ His grandson, the last of the name, lived and died in Dorchester, Massachusetts.

Chap. XI.

1749.

The story of the Huguenots in Boston is on the whole a pleasant one. If Massachusetts at all deserved the reproach of Lord Bellomont, that she had failed to "encourage the French Protestants among" her people, the charge must have referred to the agricultural, rather than the commercial class of immigrants. For whilst no liberal appropriations of lands were made to those who sought homes in the interior of the country, it is certain that the welcome given to the merchants and traders, who preferred to establish themselves in the seaport town, were very cordial from the beginning. It must be

Bello-
mont's
reproach.

Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. Margaret, youngest daughter of John Paul Mascarene, married in 1750 Foster Hutchinson, who died in 1799, a refugee, in Nova Scotia, leaving a son Foster, who died in 1815, and a daughter Abigail, born in 1776, died in July, 1843.—New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. X., pp. 143, 147, 148.

¹ His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, died before her father.

Chap. XI. borne in mind that the Huguenots arrived in Massachusetts at a critical moment in the affairs of the colony. Between France with her Canadian savages, and England with her oppressive navigation laws, the people were disquieted and depressed, and the commonwealth was very poor. Taxation weighed heavily upon the settler; and the French immigrant was not always exempted from his share of the burden. And yet, if his home in the wilderness was broken up—as we shall see in the next chapter—the blow came, not from his English neighbor, but from the Indian, with the Canadian priest at his back. A happier lot befell those who lingered in the town. There was scope in Boston for the ambition of the enterprising. The Rochellose refugee—the scion, it might be, of some house that for generations had done business in great waters—brought to the little Massachusetts town a commercial experience and a breadth of view, that stood him in stead of capital—though capital was not always wanting. The Frenchman's quick wit gave a keener edge to the shrewdness of the Yankee. The perseverance of the Huguenot, fortified under the long strain of persecution, reënforced the energy of the New Englander, sturdy and self-asserting. The French Calvinist found a brother in the Puritan. The generous warmth of that reception which the Episcopal Church of England had given to the fugitive ministers and members of the suffering Churches of France, was reflected in the welcome extended by the Con-

gregational clergy to those who reached Boston. "They challenge a room in our best affections," said Mather. In social life, the families transplanted from La Rochelle were well fitted to shine; and the intermarriages of which we hear soon, testify to their association with the *élite* of the colonial capital. On the whole, the Huguenots that came to Boston can hardly have been disappointed in their high expectations, or have found occasion to recall the "great esteem" they had conceived for the place before coming to it. And while they received benefits, they also conferred them. In what appreciable degree this immigration affected the community which admitted it, we cannot undertake to say. Such an estimate may be made more readily in connection with the larger colonies that came to New York and Virginia and South Carolina, or in connection with the whole body of the French Protestant refugees. But it is obvious, that the little company of Huguenots that settled in Boston, brought with them qualities that were needed at that day. They brought a buoyancy and a cheerfulness, that must have been contagious, even amidst pervading austerity. They brought a love for the beautiful, that showed itself in the culture of flowers. They brought religious convictions, that were not the less firm because accompanied by a certain moderation and pliancy in things not held of vital importance. They brought a love for liberty, that was none the less sincere because associated with a tolerance learned in the school of suffering.

Chap. XI.

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Boston surely gained by the admission of an element in its population that possessed these traits. And the mispronounced names from beyond the seas, that stand out so boldly on the page of its history—names such as Bowdoin, and Faneuil, and Revere—recall in the flight of the Huguenot to those shores an episode not only pathetic, but important also for its bearing upon social and public life and typical character in New England.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SETTLEMENT.

OXFORD.

It was in the spring or summer of the year 1687, that the first band of Huguenot settlers destined for the Nipmuck country, in the heart of Massachusetts, reached the site of their proposed plantation of New Oxford. The journey must have occupied three days or more. They had followed for fifty miles the track through the wilderness known as the "Bay Path," leading from Boston westward to the Connecticut river. Originally, doubtless, an Indian trail, this path had now been traveled by the English for many years, and it was still the nearest approach to a highway from the seaboard to the remote town of Springfield. Walking behind the lumbering wagons that carried their household goods and farming implements, the Frenchmen gazed with inexhaustible interest upon the wonders of the new country they were penetrating. Except along that thin line of travel, where here and there a tree had been felled, or the underbrush had been cut away, or where an occasional clearing exposed the fields that had been rudely tilled by the savages, the forest stood in its primeval grandeur. Much of the

Chap. XII.

1687.

Chap. XII. growth was novel to the eyes of the strangers.
1687. The hickory, the hemlock, the red, scarlet and black oak, they had never seen before. Of other trees—the white oak, the sycamore, the beach, the elm and maple, the pitch-pine and fir—there were new and noble species; and to men who had been accustomed all their lives to the level and sandy shores of western France, or to the cultivated plains and valleys of the interior, these giants of the forest, this canopy of verdure, all this wealth of natural vegetation, formed an amazing and a charming sight. Nor were they less pleased with the lowlier growths around them. The woods were full of flowering shrubs, and climbing plants, and of wild berries of divers kinds; and in many places, the vine, a welcome sight to the children of France, trailed on the ground, or stretched itself from tree to tree, its pendent clusters giving early promise of abundant fruit.

The leader of the band of settlers was Daniel Bondet, a French Protestant pastor, who had landed at Boston in the preceding summer, with “a company of poor refugees,” after a long and perilous voyage across the ocean. Of the fifteen families composing that body, some eight or ten were now accompanying him to the spot where lands had been assigned to them for their establishment. Bondet himself was under appointment by the Society in London for promoting the Gospel in New England, to labor for the evangelization of the Nipmuck tribe of Indians, the feeble remnants of which were gathered in a few

villages near the site of the projected settlement. Chap. XII.

1687.

A first view of their future home could scarcely be a disappointing one to our Huguenots. Seen at the present day, from an elevation southeast of the village of Oxford, the spot seems admirably chosen. A range of wooded hills surrounds the peaceful valley through which the Maanexit or French river takes its way. The level lands on either side of the river, extending for more than two miles along its course, presented even then some appearance of cultivation and fruitfulness; for here the Indians had long gathered their crops of maize and other products, and the region was highly esteemed among them for the richness of the mellow soil. Above this alluvial plain, the slopes of the nearer hill-sides could readily be transformed into meadows and plantations, and offered many an inviting site for the dwellings and the gardens of the colonists; while the pleasant sound of a brook, rushing down over stones and rocky ridges to meet the river, was suggestive, to the settler's practical mind, of the mill-power soon to be utilized by the industrious community.

The work of laying out the little village, and building the rude cabins that were to serve as habitations for the time, was still in progress, when an important member joined the colony. This was Isaac Bertrand du Tuffeau, Gabriel Bernon's partner and agent, who had come over from England in advance of his associate, to "settle a plantation" for both. Du Tuffeau left

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1687.

London in the latter part of May, 1687, bearing letters of introduction from Bernon, and from Robert Thompson, president of the Society for promoting the Gospel in New England, and one of the proprietors of New Oxford, to Joseph Dudley and William Stoughton, the other proprietors, in Boston. Upon presenting these letters, he obtained from them a grant of seven hundred and fifty acres of land at Oxford. Du Tuffeau was attended by two English yeomen from Staffordshire, John Johnson and Thomas Butt, and by Jacques Thibaud and his daughter Catharine, French refugees, who had been engaged by Bernon and himself, in London, to work for a term of years on the projected plantation.

The first year passed auspiciously in the new colony. There was no scarcity of food, though the season may have been too far advanced for planting. The woods were full of game, and the neighboring streams and ponds abounded with fish. Supplies of maize were brought to the French village by the Indians who haunted the adjacent forests; and from time to time, other needed provisions were procured from Boston. The winter that followed was one of extraordinary mildness. To their surprise, the settlers experienced no weather more severe than that to which they had been accustomed in France. Snow fell but twice, and each time to the depth of only a foot. Cheerfulness reigned throughout the little community; and no one was more elated than Bertrand du Tuffeau, who

had taken to himself a wife since his arrival in Massachusetts. Perhaps the first marriage celebrated by the good pasteur Bondet, may have been that of Du Tuffeau and the "demoiselle de la Rochefoucauld." Neither of the pair was young, and the union was childless. Bernon had advanced to his agent the liberal sum of two hundred pounds for the settlement of his plantation; and the glowing accounts that he received from the colony induced him to forward three hundred pounds more. The money was spent freely, if not judiciously. At length, in the spring of the following year, "excited by the letters of the said Du Tuffeau," Bernon "ship'd himself and servants," at his own expense, "with some other families," to the number of "above forty persons," and came to establish himself in America.¹

Chap. XII.

1688.

April
26.

The ship *Dolphin* was considered "a good sailor," and proved on this occasion worthy of her reputation; and her captain, John Foye, "a most discreet navigator," had the satisfaction of landing his passengers at Boston within ten weeks of their departure from Gravesend.²

July
5.

¹ Bernon Papers, MS.

² "Thursday, July 5th. . . . This day Foy arrives. . . . Several French came over in Foy, some Men of Estates."—(Diary of Samuel Sewall. Vol. I., p. 219.)

From the fact that Bernon's name appears in a deed dated May 24, 1688, conveying to him the lands promised him by the proprietors of New Oxford, it might be inferred that he must have reached Boston at an earlier date than that which has been assigned above. But Bernon had authorized Bertrand du Tuffeau to represent him in this transaction; and it is clear that he did not sail from Graves-

Chap. XII. Bernon lost no time in submitting his credentials from Robert Thompson to Dudley and Stoughton, and in obtaining a confirmation of the grant that had been made to him of a tract of twenty-five hundred acres of land in Oxford. A few weeks later, the little village in the Nipmuck country was thrown into great commotion by the arrival of two courtly personages. The one was the wealthy and enterprising Huguenot, to whom the inhabitants were eagerly looking for the further encouragement of their plantation. The other was the Chief Justice of the province of Massachusetts, and President of the Provincial Council; one of the proprietors of the Oxford lands, and in fact the sole manager of the whole enterprise. Dudley had been "pleased to accompany" his new friend to the settlement, "to put" him "in possession of the said twenty-five hundred Acres of land." The transfer was doubtless made with all formality. The old English custom of investiture "by turf and twig" was sometimes observed by the American colonists in the conveyance of lands; and it was in this manner, doubtless, that Bernon was "put in possession" of his Oxford grant. Imagination readily pictures the scene that may have been witnessed by the villagers on this occasion. The parties met in some central spot

Investi-
ture
by turf
and twig.

end before April 26th, 1688, when he signed a contract with Pierre Cornilly.—(Bernon Papers.) It is also certain that he "ship'd himself" and his associates with "*Capt. Foye* and *Captain Ware*," (ibid.,) the former of whom, as we learn from Sewall, arrived in Boston on the fifth of July.

within the tract to be conveyed ; and the proprietor delivered to the grantee a piece of sod cut from the ground, and a branch from one of the overhanging trees ; at the same time bidding all present take notice, that he put the receiver in full and peaceable possession.

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1688.

The parties to this transaction were men of no common mould. Both were in the prime of life ; the Englishman being three years younger than the Frenchman.

Joseph Dudley was one of the most accomplished men of his time. "Of noble aspect, and a graceful mien," his affability won for him the esteem and regard of persons in all conditions of life. The son of a governor of Massachusetts, he entered in early manhood upon a brilliant career, which was to end in the high position his father had occupied before him. That he was crafty and selfish, could scarcely be concealed from his cotemporaries ; yet his engaging manners, and his extraordinary abilities, enabled him to conciliate opponents, and to overcome well-founded prejudices. Few public men in America have been more trusted ; and few, who have betrayed the people's trust, have succeeded so well in recovering popular confidence. It was like him, to employ his rare powers of address in gaining Bernon's friendship, and to spare himself no pains for the purpose of attaching to himself one who might prove useful to him in the future. Of Dudley, it has been said that he was "not true, even to friends."

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Gabriel Bernon is represented by a tradition singularly direct and vivid, as a person of commanding appearance and courtly bearing. Tall, slender, erect, he joined the vivacity of his race with the thoughtfulness that marked the men of his creed. The descendant of the princely house of Burgundy was not surpassed in affability by the provincial dignitary in whose presence he stood; but in Bernon, a genuine kindliness consisted with a quick temper, that betrayed itself in a certain imperiousness of manner, from which the politic and designing statesman was doubtless free. Resenting injury and injustice, he was vehement and pertinacious in his attachments; and there is no evidence that a shadow of distrust rested at any subsequent time upon the friendship he had conceived for Dudley.¹ The sanguine, guileless spirit of the one must have shown itself, in striking contrast with the composure of the other, as Bernon received from the representative of the proprietors of these lands in the wilderness the tokens of his investiture. Already he saw himself the "seigneur" of a little domain, overlooking the village founded by his fellow-refugees in this new and free country; the growth and prosperity of which he might watch from Boston, and whither he might at times resort, as formerly from La Rochelle to La Bernonière in Poitou, or to

¹ Twenty-two years later, he wrote: "J'ay sacrifié tous mes intérêts pour m'attacher aux vôtres, avec toute la passion d'une véritable affection." (Bernon to Dudley, March 1, 1710.—Bernon Papers.)

Bernonville on the isle of Ré. Little did he then imagine the fate of that settlement in the forest of Massachusetts, or dream that twenty-eight years would elapse before this English friend would give him the title-deeds of the property conveyed to him with so much formality on that summer's day.

Bernon brought with him to Oxford a portion, at least, of the company of "above forty persons" who had accompanied him from England. His visit gave a strong impulse to the progress of the settlement. By the terms of his deed from the proprietors, he had bound himself to build a grist-mill for the use of the inhabitants, and maintain it at his own cost and charges. This engagement was fulfilled; and soon the brawling stream on the eastern side of the village plot was busily at work, driving not only a grist-mill, but also a saw-mill, nearly as indispensable to the comfort of the settlers. Now too, the little community was provided with a house of worship. Pasteur Bondet's "great house" was no longer sufficient to accommodate the flock, augmented by the late arrivals; and a "temple" was built, a little way out of the village, on the road to the fort. Near by was the burying ground, soon to be occupied by the first victims of savage barbarity.

The fort was an invariable feature of a New England frontier town. Its erection did not imply any apprehension of immediate attack, but was regarded as a suitable precaution, even when no special reason existed for doubting the

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1688-

1690.

The
Fort.

Chap. XII. friendliness of the natives. In Oxford, this con-
struction was probably performed at Bernon's
1688- expense, soon after the arrival of Du Tuffeau.
1690. The fort was built upon an eminence overlooking
the village and the whole valley. It was an
inclosure of considerable size; and within the
space thus protected, there was a house, with
a cellar containing a well.¹

¹ "The removal this summer (1884) of the huge mass of stones from the surrounding farm, heaped on the site of the fort during the last two centuries, has led to the discovery of its original features and proportions. It is now shown to have been a substantial structure, scientifically planned, and strongly built; its main walls evidently of stone three feet thick, and about four feet high, surmounted, no doubt, by heavy loop-holed logs. It was a complete quadrangular fort of two bastions, with a fire flanking every face; while the main bastion, at the southwest angle, more boldly developed than that at the northeast, also enfiladed an outer breastwork and ditch, extending westerly from it for a distance of six rods. This breastwork was clearly the south line of a large stockade, palisaded on its other sides, but having here a wall and ditch like that of the main work. It protected the main approach to the fort on the west side, as well as the cattle and the chattels which were too bulky to be brought within the fort itself. There are also indications of an opening in the eastern wall, for access to a similar stockade on that side. A sally-port, in the face of the work, opened out under cover of the ditch, just east of the main bastion; while a drive-way, wide enough for carts, was made through the wall on the west side—these openings having revetment walls, and being protected, no doubt, by stockade gates. The drive-way appears to have extended down the hill, through the valley, to the village on the banks of the stream below; and traces of a cart path are still visible, along an upper portion of the hill less cultivated than the richer land immediately around the fort. By the wall on the west side, not far from the drive-way, are broad stones, said to have been steps for a pass-way over the wall to and from the houses in the valley, for those who went on foot. The well is near the middle of the east face of the fort, and

By the end of the second year, the more pressing labors of the settlement were over. Twenty-
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1690.

is serviceable to this day. At a little distance was the watering trough, for stock, the stone foundations of which remain. Near the northeast corner of the fort, where the ground begins to slope away to the north, is a walled sink, about three feet deep. On the south side of the drive-way, within the fort, was a heavy wall, extending from the west wall up to the block-house, which formed a strong inner line of defense.

“The main block-house was thirty feet long and eighteen feet wide, with a double-walled cellar twenty-four feet long by twelve feet wide, and about six feet deep. The inner wall supported the floor beams; the outer wall, three feet from this, was made of heavy boulders, on a foundation about three feet deep, and supported the logs forming the walls of the house.—That the cellar was originally well built, is clear; for after two days’ work in digging a long drain to protect its walls from future dilapidation, the workmen came upon the top of a covered stone drain, full seventy feet long, extending the whole length of their trench, constructed when the fort was built, and most of it still in good condition, though choked at the upper end where exposed to the rains and frosts of nearly two hundred years.

“The main fireplace was in the middle of the north side of the house. It was nearly ten feet wide at the opening of the jambs, and admitting logs eight feet long at the back. The broad foundation (one hundred square feet) supporting it and its chimney, almost wholly outside the house, gave ample room for these huge logs and for an oven besides. A smaller fireplace was on the opposite side. Attached to the main house was an annex sixteen feet long by fourteen feet wide, without a cellar; but in its northwest corner, a flight of stone steps led to the cellar of the main house. On clearing out the débris and rubbish at this point, three or four of the original benches, or offsets cut in the hard earth, for laying the steps when the cellar was built, were found as distinct as if just made. On the east side was a wide foundation (of over fifty square feet) for a fireplace and chimney, extending five feet back from the house; the chimney being used in common for this and for the adjoining fireplace in the main house. These two fireplaces were of the ordinary size at that day, about two feet deep and five feet wide between the jambs, and made for sticks of wood four feet in length. On all these spots where once the hearthstones lay were

Chap. XII. five or thirty families were clustered together,
1690. in a compact though irregular village. They had received their allotments of fifty to a hundred acres of land, in the "great plain" along the river, and in the upland meadows; but their social instincts drew them together, after the French custom, in close proximity. The sites of "the French houses" are still pointed out by the inhabitants of Oxford, in a locality a mile and a half southeast of the present centre of the village. Here, and in the immediate neighborhood, were the homes of Sigourney, Bureau, Cassaneau, Johonnot, Alard, Johnson, Baudrit, Elie and Jean Dupeu, Germon, Barbut, Grignon, Martin, Canton, Baudouin, Montier, Mousset, Depont, Cornilly, Mourgue, Thibaud, Maillet, Millet, Du Tuffeau, Montel, Cante, Boutineau,

found the ashes of their ancient fires. In the rear of the annex, and doubtless opening into it, was a separate log-house twelve feet square on an independent foundation. This was nearly in the centre of the fort, and was used, it would seem, for arms and stores. Beneath it was an underground chamber, about six feet wide and five feet deep, walled in a circular form, which was evidently the magazine. In the crevices of the walls were found grains and nodules of powder, or the charcoal of which it is composed, resembling powder that has been long water-soaked. We may well regret that so many of the select and shapely corner-stones of the structure have been taken for cellars and walls of the farm; but its heavy foundations still remain. Even the neglect which, for so many years, heaped it with rubbish, protected the clear lines and evidences of its inner structure, until the time should come when the descendants of its original builders might be ready to preserve, with jealous care, the many vestiges that yet subsist and clearly show that the fort was fitted for a habitation of refuge as well as for a stronghold of defense."—(Communicated by William D. Ely, Esq., Providence, Rhode Island.)

Bourdille; and a little further off, on "Bondet hill," was the "great house" of the pastor.

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1690.

André Sigourney and his wife Charlotte Pairan,¹ with their children, three boys and two girls, occupied one of these homes. Four of the children, with a cousin, had accompanied the parents in their flight from France in the winter of the year 1681. The youngest child, Barthélemy, was born in London, and baptized in the French Church in Threadneedle street, on the sixteenth of April, 1682. The eldest daughter Susanne soon won the affections of the young English yeoman John Johnson, and upon the expiration of his engagement with Du Tuffeau, they were married. André Sigourney was a leading member of the Oxford community. In 1694, he was Constable of "the French Plantation." The office was one of dignity and influence, and his appointment to it showed in what consideration he was held.

Isaac Bertrand du Tuffeau was the village magistrate, as well as Bernon's factor. The General Court, meeting in Boston on the twenty-first day of June, 1689, appointed him to be "Commissioner for the Towne of New Oxford," and to "have Authority for Tryall of small Causes not exceeding forty shillings, and to act in all other matters as any other Assistant may doe, as the Lawes of this Colony direct."

François Bureau belonged to a noble family of La Rochelle. His brother Thomas was now one of the principal French merchants in Lon-

¹ See volume I., pages 282, 324, 325.

Chap. XII. don, and belonged to the committee intrusted
1690. with the distribution of the Royal Bounty among his fellow-refugees. The Oxford settler had brought with him his wife Anne, two daughters, and two sons. The elder daughter, we have seen, was destined to be the wife of Benjamin Faneuil, and the mother of Peter Faneuil, of Boston.

Jean Germon, or Germaine, was a native of La Tremblade, in the province of Saintonge. The name of Charles Germon also occurs in the list of the Oxford settlers. Jean was the father of Margaret Germaine, who married Paix Cassaneau, soon after her coming to Oxford. A younger daughter, Mary Germaine, several years later became the wife of André, son of André Sigourney.

Paix Cassaneau, or Cazneau, was from Languedoc. His house, formerly that of Du Tuffeau, stood near the dwelling of Johnson, the scene of the Indian massacre.

Daniel Johonnot, a youth of twenty, came to Oxford with his uncle André Sigourney. Some years after the massacre, he married his cousin Susanne Johnson.

Elie Dupeux, seaman, from Port des Barques, on the coast of Saintonge, had fled to England in 1681. He and his wife Elisabeth, with their four children, occupied one of the "French houses" in Oxford.

Jean Martin, and his wife Anne, were hard-working peasants from Saintonge. Two children, Jean and François, were born to them in New Oxford.

René Grignon, Guillaume Barbut, Thomas Mousset, and Jean Millet, were connected for a time with the colony. When it broke up they removed to Boston, where they became Elders in the French Church. Grignon retained his interest in the plantation, and at a later day returned to it, as we shall see.

Jean Baudouin was the elder of Pierre Bowdoin's two sons. From Oxford he returned to Boston, but went afterwards to Virginia, where his descendants are still to be traced.

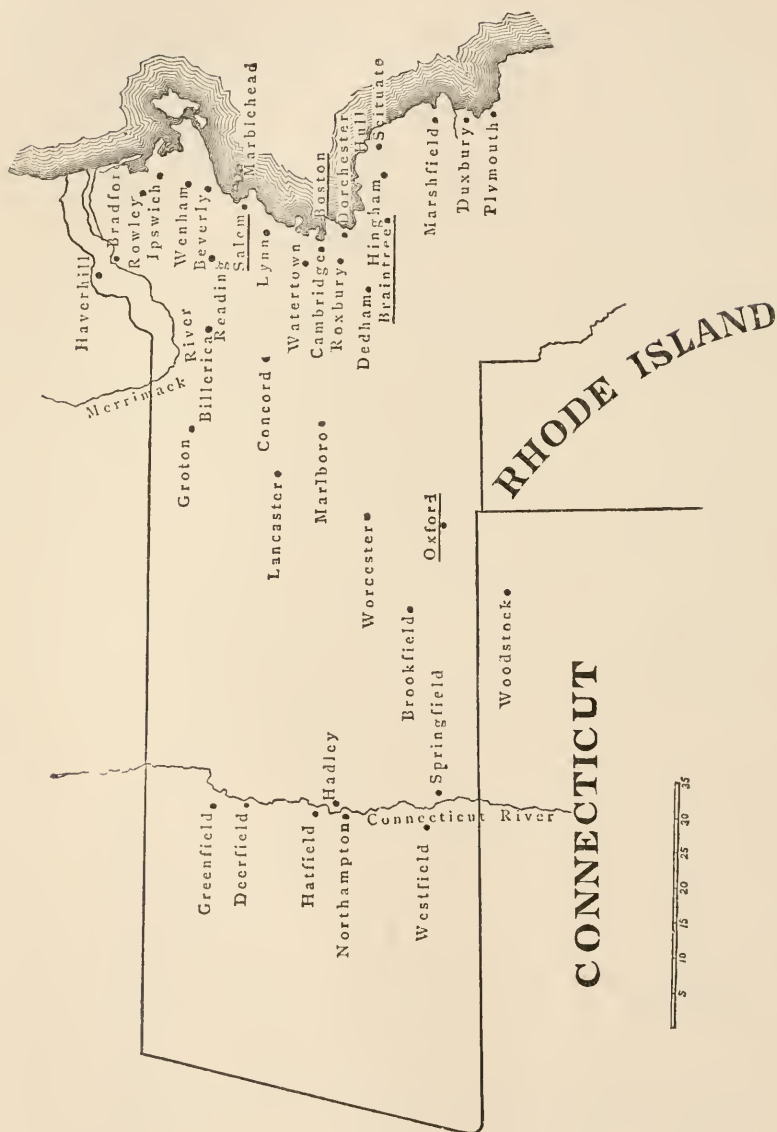
Jacques Depont was a nephew of Gabriel Bernon. From Oxford he went to Connecticut, and died there about the year 1702.

Pierre Cante, or Canton,¹ was the miller and storekeeper.

Cornilly, Mourgue, Butt, and Thibaud, were like Johnson engaged in Bernon's service for the first two or three years; but there is no evidence that like him they became permanent settlers.

Old and young, the Oxford community may have numbered seventy or eighty persons. The foundations had been laid, and there was reason to expect that this inland settlement would grow rapidly, receiving numerous accessions of refugees seeking a country home. Though remote from Boston, the spot was not entirely isolated. Woodstock, ten miles away toward the southwest, was plainly visible from the site of the Oxford

¹ The person whose name occurs in both these forms, is to be distinguished from Peter Canton of Boston, who was engaged, at this very time, in partnership with Bernon, in the making of rosin.—(Bernon Papers.)



fort ; and the two places were in constant communication. Nothing appeared to threaten the tranquillity of the peaceful village, unless it might be the proximity of some of the once dreaded Indians. But on this score, the apprehensions of the French had from the first been completely set at rest. “ There is no cause whatever for fear,” wrote the refugee in Boston, in 1687, “ with reference to the savages ; for they are very few in number. Their last wars with the English, twelve years ago, reduced them to a mere handful, and consequently they are in no condition to defend themselves.”

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1690.

Indeed, this impression was confirmed upon actual acquaintance with the Indian. The Nipmucks were an inferior tribe, tributary, at the time when the English first came into the country, to the more powerful Pokanokets. They were now spiritless and inoffensive. The French could scarcely credit the stories told them of the ferocity and treachery of these very people, when, roused by Philip, they had joined the Pokanokets in attacking one English settlement after another, butchering men, women and children, and devastating their plantations. These drowsy and docile inhabitants of the forest, who brought them supplies of fish and game and maize, seemed incapable of such deeds.

Not many months passed, however, before the settlers found occasion to revise their opinion of the Indian's gentleness. The rum traffic, the baneful source of mischief to the red man, had been opened in their neighborhood ; and

Chap. XII. unscrupulous traders were dealing out the fiery
 1691. poison to the Nipmucks with impunity. Pasteur
 Bondet, whose duties as missionary to the
 July Indians brought him into frequent communica-
 6. tion with them, wrote to some person in author-
 ity—probably Dudley—with reference to this
 abuse. The occasion of his complaint, he rep-
 resents as one that fills his heart with sorrow
 and his life with trouble; “but my humble
 request,” he says, “will be at least before God
 and before you a solemn protestation against
 the guilt of those incorrigible persons who dwell
 in our place. The rome (rum) is always sold
 to the Indians without order and measure, inso-
 much that according to the complaint sent to
 me by master Dickesteane with advice to present
 it to your honour, the 26 of the last month there
 was about twenti indians so furious by drunk-
 eness that they fought like bears and fell upon
 one called Remes who is appointed for preach-
 ing the Gospel amongst them. He had been so
 much disfigured by his wonds (wounds) that
 there is no hope of his recovery.” The good
 pasteur beseeches the person addressed to sig-
 nify to the instruments of this evil his disap-
 proval, and assures him that by thus interposing
 he will do great good, “maintaining the honor
 of God in a Christian habitation,” and “con-
 forting some honest souls which being incom-
 patible with such abominations feel every day
 the burden of affliction of their honorable
 peregrination aggravated.”¹

Pasteur
 Bondet's
 com-
 plaint.

¹ Memoir of the French Protestants, who settled at Oxford,

It does not appear that Dudley exerted him- Chap. XII.
self to redress this abuse. The selectmen of 1692.
Woodstock, in the following February, made a
similar complaint to the General Court; and
eight years later, the inhabitants of Oxford peti-
tioned Governor Bellomont to put a stop to the
selling of rum to the Indians. But in the seven-
teenth century, as in the nineteenth, the Indian
trader was irrepressible, and continued, in spite
of every effort, to represent to the heathen
natives the worst side of that civilization, whose
blessings good men sought to spread among
them.

Massachusetts, A.D. 1686. By A. Holmes, D.D., Corres-
ponding Secretary. (In the Collections of the Mass. His-
torical Society, vol. II. of the third series. Pp. 1-83.)
Appendix, D.

Two years later, the evil of which Bondet complained
continued unabated, and the person guilty of promoting it
by the sale of intoxicating drink to the savages, appears
from the following statement to have been one of the French
settlers themselves.

“André Sigourney aged of about fifty years doe affirme
that the 28 day of nouemb^r last past he was with all the
others of the village in the mill for to take the rum in the
hands of Peter Canton and when they asked him way
(why) hee doe abuse soe the Indiens in seleing them
liquor to the great shame and dangers of all the company
hee s^d Canton answered that itt was his will and that hee
hath right soe to doe and asking him further if itt was noe
him how (who) make soe many Indiens drunk he did answer
that hee had sell to one Indien and one squa the valew of
four gills and that itt is all upon w^{ch} (which) one of the com-
pany named Ellias Dupeux told him that hee have meet an
Indien drunk w^{ch} have get a bott(le) fooll (full) and said
that itt was to the mill how sell itt he answered that itt may
bee trueth. André Sigournay.”

“Boston, Dec. 5, 1693.”

(The original is in the possession of the Hon. Peter
Butler, Quincy, Mass.)

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1694.

Capture
of
Alard's
children.

The "honorable peregrination" of our pious refugees was soon to be afflicted with troubles more grave than the uproar of drunken Indians in their nightly revels and contentions. As yet, they had found no reason to apprehend personal violence from their savage neighbors. The children of the settlement were permitted to wander at will in the surrounding forest, gathering nuts and berries, as fearless of the red man as of the deer that bounded past them, and even venturing nigh to some wigwam, the dusky inmates of which had always a welcome for the little pale-faces. But in the summer of the year 1694, an event occurred, that changed this happy confidence into alarm and insecurity. A daughter of one of the French settlers, Alard, with two younger children of the family, left her home near the lower mill, one day, to return no more. Search was made, and the body of the young girl was discovered in the woods, cruelly murdered. The children were not to be found. Months must have elapsed, before the heart-broken parents learned that they had been kidnapped by a roving band of Indians from Canada, and carried off to Quebec.¹

¹ "La fille du s^r Alord fut tuée et les deux enfans d'Alord faits prisonniers et mené à Quebec.—"(Bernon Papers.) The abbé Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes depuis 1608 jusqu' à 1700*, gives under the head "Anglais" a list of persons taken as prisoners, during the wars between New France and New England, in the seventeenth century. The Christian names of some twenty children occur. The following entries are illustrative of the incident related above: "Jean-Baptiste, né en 1683, près

Other alarms followed this unhappy occurrence. "The Indians," wrote Andrew Sigourney, constable of the French Plantation, "have appeared several times this summer. We were forced to garrison ourselves for three months together . . . so that all our summer harvest of hay and corn hath gone to ruin," destroyed "by the beasts and cattle." Shut up in their fort, the affrighted settlers heard from time to time of the incursions of the Canadian French and Indians upon the English villages and isolated farms near Portsmouth and Groton; how parties of savages, accompanied by Jesuit missionaries, had butchered and scalped whole families, surprised at midnight in their peaceful habitations, or had carried off numbers of prisoners, to run the gauntlet, or to be slowly tortured, for the entertainment of their squaws at home. Not without reason did our Huguenots apprehend such an attack upon their own settlement. For the very party that fell upon the village of Oyster River—now Durham—near Portsmouth, had deliberated whether to strike the blow there, or to make for the places west of Boston. It was not to be supposed that the little colony of Protestant refugees at Oxford had escaped the notice of the Canadian leaders, who were well informed as to the condi-

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1694.

October
16.Rumors
of
Savage
Atrocities.

Boston; baptisé 10 avril, 1700, Ste. Anne. Il avait été fait prisonnier de guerre par les sauvages de l'Acadie." "Louis, né en 1685, près Boston, pris par les sauvages, vendu, en 1693, à Etienne Veau, et baptisé 10 avril, 1700, à Ste. Anne."

Chap. XII. tion of the New England settlements, and were
 1694. unlikely to overlook a plantation commenced by
 the hated "renegades" from France.

So soon as they thought it safe to leave the
 shelter of their fort, several of the refugees
 made their preparations to depart from Oxford.
 Du Tuffeau, Bernon's agent, had already set the
 example of defection. Called to account for
 gross mismanagement of interests committed to
 him, he had sold off the stock and furniture of
 Bernon's plantation, and abandoned the place.
 A more serious loss was that of the presence of
 Bondet, the pastor of the colony. In the
 1695. autumn or winter of the following year, Bondet
 left Oxford, and went to Boston, carrying with
 him "all the books which had been given for
 the use of the plantation, with the acts and
 papers of the village." It is to be presumed
 that these documents had been deposited with
 him for greater security, and that they were
 removed under the impression that the settle-
 ment was doomed to speedy dispersion.

This catastrophe, however, did not occur
 until late in the summer of the next year. The
 savage raids from Canada, instigated, and some-
 times conducted, by Jesuit missionaries, con-
 tinued to disturb the peace of New En-
 gland.

With the spring of 1696, these attacks, sus-
 pended during the winter, were resumed. Most
 frequently they were directed against the scat-
 tered English settlements at the east. But the
 leaders of the barbarous warfare wanted only

an opportunity to carry it into more distant inland places; and such an opportunity they found at Oxford. Not far from Oxford, in the village of the Wapaquassets, a clan of the Nipmuck tribe, near New Roxbury or Woodstock, lived an Indian, known to the English as Toby, who was distinguished among his more sluggish and pacific people for a restless, scheming disposition. Wapaquasset was one of the "praying towns" that had been established under Eliot's missionary labors; and it was one of the few places visited with deserved punishment by the English, after Philip's war, because of the part taken by the faithless Nipmucks in that conflict. The spirit of the tribe seemed to be completely broken by their defeat. Toby alone retained an inextinguishable hatred of the white man, intensified, possibly, by a thirst for revenge on account of some personal grievance.

Chap. XII.
1696.

June,
1676.

Twenty years have passed since the close of Philip's war, and Toby is now a "great man or captain" among the Nipmuck Indians. Belonging to a tribe so apathetic and insignificant, he is the fitter agent for the service of that distant enemy who is watching the New England settlements with keen and merciless eyes. The governor of Canada, and his "cunning men" the Jesuits, have no more trusty and eager servant than Toby the Indian. Little do the Oxford planters dream that a foe so ferocious lurks among the listless and indolent Indians in the neighboring village.

It was toward evening, on Tuesday, the twenty-

Chap. XII. fifth of August, 1696, that a band of savages,
 1696. led by Toby, approached the "French houses"
 August at New Oxford. The dwelling of John John-
 23. son, the husband of Susanne Sigourney, stood
 a little apart from the other habitations, on a
 level spot that has been known ever since as
 Johnson's plain. Situated near the "great
 trail" that led to Woodstock, it was open for
 the accommodation of the few travelers who
 passed that way. Entering this house—so
 the vivid local tradition states with minute
 exactness—the Indians seized Johnson's three
 little children, André, Pierre, and Marie, and
 killed them by crushing their heads against the
 stones of the fireplace.¹

Murder
 of the
 Johnson
 family.

The father was absent from home, having gone
 to Woodstock that day upon some errand. The
 terrified, half-crazed mother made her escape,
 with the help of her cousin Daniel Johonnot, and
 fled in the direction of Woodstock, hoping per-
 haps to meet her husband. But the Woodstock
 trail divided, beyond a certain point, into two
 distinct paths. The fugitives took the one, and
 missed meeting the husband, who was returning
 to Oxford by the other. Unwarned of the dan-
 ger, Johnson reached his home, to be stricken

¹ "Casser des testes à la surprise après s'estre divisés
 en plusieurs bandes de quatre ou cinq," was one of the
 methods pursued by the savages in this war upon the New
 England settlements. So writes a French officer in command
 of the Indians, and he adds, "ce que ne peut manquer de
 faire un bon effect."—(Count Frontenac and New France
 under Louis XIV. By Francis Parkman. P. 367.)

down upon its threshold by the savage murderers of his children.¹

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1696.

The peculiar atrocity of this massacre produced a deep and an abiding impression in New England. A band of twelve soldiers from Worcester, accompanied by thirty-eight friendly Indians, hastened to the protection of the "frontier towns" of Oxford and Woodstock, both of which seemed to be threatened with destruction. The woods around these localities were ranged for days, and some fresh tracks were found "at a place called Half-way river," north of the French settlement. Captain Daniel Fitch, the leader of the expedition, made report to Lieutenant-governor Stoughton, and asked for a supply of provisions and ammunition, in order that the search might be pursued.² It does not appear that any clue to the perpetrators of the crime was discovered. But the event was not soon forgotten. Years after, Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, in a correspondence with Governor Bellomont, of New York, referred to it as an occurrence well-remembered ;³ and the friendly Mohegans who met in council at New London spoke of Toby as the Indian "that had a hand

January
29,
1700.

¹ Historical Address delivered at the Dedication of Memorial Hall, Oxford, Mass., Nov. 19, 1873. By Hon. Peter B. Olney. Pp. 23, 24.—The Huguenots in the Nipmuck Country, or, Oxford Prior to 1713. By George F. Daniels. Pp. 83, 84.

² History of Worcester, Massachusetts, from its earliest settlement to September, 1836. By William Lincoln. Worcester, 1862. P. 37.

³ "One Toby . . . the principal instigator . . . who had a particular hand in killing one Johnson."

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1696.

in the killing of one Johnson.”¹ Toby was a marked man, and felt himself to be such. From that time, “leaving his residence,” he “is sometimes privately among his relations at Woodstock, and at hunting houses in the wilderness.”² But his activity in the service of the Canadian enemy is greater than ever. At one time, he appears at a meeting of the Canada Mohawks with their brethren among the Five Nations, and tells them if they will “but draw off the friend Indians from the English,” they can “easily destroy” the New England settlements. At another time, he is in Norwich, Connecticut, bearing a belt of wampum to the loyal tribes, inviting them to join in a general uprising.³ As

¹ “An Indian, whose name is Toby, formerly belonging to the Indians that live at New Roxbury, and who had a hand in the killing of one Johnson near the same town in the last war with the Indians.”

² Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York. Vol. IV., pp. 612-620.

³ “The Information of Black James taken from his own mouth on Feb^r the 1st 1699-1700. That he being in the woods a hunting came to a place near Massomuck to a great Wigwam of five fire places and eleaven hunting Indians; he went into the Wigwam towards one end of it, and saw an Indian w^{ch} seemed to hide himself, he turned himself towards the other end of the Wigwam, and met there a man called Cawgatwo, a Wabaquasset Indian, and he asked if he saw any strange Indians there; he said I saw one I did not know; then Toby came to him, and another stranger and Cawgatwo told him that was Toby; he said he would go away to-morrow, they bid him not go away, for to-morrow they should discourse; the next morning they went out and called this James and bid him come and see the Wampom they had gathered; he asked what that Wampom was for, they said it was Mohawks Wampom; the Dutchman had told them that the English had ordered to cut off all Indians, and they had the same news from the french, and

he skulks past the abandoned plantation at Oxford, on these secret missions, the savage marks with satisfaction the spot where he dealt the blow that drove the French "renegades" back to Boston. Chap. XII.
1696.

For the breaking up of the settlement followed immediately upon the massacre. Hopeless of a secure establishment in the wilds of Massachusetts, several of the returning families decided to remain in Boston, where they were generously aided by their brethren of the French Church. Of this number were Sigourney, Johannot, Germon, Baudouin, Cassaneau, Boutineau, Grignon, Barbut, Maillet, Dupeu, Montier, Canton, and Mousset. Depont went to Milford, in Connecticut; Bureau and Montel to the city of New York; while pasteur Bondet, after a stay of some months in Boston, proceeded, like Du Tuffeau and Martin, to New Rochelle, in the province of New York, where he became the minister of the French Church of that place.

Three years later, a second experiment was made at Oxford. In the spring of 1699, the eight or ten families that had retired to Boston went back, assisted by their friends in that city, and took possession again of their houses and

therefore we are gathering and sending Wampom to all Indians, that we may agree to cutt off the English; and Cawgatwo told this James that Toby brought that Wampom and that news from the Mohawks; then he went home and told this own company, and desired them to send word to the Mohawks and Nihanticks of this news."—(Information respecting a rumored Rising of the Indians. Documents, etc., vol. IV., pp. 613-616.)

Chap. XII. farms. An interval of tranquillity had lulled
 1697. their fears. The Indians were peaceable. Since the treaty of Ryswick, no serious inroad from Canada had occurred in Massachusetts, and the efforts to stir up the New England tribes to mischief had to all appearance ceased. In the neighboring Indian village of Wapaquasset, all was quiet.

Sigourney and his associates were accompanied on their return to Oxford by a French minister lately arrived from England. This was Jacques Laborie, a native of Cardaillac, in the province of Guyenne, who had been officiating for several years in certain of the French churches in London. Laborie had ingratiated himself with Lord Bellomont, the new governor, who procured for him a yearly stipend of thirty pounds, out of the Corporation money, together with a commission to labor among the Indians near New Oxford. He brought with him his wife, Jeanne de Res-siguiet, and his little daughter Susanne. His commission to teach the Indians was given by the officers of the Corporation for promoting the Gospel in New England; and it commended to his "pastoral care y^e Indians belonging to y^e Plantation of Kekamoochuk, near adjacent to y^e Town of New Oxford," where he was to be "settled in y^e work of y^e ministry."

Jacques
Laborie.

This attempt to revive the Oxford settlement had a warm supporter in Gabriel Bernon. Indeed, it seems not unlikely that the scheme may have been formed at his instigation, and in furtherance of his projects. Bernon was now in

Newport, Rhode Island, having left Boston Chap. XII.
1699. more than a year previous to the return of the French families to their plantation. He had not lost sight of his interests there, which were seriously endangered by the abandonment of the place. He had laid out a considerable sum in the improvement of his own lands, and in promoting the general good; and moreover, his grant from the proprietors contained a proviso, that these lands should revert to them in case of desertion or relinquishment. He made every effort to persuade the settlers to remain and defend the town, even after the massacre, keeping his own fortified house in proper condition for their protection, and ultimately abandoning his property there only because his efforts were not seconded by them. A certificate to this effect was signed by the settlers, shortly after their return to Boston, the unfortunate Johnson's widow uniting with the others in testifying to Bernon's expenditure and exertions in behalf of the settlement.

From Newport, Oxford was more accessible though more distant than from Boston, inasmuch as there was communication by water with Providence, leaving a journey of only thirty or thirty-five miles by land. Bernon now found a new use for his property near the French village; and in partnership with René Grignon, one of the returned colonists, and Jean Papineau, he set up a "chamoiserie," or wash-leather manufactory, at Oxford, on the mill stream that flowed through his plantation.¹ The enterprise

Chap. XII. promised to be advantageous to the little com-
1700. munity. It gave employment to the young men of the settlement, in shooting and trapping the smaller and the larger game that abounded in the neighboring forest ; and from time to time, wagon loads of dressed skins were sent down to Providence, to be shipped to Bernon, for the supply of the French hatters and glovers, Signac and Baudouin in Boston, and Julien in Newport.

But it was not long before the disturbing causes that had led to the breaking up of the earlier colony began to make their appearance in Oxford. The Huguenots are scarcely settled down in their old homes, when they find that the rum traffic is again under way. One John Ingall, a trader, has established himself in the place, and is selling drink "without measure" to the Indians. Not only this, but he buys up all the meat they bring into the town, and "goes and sells it" in other villages, thus preventing the inhabitants from securing any provisions against the coming winter. Laborie, in the name of his fellow-townsmen, petitions the Governor and Council to put a stop to these proceedings. Soon, also, there are fresh reports of uneasiness among the natives of Wapaquasset. They are preparing to leave their habitations, and join the Pennacook tribe in the

¹ Grignon and Papineau were doubtless skilled in this branch of industry, as others of the refugees were. Two of the settlers in South Carolina are designated as "shammy-dressers."

forests of New Hampshire. Laborie, who goes among them to preach to them in their own tongue, vainly seeks to persuade them to remain. Urged to give their reasons for removing, they complain that everybody deceives them; but when pressed further, they add that the religion of the Pennakook Indians is finer than ours; that the French give them crosses of silver to hang around their necks, and that great promises have been made them if they will go thither. "From all they say," writes Laborie, "I see that the priests are vigorously at work, and are maturing some scheme which they will develop when a favorable opportunity shall present itself." ¹

Chap. XII.

1700.

June

12.

¹ "À new Oxford, ce 17 Juin 1700. Monseigneur Lorsque j'eus l'honneur d'écrire à Vôte Excellence, je ne luy envoyay pas le certificat de nos habitents sur le sujet de Mons^r Bondet, parce qu'ils n' étoient pas tous icy : Je l'ay enfin retiré et l'envoye à Vôte Excellence. Au sujet de nos Indiens je me sens obligé d' avertir Vôte Excellence que les quatre qui estoient revenus non obstant toutes les protestations qu'ils me firent à leur arrivée, leur retour n'a eu d' autre but que d' engager ceux qui avoient été fidelles à s'en aller avec eux, de sorte qu'ils en ont gagné la plus part, et partent aujourd'hui pour Penikook [Pennacook, now Concord, N. H.,] au nombre de vint cinq hommes et femmes ou enfans. Je leur prêchay hier en leur propre Langue et les exhortay aussy fortement qu'il me fût possible à rester ; mais inutilement. Ils me dirent pour raison que les habitans de Newroxbury les troubloient Incessamment, que tous le monde les trompoit, mais ces raisons ne me satisfaisant pas, je voulus en avoir quelque autre. Ils me dirent en suite, que la religion des Indiens de Penikook estoit plus belle que la nôtre, que les françois leur donnoient des croix d'argent a metre au col. Je fis tout ce que je peus pour leur faire voir le contraire. Ils ajoutèrent qu'on leur faisoit de grandes promesses dans ce pays là, au lieu qu'icy ils avoient un Roy

Chap. XII.

1700.

It was indeed true that Canadian emissaries had resumed their machinations, seeking to produce discontent and disaffection among the tribes friendly to the English. The scheme to cut off the settlers had its abettors in the village of the Wapauquassets. Toby, the Indian, was still lurking in their wigwams. Nanaquabin, "a principal Indian" among them, "liked the design very well." Cawgatwo, another Wapauquasset, was active in carrying belts of

qui les maltraitoit, les ayant fait coucher tout l'hiver sur la dure sans aucun secours. Là dessus je leur ay représenté que là où ils alloient, Ils seroient tous esclaves que quand lon auroit besoin de soldats on les fairoient marcher par force, au lieu qu' icy iouissent d'une entière liberté et que le Roy n'a d'autre dessein que de les proteger &c. Enfin ils m'ont asseuré qu'il y avoit une autre forte raison qu'ils ne pouvoient pas dire mais qu'on la sauroit bien-tôt ; Ils sont encore icy pour tout ce tour, et je m'aperçois qu'il y en a plusieurs qui commencent à changer de dessein. Je ne perdray point de moment pour les retenir s'il m'est possible etant secouru de ceux qui restent. Si j'avois sçeu plustôt leur dessein, j'aurois mieux reussi ; dans tout ce qu'ils disent je voy que les pretres agissent vigoureusement et qu'ils couvent quelque enterprise qu'ils fairont éclore quand ils en trouveront l' occasion favorable. Voilà Monseigneur ce que mon devoir m'obligeoit à faire savoir à Votre Excellence. J' ajouteray seulement que je feray gloire dans quelque occasion que ce soit de faire connoitre à Votre Excellence que je tacheray de ne me rendre jamais indigne des graces que j' ay reçeus, et de temoigner toute ma vie que je suis Monseigneur—De Votre Excellence
Le très humble, très obeissant et très soumis serviteur,

J. LABORIE."

Endorsed : Copy of Mons^r Laborie's letter of the 17th June, 1700, to the Earl of Bellomont.—(Historical Manuscripts from H. M. B. State Paper Office, April 1700 to October 1746. In the library of the late John Carter Brown, Providence, R. I.)

wampum from the Canada Mohawks, "to all Indians." Rumors of these doings continued to reach Oxford and Woodstock, and to keep the inhabitants of these frontier places in a state of chronic apprehension ; but it was not until the summer of the year 1703 that hostilities actually commenced, and another series of savage massacres spread consternation throughout the eastern settlements. In the meantime, the increasing fears of the colonists prompted them to prepare for the dreaded emergency. Bernon, upon application to his old friend Dudley, who had just entered upon the office of Governor of Massachusetts, received from him a commission as Captain of New Oxford, with orders to repair thither and make known his appointment, take care that the people be armed, and fortify his own house with "a palisade" for the security of the inhabitants. Bernon lost no time in obeying these instructions. "Following your Excellency's order," he wrote from Newport, "I had my commission read at the head of my company. I have assured our settlers that I do not look upon them as soldiers, but as my friends ; that I only took the commission that there might be a head to our plantation ; that I believe myself to be the person most interested and most attached to the plantation. They seemed to be grateful to your Excellency for it. I told them that a palisade around my house was necessary for a garrison. These matters are postponed on account of the harvest. I can assure your Excellency that I will manage the whole with advantage of

Chap. XII.

1702.

July
7.July
27.

Chap. XII. the place, and that it will inevitably result to the
1702. profit of your Excellency, myself, and our people in general." He goes on to suggest that in case of danger to New Oxford, the people of Providence are the proper ones to render succor, and mentions two gentlemen of that town, Captain Arnold and Lieutenant Wilkinson, as persons who can be relied upon for efficient aid.

The accounts of the "chamoiserie" show that Oxford continued to be occupied until the spring of the year 1704. The planters were now armed and drilled, and their fort promised them a safe refuge in case of assault. Meanwhile, however, the long impending cloud of war had burst upon the eastern settlements of Massachusetts. Bands of Indians, led in some instances by French officers, had fallen upon the scattered villages north of Boston, and hundreds of the inhabitants had been ruthlessly slaughtered. But in February, 1704, the enemy, emboldened by success, reached far beyond the scene of these massacres, and dealt a murderous blow upon Deerfield, on the Connecticut river, forty-five miles to the north-west of Oxford. Sixty of the inhabitants were slain; a hundred—the minister of the town among them—were taken prisoners, and dragged through the deep snow to Canada. It was doubtless under an impression of their utter insecurity, which this calamity produced, that the settlers of Oxford again and finally abandoned their plantation. Bernon alone held possession of his property on the outskirts of the village, taking care to maintain a tenant upon it, lest his title

February
29,
1704.

should be invalidated. The others either voluntarily surrendered their claims, or tacitly relinquished them; and for nine years the plantation lay waste. In July, 1713, thirty English colonists established themselves upon the lands formerly occupied by the Huguenots, and commenced the settlement of the present town of Oxford.

Bernon himself at length abandoned all hope of advantage from his plantation. He was advanced in years, and his circumstances were no longer prosperous. The remittances that he received for a time from the relatives with whom he left his property in La Rochelle, had ceased to come, and most of the schemes in which he had embarked in America had failed to prove lucrative. He now sought to sell the Oxford farm; but his way was hedged with difficulties. Strange to say, he held no deed for the land that had been conveyed to him in semblance with so much ceremony, and upon which he had expended a fortune. It was not until the fifth of February, 1716, that Joseph Dudley—then Governor Dudley—acknowledged the document which had been drawn up twenty-eight years before, and delivered it to Bernon. One can scarcely mistake in judging of the motive for this delay. That it helped to keep the refugee in a posture of dependence flattering to the vanity of his patron, is clear from Bernon's letters.¹ But the

Chap. XII.

1713.

July
8.

Sale
of
Bernon's
plantation.

¹ As late as the year 1710, Dudley continued to feed the hopes of the sanguine refugee. "Votre excellence," wrote Bernon in reply to a letter from the governor, "est toujours bienfaisante, puisqu'elle me dit qu'elle veut me procurer un

- Chap. XII. deed finally obtained, another difficulty presented
1716. itself. Of the tract of land claimed by Bernon,
a portion, comprising seven hundred and fifty
acres, had been granted to him and to Isaac
Bertrand du Tuffeau jointly. No partition of
the property thus held in common was made
during Bertrand's life ; and upon his death, which
occurred previous to the autumn of the year
1720, an order of court, appointing Bernon
administrator of his estate, was necessary, before
1721. he could take possession of the whole tract of
twenty-five hundred acres, and could legally con-
vey it to a purchaser. The sale was actually
effected on the twenty-first day of March, in the
year 1721, and Bernon received in payment the
sum of twelve hundred pounds, provincial cur-
rency, for his beloved plantation.¹

bon prix pour la moitié de ce que j'ay au village d'Oxford. Je veux déferer entièrement à votre conseil, ainsi je me rendrai à Boston le plutot qu'il me sera possible pour saluer votre excellence."—(Bernon Papers.)

¹ The Huguenots in the Nipmuck country, or, Oxford prior to 1713. By George F. Daniels. P. 110.



MONUMENT IN MEMORY OF THE HUGUENOT SETTLERS OF
OXFORD, MASSACHUSSETTS.

Dedicated, Oct. 2, 1884.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE SETTLEMENT.

RHODE ISLAND.

In the autumn of the year 1686, a body of French Protestants, comprising forty or fifty families, arrived in New England, and established themselves in the territory now covered by the State of Rhode Island. The settlement was a promising one. Of all the bands of Huguenot emigrants that came to our shores at this period, the Narragansett colony was perhaps the most compact and homogeneous. Its history, notwithstanding, is a brief and melancholy one. Within five years from the time of its foundation, the colony was broken up, and nearly every family had sought a home elsewhere.

Chap. XIII
1686.

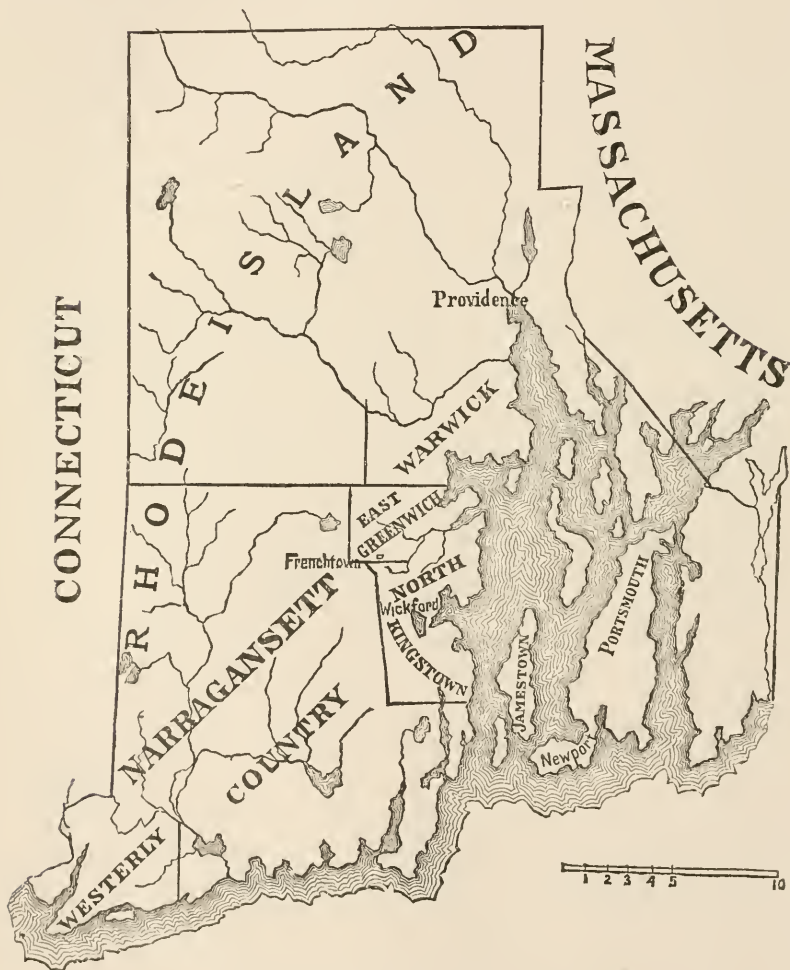
The
Narragan-
sett
Colony.

It was the misfortune of these refugees to become involved in a controversy that was then in progress, having reference to the ownership of the lands upon which they settled. Some account of that dispute may properly introduce our notices of the enterprise.

A number of years before the arrival of the

Chap. XIII French, an association of Massachusetts, Con-
1686.

MASSACHUSETTS



necticut and Rhode Island men, known as the
“Atherton Company,” had obtained from the

Narragansett Indians, partly by fair means and partly through fraud, the cession of their remaining lands on the western side of Narragansett Bay. At the time of this transaction, it was uncertain whether the tract ceded lay within the bounds of Rhode Island, or within those of Connecticut. A difference of long standing existed between these two colonies, concerning the line that divided their adjacent territories; Rhode Island claiming that her domain extended westward as far as the Pawcatuck river, whilst Connecticut held that her territory reached the shores of Narragansett Bay. In the debatable ground between these two lines, lay the "Narragansett country"—a tract some twenty miles square, bordered on the south by the ocean. Soon after the Atherton company gained possession of these lands, the crown, by a charter granted to Rhode Island, confirmed the title of that province, as against Connecticut, to the region west of the Bay as far as the Pawcatuck river, and gave the Atherton company leave to choose "to which of the two colonies they would belong." In the exercise of this privilege, they elected to hold their lands under the government of Connecticut. Two years later, the royal commissioners sent out from England to settle various differences between the several colonies, declared the claims of the Atherton company to be void. Connecticut, however, still insisted upon her jurisdiction; whilst Rhode Island naturally opposed these pretensions; and when the company, appealing from

Chap. XIII

1659,

1660.

1663.

1665.

- Chap. XIII the decision of the commissioners, continued to
 1678. offer its lands for sale, describing them as lying within the bounds of Connecticut, Rhode Island denounced such sales as invalid, and warned the purchasers not to attempt possession. A further complication was added to the dispute, when the
 1686. title of the crown itself to the contested territory was asserted. More than forty years before,
 1644. the Narragansett Indians had submitted themselves and their lands to the king, asking the royal protection, and declaring that they could not yield "unto any that were subjects themselves." King's Province, therefore, as the Narragansett country had long been called, was a royal dependency, and only the king himself could dispose of its vacant lands.
1683. These differences had already been fruitful of much inconvenience and contention, when in the summer of the year 1686 the several parties to the controversy referred it to the crown for a final decision. Unfortunately, that decision had not been reached, when the French refugees made their bargain with the Atherton company for the purchase of lands in the Narragansett country. A year later, Sir Edmund Andros, by
 June, 1687. royal authority, investigated the various claims to the proprietorship of that territory ; and the rights of Rhode Island were again affirmed, to the exclusion alike of Connecticut, and of the so-called proprietors.

Meanwhile, on the twelfth day of October, 1686, an agreement was made between "the Committee for the proprietors of the Narragan-

sett Country," and Ezekiel Carré, Peter Berton, and other French gentlemen, their friends and associates, concerning the settlement of a place called Newberry Plantation. But the spot thus designated proved upon examination to be too remote from the sea to suit the colonists, and a new agreement was made three weeks later, for the laying out of "a meet and considerable tract of land in the township of Rochester" or Kingstown. Under this contract, each family that desired it was to have an allotment of one hundred acres of upland, with a proportionate share of meadow. The price fixed upon was twenty pounds for every hundred acres of land, if paid at once, or twenty-five pounds if paid at the end of three years. M. Carré, the minister, was to have one hundred and fifty acres gratis. One hundred acres were set apart as glebe land, and fifty acres were devoted toward the maintenance of a school-master.

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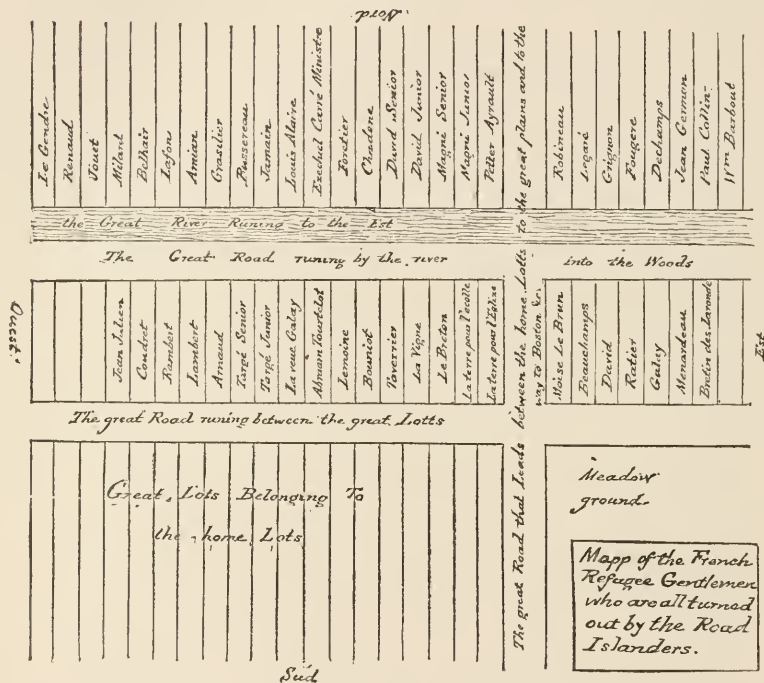
1686.

November
4.

The site thus secured for a settlement is still pointed out, in the town of East Greenwich, Rhode Island. Here, in a locality that has always been known as "Frenchtown," there are traces of the foundations of a number of small houses; and within the memory of persons yet living, there were some remains of trees said to have been planted by the French. The houses in question were probably but temporary dwellings,¹

¹ "About twenty-five houses" were built, says Ayrault, "with some cellars in the ground." The latter kind of habitation is minutely described by Cornelis Van Tienhoven,

Chap. XIII built near together in clusters for convenience
 1686. and safety, until the planters should be prepared
 to remove to the home-lots of twenty acres each,



laid out in the adjoining lands according to a

secretary of the province of New Netherland, in 1650. A square pit was dug "cellar fashion," six or seven feet deep, cased, floored, and roofed with wood, and covered with sods. The occupants, says Van Tienhoven, "can live dry and warm in these houses with their families for two, three and four years." The principal men in New England, he adds, constructed dwellings of this sort at first. "In the course of three to four years, they built themselves handsome houses." —(Information relative to taking up land in New Netherland. The Documentary History of the State of New York, vol. IV., pp. 31, 32.)

“plot” already agreed upon.¹ The building of these habitations must have occupied the few remaining weeks of autumn; and having seen them housed for the winter, we may pause to consider who were the persons who made up this colony of refugees.

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1686.

Most of them have already been mentioned in connection with the Huguenot emigration from the seaboard provinces of western France. Ten of the forty-eight families named in the “plot” or plan of the settlement, were from Saintonge; ten were from La Rochelle and its vicinity; several were from Poitou, a few were from Normandy, and a few from Guyenne. Ezéchiel Carré, the minister of the colony, was a native of the isle of Ré, and had studied philosophy and theology in the Academy founded by Calvin at Geneva. He was now between thirty-five and forty years of age, and had already been pastor of two congregations in France, those of Mirambeau in Saintonge and La Roche Chalais in Guyenne. Carré’s associate in the leadership of the band of refugees, was Pierre Berthon de Marigny,—Peter Berton, as the English called him,—the representative of a prominent family of Châtellerault, in Poitou. Another important member of the colony was its physician, Pierre Ayrault, of Angers, in the province of Anjou; a man of

¹ A copy of “the platt” of the “several allotments as laid out” at the time of the settlement, accompanied Ayrault’s petition to the government for the redress of certain personal grievances, in 1700. This “platt” has been preserved in the British State Paper Office, and we reproduce it above.

Chap. XIII
1686. determined character, now advanced in years, who alone stood his ground, as we shall see further on, when the other settlers abandoned the enterprise. Ayrault was accompanied by his wife Françoise, his son Daniel, and his nephew Nicholas.

Associated with these conductors of the colony, were a number of refugees, whom we shall only mention here, reserving a fuller account of them for another place. The roll of the Narragansett settlers, headed by Carré, Berthon, and Ayrault, embraces the following names :—Jean Julien, Jean Coudret, Elie Rambert, Daniel Lambert, André Arnaud, Daniel Targé, veuve Galay, Abram Tourtellot, Pierre Le Moine, Ezéchiel Bouniot, Pierre Traverrier, Etienne La Vigne, Moïse Le Brun, Jean Beauchamps, Jean David, Jacob Ratier, Jean Galay, Menardeau, Pierre Bretin dit Laronde, Daniel Le Gendre, Daniel Renaud, Daniel Jouet, Milard, Belhair, Jean Lafon, Amian, Ezéchiel Grazilier, Paul Busser-eau, Etienne Jamain, Louis Allaire, Théophile Forétier, Jean Chadene, Josué David senior, Josué David junior, Jacques Magni, Jean Magni, Etienne Robineau, François Legaré, René Grignon, Pierre Tougère, Dechamps, Jean Germon, Paul Collin, and Guillaume Barbut.

With the opening spring, the planters began improving their lands, and “setting up their Church.” They found the country “a very wilderness, filled altogether with wood and stones, and no former improvements made thereon ;” so that “our labour, charge and

trouble," says Doctor Ayrault, "was great. But we had a comfort; we could then enjoy our worship to God, and had the government's protection in our improvements, no person disturbing us on our labour, nor pretending any claim to any of the soil."¹

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1687.

In due time, these arduous and skillful toils were richly rewarded. Orchards, vineyards, and gardens, appeared, that flourished in the mild climate of Rhode Island, beyond the sanguine expectations of the planters.² "The French found the climate and soil in the Narragansett country proper for vineyards;" and Lord Bello-mont "was told by some people at Boston that tasted of some wine that grew in that country, that they thought it as good as Bourdeaux claret." They contemplated the planting of mulberry trees, in order to the breeding of silk worms, and hoped soon to be joined by numbers of their brethren from France, who would find employment in the manufacture of silk. Indeed, it was thought likely that "above five hundred French families" would ultimately find homes in this favored region.³

¹ Historical Manuscripts from H. B. M. State Paper Office. Vol. XIII. (Library of the late John Carter Brown, Providence, R. I.)

² This impression regarding the climate of the region in question is confirmed by observation at the present day. It is said that certain plants that do not thrive elsewhere in New England grow profusely along the western shore of Narragansett Bay. "The flora corresponds with that of Virginia."

³ Lord Bellomont to the Lords of Trade, November 28, 1700. Documents relative to the Colonial History of the

Chap. XIII

1687.

Already, some uneasiness was felt about the title to their lands. Knowing little or nothing of the English language, the colonists came but slowly to understand that the claim of the so-called Proprietors of Narragansett was a disputed claim. Even then, they do not seem to have dreamed that Rhode Island was a party to the dispute. In Boston, it was represented as purely a question between the Atherton company and the crown. "It is not yet ascertained," wrote the French refugee in that city, from whose letter we have already had occasion to quote, "whether the Narragansett country will belong to the present proprietors—improperly so called—or to the king. Pending the determination of this matter, no payments will be made upon the lands. Indeed, it is said that should they fall to the king, little or nothing will be paid, and the crown will content itself with a small quit-rent, in consideration of which one may sell or mortgage, as rightful owner."

The earliest intimation of trouble to the settlement occurred in the course of the first summer. A large meadow, known by its Indian name, Kickameeset, lay near the village, and

State of New York, vol. IV., pp. 787, 788. The Lords of Trade say in reply : "If the Narragansett country be found proper for mulberry trees and silk worms it will be very well ; those that have a mind to apply themselves to the production of silk there may take information for their conduct from what has been done in Carolina where that project has already been some years on foot. - The French you speak of will easily judge, or in a short time finde, whether that country or New York or any other place in those parts be proper for the production of wines."—(Ibid., p. 855.)

formed a valuable part of the tract laid out for the French. To their surprise, one July morning, they saw a party of Englishmen engaged in mowing the land. Heedless of remonstrances, the men proceeded in their work, and in "a forcible manner" carried off the hay, amounting to more than forty loads. The intruders proved to be certain of the neighboring planters, inhabitants of the towns of East Greenwich and Kingstown. Monsieur Carré, the French pastor, hastened to Boston, and made complaint of this outrage to Governor Andros. Summoned to account for their conduct, the Greenwich men replied that these meadows had been laid out to them more than eight years before by the government of Rhode Island, from which they held their title; whilst the Kingstown farmers claimed that "they and others of their neighbors had possessed, enjoyed and improved the same lands for twenty-five years, having obtained them from "Major Atherton and company." Both the Kingstown and the Greenwich settlers insisted that, so far from being the aggressors, they were the parties aggrieved, by the coming of the French into their country; and the inhabitants of Greenwich presented to the governor and council a counter-petition, professing their ignorance "by what order or Lawe or by what meanes those Frenchmen are settled in our town bounds." "But sure we are," they added, "it proves great detriment to us, and without your honor's assistance in the premises we shall be utterly ruined." The governor reserved his

Chap. XIII

1687.

July
19.

1678.

Chap. XIII
 1687. decision upon the merits of the case, and ordered that, pending the decision, the hay that had been cut upon the disputed land should be divided in two equal parts; the one part to be given for the use of certain of the English claimants, "who live remote and are most wanting thereof," and the other to be left for the use and benefit of the French families, "who, being strangers and lately settled," are "wholly destitute, and have no other way to supply themselves."¹

August
 5.
 No further encroachment upon the Huguenot plantation appears to have been made at the time; and for the next year or two the refugees were left in quiet possession. The Atherton company had now succeeded in obtaining from the crown a number of grants in King's Province, in lieu of the whole Narragansett country, their claim to which had been denied; and in one of these grants, the land sold by them to the French refugees was included.² This confirmation of their title may have deterred their English neighbors from the attempt to dispossess them; and it is highly probable also that upon further acquaintance with these inoffensive and genial strangers, they may have felt less disposed to molest them. Already the French doctor, Monsieur Ayrault, was becoming a welcome visitor in English homes, where, "under

April
 10,
 1688.

¹ Mass. Archives, CXXVI., 363, 410, 419.

² History of the State of Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations. By Samuel Greene Arnold. Vol. I., p. 507.—Historical MSS. from British State Paper Office, Vol. XIII.

God's goodness," he was "a help to raise many from extreme sickness;" and the pious pasteur Carré was gaining from the sober-minded of different persuasions the respect and deference which they were inclined to show to all ministers of religion.

Chap. XIII
1689.

Not unfrequently, Carré was called to leave his flock in the Narragansett country, and go to Boston, to preach to the French congregation in that city, then without a minister. To this fact we owe it that an interesting memorial of the preacher has come down to us, in the form of a printed discourse—the only specimen of pulpit oratory among the Huguenot refugees of that period that we possess. "The Charitable Samaritan, a Sermon on the tenth chapter of Luke, ver. 30–35," was printed in Boston in the year 1689.¹ An "Advertisement" informs us that the sermon was published at the request of some who heard it, and particularly of "Mr John Pastre, French Merchant, Refugee in Boston," who bore the expense of printing.² The Reverend Nehemiah Walter was

¹ "The Charitable Samaritan! A Sermon on the tenth chapter of Luke, ver. 30–35. Pronounced in the French Church at Boston. By Ezechiél Carré formerly Minister of Roche-chalais in France, now Minister of the French Colony in Narrhaganset. Translated in English by N. Walter, Boston. Printed by Samuel Green, 1689."

The only copy of this little book of which we have any knowledge is in the Library of Congress at Washington, D. C.

² The occasion for preaching the sermon is thus stated in the Advertisement. "The author being obliged to bestow

Chap. XIII
1689. the translator ; and Doctor Cotton Mather contributed a characteristic Preface to the little book. The purpose of its publication is intimated in both dedication and preface. It was, to remove an impression, unfavorable to the refugees, that existed in some quarters among the English, in Massachusetts as well as Rhode Island. At that moment, war was impending between France and England. The incursions of the French and Indians from Canada had commenced. A French fleet was expected off the coast. It was strongly suspected that the Jesuits had their secret agents in Boston, and elsewhere in New England.¹ The presence of so many French people, though professing to be Protestants and refugees from France, produced anxiety and distrust in some minds. Indeed, this feeling was so strong and prevalent, at a later day, as to influence the action of the General Court of Massachusetts ; and in October, 1692, that body passed a resolution on the subject. "Considering that amongst the many French Gentlemen

some part of his ministry on the French Church of Boston, until it should please God to provide for it, he was much surprised to observe that for many Sabbaths this Church, contrary to its customs, extremely neglected Alms toward the Poor, which our Discipline recommends at the conclusion of each Exercise. This made him take a resolution to treat of this subject, which he has done in this sermon."

¹ "I remember M^r Dellius the Minister of Albany told me that the Count de Frontenac owned to him that he had a great part of his letters and intelligence from France by the way of Boston, all the time of this late warr."—Lord Bellomont to the Lords of Trade, Sept. 21, 1698.—Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, vol. IV., p. 379.

and others that reside amongst us who pretend to be Protestants, there may be sundry of them that are Papist and enemies to their Majesties and the weal of this province, it is humbly proposed to his Excellency the Governor and Council, whether it may not be necessary that due inquiry be made of the particular circumstances of the French that reside amongst us, that an oath of their allegiance to our Sovereigns King William and Queen Mary be imposed on them, and such as shall refuse to take such oath be dealt with as their Majesties' enemies. And that there may forthwith be sent some prudent man with a sufficient guard to the plantations within this province, there to make inquiry into the state of their affairs, and to search for powder, shot, peltries, &c., and if they find any French or Indians that do not give a satisfactory account of themselves, them to seize and bring away to Boston, there to be proceeded against as the matter may require." ¹

Chap. XIII

1692.

In Rhode Island, the same suspicions and fears were rife; and the refugees in Frenchtown suffered much annoyance from their ruder and more ignorant neighbors, who took it upon them to execute, without form of law, the search for arms which had been proposed as a legal measure. The more orderly and intelligent among the English joined the French in complaining of this treatment; and the authorities in Boston, to whom the complaint was made, lost no time

¹ Massachusetts Archives, XI., 65.

Chap. XIII in rebuking the evil-doers. The provisional
 1689. government of Massachusetts, learning "from
 May 3. [Carré,] minister of y^e French Plantation lately
 settled in y^e Narragansett Country at Rochester
 near Major Smith's, that the Inhabitants of
 Greenwich do insult over and are intended to
 offer some Violence to the People of y^e said
 French Plantation, in forcing their Armes from
 them, laying open their inclosures, and destroy-
 ing their Meadows, which appears to be a great
 extravagancy," advised them to forbear all farther
 proceedings of that nature, "as you tender your
 own peace;" inasmuch as such conduct "with-
 out doubt will have an ill Resentment with the
 Crown of England; the said French People
 being accounted good Protestants, and are well
 approved of." As for any differences that may
 have arisen among them, they are advised to
 refer these for a legal decision.¹

March 3, 1690. In the following March, the government of
 Rhode Island ordered the French settlers to
 present themselves to John Greene, at Warwick,
 and take the oath of allegiance to the British
 crown, in consideration of which they were to
 remain undisturbed, behaving peaceably.² The
 refugees made no difficulty in submitting to
 these precautionary measures; but they were
 keenly alive to any suggestion of doubt as to
 the sincerity of their attachment to the religious

¹ Mass. Archives, XI., 45.

² History of the State of Rhode Island, by S. G. Arnold.
 Vol. I., p. 519.—Historical MSS., ubi supra.

principles for which they had suffered so much. Pastor Carré had therefore gladly availed himself of the opportunity that his friends in Boston gave him to speak a good word for the settlement in Narragansett. “Our little Colony,” he says, in his Dedication to John Pastré, “will chiefly have obligation to you, for hereby you will in some sort justify them against those calumnies, whereby some would render our retirement into this New World suspected; for persons may easily perceive that those who maintain such doctrine, and have exposed themselves to so many dangers and miseries on account of it, cannot reasonably pass for Papists, and that it is uncharitable and uncompassionate to accuse them as such. I would believe that it is this interest, rather than any other, which will oblige you to bring this sermon to light.”

Chap. XIII

1691.

But the good wishes of its friends could not avert the fate that was hanging over the French settlement. The summer of the year 1691 witnessed the breaking up and removal of all the families in Frenchtown save two or three. The story of this catastrophe is related by doctor Ayrault, in quaint but graphic terms. “The protecting of us in our liberty and property was continued not two years under said Government, before we were molested by the vulgar sort of the people, who flinging down our fences laid open our lands to ruin, so that all benefit thereby we were deprived of. Ruin looked on us in a dismal state; our wives and children living in fear of the threats of many unruly per-

Chap. XIII
1691. sons : and what benefit we expected from our lands for subsistence was destroyed by secretly laying open our fences by night and day : and what little we had preserved by flying from France, we had laid out under the then improvements. It looked so hard upon us, to see the cries of our wives and children, lamenting their sad fate, flying from persecution, and coming under his Majesty's gracious Indulgence, and by the Government promised us, yet we, ruined. And when we complained to the Government, we could have no relief, although some would have helped us, we judge, if by their patience they could have borne such ill treatments as they must expect to have met with by the unruly inhabitants there settled also. Many of the English inhabitants compassionating our condition, would have helped us ; but when they used any means therein, they were evilly treated. So that these things did put us then upon looking for a place of shelter, in our distressed condition ; and hearing that many of our distressed country people had been protected and well treated in Boston and Yorke, to seek out new habitations, where the Governments had compassion on them, and gave them relief and help, to their wives and children subsistence. Only two families moving to Boston, and the rest to New York, and there bought lands, some of them, and had time given them for payment. And so was they all forced away from their lands and houses, orchards and vineyards, taking some small matter from some English people for somewhat of their labour ;

thus leaving all habitations. Some people got not anything for their labour and improvements, but Greenwich men who had given us the disturbance, getting on the lands, so improved in any way they could, and soon pulled down and demolished our Church.”

Chap. XIII

1691.

It is plain, from Ayrault's account, that the disorderly proceedings that caused the abandonment of the French plantation, were conducted by a rude and lawless set of persons, and were strongly disapproved of by the more respectable part of the community. Doubtless, Rhode Island abounded in like characters, ready for any mischievous enterprise; and her people had long been familiar with just such disorders.¹ The conflict of land titles, especially in Narragansett, between individual owners as well as between townships, had led to numberless broils and border frays. Still, the troubles inflicted upon these Huguenots—inoffensive strangers, and refugees from cruel persecution—would seem to argue more than common malignity, if we did not know that the lands that were fraudulently conveyed to them had been assigned, years before, to earlier settlers. In October, 1677, the legislature of Rhode Island made a grant of this territory, and established a township known then and now as East Greenwich, and it was apportioned in tracts among certain persons named.²

¹ History of Rhode Island, by S. G. Arnold, vol. I., p. 442.

² Memoir concerning the French Settlements in the Colony of Rhode Island, by Elisha R. Potter.—(Rhode Island Historical Tracts, No. 5.) Page 23.

Chap. XIII The French, victimized by the unscrupulous
 1691. Atherton company, were innocently occupying and improving lands to which others had a prior claim.

Upon leaving Narragansett, the refugees became widely scattered. Seven families—those of Allaire, Arnaud, Beauchamp, Barbut, Dechamps, Légaré, and Tourtellot—removed to Boston. Germon and Grignon joined the settlement in New Oxford. Paul Collin went to Milford, Connecticut. Four families—those of Bretin, Chadene, Forétier and Renaud—went to New Rochelle. Four others—Amian, Jouet, Le Brun, and Le Gendre—went to South Carolina. The largest number sought homes in New York. Twenty-one of the names upon the plan of Frenchtown reappear in the records of the French Church in that city. These are the names of Bouniot, Coudret, Jean David, Josué David senior, Josué David junior, veuve Galay, Brazilier, Jamain, Lafon, Lambert, La Vigne, Le Breton, Jacques Magni, Jean Magni, Rambert, Ratier, Robineau, Daniel and Jacques Targé, Traverrier, and Tougère. A few of the settlers pass entirely out of our view upon leaving Narragansett. Among these is the excellent pastor of the colony, Ezéchiél Carré. Whether he returned to Europe, or finished his course in some other part of the New World, we have failed to learn.

The dispersion, however, was not total. Two French families, Le Moine and Ayrault,¹

¹ See Judge Potter's Memoir concerning the French Set-

remained on the site of the settlement, or within a short distance from it; and a third, Julien, removed only as far as Newport.¹ Moïse Le Moine occupied the farm that has remained in possession of his descendants ever since, and that covers the site of the Huguenot village. The original name of this family was corrupted at an early day to Money or Mawney. Pierre Ayrault retained his lands, notwithstanding the efforts that were made from time to time to dislodge him. He had "fenced in fifty acres of land, and made very good improvements—a large orchard, garden, and vineyard, and a good house." The tribulations that he suffered at the hands of "Greenwich men," who not only broke down his fences, but altered the boundaries of his lands, are pathetically related in a petition, in which he gives the account of the settlement at Frenchtown, and its abandonment, from which we have already quoted. Either his remonstrances with the government, or the stout resistance he offered to his tormentors, at length availed him; for he remained in Narragansett until his death, which occurred about the year 1711. At that time his son Daniel, who established himself in business in Newport, sold the property in East Greenwich.

Chap. XIII

1691.

August
5,
1700.

Elsewhere in Rhode Island, a number of French Protestants settled singly or in groups,

tlements in Rhode Island, for an account of the pedigrees of these families.

¹ Jean Julien, "chapellier," was living in Newport in the year 1702.

Chap. XIII late in the seventeenth century, or in the first
 1700. years of the eighteenth. Peter Tourgée and his
 brothers came directly from the island of Guernsey, about the time of the French settlement in Narragansett, and established themselves in North Kingstown, not far from the site of that colony. Here their descendants remained for several succeeding generations. The Tourgée family originated in the province of Bretagne, where the name is still to be found, and fled, like many others, from persecution in France to the Channel islands.¹ François Le Baron, a Huguenot physician, came to New England after the Revocation, and died in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1704.¹ Pierre Papillon, and

François
 and
 Lazarus
 Le Baron.

¹ Peter Tourgée had three sons, Peter, John, and Philip. The children of Peter were, Thomas, (born in December, 1722,) Philip, (October, 1724,) Elizabeth, (1728,) Peter, (February, 1733,) and John, born in December, 1735, died in 1812. John was the father of Jeremiah, who was born in December, 1778, and died in 1867. His son, Ebenezer, born in Warwick in 1809, died in October, 1878.—(Memoir of the French Settlements in the Colony of Rhode Island. By Elisha R. Potter. Pp. 132, 133. The Memoir erroneously connects the Tourgée family with the entirely distinct family of Targé, mentioned above.)

The Tourgée family is now widely scattered throughout the United States. One of its branches is to be found in the province of Ontario, Canada. It is represented by Judge A. W. Tourgée, author of several valuable and popular works; and by Professor Eben Tourgée, Director of the New England Conservatory of Music, Boston, Massachusetts.

² "Le Baron" is mentioned by Judge Potter, (Memoir, etc., p. 137,) among the French settlers in Rhode Island. In the next generation Doctor Lazarus Le Baron, "the son of this emigrant—a descendant of the Huguenots"—lived in Plymouth. His daughter Elizabeth, born January 1,

his wife Joan, had already come to Bristol, Rhode Island, from Boston, about the year 1681. Pierre belonged, it is supposed, to the Huguenot family, the name of which he bore, and which originated in Avranches, in the province of Normandy. The Papillons had suffered much for their religion. David, after an imprisonment of three years, fled to England, where his descendants have prospered.¹ Philip is said to have been the first Huguenot member of the House of Commons. Peter, the emigrant to America, reached Massachusetts as early as the year 1679.² He appears to have joined the Huguenot settlement in Oxford, Massachusetts, where some of his descendants resided at a later day.³ His son Peter, known

Chap. XIII
1681.

Peter
Papillon.

1746, was married in 1762, to the Reverend Ammi Ruhmah Robbins, minister of the Congregational church in Norfolk, Connecticut, from 1761 until his death in 1813. She died in September, 1829.—(Annals of the American Pulpit, by Wm. B. Sprague, D.D., vol. I., p. 370.—A sermon delivered at the funeral of Mrs. Elizabeth Robbins, by Ralph Emerson, pastor of the church in Norfolk, Connecticut.)

The inscription on the tomb of "Mr. Francis Lebaran, Physician," in Plymouth, Massachusetts, is still legible. It states that he "departed this life August y^e 8th, 1704, in y^e 36th year of his age."

"Dr. Le Baron was surgeon on board a French privateer, which was wrecked in Buzzard's Bay. He came to Plymouth, and having performed an important surgical operation, the selectmen petitioned the Executive of the Colony for his liberation as prisoner of war, that he might settle in this town. We believe that from this ancestor all of the name in the United States are descended."—(Mr. Russell, in Pilgrim Memorials.)

¹ The Huguenots : by Samuel Smiles. Pp. 319, 422.

² The Huguenots in the Nipmuck Country. By G. F. Daniels. Pp. 46, 47.

³ Savage, Gen. Dict. of the First Settlers of N. E., s. v.

Chap. XIII as Captain Papillon, became a merchant in
 1700. Boston.¹ Jacques Pineau, whose name was
 soon transformed into Pinneo, came to Bristol
 about the year 1700, in company with Jean Sou-
 lard. Tradition relates that they fled from per-
 secution in France, and landed in Plymouth,
 Massachusetts; and that being unable to pay
 Pinneo and Soulard. their passage across the ocean, they were sold
 into servitude by the captain for a term of four
 years. Their conduct was so excellent, however,
 that they were released after a few months.
 About the year 1725, they removed from Bris-
 tol to Lebanon, Connecticut, where Pineau left
 descendants.² Soulard became a resident of

¹ In 1722 he had command of a ship employed against the pirates on the coast of New England.—(Savage, Gen. Dict.) Administration was granted May 10, 1733, to Katherine, widow, and to John Wolcot, Esq., of Salem, Massachusetts, son-in-law, upon the estate of Captain Peter Papillon, merchant, of Boston. His "mansion-house" was on Bennet street. Four daughters, two of whom, Martha and Marah, were under age, are mentioned. Peter's widow died before January 24, 1734.—(Probate Office, Suffolk County, No. 6425.)

² James Pinneo had two sons and three daughters. James, the eldest son, born 1708, married Priscilla Newcomb, whose son James was the father of the Reverend Bezaleel Pinneo, for fifty-three years pastor of the First Church in Milford, Connecticut, from 1796 till his death in September, 1849. The Pinneo family is an extensive one, and is represented chiefly in New England and the Middle States, and in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

Several Protestant families of this name fled from France at the period of the Revocation; among them Jeanne and Catharine Pinaud, natives of Cherveux, in Poitou.—(Archives Nationales, Tr.) One *James Pincau* was naturalized in England, January 5, 1688, at the same time with a family named *Soulart*.

the same locality.¹ Auguste Lucas, a native of La Rochelle, whose sister Marie was the wife of André Laurent,² followed that emigrant to America after a few years, and took up his abode in Newport, Rhode Island. Before leaving Europe, he married, at Saint Malo, Bretagne, the daughter of Daniel Lefebvre of Garhere, who died soon after reaching Newport.³ His second wife was a granddaughter of John Eliot, the "apostle to the Indians." Her son, Augustus Lucas, married Mary Caner, whose daughter Mary became the wife of James A. Hillhouse. Another daughter, Barsheba, was distinguished for her literary attainments.⁴

Chap. XIII
1696.

January
6.

Auguste
Lucas.

Other emigrants, who came to Rhode Island at a much earlier period, are said to have been French Protestants. Maturin Ballou settled in Providence in 1639.⁵ More than a hundred years later, another Maturin, his descendant, was the pastor of a Baptist congregation in Richmond, New Hampshire. His son, Hosea Ballou,⁶ became a leading minister of the Universalist denomination in the United States.⁷

Maturin
Ballou.

¹ Jean Soulard, a maître armurier of La Rochelle, is mentioned in 1675.—(Bernon Papers.)

² See volume I., page 282.

³ Memoir concerning the French settlements in the colony of Rhode Island, by Elisha R. Potter. P. 134.

⁴ History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Narragansett, Rhode Island, by Wilkins Updike. P. 507.

⁵ Savage, Gen. Dict. of the First Settlers of N. E.—La France Protestante mistakes in stating that Ballou emigrated to America at the time of the Revocation.

⁶ Born April 30, 1771; died June 7, 1852.

⁷ His daughter Eliza became the mother of the late President of the United States, James A. Garfield.

Chap. XIII Daniel Grennell, "of a French family," was in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, in 1638.¹ He was the ancestor of three eminent merchants of the city of New York—Joseph, Moses H., and Henry Grinnell.

Daniel
Grennell.

Gabriel
Bernon.

Not long after the breaking up of the French settlement in Narragansett, Rhode Island became the home of Gabriel Bernon, the enterprising Huguenot merchant, of whose career in Boston, and in New Oxford, Massachusetts, we have already spoken. In Rhode Island, Bernon spent nearly forty years. For the first eight or nine years, he was a resident of Newport. In 1706, he removed to Providence. Six years later, he went to Kingstown, but returned in 1718 to Providence, where he remained until his death, in 1736.

1697-

1706.

1712.

1718.

1736.

Bernon was doubtless attracted to Newport by the rising importance of the place—already advancing, as it was, to a foremost position among the commercial towns of New England. In partnership with his compatriot and fellow-Huguenot Daniel Ayrault, he engaged at once with characteristic energy in various business operations. Rhode Island was now taking the lead in the trade with the West Indies. Her "light and sharp" vessels were famous for eluding the French privateers, that were scouring the ocean, and lying in wait off the American harbors. The youth of the province had a strong inclination for the sea, and there was

¹ Savage, Gen. Dict. of the First Settlers of N. E.

never a lack of volunteers for the merchant service. The principal commerce of Newport was with the islands of Curaçoa and Surinam, and it was highly profitable. Bernon employed several ships in this trade, at least one of which belonged to him ; and he had his correspondents, French merchants, in Curaçoa—Jacob Alard, Jacques Poissant, Jean Girard. If the profits were great, the losses were sometimes terrible. Many a Rhode Island family pedigree makes mention of some, in those early times, as “lost at sea.” Bernon’s only son Gabriel was among the victims of this perilous trade. According to tradition, “he embarked with one Captain Tripe in a vessel bound for the West Indies, which was lost during a snow-storm on leaving the Bay, and all on board perished.”¹

Chap. XIII

1697—

1706.

Lost
at
Sea.

The diversified industry of the Huguenot refugee had perhaps its best representation in this Rhode Island merchant ; and it was while residing in Newport that his activity was greatest. Many years after, Bernon judged that he had “spent more than ten thousand pounds towards the benefit of the country ; in building ships, making nails, and promoting the making

¹ Among the Bernon Papers, there is an interesting letter written by young Gabriel, in Boston, December 29, 1696, to his father, then in England. The sentiment, the style and the penmanship together represent a youth of rare intelligence and culture. He is mentioned by a correspondent of Bernon, in 1699, in these terms :—“Je vous suis bien obligé de l'adresse que vous me donnaste pour M^r. vostre fils ; il est digne d'un tel père. Ses manières obligeantes ne dérogent en rien des vostres.”

Chap. XIII of stuffs, hats, and rosin, &c." One of these
 1697- departments of labor deserves special notice
 1706. in this connection. "Hat-making was among
 the most important manufactures taken into
 England" and other countries "by the refugees.
 In France, it had been almost entirely in the
 hands of the Protestants. They alone possessed
 the secret of the liquid composition which served
 to prepare rabbit, hare and beaver-skins; and
 they alone supplied the trade with fine Caude-
 bec hats, in such demand in England and
 Holland. After the Revocation, most of them
 went to London, taking with them the secret of
 their art, which was lost to France for more than
 forty years. It was not until the middle of the
 eighteenth century, that a French hatter, after
 having long worked in London, stole the secret
 the refugees had carried away, took it back to
 his country, communicated it to the Paris
 hatters, and founded a large manufactory" in
 that city. The dressing of chamois-skins, and
 the making of gloves, were also among the arts
 in which the Huguenots excelled.¹

The
 Huguenot
 hatters.

These arts were brought by the exiles to
 America. Several of the French Protestants in
 Boston were engaged in the manufacture of hats.
 They were supplied with peltries for this purpose
 by Bernon, who received the dressed skins from
 his "chamoiserie" at Oxford, and forwarded
 them to Peter Signac, John Baudouin, and others

¹ History of the French Protestant Refugees, from the
 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to our own Days. By
 Charles Weiss.—Vol. I., book III., chapter III.

in Boston, as well as to John Julien, who pursued the same business in Newport. A cargo shipped in August, 1703, to his agent Samuel Baker, comprised otter, beaver, raccoon, deer, and other skins, valued at forty-four pounds.

Chap. XIII
1698.

Bernon had not been long established in Newport, when he received a letter from the Earl of Bellomont, governor of New York, filled with assurances of his regard and good will. "I regret to learn," he wrote, "that you have left New England, and taken up your abode in Rhode Island. This information, which I have from Mr. Campbell, grieves me much; for I had intended to give you, upon my arrival in Boston, every proof of friendship in my power. I am ashamed not to have written to you sooner; but I assure you that this has not been for want of esteem, but solely because I have been constantly occupied with the affairs of my government. Should you think proper to come and reside in this city, I would do all that might be possible for your encouragement. I shall not forget the recommendation of my lord the count of Galway in your favour; and, without compliment, I am fully disposed to respond to that recommendation by all manner of good offices. I would be very glad to see you here, in order that I might confer with you about certain matters relating to the king's service."¹

November
23.

¹ "De la nouvelle York ce 23^e novembre 1698.

"MONSIEUR :—Je suis fâché d'apprendre, que vous avez quitté la Nouvelle Angleterre, pour venir habiter dans Rode Island, c'est une nouvelle que M^r Campbel, me dis ce qui

Chap. XIII The subject of the proposed conference was a
 1699. plan, which Bernon had already submitted to
 Lord Bellomont, for employing the military force
 of the province in the manufacture of naval
 stores. In the following March he accepted the
 governor's invitation, and visited New York,
Manufact- where he received every mark of consideration.
ure of Lord Bellomont wrote home to the Board of
naval Trade, strongly favoring the project.¹ In Sep-
stores.

m' afflige beaucoup—puis que J'avez dessin de vous faire
 toute l'amitié possible Lors que Je serais arivé à Boston.

“J'ay de la honte de ne vous avoir pas Ecrit plutost mais Je
 vous assure, que cela na été faute d'Estime, mais seulement
 pour avoir été continuellemnt occupé aux affaires de mon
 gouvernement. Si vous trouvez apropos de vous venir
 etablir icy dans Cette Ville, Je feray tout mon possible de
 vous donner de l'Encouragement, Je noublieray pas la
 recommandation de Monsieur Le comte de Gallway en votre
 faveur et sans compliment Je suis fort disposé d'y repondre
 par toute sorte de Bons Offices, Je seray Bien Ayse de vous
 voir ici, afin de descourir avec vous, sur de certaines affaires,
 qui Regarde Le Service du Roy.

“Je Suis avec une veritable Estime et amitié

Votre tres humble Serviteur

“for Monsieur Bernon a French BELLAMONT.”
 marchand In Rode Island.”

(Bernon Papers.)

¹“I sent for Mons^r Bernon a French merchant and an
 honest sincere man, whom I was acquainted with in England,
 he being extreemly well recommended to me by my Lord
 Gallway and severall other French gentlemen and having
 lived some years at Boston and there in that country made a
 good quantity of pitch, tar, rozen and turpentine, I have
 discoursed him fully about these things, and find the King
 can best be supplied from this Province with the severall
 forementioned species of stores, and that for the following
 reasons. There grows an infinite number of pines in Long
 Island alias Nassau Island, and on both sides of Hudsons
 river, and between Albany and Schenectady, and there will
 be a water carriage which will mightily conduce to their
 cheapnesse. Then I would have the soldiers imployed to

tember he came to Newport, to investigate certain charges that had been made against the administration of public affairs in Rhode Island. Upon this occasion, a petition signed by sixteen persons—the two Huguenots Gabriel Bernon and Pierre Ayrault heading it—was presented to the governor, asking for encouragement and assistance in maintaining a minister of the Church of England. The petitioners represent that they, with others inhabiting that Island, have agreed to erect a church for the worship of God according to the discipline of the Church of England, but are not in a capacity to provide unaided for the support of a minister. They therefore pray that his lordship would intercede with the king, for his command to the government of that colony, that they may be protected and assisted in this undertaking; and that he would also recommend them to the favor of the Board of Trade, or such ministers of state as he may judge convenient for the purpose.

Chap. XIII
1699.

September
26.

Petition
of the
Episcopalians
of
Newport.

The consequences of this action were important. Lord Bellomont forwarded the petition of the Episcopalians of Newport to the Board of Trade, with his own hearty indorsement. It

worke at making them at full English pay, which is 8d. p^r day and an addition of 4d. p^r day which will be 12d. in the whole . . . All that I propose as a charge for the management is £200 p^r ann. New Yorke mony to Mons^r Bernon, and 2s. 6d. p^r day to each Lieutenant New Yorke mony, a Lieutenant to every hundred soldiers to keep 'em at their worke."—Earl of Bellomont to the Lords of Trade; New York, April 17, 1699.—(Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York. Vol. IV., pp. 502, 503.)

Chap. XIII was referred to the Bishop of London, who submitted it to the king; and the king returned it to the Lords of Trade, for their consideration and report. Other petitions from America, for aid in the support of the ministry, and for the spread of Christianity among the Indians, were presented about the same time; and these appeals led to the formation of The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, chartered by William III. in the year 1701.

June 16,
1701.

Bernon had been a member of the French Reformed Church, until the time of his departure from Massachusetts; and his relations with Daillé and the Elders of the Boston congregation continued to be close and cordial. But in Rhode Island, thrown among English-speaking people, he could enter heartily into a plan for the establishment of the Anglican worship; and he became a fervent and zealous member of the Church of England. He was active in the formation of the first three Episcopal churches in Rhode Island—Trinity church in Newport, 1699. St. Paul's church in Kingstown, and St. John's 1707. church in Providence.¹ His devotion to the 1722.

¹ A mural tablet in St. John's Church, Providence, bears the following inscription:

"In Memory of Gabriel Bernon, Son of André and Suzanne Bernon, Born at La Rochelle, France, April 6, A.D. 1644. A Huguenot. After two years' imprisonment for his Religious Faith, Previous to the revocation of The Edict of Nantes, He took refuge in England, and came to America A.D. 1688. Here he continued steadfast in promoting The Honour of the Church And the Glory of God. It is recorded in the History of Rhode Island, that 'To the persevering piety and untiring zeal of Gabriel Bernon, the

interests of religion in the land of his adoption did not abate as the infirmities of old age increased. In his eighty-first year—in the summer of 1724—he crossed the ocean for the purpose of representing to the Bishop of London and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts the necessities of the congregation in Providence, and the importance of sending a competent minister to that thriving town.

Like many of his fellow-refugees, Bernon was intensely loyal to the British crown. "It is our great happiness and honor," he would say, "to be able to proclaim ourselves good subjects of our sovereign king William; and we cannot too highly venerate a prince so great, so good and so illustrious, nor respect too much his governors, who represent him to us." The course taken by the leading French Protestants in New York, who sided with the party that opposed Governor Bellomont's policy, incurred Bernon's strong displeasure; and the unsparing reproofs that he administered to them produced a breach that was never healed. His devotion to Dudley, and his lack of sympathy with the Puritan spirit, caused estrangement also from his former friends

Chap. XIII

1724.

His
loyalty
to the
British
crown.

first three Episcopal Churches in Rhode Island owed their origin,' King's, now St. John's Church, Providence, Founded A.D. 1722, being one of them. He died in the Faith once delivered to the Saints, Feb. 1, A.D. 1736, Æ. 92, And is buried beneath this Church. 'Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for My name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit eternal life.'—*St. Matt.*"

Chap. XIII in Boston. Judge Sewall has given us in his
1709. Diary a glimpse of the refugee, in one of his
unfrequent appearances in that city in later days.

August
11.

“As I came from Charlestown Lecture I met Mr. Bernon in Sudbury Street ; he turn'd from me and would not have seen me ; but I spake to him. Quickly after I saw Col. Vetch in the Council Chamber, and said to him, Mr. Bernon is in town, as I told you he would. He made light of it, and said he had bought cider of him ; he suppos'd he had business here. I observ'd he was at Sir Charles's Muster, and went round the Body with his Sword ¹ by his Side, follow'd by the Gov^{rs} Attendants.” ²

His
pro-
nounced
Protest-
antism.

Bernon's Protestantism was not less pronounced than his loyalty. As late as the year 1714, he and his Roman Catholic brother Samuel, of Poitiers in France, continued to exchange letters upon their religious differences ; and the controversy seems to have been maintained with sufficient acrimony on both sides. He corresponded also with the famous bishop of La Rochelle, Frézeau de la Frézelière, and his successor, M. de Champflour. To the last, the

¹ Bernon's sword is in the possession of his descendant, Charles Bernon Allen, Esq., of Providence, Rhode Island. It bears on the blade the figures “* 1 * 4 * 1 * 4.” It is noticeable that this date synchronizes with that of one of the wars of the house of Burgundy, from which the Bernons claimed to be descended. (See volume I., pages 277, 278.) Delfius relates that “in 1414, John the Intrepid came to Burgundy with twenty thousand horse, and reduced all the fortified places of Tonnerre, and gave them to his son Philip.”—(*Rerum Burgundicarum Libri sex.* P. 102.)

² Diary of Samuel Sewall, vol. II, pp. 261, 262.

old Huguenot was roused by anything that savored of priestly assumption and ecclesiastical domination. In 1723, the eccentric John Checkley published in Boston a pamphlet, entitled "A Modest Proof of the Order and Government settled by Christ and His Apostles, in the Church. Recommended as Proper to be put in the hands of the Laity." Bernon wrote to the vestry of Trinity Church in Newport, who had caused an edition of this tract to be printed with their sanction, denouncing it as a device of the enemy, and complaining of the use made of his own name in the recommendation.¹

Chap. XIII

1723.

July 10.

Bernon's first wife, Esther Le Roy, died in Newport on the fourteenth day of June, 1710, at the age of fifty-six years. In 1712, he married Mary Harris. His second marriage was a very happy one. The last years of this exile from

¹ "Votre livre insinue," writes Bernon, "1., que les laïques sont les esclaves des ecclésiastiques, qui les doivent conduire à leur plaisir et instruire par leurs lèvres; 2., que les ecclésiastiques peuvent revetir et despouiller les laïques suivant leur pretendue succession; 3., que les ecclésiastiques ont le gouvernement spirituel et temporel et immuable, ce qui est très absurde, opposé comme le clergé du Papisme à l'ordre du gouvernement que Dieu a établi par Moyse, et Christ déclare à ses disciples que celui qui voudra être le premier sera le dernier." "Je suis né gentilhomme laïque de France," he continues, "naturalisé Anglois, que je prends à grand honneur plus que toutes les richesses de France; parce que les laïques d'Angleterre ne sont pas comme les laïques de France esclaves du clergé et les haquenées du Pape; pour quoy plutot que de le souffrir jay abandonné ma patrie, mon bien et mes amis pour me venir ranger et soumettre sous le gouvernement Anglois, où je suis solennellement engagé par serment devant Dieu."—(Bernon Papers.)

Chap. XIII
1736. La Rochelle were spent peacefully in the house he built himself in Providence, near Roger Williams' spring,¹ where we see him teaching his English wife and children the devotional verses he had composed in his native tongue; corresponding with Dean Berkeley at Newport; and inditing his pious reflections upon Thomas à Kempis and Drelincourt's Consolations. He died on the first day of February, 1736, at the advanced age of ninety-one years and ten months, and was buried beneath St. John's church, Providence, "with unusual marks of respect."²

The following obituary notice appeared February 19, 1736, in a Boston newspaper:—

"On the first instant, departed this life, at Providence, Mr. Gabriel Bernon, in the 92^d year of his age. He was a gentleman by birth and estate, born in Rochelle, in France, and about fifty years ago he left his native country, and the greatest part of his estate, and, for the cause of true religion, fled into New England, where he

¹ "Here Gabriel Bernon built a house somewhat after the French style, with a bold jet arching over the street. The house was framed, of wood, two stories in front and three in the rear, and for that early day was doubtless one of the best structures in the town. The spring which attracted the attention of Roger Williams, and allured him to turn the prow of his canoe toward it, is well remembered by the writer. It gushed forth from the earth in a copious stream that flowed into the adjacent river."—Historical sketch of the life of Gabriel Bernon, (MS.,) by the late Zachariah Allen, LL.D.

² History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, by Samuel Greene Arnold. Volume II., p. 116.

has ever since continued, and behaved himself as a zealous Protestant professor. He was courteous, honest, and kind, and died in great faith and hope in his Redeemer, and assurance of Salvation; and has left a good name among his acquaintances. He evidenced the power of Christianity in his great sufferings, by leaving his country and his great estate, that he might worship God according to his conscience. He has left three daughters which he had by a French gentlewoman (his first wife), one of which is the virtuous wife of the Hon^{ble} William Coddington, Esq.; three daughters and a son by a gentlewoman of New England, who behaved to him as a virtuous woman and gave singular proof of a good wife ever till his death. He was decently buried under the Episcopal Church at Providence, and a great concourse of people attended his funeral, to whom the Reverend Mr. Brown preached an agreeable and eloquent funeral sermon from Psalm xxxix. 4." Chap. XIII
1736.

DESCENDANTS OF GABRIEL BERNON.—The children of Bernon by his first wife, Esther Le Roy, were Gabriel, Marie, Esther, Sarah, and Jeanne.

Gabriel died unmarried. (See page 317.)

Marie married Abraham Tourtellot. (See page 141.)

Esther married, May 30, 1713, Adam Powell, who died in Newport, Rhode Island, December 24, 1725, aged fifty-one years. She died October 20, 1746, and was buried at Tower Hill, Rhode Island. Adam and Esther Powell had two daughters. The elder, Elizabeth, born in Newport, April 8, 1714, married the Reverend Samuel Seabury, of New London, Connecticut, whose son Samuel, by a former marriage, was the first English bishop in America. She died February 6, 1799, aged eighty-seven years. The younger daughter, Esther, born in Newport, May, 1718, was married, October, 1738, to James Helme, Chief-Justice of

Chap. XIII the Superior Court of Rhode Island, and died March 22, 1764.

Sarah, daughter of Gabriel and Esther Bernon, was married, November 11, 1722, to Benjamin Whipple.

Jeanne, daughter of Gabriel and Esther Bernon, became the second wife of Colonel William Coddington, of Newport; married October 11, 1722. She died June 18, 1752, leaving two sons, John and Francis, and four daughters, Content, Esther, Jane, and Ann.

The children of Gabriel Bernon and his second wife, Mary Harris, were Gabriel, Susanne, Mary, and Eve. Gabriel died young.

Susanne, daughter of Gabriel and Mary Bernon, born in Narragansett, 1716, was married, August 23, 1734, to Joseph Crawford. She died February 18, 1802, aged eighty-six years. Joseph and Susanne Crawford had nine children, the youngest of whom, Ann, born June 25, 1759, was married, January, 1778, to Zachariah Allen, who died April 4, 1801, aged sixty-one years. She died September 3, 1808, leaving six children: Lydia, Ann, Philip, Candace, Zachariah, and Crawford.

Mary, daughter of Gabriel and Mary Bernon, born April 1, 1719, married Gideon Crawford, and died October 1, 1789. They had seven sons and four daughters. Eve, baptized July 11, 1721, died, unmarried, in 1775.

The Honorable Zachariah Allen, LL.D., son of Anne Crawford, who married Zachariah Allen, and grandson of Susanne, daughter of Gabriel and Mary Bernon, was born in Providence, Rhode Island, September 15, 1795, and died in that city March 17, 1882, in the eighty-seventh year of his age. He was graduated in 1813 at Brown University, and subsequently pursued a course of study in law and in medicine. He was married in 1817 to Eliza Harriet, daughter of Welcome Arnold, Esq., of Providence. During his long life, while actively engaged in business, he was also a zealous student of natural science and mechanical philosophy, the inventor of valuable improvements in machinery, the founder and promoter of many literary and philanthropic enterprises, the author of several books and of numerous dissertations. As President of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Mr. Allen devoted much time and labor to researches relating to the history of his own State. Methodical and industrious, he was enabled, by a temperament wonderfully buoyant, and a constitution vigorous and elastic, not only to keep up these studies and labors to the last, but also to move among his fellow-men, helpful and sympathetic, interested in all the

vital questions of the day, and contributing to the happiness and profit of his family and of a large circle of friends, by his benignant presence and genial companionship, and by his unaffected piety. Chap. XIII —

Mr. Allen's Huguenot ancestry was matter of deep interest and unfailing delight to him. He well remembered his mother's mother, Susanne, daughter of Gabriel Bernon ; and his retentive memory was stored with distinct impressions received through her of that remarkable personage, and of the race which he so worthily represented. Indeed, perhaps more than any other American who has lived in these times, Mr. Allen himself illustrated some of the finest traits of the Huguenot character. Upon the formation of the Huguenot Memorial Society of Oxford, Massachusetts, in October, 1881, he was chosen its president. A "Memorial of Zachariah Allen, 1795-1882, by Amos Perry," was published in 1883.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SETTLEMENT.

CONNECTICUT.

Chap. XIV — No considerable body of Protestant exiles from France settled within the bounds of the colony of Connecticut at the time of the general emigration. Yet there are a few localities within those bounds that may claim our attention as the early homes of certain Huguenot families of note.

The little seaport town of Milford, on Long Island Sound, with its safe harbor, its facilities of access, and its pleasing aspect, attracted a number of the refugees, several of whom bore names that have become widely known and highly honored. Thither Peter Peiret, Paul Collin, the Gillettes, the Durands, and others, went towards the close of the seventeenth century or in the beginning of the eighteenth.

Peter Peiret was probably the son as well as the namesake of the excellent pastor of the French Church in New York, who died in the year 1704, and whose remains repose in Trinity churchyard. Pastor Peiret left several children, and among them, it is believed, an older son

named after himself.¹ The Milford settler, who died before June 16, 1718, when letters of administration upon his estate were issued, left two children, Peter and Margaret.² His son Peter became a successful merchant, and was engaged in trade with France.³ The late Pelatiah Perit of New York was his descendant.⁴

Paul Collin, one of the French settlers in Naragansett, removed to Milford upon the breaking up of that colony, and was probably the father of John Collin, who was born in the year 1706. The tradition that represents this family as of Huguenot descent is confirmed by documentary evidence.⁵

¹ Four children of Pierre Peiret and Marguerite La Tour, his wife, were baptized in the French Church, New York. These were, Susanne, born November 18, 1690; Gabriel, born January 30, 1694; Françoise, born March 1, 1696; and Elizabeth, born December 22, 1700. But Peiret was in middle life when he came to New York, and doubtless brought with him children born in France. Pierre and Madeleine, who signed as sponsors at the baptism of Elizabeth, were probably the older children of Pierre and Marguerite Peiret.

² Administration of the estate of Peter Peiret was granted to his widow Mary, who was appointed guardian of his children, *Peter*, aged eight years, and *Margaret*, aged six years. A record of the division of the property is dated June 16, 1718.—(Probate Records, New Haven, Connecticut.)

³ Lambert's History of Connecticut.

⁴ I am informed that Mr. Perit "often alluded to his ancestors as of the Huguenot race," and as having settled in Milford.

⁵ Paul Collin,—see volume I., page 304,—was the son of Jean Collin, of the Isle of Ré, France. The name is that of an ancient Rochellese family, in which the name of Jean Collin frequently occurs. For the descendants in America, see "A history of the Family of John Collin, of Milford, Connecticut." Hudson, N. Y., 1872.

Chap. XIV

William Gilet, a French refugee pastor of whom some account has been given in a previous chapter,¹ came to Milford in 1722, or earlier. He had been preceded by Eliphalet Gilet, perhaps his near relative, whose name occurs first in the year 1703.

The Huguenot Pierre Durand emigrated to America, according to the family tradition, in the year 1702, and after a brief sojourn in the South, established himself in Milford, where his descendants still reside.

Jacques Depont, a nephew of Gabriel Bernon, became a resident of Milford in the latter part of the seventeenth century. He engaged in business with Nathanael Smith, and at his death in 1703 left considerable property.²

In the burying-ground of the village Church, there is to be seen to this day the grave of "Mr. Louis Liron, Merchant," who "departed this life y^e 18 Sept. 1738, in y^e 88th year of his age."³ Louis Liron, a French Protestant refugee, from Nismes in Languedoc, established himself in trade in Milford, as early as the year 1695. Four years later, he was concerned in an occurrence that created no little stir in the colony, and in the adjoining province of New York. It was in the beginning of October, 1699, that two envoys from Canada made their appearance in Milford. They were on their way home from Rhode Island,

¹ See page 144.

² Bernon Papers.

³ Communicated by the Reverend George H. Griffin, Milford, Connecticut.

whither they had gone in search of Lord Bellomont, whom they found in Newport. Having delivered the message they bore from Monsieur de Callières, governor of Canada, to the governor of New York, these gentlemen were now seeking to return to Quebec, "the shortest way," through Albany, and over lake Champlain. Upon reaching Milford, they were directed to Liron, who entertained them courteously, and forwarded them on their journey, sending a young man to accompany them up the valley of the Naugatuck river, as far as Waterbury. The commotion produced in the little village by this unusual visit had scarcely subsided, when it began to be rumored, that the professed envoys were in reality spies, or secret agents of the Canadian government. According to some, their errand was to persuade the Indians of the Five Nations to forsake their English allies, and make a treaty with the French. Others believed them to have come for the purpose of inspecting the English defenses, with a view to a speedy attack upon them. One of these emissaries was Monsieur de la Vallière, the son of a former governor of Quebec.¹ The other was the famous Jesuit missionary Bruyas. "Some people," wrote Lord Bellomont, a year later, "are not

Chap. XIV
1699.

Monsieur
de la
Vallière.

The Jesuit
Bruyas.

¹ Michael Le Neuf, sieur de la Vallière et de Beaubassin, was the son of Jacques Le Neuf de la Poterie, governor of Quebec in 1665. De la Vallière went to Acadia in 1676, and was appointed commandant, July 16, 1678.—Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes depuis 1608 jusqu' à 1700. Par l'abbé Cyprien Tanguay. P. 381.—History of Acadia, by James Hannay, p. 216.

Chap. XIV without a jealousy that the Jesuit Brouyas and
 1699. Mons^r De La Vallière, that were sent to me on pretence of a compliment by the Governor of Canada, were rather intended as spies, to look into the condition of our forts and garrisons.”¹

Were these suspicions well founded? It would be difficult to say. Intrigue and mystification seem to have pervaded all transactions between the two countries in that day; and it is not impossible that the errand of these Frenchmen to Newport and Albany may have covered some private business scheme, instead of a deep-laid political plot. Both of them were versed in such transactions. De la Vallière had formerly been the object of distrust on the part of his own government, because of his underhand commercial dealings with the English in Boston;² and the Jesuit Bruyas was doubtless, like most of his order, an adept in the ways of trade.³ It was no uncommon thing for a Canadian official to visit New England upon some specious pretext, but in reality for the purpose of effecting a private

¹ Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York. Vol. IV., p. 645.

² The History of Acadia, by James Hannay, pp. 216-219. —Massachusetts Archives, French Collections, vol. III., pp. 49, 146.

³ The Old Régime in Canada, by Francis Parkman. Pp. 328-330.—The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century. By Francis Parkman. P. 365.

“All the world knows that the Jesuits’ commerce in peltries with the Indians during one year is as extensive as that of all the Dutch in New York, Albany and Pennsylvania during ten years.”—(Translator of the Papers of Father Bruyas; Boston, April 29, 1690. The Magazine of American History, vol. III., p. 259.)

negotiation with some Puritan or Huguenot house. Chap. XIV.

Louis Liron's good name suffered no permanent injury from his connection with this mysterious visit. He lived to become wealthy, and, dying at a good old age, made generous bequests to the French churches of Boston and New Rochelle, to the poor of Boston, and to Yale College.¹

The beautiful town of Hartford in Connecticut became, in the first half of the eighteenth century, the abode of several French Protestant families. Some time between the years 1721 and 1727, Jean Beauchamp² removed from Boston to Hartford. He was soon followed by a member of the Huguenot family of Laurens, or Lawrence, who married one of Beauchamp's daughters.³ Another of his daughters married Jean Michel Chenevard,⁴ whose descendants

¹ Probate Records, New Haven. (Rev. George H. Griffin.)

² See pages 103, 298. He was a "merchant, of Boston," when he became surety for Gabriel Bernon as administrator of Bertrand du Tuffeau's estate. His wife Margaret died in Hartford, December 8, 1727, aged fifty-nine years. John Beauchamp died November 14, 1740, aged eighty-eight years. Susanna Beauchamp married Allan McLean, October 28, 1741. Elizabeth Beauchamp married Thomas Elmer, of Windsor, February 18, 1752.

³ Savage, Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England.

⁴ Possibly descended from a Huguenot family of the province of Poitou, represented, 1605-1621, by Estienne Chesnevert, or Chesneverd, a leading Protestant lawyer, and one of the deputies of the Protestant Churches of France. —(La France Protestante.)

Chap. XIV continued for many years to reside in this town.¹
 — François Duplessis soon joined this group of refugees.²

Toward the close of the century, another conspicuous Huguenot name was added to this list. Charles Sigourney, a descendant of André Sigourney, of La Rochelle, was a native of Boston, and came to Hartford in early manhood. He married twice, and his second wife was Lydia Huntley Sigourney.

Though Mrs. L. H. Sigourney was not herself of Huguenot extraction, her name deserves mention in this account of the race, with a descendant of which she became allied by marriage. The story of the Huguenots, in Europe and in America, was a theme of inexhaustible interest, to her ; and several of her numerous

¹ John, son of Mr. John Michael Chenevard, was baptized in the First Church in Hartford, August 5, 1733. Marianne, daughter, was baptized March 23, 1734-5. John Michael Chenevard died April 7, 1735, aged fifty-six years. Margaret, his wife, died March 18, 1787, aged seventy-six years. Margaret Chenevard married John Lawrence, September 26, 1748. Mary Chenevard married Samuel Olcott, November 18, 1759. Catharine married Samuel Marsh, January 17, 1762. John married Hepzibah Collyer, January 29, 1769. Captain John Chenevard died October 6, 1805, aged seventy-two years. Hepzibah, his wife, died June 4, 1774, aged thirty-three years. Michael Chenevard died November 15, 1801, aged thirty years.—(Communicated by Charles J. Hoadly, Esq., Librarian of the State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.)

² Francis Duplessis died July 3, 1731, aged thirty-eight years. He was perhaps the son of Francis Du Plessis, who was naturalized in England, July 10, 1696.

writings, in prose and in verse, contain refer- Chap. XIV
ences to their virtues and sufferings. The
following lines occur in the poem entitled "The
Huguenot Fort at Oxford, Massachusetts :"—

" Tell me other tales

" Of that high-minded race, who for the sake

" Of conscience, made those western wilds their home ;

" How to their door the prowling savage stole

" Staining their hearth-stone with the blood of babes ;

" And—as the Arab strikes his fragile tent

" Making the desert lonely—how they left

" Their infant Zion with a mournful heart

" To seek a safer home.

" Fain would I sit

" Beside this ruined fort, and muse of them,

" Mingling their features with my humble verse,

" Whom many of the noblest of our land

" Claim as their honored sires.

" On all who bear

" Their name, or lineage, may their mantle rest ;—

" That firmness for the truth, that calm content

" With simple pleasures, that unswerving trust,

" In toil, adversity, and death, which cast

" Such healthful leaven 'mid the elements

" That peopled the new world."

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

THE MASCARENE PAPERS.

1687. Lettre de M^r. M. à M^r. de Vie son ad^t. Ecriste des prisons de L'Hotel de ville en 1687 du 1^{er} X^{bre}.

Monsieur

Jay jetté les yeux sur vous [pour vous] prier de defendre mon droit et de le mettre en evidence parceque je ne connois point davocat plus éclairé soit par l'estude soit par l'experience ni plus jntegre ni moins capable de se laisser preocuper par un zele de religion mal réglé et mal conduit.

Je fais profession de la Religion Reformée et je suis en prison poursuivi comme ayant contrevenu à la declaration du Roy qui deffend à ses sujets de sortir du Royaume.

2^o. Jay esté arreté à Agen le 20 ou le 21 de feurier de l'année 1686 (ma femme estant avec moy) par Le S^r. Cheuailier de Grammond lieutenant de dragons et conduit par luy et plusieurs autres officiers accompagné de soldats au logis du S^t. Jaques. De là apres avoir esté séparé de ma femme, je fus mené aux prisons du presidial d'Agen avec quelques autres qu'on auoit arretés. Une heure apres je fus visité par vn sergent et un soldat du regim^t de Tourayne qui me prirent mes tablettes apres que je les eus ouvertes en presence du concierge, dans ces tablettes il y auoit seult^t un papier volant d'un cart de feuille sur lequel estoit marqué vn cadran. Ces tablettes feurent portees aux officiers qui commandoit les troupes qui pour lors estoit à Agen.

3. Deux ou trois jours apres je feus interrogé par un *officier de Robe* qu'on apella Lieuten^t. du Presidial d'Agen deuant qui je demanday mon renvoy devant mon juge naturel, et quoy que j'eusse resollu de ne repondre à aucun de ses jnterrogatoires, néantmoins il ne fut pas en mon pouvoir de me contenir lorsque m'ayant representé mes tablettes jl si trouva vn sonnet en langage de Gascongne fait à ce quil me dit en derision des conuersions qui se faisoit. Je presume que M^{rs}. Les officiers du regiment de Touraine par Les mains de qui mes tablettes passerent ly mirent.

Je me contantay de protester que je nauois point composé, ny escrit, ny leu, ny entandu dire led. sonnet, et qu'il auoit été mis dans mes tablettes depuis que je les auoit remises entre les mains du sergent et du soldat et de cela les appellay a temoins avec le concierge. Ma protestaon fut écrite meme sur le sonnet.

APPENDIX.

THE MASCARENE PAPERS.

[See Preface ; also pages 124-131 of this volume.]

Letter of Mr. Mascarene to Mr. de Vie his lawyer, written from the prisons of the Hôtel de ville, December 1, 1687. 1687.

Sir : I have cast my eyes upon you to beg you to defend my cause and place it in evidence, because I am not acquainted with any lawyer more enlightened whether by study or by experience, nor more upright, nor less likely to suffer himself to be prejudiced by a zeal for religion, ill-regulated and ill-directed.

I profess the Reformed religion, and am in prison, prosecuted as having violated the declaration of the king forbidding his subjects to leave the kingdom.

2. I was arrested at Agen on the 20th or 21st of February, in the year 1686 (my wife being with me,) by the Chevalier de Gramond, lieutenant of dragoons, and was taken by him and several other officers, accompanied by soldiers, to the logis of St. Jaques. Thence, after having been separated from my wife, I was led to the prisons of the inferior court of Agen, with some others that had been arrested. An hour after, I was visited by a sergeant and a soldier of the regiment of Touraine, who took away my pocket-book, after I had opened it in the presence of the door-keeper. In this pocket-book there was only a loose paper of a quarter of a sheet, on which a dial was marked. This pocket-book was taken to the officers in command of the troops which were at that time at Agen.

3. Two or three days later I was questioned by a judicial officer called the lieutenant of the inferior court of Agen, before whom I demanded that I might be sent before the judge of my district. Although I had resolved not to answer any of his interrogatories, nevertheless it was not in my power to hold my peace, when having brought forth my pocket-book there was found within it a sonnet in the dialect of Gascony, composed, as he said, in derision of the conversions that were taking place. I presume that the officers of the regiment of Touraine, through whose hands my pocket-book passed, placed it there. I contented myself with protesting that I had not composed, nor written, nor read, nor heard of the said sonnet, and that it had been put into my pocket-book since I had placed it in the hands of the sergeant and the soldier ; and of this I called the door-keeper to witness. My protest was written upon the sonnet itself.

1687. 4°. Apres une audition faite 12 ou 15 jours apres, dans laquelle j'insistay toujours à demander mon renvoy je fus conduit à Castres avec M^r Dupuy maintenant prisonier à la conciergerie prevenu du meme cas. Il fut arrêté le meme jour que moy et c'est la premiere connoissance que j'ai fait avec luy. Quelques jours apres que nous fumes à Castres dans les prisons de Latoucaudiere,¹ M^r Barbara juge criminel proceda à mon audition.

5. Il me demanda s'il n'etoit vray que j'auois quitté ma maison de Castres pour aller à la campagne au comencem^t de l'esté de l'annee 1685 à quoy je repondis que j'auois passe l'esté avec ma femme à vn bien que j'auois du cotté d'Anglès pour y faire faire La saison et ensuite la recolte et pand^t ce tems là y faire agrandir mon logem^t qui ne consistoit pour lors qu'en une chambre afin de pouoir plus comodem^t y passer un ou deux mois tous les étés.

6. Il me demanda si estant reuenu à Castres vers la fin de l'esté je ne m'en estois retourné à ma meterie, à quoy je repondis qu'ouy.

7. Il me demanda pourquoy environ le 10 ou le 12 8^{bre} 1684 [1685] j'auois avec ma femme quitté ma maison de campagne. Je repondis que pour lors ma femme estoit enceinte et prête à acoucher, dans 7 ou 8 jours et quelle fut si fort effrayee par le bruit qui courroit que des gens de guerre deuoit venir à discretion à Castres et a Anglès comme ils estoit deja venus dans les villes circonuoisines et que notre maison en deuoit etre remplie il me fut impossible de la faire reuenir de son effroy de sorte que voyant quelle estoit en danger de perir avec lanfant quelle portoit je fus luy chercher un asile chez quelques paisans de la Montagne de Noire ou des environs ou nous passames une partie de l'hier. Pand^t ce tems elle acoucha d'un enfant male nommé Jean Paul Mascarene (qui est maintenant à Castres).

8. Il me demanda pourquoy estois-je venu à Toulouse. Je repondis qu'oyant que vingt deux soldats du regim^t de Conismark (apres auoir vandu tous mes cabaux² et tous les foin et la paille quils trouuerent dans mes meteries avec tous mes meubles) se detachoit la nuit pour nous prendre cela redoubla si fort l'effroy que ma femme auoit deja que nous feumes obligés de nous elloigner d'autant plus que nous ne pouuions plus rester dans les lieux où nous fuissions conneus à cause d'une ordon^{ee}. de mg^r. l'intand^t qui deffant de loger des gens de La Religion à peine de 500 ll. d'amende, et que d'ailleurs led. du Roy [qui] reuoque celuy de Nantes dans l'article 12 nous donnoit la liberté d'aller dans toutes les villes du royaume sans y etre troubles pour la Religion.

9. Il me demanda pourquoy je n'auois resté à Toulouse et pour-

¹ "La tour Caudière etait le palais de justice de Castres."—(Mémoires de Jacques Gaches, p. 7.)

² CABAU (dialecte languedocienne): trésor, possession, héritage. "Tout moun cabau"—tout mon avoir.—(Dict. provençal-français.)

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4. After a hearing given me, twelve or fifteen days later, in which I still insisted on demanding to be sent to another court, I was taken to Castres, with Mr. Dupuy, at present a prisoner in the Conciergerie, charged with the same offense. He was arrested the same day with myself, and it was my first acquaintance with him. Some days after we were in Castres in the prisons of the Caudière tower,¹ Mr. Barbara, criminal judge, proceeded to my hearing.

5. He asked me whether it was not true that I had left my house at Castres to go into the country, in the beginning of the summer of the year 1685; to which I answered that I had passed the summer with my wife, on a property which I had in the direction of Anglès, to see to the crops and the harvest, and meanwhile to enlarge my house there, which at that time consisted of but one room, so as to be able more comfortably to pass a month or two there every summer.

6. He asked me whether, having returned to Castres toward the end of the summer, I did not go back again to my farm; to which I answered, that I did.

7. He asked me why, about the 10th or 12th of October, 1685, I had left my country-house with my wife. I replied that at that time my wife was pregnant and expecting to be delivered within seven or eight days, and that she was so greatly affrighted by the rumor then current, that soldiers were to come and live at free quarters at Castres and Anglès, as they had already come to the neighboring towns, and that our house was to be filled with them, that it was impossible for me to bring her back from her fright. Accordingly, seeing that she was in danger of dying with her unborn child, I went to look for a refuge among some peasants of the Montagne Noire, or of the neighborhood, where we passed a part of the winter. During this time she was delivered of a male child named Jean Paul Mascarene (who is at present at Castres).

8. He asked me why I went to Toulouse. I replied that hearing that twenty-two soldiers of the regiment of Kœnigsmark (after having sold all my cabaux² and all the hay and straw they found on my farms, with all my furniture) were setting out by night to capture us, this so greatly increased the fright my wife was already in that we were obliged to go away; the more so that we could no longer remain in the places where we were known, because of an ordinance of Monseigneur the intendant, forbidding all persons to lodge any of the [Reformed] religion, upon penalty of 500 livres fine; and because, moreover, the king's edict revoking that of Nantes, article 12, gave us liberty to go into all the cities of the realm without being there molested for religion.

9. He asked me why I did not remain at Toulouse, and why I

¹ "The Caudière tower was the court-house of Castres."—(Memoirs of Gaches, p. 7.)

² Cabau (in the dialect of Languedoc): treasure, property, inheritance. "Tout moun cabau"—all my property.—(Dict. provençal-français.)

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quoi je me sois embarqué sur la Garonne dans le bateau de poste à quoy je repondis que n'ayant pas cru pourvoir reester en sureté dans Toulouse pour y estre trop connu j'auvais resolu d'aller dans les villes ou ne l'estant pas je puisse attandre avec moins d'allarmes ce quil plairoit au Roy d'ordonner à l'egard de ses sujets de la Religion pretendue Reformée qui ne voudroit pas changer car bien que par led. de sa majesté il feut deffendu de les troubler neantmoins plusieurs particuliers abusoient de leur pouvoir et du tems pour persecuter ceux contre lesquels ils auoient quelque ressentiment, et que parce que ma femme n'estoit pas encore bien remise d'une rechute qu'elle eut dans cet acoucher ny par conseq^t. en estat d'aller commodem^t à cheval je resollus de nous embarquer sur la Garonne dans le bateau qui part ordinairement pour Agen. Et qu'estant arriué à Agen je crus ny pouoir rester en sureté parce que j'apris que le s^r. de Romens natif de Castres à qui j'ettois connu commendoit les troupes qui estoient dans la ville en qualitté de plus ancien capitaine, que je vis quelques autre officiers de qui ma femme et moy estions connus et que j'entendis dire qu'on auoit arre^tté de gens de la Religion. Tout cela m'obligea à m'en aller promptem^t. au bateau qui partoit pour Bourdeaux, dans lequel je ne fus pas plutot que le s^r. Chevaillier de Gramond estant venu me demanda si je ne faisois pas profession de la Religion pretendue Reformée à qui je repondis qu'ouy sur quoy il nous fit com^mendem^t. à ma femme et à moy de la part du Roy de le suivre et nous obeismes.

10. M^r. Barbara juge criminel me demanda encore sil n'estoit pas vray que je voulus quitter le royaume à quoy je repondis que j'aymois trop ma patrie pour vouloir la quitter que dy estre forcé.

11. Il me demanda ensuite si je n'auois pas fait complot avec M^r. Dupuy de Caramang, M^r. de Moutens et mad^{le} sa femme, le S^r. Caudier et sa femme habitans de Bruniquet à trois lieues de Montauban, et le s^r. Malabion (qui est presentem^t à Castres) de quitter le royaume. Je deniai led. jnterrogatoire et j'avoueray [j'avouay] que je ne connoissés point du tout M^r. Dupuy ny le s^r. Caudier ny sa femme que je ne connoissés que de veue M^r. Moutens et m^{me} sa femme quilz estoit elloignés du lieu de mon habitation, les uns de neuf ou dix lieues et les autres de douze ou quinze lieues. J'avoueray [j'avouay] qu'en venant à Toulouse j'auois fait rencontre du s^r. Malabion qui me dit quil alloit à la foire de Bourdeaux sur un cheval qu'il montoit (il apartenoit à M^r. Barbara juge). Et je fus surpris de trouver en suite led. s^r. Malabion au bateau et luy demanday ce quil auait fait de son cheval.

12. Il me demanda ensuite pourquoy j'auois eu dessein de m'en aller à Bourdeaux à quoy je repondis que c'estoit parce que je n'auois peu rester en sureté à Agen et que j'esperois de pouoir passer quelques jours en repos et sans qu'on prit garde à moy au moins durant la foire quy commençoit dans sept ou huit jours (et je me resouvois de marretter à la Reole ou en quelque

embarked on the Garonne on the packet-boat. I replied that thinking that I could not safely remain in Toulouse, because too well known there, I resolved to go to cities, where not being known, I might with less alarm await what the king should be pleased to ordain with regard to his subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion who were unwilling to change. For although by the edict of his majesty it was forbidden to molest them, nevertheless a number of individuals abused their power and opportunity to persecute those against whom they had some grudge. And because my wife had not fully recovered from a relapse which she had during this confinement, and was consequently not in such a state as comfortably to ride on horseback, I resolved that we should go on the Garonne by the boat that leaves regularly for Agen. And having arrived at Agen, I believed that I could not remain there safely because I learned that the sieur de Romens, a native of Castres, to whom I was known, commanded the troops that were in the city, in virtue of being the senior captain; because I saw some other officers to whom my wife and I were known, and because I heard it said that some persons of the [Reformed] religion had been arrested. All this compelled me to go promptly to the boat that was leaving for Bordeaux; which I had no sooner entered than the chevalier de Gramond, coming on board, asked me whether I did not make profession of the pretended Reformed religion. I replied that I did, whereupon he ordered my wife and myself, in the name of the king, to follow him, and we obeyed.

10. Mr. Barbara, the criminal judge, asked me still further, if it was not true that I intended leaving the kingdom; to which I replied, that I loved my native land too much to wish to leave it unless I were forced to do it.

11. He asked me next, if I had not formed a plot with Mr. Dupuy of Caraman, Mr. de Moutens and his wife, the sieur Caudier and his wife, inhabitants of Bruniquet, three leagues distant from Montauban, and sieur Malabion, who is at present at Castres, to leave the kingdom. I denied the said interrogatory, and confessed that I did not know at all Mr. Dupuy nor the sieur Caudier nor his wife; that I merely knew by sight Mr. de Moutens and his wife; that they were distant from the place of my abode, some of them, nine or ten leagues, and the others, twelve or fifteen leagues. I admitted that in coming to Toulouse I had met the sieur Malabion, who told me that he was going to the fair at Bordeaux on a horse upon which he was mounted. (It belonged to Mr. Barbara, the judge.) I was surprised afterward to find the said sieur de Malabion on the boat, and I asked him what he had done with his horse.

12. He next asked me why I had intended going to Bordeaux. To which I replied, that it was because I had been unable to remain in safety at Agen, and I hoped to be able to pass a few days in quiet and without being noticed by any one, at least during the fair, which was to begin in seven or eight days; and I resolved

1687. autre lieu en cas que j'y eusse trouvé la sureté et le repos que je cerchois).

Quatre de mes metayers de differantes meteries deposent que je suis party de ma meterie de Carrelle ou j'auois passé l'esté et qu'ils n'ont point seu ou j'ettois allé. L'un d'eux dit que je suis party de nuit avec ma femme, vous verrés ma reponse dans l'article 7.

Deux consuls d'Anglès deposent que lorsque vingt soldats du regiment de Conismark et un sergent commendés par un officier feurent allés à ma meterie de Carrelle quelqu'un d'entr'eux reuint à Angles dire qu'ils ne m'y auoit point trouvé. Vous verrés ma reponse dans l'article 7.

Un nomme Durraquy precepteur chez un gentilhomme depose qu'ayant esté interrogé par ce gentilhomme chez qui il estoit si je ne voulois pas changer de religion je repondis que j'ettois persuadé de la verité de ma religion et que je voulois y perseuerer toute ma vie. Non seulement j'accorday le fait, mais outre cela je dis à m^r Barbara qui me confrontoit ces temoins que s'il prenoit la peine de me faire la meme demande je luy fairois la meme reponse.

Par sentence du mois d'Auril 1686 m^r. Dupuy et moy auons esté condamnés aux galères perpetuelles nos biens confisqués et mille ecus damande envers le Roy nous auons este menés de suite au parlement de La prest^{re} de Toulouse on nous separa quelque jours apres M^r. Dupuy est resté à la Conciergerie et j'ay este transferé aux prisons de l'hostel de ville d'ou je vous ecris.

Un an apres savoir le 7 may de la presente annee 1687 nous auons esté mis sur la selette ou m^{rs}. les conseillers de la Tournelle me firent quelque interrogats de ceux que je vous ay cy dessus spécifiés et le reste de mon audition fut employé en questions de controuerse qui ne touchent en rien à ce que je souhaite maintenant de vous. Car quoy que ma Religion passe pour un crime et que je voye bien que sans ma Religion je ne serois à l'estat ou je suis je ne pretends point me justifier de ce crime pretendu et j'ayme mieux estre toujours criminel de cette manniere que recouvrer tout ce que j'ay perdu. Toute controuerse apart je suis persuadé de la verité de ma religion, ma conscience ne peut gouter celle qu'on me propose, j'ay une auersion insurmontable pour l'hipocrisie et j'estime que tout ce qui nous peut porter à embrasser une religion c'est seulement la connoissance que nous auons de Dieu et de ce qu'il a fait pour nous l'amour et la reconno^{is} que nous devons avoir pour luy, la connoissance et l'amour de la verité, La crainte d'un malheur infiny et eternel, et l'esperance d'une felicité parfaite et eternelle.

Dans toutes mes auditions j'ay obmis ce qui estoit le principal sujet de ma femme et qui nous donnoit lieu de craindre avec raison d'estre pris et maltraités et comme vous jugerés peut-estre que cela pourra estre de quelque importance dans mon affaire il ne sera pas mal apropos que je fasse icy une petite digression. Il y a environ quatre ans que Margueritte de Salavy (avec qui je suis marié depuis trois ans) receut un affront du nommé Calvet fils qui luy

to stop at La Réole, or at some other place, should I find there the safety and rest of which I was in search. 1687.

Four of my farmers, from different farms, depose that I left my farm of Carrelle, where I had passed the summer, and that they did not know whither I had gone. One of them says that I left by night with my wife. You will see my answer in article 7.

Two consuls of Anglès depose, that when twenty soldiers of the regiment of Kœnigsmark, and a sergeant, commanded by an officer, went to my farm of Carrelle, one of them came back to Anglès and stated that they had not found me. You will see my answer in article 7.

A man named Durraquy, tutor in a gentleman's house, deposes that having been questioned by that gentleman, at whose house he was, whether I would not change my religion, I replied that I was persuaded of the truth of my religion, and that I wished to persevere in it during my whole life. Not only did I admit the fact, but in addition I said to Mr. Barbara, who confronted me with these witnesses, that if he would take the trouble to ask me the same question, I should make the same reply.

By sentence of the month of April, 1686, Mr. Dupuy and I were condemned to the galleys for life, our property was confiscated with a fine of one thousand crowns to the king. Next we were taken to the parliament of the of Toulouse, where, a few days later, we were separated. Mr. Dupuy remained in the Conciergerie, and I was transferred to the prisons of the Hôtel de Ville, from which I write to you.

A year afterwards, namely, on the 7th of May of the present year 1687, we were subjected to an examination, in which the counselors of the Tournelle addressed to me certain inquiries on some of the points which I have above specified, and the rest of my hearing was occupied with controversial questions that do not at all touch upon the subject of my present request at your hands. For although my religion is regarded as a crime, and I see full well that but for my religion I should not be in the state in which I am, I do not seek to justify myself of this pretended crime, and I prefer to continue a criminal after this fashion rather than recover all that I have lost. All discussion apart, I am persuaded of the truth of my religion. My conscience has no relish for the religion that is offered me. I have an insuperable aversion for hypocrisy, and I am of the opinion that the only thing that can lead us to embrace a religion is the knowledge we have of God and of what He has done for us, the love and gratitude that we ought to have toward Him, the knowledge and love of the truth, the fear of an infinite and everlasting misery, and the hope of a perfect and eternal blessedness.

In all my hearings I have omitted what was the chief subject regarding my wife, and what gave us ground to fear with good reason lest we should be apprehended and maltreated. And as you will perhaps judge that this may be of some importance in my affairs, it will not be out of place that I should here make a short digression. About four years ago, Marguerite de Salavy (to whom

1687. donna un souffet en pleine rue pour lequel affront il fut decreté de prise de corps capturé et remis aux prisons de la Tourcaudiere où les parens et amis de lad. dem^{lle} Margueritte de Salavy presentement ma femme feurent obligés de le garder à veue parce que le concierge ne vouloit pas s'en charger à cause du mauvais estat ou se trouvoit les prisons et de la peur quil avoit dud. Calvet. Le procès luy fut fait et par sentence des officiers ordin^{res} de Castres il fut condamné aus galeres pour dix ans, et conduit icy de suite, et par arrest du parlem^t il fut condamné à aller demander pardon à lad. dem^{lle} de Salavy dans sa maison à Castres, en presence des personnes quelle voudroit et bany pour vn an de la ville et fauxx-bourgs de Castres.

Le père dud. Calvet estoit consul de Castres en 1685 lorsque les gens de guerre y vindrent, et comme c'estoit vn tems ou ceux qui avoit quelque autorité en abusoient de la maniere qui vouloit pour satisfaire leur ressentim^{ts} particuliers il se jacta que les premiers cinquante dragons qui entreroit dans Castres seroit detaches pour venir ravager notre bien et nous persecuter à ma meterie de Carrelles où nous estions, et ou nous n'auions encore pour tout logement qu'une chambre. Representés vous l'estat d'une femme enceinte et qui conte quelle doit accoucher dans deux ou trois jours et à qui l'on vient annoncer de telles nouuelles.

Depuis ce tems là le meme Calvet fut cause que nous quittames aussi le lieu ou ma femme accoucha, car ayant rencontré en son chemin un homme du Masage de Poussines il s'informa curieusement où j'estois disant quil estoit vn de mes intimes amis et quil souhaitoit de savoir le lieu ou j'estois pour me venir faire offre de ces services et pour passer quelque jours avec moy. Et nous seumes quil estoit allé à Castres pour aduertiser le s^r Calvert son père consul qu'il n'auoit qu'à envoyer de soldats et quil ne manqueroit pas d'executer ce quil avoit une fois manqué à l'egard de nos personnes seulement, car pour nos biens il eut tout le plaisir de les voir dissipés. Sur ces memoires que je vous donne icy et les autres instructions que nous pourrons vous donner si nous en auons le tems vous aurez s'il vous plait la bonté de dresser vn factum en quittant le reste de vos affaires pour tout le tems quil faudra : car m^r le procureur general a fait intimer au jourdhuy la production à m^r. Maren mon procureur et il pourroit peut estre nous faire juger Samedi prochain : cepand^t il faut du tems pour faire imprimer le factum et pour le distribuer. S'il est necessaire que je vous parle je vous prie d'auoir la bonté de venir jusqu'icy, vous assurant que tout le tems que vous employerès pour moy ne sera pas vn tems perdu. S'il y a quelques depences à faire (outre celles que nous faisons pour tacher de voir s'il se peut la procedure) je vous prie d'en donner advis à celuy qui vous rendra cette lettre, car je suis resollu d'employer tout le soin de mes parens et de mes amis tout ce que je puis pretendre d'eux, et tout ce quil me reste à me bien deffendre en attend^t de Dieu l'issue de mon affaire telle quil luy plaira de me

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I have been married for three years) received an affront from a man named Calvet junior, who struck her in the face upon the open street. For this insult, he was ordered to be arrested, taken and committed to the prison of the Caudière tower, where the relatives and friends of the said lady, Marguerite de Salavy, at present my wife, were obliged to watch him personally, inasmuch as the keeper would not take charge of him, because of the bad condition in which the prisons were, and the fear he had of the said Calvet. He was tried, and by sentence of the ordinary officers of Castres, he was condemned to the galleys for ten years, and at once brought here; and by decree of the parliament, he was condemned to go and beg pardon of the said Mademoiselle de Salavy in her house at Castres, in the presence of whatever persons she might wish, and banished for a year from the city and suburbs of Castres.

The father of the said Calvert was consul of Castres in 1685, when the soldiers came there, and as it was a time in which those who had any authority abused it as they pleased, to satisfy their personal resentments, he boasted that the first fifty dragoons that should enter Castres would be assigned to come and ravage our property and persecute us in my farm at Carrelles where we were, and where we had as yet for our accommodation but one room. Picture to yourself the state of a pregnant woman who expects to be confined in two or three days, and to whom such tidings are brought.

Afterwards the same Calvet was the cause of our leaving also the place where my wife was confined; for having met on the road a man of the Masage de Poussines, he took pains to inquire precisely where I was, saying that he was one of my intimate friends and that he desired to know my whereabouts, in order to come and offer me his services, and to spend some days with me. And we learned that he had gone to Castres, to notify the sieur Calvet, his father the consul, that he had only to send soldiers, and that they would not fail to execute what once before they had failed in, so far as our persons alone were concerned, for as to our goods, he had had full satisfaction in seeing them wasted.

By means of the memoranda that I here give you, and the other instructions that we shall be able to give you, if we have the time, you will, if you please, have the goodness to draw up a statement, putting aside all your other affairs for the whole time that may be necessary: inasmuch as the attorney-general has notified my attorney, Mr. Manen, of the hearing of my appeal, and he may, perhaps, put me on trial next Saturday; meanwhile time is needed for getting the statement printed and for its distribution. Should it be necessary that I should speak to you, I beg you to have the goodness to come here, assuring you that the time you may devote to me will not be lost time. Should there be expenses to be incurred (beyond those that we shall incur in endeavoring, if possible, to get a sight of the proceedings), I beg you to inform the person who will hand you this letter; for I am resolved to make use of all the attentions

1687. la donner. S'il me faut souffrir je souffriray avec plus de patience lorsque je n'auray rien à me reprocher. J'estime quil faut donner les biens pour sauver le corps comme il faut donner l'un et l'autre pour sauuer l'ame. Je suis m^r votre tres humble et tres obeisant serviteur. Mascarene signé.

Je ne crois pas, Monsieur quil soit parle dans ma procedure de ce que je vous [ay] icy ecrit du s^r Calvet parce que ne mestant point venu dans l'esprit que mons^r Barbara peut me condamner à des peines, je ne mestois pas soucie de prendre des grandes precautions pour justifier ma conduite. Si cepand^t vous jugès que cela puisse etre de quelque importance et quil faille en parler ce que j'avance ce peut justifier ainssi. Il paroît que le s^r Calvet pere estoit consul en 1685. Les causes du resentiment que luy et son fils auoit contre ma femme et contre moy, paroissent par la sentence des ordi^{res} de Castres qui le condamnent aux galeres donnée à la req^{ste} de Margueritte de Salavy à present ma femme et par l'arrest qui fut donne icy à la Tournelle jl y a environ 4 ans sur lapel de suite qui le condamne au banissement pour vn an et à demander pardon, et l'on pourra aysement prouver ce dont il se jacta publiquement. Il me semble que le 7 may de la annee presente 1687, lorsque je fus oui sur la selette à la Tournelle quelq'un de m^{rs} mes juges me fit vn interrogat sur quoy cela venoit apropos et que j'en parlay ; mais je n'en suis pas bien assure.

Le s^r Barbara me condamna sur vne presumption quil a eue que voyageant sur la Garonne et volant aller du cotté de Bourdeaux par consequent je voulois sortir du royaume : mais il se trouve vne autre cause de mes courses scavoir la persecution d'un ennemi particulier qui abusoit de son pouuoir. Pourquoi faut-il quil me condamne sur une imagination quil a ? qui quand elle auroit quelque aparence ne vaudroit qu'à poser que j'ay eu la volonte de sortir du royaume, or j'ay toujours oui dire que les volontés ne sont point punies en France.

Je suis arrete à Agen à quarante ou cinquante lieues de la frontiere et pour ainssi [dire] au cœur du royaume, j'aurois bien eu le tems de changer de volonte (suposé que je l'eusse eu) sachant surtout que depuis led. du Roy qui revoque celui de Nantes ceux de la R.P.R. pouvoit rester dans toutes les villes du royaume sans estre jnquiettés ny troublés pour leur religion. Il nyauoit à craindre que les ressentiments particuliers, et la malice de eux [ceux] qui abusoint de leur pouvoir. Vne marque bien visible que m^r Barbara ettoit prevenu de passion contre moy c'est que lors du confrontation de mes trois voisins qui (à ce que je pence) furent les 1^{ers} temoins qui me furent confrontés il se trouva que le s^r Bar-

of my relatives and friends, of all I am entitled to expect from them, and all that remains to me, in order to make a good defense, while looking to God for such an issue of my matter as it shall please Him to give me. If I must suffer, I shall suffer more patiently if I shall have nothing to reproach myself with. I consider that we must give up our property to save the body, as we must give both [property and life] to save the soul. I am, sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

(signed) MASCARENE.

I do not believe that there is any mention in my proceedings of what I have here written to you concerning the Sieur Calvet, because as it did not enter my mind that Mr. Barbara could condemn me to penalties, I did not care to take great precautions to justify my conduct. If, however, you judge that it might be of some importance, and that it must be spoken of, what I allege can be established thus: It appears that the Sieur Calvet, the father, was consul in 1685. The causes of the resentment which he and his son had against my wife and against me, appear from the sentence of the judges in ordinary of Castres, condemning him to the galleys, given at the prayer of Marguerite de Salavy, at present my wife, and by the decree that was given here in the Tournelle, about four years ago, on the appeal that subsequently condemned him to banishment for a year and to beg her pardon; and it will be easy to prove what he publicly boasted of. It seems to me that, on the 7th of May of the present year, 1687, when I was examined at the Tournelle, some one of my judges asked me a question to which this was pertinent, and that I spoke of it; but I am not quite sure of this.

The sieur Barbara condemned me upon a presumption which he entertained, that as I traveled on the Garonne, and intended to go in the direction of Bordeaux, I consequently intended leaving the kingdom; but there is another cause for my trip, namely, the persecution of a personal enemy who abused his power. Why should he condemn me on a surmise of his, which, if it had any semblance of truth, would only establish the theory that I had purposed to leave the kingdom? Now, I have always heard that intentions are not punished in France.

I was arrested at Agen, forty or fifty leagues from the frontier and, so to speak, in the heart of the kingdom. I should have had full time to change my intention (supposing I had had it) knowing especially that, since the edict of the king revoking that of Nantes, the adherents of the Pretended Reformed Religion could remain in all the cities of the realm without being molested or troubled on account of their religion. Nothing was to be feared save personal resentments and the malice of those who abused their power. One very manifest proof that Mr. Barbara was prejudiced by ill-feeling toward me, is the fact that, at the time of the confronting of my three neighbors who (as I think) were the first witnesses that were confronted with me, it was found that the sieur

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bara auoit fait coucher sa deposition propre selon sa fantasie au lieu de celle des temoins : car lors quil leut la deposition du premier temoin concue en ces termes (Tel cordonnier a deposé que le sr. Mascarene est party de sa maison de Castres pour aller à sa maison de campagne afin de ne point changer de religion, selon la volonté du Roy) ce temoin tout ettonné se recria que ce n'estoit point la sa deposition quil estait vray quil auoit dit que j'estois party de Castres pour aller à la campagne avec ma famille : mais quil ne sauoit point les affaires que j'i auois et quil n'auoit point le don de deviner pour scauoir ce qui se passoit dans mon cœur. Le sr. Barbara le menaça en ma presence de le faire pendre. Le temoin persista toujours à dire que quand il scauroit d'etre pendu il ne vouloit dire que ce quil scauoit sur quoy il corrigea la deposition dud. temoin, et comme il auoit fait la meme chose à l'égard de la deposition des autres deux qui attandoit à une autre chambre de la prison quil auoit eu vn peu de confusion de me voir assister à la corection de la deposition du premier temoin il me fit passer dans une autre chambre et appella les deux autres temoins dont la deposition ne parla plus ensuite du dessain pour lequel j'estois party de Castres pour aller à la campagne ce que je dis icy paroitra par les ratures qui ce trouueront dans les originaux de la procedure.

Mon nom est Jean Mascarene, je suis natif de Castres Lors de ma premiere audition j'estois agé d'Enuiron 26 ans je suis dans ma 28 année depuis le 26 du mois d'auril dernier.

Factum, pour Mr. Jean Mascarene adt. prevenû, prisonnier à la conciergerie contre Monsieur le procureur general.

Dit que l'année 1685, le produisant estant allé de Castres, où il faisoit son sejour ordinaire, à la campagne, dans vne sienne meterie pres du lieu d'Anglès pour y passer l'este et partie de l'autonne ; il courut vn bruit au commencement doctobre que de gens de guerre devoit venir loger à discretion à Castres, à Anglès et autres lieux voisins, comme auoit ueja fait en d'autres dioceses, et le produisant et sa femme qui estoit enciente et prete d'accoucher, furent menacés que leur maison en devoit etre remplie. Cette nouuelle donna vn si grand Effroy à cette femme que le produisant voyant quelle estoit en danger deperir avec l'enfant quelle portoit, fut obligé de luy chercher vn azile chez quelques paisans de la Montagne d'Anglès, ou ils passerent vne partie de l'hiver, et ou elle accoucha d'un enfant mâle, qui fut baptisé par mr. Oulet ministre de ceux de R. P. R. et fut appellé Jean Paul Mascarene : le Roy ayant bien voulu permettre que quoy que l'exercice de lad. religion fut alors interdite, le baptême fut encore administré par quelques ministres.

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Barbara had his [their] deposition drawn up according to his own fancy, instead of that of the witnesses. For when he read the deposition of the first witness, conceived in these terms: 'Such a one, shoemaker, has deposed that the sieur Mascarene left his house at Castres to go to his country house, in order not to change his religion, according to the king's will;' this witness, greatly astonished, exclaimed that such was not his deposition; that it was true he had said that I had left Castres to go to the country with my family; but that he did not know the business I had, and that he had not the gift of divination so as to know what went on in my heart. The sieur Barbara, in my presence, threatened to have him hung. The witness persisted constantly in saying that, if he knew that he would be hung, he would say only what he knew. Whereupon he [the judge] corrected the deposition of the said witness; and, as he had done the same thing in respect to the deposition of the other two, who were waiting in another room of the prison [and] he was a little confused to see me present at the correction of the deposition of the first witness, he made me go into another room, and called the two other witnesses, whose deposition subsequently did not mention the purpose for which I had left Castres to go to the country. What I say here will appear from the erasures that will be found in the originals of the proceedings.

My name is Jean Mascarene. I am a native of Castres. At the time of my first hearing, I was about twenty-six years old. I entered upon my twenty-eighth year on the 26th of the month of April last.

Statement for Mr. Jean Mascarene, at the present time under accusation, prisoner in the conciergerie, against the attorney general.

Says that in the year 1685 the appellant having gone from Castres, where he usually resided, to a farm of his near Anglès, to pass the summer and a part of the autumn, there was a rumor current in the beginning of October, that soldiers were to come and live at free quarters at Castres, Anglès and other neighboring districts, as had already been the case in other dioceses, and the appellant and his wife, who was pregnant and about to be confined, were threatened that their house was to be filled with them. This news gave this woman so great a fright, that the appellant, seeing that she was in danger of dying with her unborn child, was obliged to seek refuge with some peasants of the Montagne d' Anglès, where they passed a part of the winter, and where she was delivered of a male child, which was baptized by Mr. Oulet, a minister of the adherents of the Pretended Reformed Religion, and was named Jean Paul Mascarene; the king having been pleased to permit that, although the exercise of the said religion was at that time interdicted, baptism should still be administered by a few ministers.

During the sojourn of the men of the regiment of Königsmark at Castres and the vicinity, twenty-two soldiers of the said regi-

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Pendant le sejours que les gens du regiment de Konismark firent à Castres et aux environs, vingt deux soldats dud. regiment ravagerent les biens du produisant et vendirent ses cabaux et generalement tout ce qui se trouva dans ses meteries.

Le produisant et sa femme estans advertis que lesd. soldats les cherchoient et se vouloir saysir de leurs personnes, ils crurent devoir secarter de Castres et des environs, et ils vinrent à Toulouse y chercher quelque repos : mais craygnant qu'on ne sçût qu'ils estoit à Toulouse, où ils estoit connus de plusieurs personnes, et qu'on ne les obligeât de retourner chez eux ils voulurent s'elloigner encore davantage et aller du cotté d'Agen et de Bordeaux, vsant de la permission que le Roy, par l'art^{le} xii de led., qui revoque celuy de Nantes, donnoit à tous ceux qui nauoit pas abjuré la R. P. P. d'aller venir et de demeurer dans tous les lieux et villes du royaume sans y pouvoir estre troublés sous pretexte de religion. Ils partirent donc par le bateau deposte et se rendirent à Agen, mais ayant trouvé que le sr. de Romens, Capitaine dans le regim^t de Touraine de qui le produisant est connu, estoit dans lad. ville et y commendoit les troupes comme plus ancien officier et quil y auoit aussi d'autres officiers de la connoiss^e du produisant ; et ayant encore appris qu'on auoit arretté quelque personnes de la R. P. R. il crut quil ny seroit pas en seuretté ce qui l'obligea et sa femme d'aller promptement au bateau qui partoit pour Bourdeaux, dans lequel ils ne furent pas plutôt que le sr. Cheur de Gramont y estant venu, leur demanda sils ne faisoit pas profession de la R. P. R. ce qu'ayant adoué, il les fit conduire au logis de St. Jaques de lad. ville d'Agen, et puis ayant separé le produisant de sa femme il fut conduit aux prisons des sennchal de lad. ville avec quelques autres qui auoit été aussy arrettés ce jour là, qui fut le 20 ou 21 feurier 1686. Quelques heures apres on fit venir vn sergent du regiment de Touraine, accompagné d'un soldat, lesquels de lordre de leurs officiers se firent remettre des tablettes quil trouverent sur le produisant, dans lesquelles il y avoit seulement vn papier volant d'un cart de feuille sur lequel estoit marqué vn cadran.

Deux ou trois jours apres, vn officier dud. sen^{al} estant venu pour interroger le produisant, il proposa sa declinatoire et refusa de repondre : neantmoins il ne fut pas en son pouvoir de garder le silence, lorsque cest officier luy ayant présenté lesd. tablettes, il s'y trouva un papier sur lequel estoit escrit vn sonnet en langage de Gascogne, fait à ce que disoit led. officier en derision des nouvelles conuertions, lequel sonnet auoit este apparemt^t mis dans lesd. tablettes par Les officiers ou soldats du regiment de Touraine, par les mains desquels elles auoit passé.

Le produisant se contanta seulement de protester quil n'auoit point composé, ny jamais veû, ny leû, ny entendû lire led. sonnet, et quil ne scauoit pas meme parler le langage de Gascogne, et quil auoit esté mis dans lesd. tablettes depuis quil les auoit remises entre les mains du sargent et des soldats, dequoy il se remit à leur temoignage et à celuy du concierge, et il escriuit sa protestation sur led. sonnet, laquelle il signa.

ment ravaged the property of the appellant, and sold his valuables, and in general everything found upon his farms. 1687.

The appellant and his wife, being informed that the said soldiers were seeking them and wished to seize their persons, believed that they must go to a distance from Castres and its vicinity, and they went to Toulouse in search of some rest. But fearing that it might be learned that they were in Toulouse, where they were known to a number of persons, and that they would be compelled to return home, they wished to remove still farther away and to go in the direction of Agen and Bordeaux, making use of the permission which the king, by the twelfth article of the edict revoking that of Nantes, granted to all those who had not abjured the Pretended Reformed Religion to go and come, and to dwell in all places and cities of his realm, without being liable to be molested under pretext of religion. They left therefore by the packet boat, and betook themselves to Agen; but having found that the *sieur de Romans*, a captain in the regiment of Touraine, to whom the appellant is known, was in the said town, and commanded the troops there as the senior officer, and that there were also other officers of the appellant's acquaintance; and having moreover learned that some persons of the Pretended Reformed Religion had been arrested, he believed that he would not be safe. This obliged him and his wife to go promptly to the boat that left for Bordeaux, upon which they had scarcely stepped, before the *sieur chevalier de Gramont*, arriving, asked them whether they did not make profession of the Pretended Reformed Religion. When they had admitted that they did, he had them taken to the *logis de St. Jaques* of the said town of Agen, and subsequently having separated the appellant from his wife, he [the appellant] was taken to the prisons of the *seneschal* of the said town, with some others that had also been arrested that day, which was the twentieth or twenty-first of February, 1686. Some hours after, a sergeant of the regiment of Touraine was brought, accompanied by a soldier, who, by an order of their officers, required that a pocket-book which they found upon the appellant should be given up to them, in which there was only a loose paper of a quarter of a sheet, upon which a dial was marked.

Two or three days later, an officer of the said *seneschal* having come to interrogate the appellant, he offered his declinature, and refused to answer: nevertheless it was not in his power to keep silence, when this officer, having presented to him the said pocket-book a paper was found within it, on which was written a sonnet, in the dialect of Gascony, composed, according to the statement of the said officer, in derision of the new conversions; which sonnet had apparently been put in the said pocket-book by the officers or soldiers of the regiment of Touraine, through whose hands it had passed.

The appellant contented himself with simply protesting that he had not composed, nor ever seen, nor read, nor heard read the said sonnet, and that he did not even know how to speak the dialect of Gascony, and that it had been put in the said pocket-book since he had placed it in the hands of the sergeant and the soldiers; whereof he appealed to their testimony and to that of the door-keeper, and he wrote his protest on the sonnet, which he signed.

1687. Douze on quinze jours apres il fut de nouveau interrogé, mais il insista toujours à son renuoy, et il fut conduit à Castres avec le sr. Dupuy, qui auoit esté arresté le meme jour que le produisant, qui ne l'auoit jamais connû auparavant.

Le juge criminel de Castres les interrogea tous deux et leur ayant fait confronter à chacun quelques temoins qui ne chargent aucunement le produisant, il a donné sentence le 19 aoust 1686, par laquelle il les a condamnés aux galeres perpetuelles avec confiscation de biens et 3,000 livres d'amande envers le Roy.

Ils furent conduits de suite à la Conciergerie de la cour, et quelque jours apres on les separa et lon conduisit le produisant aux prisons de l'hôtel de ville, où il a demeuré plus d'un an auant que le proces fut porté sur le bureau. Enfin le 7 may 1687, apres la visite du procès le produisant et led. Dupuy ayant esté ouïs sur selette, la cour renuoya à greffe pour conclurre sur l'appel, et lettres que le produisant et led. Dupuy auroit presentées en cassation des procedures contre eux faites.

C'est l'estat de la cause en laquelle la cassation desd. procedures et le relaxe du produisant ne peut recevoir aucune difficultté.

1^o On ne peut pas imputer à crime au produisant de ce quil na point changé de religion, le Roy n'ayant pas ettably de peines pour cela : et au contraire sa majesté par led. de Revocation de celuy de Nantes art. 12 a permis à ceux de la R. P. R. qui n'ont point changé de vivre librement dans son royaume reconnoissant que *nemo credit invitus*, et que la foy est un don du ciel.

2^o Le produisant n'est pas coupable aussi d'auoir vouleû sortir du royaume contre les deffences de sa majesté, il ny a aucune preuve contre luy de cette pretendêue contrevencion, car les temoins qui luy ont esté confronté disent seulement, quil alla à son bien de campagne au commencement de l'esté de l'annee 1685, et que le 10 ou 12 d'octobre aud. an il partit de sa meterie avec sa femme ; ce que le produisant na jamais denié, mais cely ne fait ny preuve ny presumption quil ait vouleû sortir du royaume, et il ne faut pas s'estonner quil se soit retiré de Castres, et de sa meterie pour ne s'exposer pas à la licence et à l'insolance des soldats qui devoit y venir loger à discretion, et quy y vinrent en effet, et y firent tout le desordre quilz peurent ayant pillé et vendû tous les bestiaux et autres choses qui y estoit. L'effroy d'une femme grosse qui estoit prette à accoucher, la tendresse d'un mary, et d'un pere pour la conseruation de sa femme et de son enfant la crainte d'estre exposé soy même à la folie et brutallite des soldats sont des causes assez legitimes de cest elloignement et de la recherche quil fit d'une maison dans la Montagne d'Anglès pour y faire accoucher sa femme sans crainte et sans frayeur, et pour y estre à couuert des insultes quil n'auoit que trop de sujet d'aprehender, on peut dire avec rasyon, *hic metus cadebat in constantem virum* ; et s'il fit baptiser l'enfant, dont sa femme accoucha, par vn ministre de la R. P. R. il

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Twelve or fifteen days after, he was interrogated a second time, but he still insisted upon being sent before another judge, and he was taken to Castres with the sieur Dupuy, who had been arrested on the same day with the appellant, who had never known him before that time,

The criminal judge of Castres interrogated them both, and having confronted them each with some witnesses, who in no wise brought any charge against the appellant, he gave sentence, on the nineteenth of August, 1686, condemning them to the galleys for life, with confiscation of their property, and a fine of three thousand livres in favor of the king.

They were then taken to the conciergerie of the court, and, some days after, they were separated, and the appellant was taken to the prison of the Hôtel de Ville, where he remained more than a year before the suit was brought into court. At last, on the seventh of May, 1687, after the examination of the suit, the appellant and the said Dupuy having been subjected to an examination, the court sent the matter to the clerk's office to decide upon the appeal, and the letters presented by the appellant and the said Dupuy, with a view to the annulment of the proceedings against them.

This is the state of the case, in which the annulment of the said proceedings and the appellant's release can involve no difficulty.

1. It cannot be imputed as a crime to the appellant that he has not changed his religion, the king not having established penalties for that. On the contrary, his majesty, by the Edict revoking that of Nantes, article 12, has permitted the adherents of the Pretended Reformed Religion who have not changed, freely to live in his kingdom, recognizing the truth that "*nemo credit invitus*" ["no one believes unwillingly"], and that faith is a gift of heaven.

2. Neither is the appellant guilty of having intended to leave the kingdom contrary to the prohibition of his majesty. There is no proof against him of this pretended contravention; for the witnesses that were confronted with him merely say that he went to his country property at the beginning of the summer of the year 1685, and that on the tenth or twelfth of October in the said year he and his wife left his farm. This the appellant has never denied, but this constitutes neither proof nor presumption that he intended to leave the kingdom, and no surprise should be felt that he withdrew from Castres and from his farm so as not to be exposed to the license and insolence of the soldiers who were to come and live there at free quarters, and who in point of fact did come, and committed all the disorder they could, having plundered and sold all the cattle and other things that were there. The flight of a woman with child, ready to be confined, the solicitude of a husband and father for the safety of his wife and child, the fear of being himself exposed to the folly and brutality of the soldiers—are causes legitimate enough for this withdrawal, and for the search he made for a house in the mountains of Anglès, that his wife might there be confined without fear and dread, and be sheltered from the insults which he had but too much ground to apprehend. One may say with reason, "*Hic metus cadebat constantem virum*"

1687. na rien fait en cela contre les loix de l'estat puisque le Roy l'auoit expressement permis ; ayant apres l'interdiction de l'exercice de la R. P. R. fait laisser de ministres en diuers lieux pour baptiser les enfans.

Le voyage dud. produisant et de sa femme à Toulouse en suite à Agen, où ils furent pris, ne peut aussi le convaincre d'avoir voulu sortir du royaume, soit parce qu'ils eurent auis qu'on les faisoit chercher pour les ramener chez eux où on pretendoit leur donner de nouveaux logement, par la hayne qu'auoit un nommé Calvet, consul de Castres leur ennemy particulier soit parce qu'on ne peut pas leur imputer à crime d'avoir uzé de la permission que le Roy donne à ceux de la R. P. R. par led. de Reuocation de celuy de Nantes d'aller, de venir et demeurer dans toutes les villes et lieux de son royaume, sans y pouoir estre troublez, et en vn môt il suffit de dire que le produisant a esté pris à Agen à 40 ou 50 lieues de la frontiere ; et pour ainsi dire au cœur du royaume, pour montrer que c'est mal apropos qu'on l'accuse d'avoir contrevenû au declarations de sa maj. portant deffences à ceux de [la] R. P. R. de sortir du royaume.

Il est vray quil fut pris entrant dans le bateau pour aller à Bordeaux, mais quand il auroit esté pris dans Bordeaux meme il ne seroit pas coupable ; et ce n'est pas la pensée de sortir hors du royaume qui le conduisoit à Bourdeaux, cestoit le desir de trouver vn lieu où n'estant point connu il peut estre hors de tout crainte. Enfin il na pas esté pris sur la frontiere : ny dans aucun passage deffendû et le soupçon qu'on a voulu former quil auoit le pensée de sortir du royaume, n'est pas vne matiere d'accusation parce quil ny a que Dieu qui soit le scrutateur des cœurs, et les loix humaines ne s'exercent point sur les pensées, cogitationis pœnam nemo patitur, l. cogitationis, il de pœnis.

Les tablettes, d'ont il a esté parlé, ne peuvent de rien servir à la conviction du produisant 1^o que quand il auroit composé ou escript le pretendu sonnet, contre les nouvelles conversions, ce ne seroit pas vn sujet d'accusation, 2^o il n'est pas vray quil l'ayt escript ni composé, n'entendant pas meme le langage de Gascogne : il protesta avec rayson devant l'officier du senechal, qui le voulut interroger que le sonnet auoit été mis dans ces tablettes par ceux entre les mains desquels elles auoit passé depuis la remise quil en auoit faite entre les mains du sergent du regiment de Tourayne, soutenant que lors quil les prit des mains du produisant ce sonnet ny estoit pas comme il paroistroit par le temoignage d'iceluy et du soldat quy l'accompagnoit, aussi bien que du concierge qui auoient tous veu l'estat desd. tablettes dans la prison.

Et si bien elles estoit chargées d'une adresse pour Londres, d'une autre pour Amsterdam, et d'une autre pour La Haye ce n'estoit pas pour sortir du royaume, mais pour pouoir envoyer et receuoir

[“*Here* fear fell upon a constant man”]. And if he caused the child of which his wife was delivered to be baptized by a minister of the Pretended Reformed Religion, there is in this nothing against the laws of the State, since the king had expressly permitted it, having, after interdicting the exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion, left ministers in divers places to baptize the children.

Again, the trip of the said appellant and his wife to Toulouse, and, subsequently to Agen, where they were taken, cannot convict him of having intended to leave the kingdom, both because they had received notice that they were sought for to be taken home, where it was in contemplation to billet fresh soldiers upon them; because of the hatred entertained by one named Calvet, consul of Castres, their special enemy; and because it cannot be imputed to them as a crime that they made use of the permission which the king gave to the adherents of the Pretended Reformed Religion, by the Edict revoking that of Nantes, to go and come, and to dwell in all the towns and places of his kingdom, without being liable to be molested. And, in a word, it suffices to say, that the appellant was taken at Agen, forty or fifty leagues from the frontier, and, so to speak, in the heart of the kingdom, to show that he has been improperly accused of having contravened the declaration of his majesty forbidding the adherents of the Pretended Reformed Religion to leave the kingdom.

It is true that he was taken when going on board the boat to go to Bordeaux, but, had he been taken in Bordeaux itself, he could not be held guilty; and it was not the thought of going out of the kingdom that led him to Bordeaux, it was the desire to find a place where, not being known, he might be free from all fear. In fine, he was not taken on the frontiers, nor in any forbidden passage; and the suspicion which it has been sought to create that he had the thought of leaving the kingdom, is not a matter of accusation, since God alone is the searcher of hearts, and human laws are not executed upon thoughts, “*cogitationis pœnam nemo patitur*” [“No one suffers the penalty of his thought”].

The pocket-book, of which mention has been made, can be of no service in the conviction of the appellant, first, because, had he composed or written the pretended sonnet against the new conversions, this would not be a subject for accusation; and secondly, it is not true that he wrote or composed it, not even being acquainted with the dialect of Gascony. He protested with reason before the officer of the seneschal, who wished to question him, that the sonnet had been put in his pocket-book by those through whose hands it had passed since he had placed it in the hands of the sergeant of the regiment of Touraine; maintaining that, when he took it from the hands of the appellant, this sonnet was not within, as would appear by his testimony, and that of the soldier accompanying him, as well as by that of the door-keeper, all of whom had seen the state of the said pocket-book in the prison.

And if, indeed, it contained an address for London, another for Amsterdam, and another for the Hague, this was not with a view to leaving the kingdom, but in order to be able to send and receive

1687. des nouvelles de la dem^{lle} de Rozengues sa cousine germaine, du sr. Tiscier ministre qui si [s'y] estoit retiré avec elle par la permission du Roy, et pour apprendre aussi des nouvelles du sr. de Fabreques ministre, son intime amy, qui par la meme permission s'estoit retiré en Hollande, ne sachant s'il estoit à Amsterdam ou à La Haye.

Enfin si le produisant estoit coupable mr. Barbara juge criminel de Castres qui estoit extremement passionné pour sa perte et qui a recherché des preuues par tout, jusques à menacer le sr. du Raqui de luy faire vn affaire de religion s'il ne deposoit contre [le] produisant, n'auroit pas manqué d'en trouuer, mais led. sr. Duraque, que led. Barbara alla prendre luy meme prisonnier au lieu de Senegats, et le fit conduire en prison à Castres, ne vouleut pas charger sa concience par vn faux temoignage.

Les motifs susd. qui obligèrent le produisant et sa femme de quitter leur habitaon de Castres et de la campagne pour s'eloigner, estoit fortifiés par l'inimitie capitale du sr. Calvet lors consul de Castres dont il a esté parlé cy dessus, qui auoit juré leur ruyne et qui sestoit venté de leur bailler les plus forts logements, et de recommander anx soldats de les traiter plus rigoureusement, en haine de ce que la femme dud. produisant lauoit cy devant fait condamner aux galeres par sance des ord^{res} de Castres, ensuite de laquelle elle le fit mener de suite en la cour, laquelle par son arrest, en reformant lad. sentence, le condamna à vn banissement, et à demander pardon à lad. dem^{lle} des exes [excès] quil avoit commis brutalement contre-elle, dequoy il promit de se venger, et odium aspera monet.

Partant conclud. comme au proces mr. de Seuin Rapporteur, Manen procureur.

LETTER TO HIS WIFE.

Du 7. May 1687.

Ma chere femme, j ay compareu devant mes juges lors que j'ay pensois le moins. Hier au matin etant encore au lit le concierge vint m'advertir quil me falloit aller à la Tournelle. Desque je feus habillé et que jeus fait ma priere à Dieu et imploré sa grace pour me soutenir dans cette nouvelle tentation et l'assistance de son St. Esprit afin de pouvoir rendre raison de ma foy à ceux qui me devoient interroger, on me mit les fers aux pieds et je fus porté en chaise jusques à la grande porte du palais. De là je traversay toute la cour à pied, et fus conduit à la porte du bureau de la Tournelle attendant qu'on eut fait sortir Mr. Dupuy qui y avoit été mené avant moy.

tidings of Mademoiselle de Rozengues, his cousin, wife of the sieur Tiscier, a minister who had retired thither with her by permission of the king, and in order also to have tidings from the sieur de Fabreques, a minister, his intimate friend, who by the same permission had retired into Holland, not knowing whether he was at Amsterdam or the Hague.

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Finally, if the appellant had been guilty, Mr. Barbara, criminal judge of Castres, who was extremely intent upon his destruction, and who sought proofs in every direction, even to threatening the sieur Duraque to put him on trial for the matter of religion if he did not testify against the appellant, would not have failed to find [proofs] thereof. But the said sieur Duraque, whom the said Barbara himself went and took prisoner at the place called Sene-gats, and had him conveyed to prison at Castres, refused to burden his conscience by perjury.

The aforesaid motives that obliged the appellant and his wife to leave their abode at Castres and in the country and go to a distance, were strengthened by the excessive hatred of the sieur Calvet, at that time consul of Castres, of whom mention has been above made, who had sworn their ruin, and who had boasted that he would give them the largest billeting of troops, and would advise the soldiers to treat them more rigorously, through hatred because of the fact that the wife of the said appellant had caused him heretofore to be condemned to the galleys by sentence of the judges in ordinary of Castres, in pursuance of which she had him at once brought to court; which by a decree modifying the said sentence condemned him to a term of banishment, and to beg pardon of the said lady for the violence he had brutally committed against her; for which thing he promised to revenge himself; and "*odium aspera movet.*"

Accordingly concludes as in the suit. Mr. de Seuin, Rapporteur; Manen, Procureur.

LETTER TO HIS WIFE.

May 7, 1687.

My dear wife, I have appeared before my judges when I least thought of doing so. Yesterday morning, while I was still in bed, the keeper came to apprise me that I must go to the Tournelle. So soon as I was dressed, and had made my prayer to God, imploring His grace to sustain me in this new trial, and asking the assistance of His Holy Spirit, that I might give a reason of my faith to those that might question me, my feet were put in fetters, and I was carried in a chair to the great door of the palace. From there I crossed the entire court on foot, and was led to the door of the bureau of the Tournelle, where I waited until M. Dupuy, who had been conducted thither before me, should be brought forth.

1687. Avant que j'entrasse le murmure de tous les plaideurs qui estoit à la porte de la chambre aussi bien que mon procureur ne me pressagoient rien de bon. Il ni avoit personne qui douttat que la sentence de notre premier juge ne fut confirmée : tellement que je me trouvay sur le point d'estre bientot aux rang des galeriens. Cependant Dieu [me] fit la grace de n'estre point troublé par une crainte qui ne paroissoit que trop legitime.

J'entray et apres avoir prêté le serment en la forme de notre Religion, le president commença a m'interroger, et je respondis presque avec autant de tranquillité, que si j'eusse parlé à des personnes de ma connoissance. Je garday pourtant devant mes juges tout le respect, et toute la moderation quil me fut possible ; mais aussi la justice de la cause que je soutiens fit qu'il ne parût point de timidité dans mes paroles ni dans mon action.

Après que le president m'eut fait quelques interrogats sur quelques faits de la procedure, je luy fis le detail de tout suivant et conformement à mes premieres auditions en donnant les memes raisons de ma conduite que j'avois données devant le premier juge, à savoir, l'état où tu te trouvois et le danger evident où tu estois de perir toy et ce que tu portois si nous n'eussions trouvé quelque espece d'azile pendant l'allarme qui s'estoit rependue par tout. Pour le reste je fis remarquer l'article 12 de l'Edit du Roy qui revoke celuy de nantes, dans lequel art : il est permis à tous ceux qui n'ont pas abjuré la Religion, d'aller librement par toutes les villes du royaume.

Toutes les questions qu'on me fit sur le procedere eurent bientot fini. Mr. le president me demanda si je voulois toujours persister dans ma religion ? A quoy je repondis qu'ouy. En suite un autre juge me demanda ce que je pretendois faire dans le royaume, ma religion ni etant plus soufferte ? A quoy je repondis que j'attandois patiemment ce que sa majesté ordonneroit à l'egard de ceux qui ne uoudroient pas abjurer la religion. Mr. le president me demanda, si je ne savois pas quil estoit deffendu par le dernier Edit de sa majesté de faire aucun exercice de notre Religion, et si je ne voyois pas que par là j'estois dans la contrevantion aux ordres de sa majesté. Je repondis à cela que s'estoit de l'exercice public quil estoit parlé dans l'Edit et qu'ainssi je n'estois point dans le cas. L'un des juges qui m'avoit déjà interrogé me parla ainssi. Vous n'ignorés pas que la volonté du roy est qu'il ni ait qu'une religion dans son Royaume. Vous donc qui etes fidelle sujet de sa majesté (car vous avez tousjours accoutume de dire que vous estes des sujets fidelles et obeissants) pourquoy ne voulez-vous pas maintenant obeir à sa volonté et embrasser la religion quil veut que vous embrassiez ? Comme il ebraisa de prononcer ce qui est contenu dans cette parenthese, je repondis que non seulement nous le disions mais que nous l'ettions en effet, et lors quil eut achevé je repondis que dans toutes les choses qui ne blessoient pas ma conscience, j'estois prest à obeir aux ordres de sa majesté avec une parfaite soumission, que mon

Before entering, the murmurs of all the pleaders, who were at the door of the chamber, as was also my attorney, augured nothing in my favor. There was not one that doubted that the sentence of our first judge would be affirmed : so that I was on the point of being consigned soon to the galley-slave's bench. Nevertheless God granted me grace not to be disturbed by a fear that seemed only too well-grounded.

I entered, and when I had taken the oath in the form of our religion, the president began to interrogate me, and I replied with almost as much composure as if I were conversing with my own acquaintances. Yet I maintained in the presence of my judges all the respect and moderation of which I was capable : but still more, it was due to the justice of the cause I upheld, that nothing of timidity appeared in my words or my bearing.

The president having put several questions to me with reference to certain particulars of the proceeding, I gave him a full account of it, in accordance with my former hearings, assigning the same reasons for my conduct that I had assigned before the first judge : namely, the condition in which you were at the time, and the evident danger that existed of loss of life, not only to yourself, but also to our unborn child, unless we should be able to find some kind of refuge during the alarm that prevailed everywhere. I called attention moreover to the twelfth article of the king's edict revoking the Edict of Nantes, according to which it is permitted all those who have not abjured the [Reformed] religion, to come and go with freedom through the cities of the realm.

The inquiries concerning the proceedings soon came to an end. The president then asked me whether I purposed always to persist in my religion. I answered in the affirmative. Afterwards, another judge asked me what I had intended to do in the kingdom, seeing my religion was no longer tolerated within its bounds. To this I replied that my purpose was patiently to await whatever his majesty might ordain with reference to those who were not willing to abjure the [Reformed] religion. The president asked me if I did not know that it was forbidden by his majesty's last Edict to maintain any exercise of our religion, and if I did not perceive that therein I violated his majesty's orders. To this I answered that it was to the public exercise of our religion that the Edict referred, and that hence I was not in that case. A judge who had previously interrogated me then spoke as follows : You are not unaware that it is the will of the king that there should be but one religion in this kingdom. You then, being a faithful subject of his majesty (for you are accustomed constantly to say that you are faithful and obedient subjects), why will you not now obey his will, and embrace the religion he wishes you to embrace ? As he finished speaking the words contained in the foregoing parenthesis, I answered that not only we said this, but that such we were in reality ; and when he had ended, I replied that in all that which did not wound my conscience, I was ready to obey his majesty's commands with entire submission ; that my soul and my con-

1687. ame et ma conscience relevoit de Dieu immédiatement, et que j'étois bien marri qu'il se trouvât un point où il fallût que ma volonté fut contraire à celle du Roy.

Mr le president me demanda pour la 2^{de} fois si j'étois entièrement resollu à persister dans ma religion, à quoy je repondis qu'ouy, apres quoy un autre juge me parla en ces termes. Estant éclairé comme vous estes, vous devriés profiter de vos lumieres pour reconnoître la verité de la religion catholique Rom. et l'embrasser. Nous ne vous regardons pas dit-il comme un de ces criminels que nous avons accoutume de voir à nos pieds : mais nous serons contraints de vous juger suivant les declarations du Roy et de vous condamner aux peines qui y sont portées.

Un autre juge poursuivit à peu pres de la meme maniere me disant que mon opiniatreté seroit cause qu'ils m'envoyeroit chargé de chaines dans des lieux don je ne pourrois pas sortir quand je voudrois, et que je ne pouvois éviter cela que par la grace du prince à laquelle je devois avoir recours, Il me representa comme ils souhaitoient tous de meme que tous mes parens, et tous ceux qui me connoissoient, que je me misse en repos. Je repondis en leur protestant devant Dieu, que ce n'étoit point par opiniatreté que je perseverois dans ma Religion, et que c'étoit parce que je la reconnois veritable, pure et conforme à la parole de Dieu. Je suis prest, leur dis-je, à suivre mon Sauveur partout où il m'appellera. Il a tout quitté pour moy, il est venu mourir pour moy sur une croix ; je suis obligé à tout abandonner pour luy et à tout souffrir pour l'amour de luy.

Un juge qui n'avoit point encore parlé me demanda comment estions nous asseurés de la verité de notre Religion. Je repondis que nous conferions la doctrine qui nous est proposée avec les Ecritures à l'exemple des fideles de Berée dont il est parlé dans les actes des apostres. Il tacha d'eluder la force de c'est exemple et me demanda en suite si je ne croyois pas que Dieu voulût sauver les ignorants aussi bien que les sçavants ? Je repondis qu'ouy. Il me repliqua que les ignorants estoit incapables d'examiner la religion par l'Ecriture S^{te} à quoy je repondis que dans l'Ecriture S^{te} les ignorents pouvoit connoître aussi bien que les sçavants tout ce qui est necessaire pour le salut, et par là estre en estat de rejeter tous les articles que l'on voudroit ajouter à ceux de la foy chretienne ; que St Paul presupposoit cette verité quand il disoit dans l'une de ces epîtres (or quand nous meme, ou un ange du ciel vous evangeliseroit outre ce qu'il vous a été evangelisé qu'il soit en anatheme).

Le juge dans beaucoup de paroles ne repondit rien à proprement parler, et à la fin de son discours il me demanda d'où est ce que je sçavois que l'Ecriture S^{te} est l'Ecriture S^{te} ? De l'Ecriture S^{te} luy repondis-je ; et comme il mût repeté à peu près la meme question, j'adjoutay que l'Ecriture S^{te} avoit des caracteres de divinité plus que suffisants pour se faire reconnoître pour parole de Dieu, qu'elle estoit reconnue pour telle par tous les chretiens, et que

science had to do directly with God, and that I was exceedingly grieved that there should be a single point at which my will should be contrary to the will of the king. The president asked me for the second time whether I was wholly resolved to persist in my religion; to which I answered, Yes. After this another judge addressed me in the following terms: Enlightened as you are, you ought to profit by the light you possess, and acknowledge the truth of the Roman Catholic religion, and embrace it. We do not, said he, regard you as one of the criminals whom we are accustomed to see at our feet; yet we shall be constrained to judge you according to the king's declarations, and to condemn you to the penalties therein prescribed.

Another judge continued in much the same strain, telling me that it would be owing to my obstinacy that they would send me loaded with chains to places of confinement from which I would not be able to come forth when I might wish to do so, and that I could avoid this only through the clemency of the sovereign, to which I ought to have recourse. He represented to me how greatly they, in common with all my kindred and my acquaintance, desired that I would put myself in a position of tranquillity. I replied, declaring as in the sight of God that it was not out of obstinacy that I persevered in my religion, but because I recognized it to be true, pure, and conformed to the word of God. I am ready, said I, to follow my Saviour whithersoever He may call me. He gave up every thing for me. He came to die for me upon a cross. I am constrained to abandon every thing for Him, and to suffer every thing for the love of Him.

A judge who had not previously spoken asked me how we were assured of the truth of our religion. I replied that we compared the doctrine presented to us with the Scriptures, after the example of the believers of Berea, spoken of in the Acts of the Apostles. He endeavored to elude the force of this example, and asked me further if I did not believe that God would save the ignorant as well as the learned. I answered, Yes. He rejoined that the ignorant are incapable of examining religion through the Holy Scriptures. To this I replied that the ignorant can ascertain all that is necessary to salvation as well as the wise, and thus be in a condition to reject whatever articles of belief men might seek to add to those of the Christian faith; that the apostle Paul presupposed this truth, when he said in one of his epistles, "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed."

The judge used many words, but made no reply worthy of the name, and at the close of his remarks asked me whence I knew that Holy Scripture is Holy Scripture? From Holy Scripture itself, I replied; and when he repeated the question in much the same language, I added that Holy Scripture possessed marks of divinity more than sufficient to evidence itself to be the word of God; that it was recognized as such by all Christians: and that,

1687. d'ailleurs tant d'efforts que les payens avoit fait pour l'eteindre sans pouvoir en venir à bout m'estoit un temoignage certain que c'estoit un livre divin, puis que la divine Providence avoit pris un soin si particulier de nous le conserver dans tous les siècles, et qu'enfin je ne reconnoissés que l'Ecriture St^e pour le fondem^t, et la regle de notre foy. Il me fit en suite quelques difficultés pour me persuader que sans le secours de l'Eglise nous ne pouvions etre asseurés que ce que nous apellons l'Ecriture St^e fût la parole de Dieu, et conclud apres un long discours quil falloit reconnoitre l'Eglise avant que de pouvoir etre certains que l'Ecriture St^e fut la parole de Dieu. Sur cela je supliay la Cour de vouloir permettre que je fisse une question au juge que me parloit, et les juges s'estant regardés, Mr. le president me dit que je le pouvois.

M'adressant donc au juge, je luy demanday doù est ce qu'il sçavoit qu'il y avoit une Eglise qui ne peut nous enseigner que la verité? Mon juge ne peut s'empêcher d'avoir recours à l'Ecriture, sur quoy je fis remarquer quil estoit contraint de poser aussi bien que moy l'Ecriture pour premier fondement, et qu'ainssi toutes les difficultes qu'il pouvoit me faire pour me faire douter que l'Ecriture Sainte fût la parole de Dieu, se tournoit maintenant contre luy. Il continua à rapporter des passages pour prouver la pretendue infallibilité de l'Eglise visible, et conclud en disant que cette Eglise rendoit temoignage à l'Ecriture, et l'Ecriture à cette Eglise, et que j'estoit un encheure de verités qui estoit enseparable: mais cela ne pouvoit pas le tirer de ce pas là, et pour le reste les passages quil aporta pour la pretendue infallibilité de l'Eglise visible qui étoit tirés des promesses que nôtre Seigneur J. C. fait à son Eglise, et des qualités quil luy atribue: ces passages dis-je ne pouvoient etre appliqués legitiment qu' à l'Eglise qui est le corps des élus qui sont les vrais membres de Jesus Christ.

J'aurois bien souhaité de luy faire voir comme les articles de notre religion sont bien autrem^t, enchainés avec des passages de l'Ecriture clairs et formés, apres quoy j'aurois bien voulu luy demander à quel passage de l'Ecriture St^e est enchainé le sacrifice qu' on pretent faire tous les jours à la messe du corps et du sang de Jesus Christ. J'aurois peu faire la meme question sur l'adoration qu'on y rend au sacrement de l'Eucharistie, ainssi sur la transsubstantiation, sur le culte qu'on rend aux St^s à leurs reliques, et aux images. J'aurois peu demander à quel passage de l'Ecriture St^e est enchainé le purgatoire, et ainssi de tout ce qui a été adjoute à la religion chretienne.

Mais il fallut ecouter un autre juge, qui me fit un grand discours dans lequel il m'estala les grandeurs et les prosperités de l'église Romaine et les calamités et les miseres de la notre: auquel je repondis par ces mots (notre regne n'est point de ce monde). Un autre me dit que si je croyois ma religion bonne il me falloit rester dans ma maison, y souffrir le logement des gens de guerre, y voir dissiper mon bien sans regret, et y mourir martyr si on eut

moreover, the fact that the heathen had made so many efforts to destroy it without success, was to me a sure proof that it is a divine book, since the providence of God has taken so special a care to preserve it for us through all ages ; and finally that I acknowledged nothing as the foundation and rule of our faith save Holy Scripture. He then raised some difficulties in order to persuade me that we cannot without the aid of the Church be assured that what we call Holy Scripture is the word of God, and after a long discourse concluded by saying that we must acknowledge the Church before we can be certain that Holy Scripture is the word of God. Whereupon I entreated the court to permit that I should put a question to the judge who had spoken to me. The judges interchanged looks, and the president told me that I might do this.

Addressing the judge, then, I asked him whence he knew that there is a Church that can teach us nothing but the truth? My judge could not do otherwise than resort to Scripture : whereupon I called attention to the fact that he was compelled like myself to lay down the Scripture for the first foundation ; and that all the difficulties which he had raised in order to make me doubt that Holy Scripture is the word of God, recoiled upon himself. He continued to allege passages to prove the pretended infallibility of the visible Church, and ended by saying that this Church testifies to the Scripture, and the Scripture to this Church ; and that I was one who linked together truths that were inseparable. But this did not serve to extricate him from his quandary, and indeed the passages that he cited in support of the pretended infallibility of the visible Church, drawn from the promises made by our Lord Jesus Christ to His Church, and from the characteristics that He ascribes to it, were such as could be rightfully applied only to the Church which is the body of the elect, who are the true members of Jesus Christ.

I would have wished greatly that I might show him how the articles of our religion are linked—in a very different way—with passages of Scripture that are clear and explicit ; and then I would have liked very much to ask him with what passage of Holy Scripture is linked the sacrifice which they claim to make every day, in the mass, of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. I might have made the same inquiry concerning the adoration paid therein to the sacrament of the Eucharist, concerning transubstantiation, and the worship rendered to the saints, to their relics, and to images. I might have asked with what passage of Holy Scripture the doctrine of purgatory is linked, and so as to all that has been superadded to the Christian religion.

But it was necessary to listen to another judge, who addressed me in a lengthy discourse, in which he spread before me the grandeur and prosperity of the Roman Church, and the woes and miseries of our own : which I answered in these words : “ Our kingdom is not of this world.” Another said to me that if I believed my religion to be good, I ought to have remained in my house, and endured the quartering of the soldiery upon me, looking on without regret

1687. voulû, comme faisoit les anciens chretiens, et non pas fuir comme j'avois fait. A cela je repondis que je pouvois justifier ma conduite par un verset de l'Evangile, j'entendois ce que notre Seigneur disoit à ses disciples (quand on vous persecutera à un lieu fuyes en un autre), et outre cela leur dis-je j'ay donné une raison bien forte pour excuser mon absence sçavoir l'état où ma femme se trouvoit, et le peril evident où elle etoit.

Mr. le president me demanda si j'auois eu soin de m'instruire, je repondis qu'ouy. Il me repliqua que c'estoit aparant dans les livres de nos ministres qui avoit accoutume de nous defigurer la religion catholique R. et que si j'eusse pris soin de lire les livres de leurs docteurs et de leurs conciles je ni aurois rien trouvé de ce que les ministres supposoient à l'Eglise Romaine. A quoy je repondis que si la cour vouloit le permettre, je rapporterois quelques passages de leurs docteurs et de leurs conciles que me faisoit de la peine et que je trouvois opposés à la pureté de la religion chretienne. Sur quoy s'etant regardés et quelques uns d'entre eux se demandant ce que je voulois proposer, ils me firent connoitre qu'ils n'avoit pas le loisir de m'entendre là dessus. Je me preparés à leur reporter le canon du 2^d concile de Nicée qui commande l'adoration des images, accompagné d'un passage de St. Thomas leur docteur angelique et d'un autre de Gabriel Biel un de leurs fameux theologien.

Je leur allois rapporter l'endroit du concile de Trente qui comende l'adoration souveraine du sacrement de l'Eucharistie, et le canon qui autorise la pratique d'offrir des messes à l'honneur des Sts pour obtenir leur intercession, le canon du concile de Constance qui retranche la coupe au peuple avec si peu de respect pour la volonté de notre Seigneur, et pour la pratique de l'eglise pendant tant des siecles, et plusieurs autres choses de cette nature.

Un autre juge me dit si j'ayois leu le livre d'un de mes compatriotes (parlant de Mr. Pelisson) ayant me dit-il tant de douceur et de docilité que vous en faites paroître, je m'assure que vous reconnoitriés la verité de la religion C. R. et que vous n'auriés pas fait difficulté de vous y renger. Je repondis que j'ayois leu le livre de Mr. Pelisson et que je ni avois rien trouvé qui m'eut déterminé à cela ni qui m'eut donné seulement la moindre pensée d'abandonner ma religion. Enfin Mr. le president me demanda pour la 3^{me} fois si j'etois entierement resolu à persister dans ma religion? Je repondis que c'estoit là ma resolution et que j'esperois que Dieu me feroit la grace de my tenir. Il me demanda encore si je sçavois à quoy j'ettois condamné, et comme jeus repondu que j'avois été condamne par le 1^{er} juge aux galeres, il me demanda si j'ettois appellant. Apres que jeus repondu qu'ouy, il me congedia, en me disant que la cour me rendroit justice. J'éprouve avec joye que Dieu me fortifie de jour en jour et me fait la grace de me dis-

while my property was wasted, and suffering martyrdom there, if men willed it so, even as the early Christians did, and not have fled as I had done. To this I replied that I would justify my conduct by a verse of the Gospel, referring to what our Lord said to His disciples, "When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another:" and besides, I said, I have given a very strong reason in vindication of my absence, namely, my wife's condition, and the evident peril in which she was.

The president asked me whether I had taken care to obtain instruction. I replied that I had done so. He rejoined that apparently I had sought instruction in the books of our ministers, who were accustomed to misrepresent the Roman Catholic religion to us; and that if I had taken pains to read the writings of their doctors and of their councils, I would have found in them nothing of all that our ministers attributed to the Roman Church. To which I made response, that if the court would permit, I would cite certain passages from their doctors and councils which gave me pain and which I considered to be opposed to the purity of the Christian religion. Upon this having looked at one another, and some having inquired among themselves what it was that I wished to state, they informed me that they had not the leisure to hear me with reference to these matters.

I was prepared to adduce to them that canon of the second council of Nicæa which commands the worship of images, accompanied with a passage from St. Thomas, their "angelical doctor," and another from Gabriel Biel, one of their famous theologians. I was about to quote that place in the decrees of the council of Trent where the supreme adoration of the sacrament of the Eucharist is enjoined, and the canon that authorizes the practice of offering masses in honor of the saints in order to obtain their intercession; the canon of the council of Constance that removes the cup from the people—with so little deference to the will of our Lord and the practice of the Church during so many centuries; and several other things of the same kind.

Another judge remarked, that had I read the book of one of my countrymen (meaning M. Pelisson), possessing, said he, so much gentleness and docility as you display, I am sure you would recognize the truth of the Roman Catholic religion, and would find no difficulty in acquiescing in it. I replied that I had read M. Pelisson's book, and had found in it nothing that would influence me to pursue such a course, or that even awakened in me the thought of abandoning my religion. Finally, the president asked me for the third time if I were wholly resolved to persist in my religion? I replied that such was my resolution, and that I trusted that God would grant me grace to adhere to it. He inquired further if I knew to what I was condemned, and when I answered that I had been condemned by the first judge to the galleys, he asked me whether I were appellant? Upon my affirmative answer, he dismissed me, saying to me that the court would do me justice. I feel with joy that God strengthens me daily, and gives me grace

1687. poser à toute sorte d'évenem^{ts} avec une entiere resignation a sa volonté. Tu peux t'imaginer que je souhaite avec passion de te voir avant qu'on me fasse transferrer. Je ne crois pas de rester long tems. Je te souhaite toutes sorte de benedictions.

LETTER TO HIS MOTHER.

Du 10 may 1687.

Mademoiselle ma mère
vous verrès par la lettre que j'écris à ma femme, ce qui se parla lorsque je fûs sur la selete. Graces à Dieu je ne fûs point ettonné non plus que presentem^t par le crante des peines qui me paroissoit presque inevitables. Si j'évite le galeres ce sera aparament pour aller dans cest exil qui effraye tant de monde; mais j'espere que je trouveray partout bien [Dieu?] qui seratousjours mon consolateur et qui me soutiendra jusqu'au dernier moment de ma vie: c'est luy qui me donne la force de regarder avec un visage asseuré toutes les peines qu'on me prepare et qui maydera à les supporter constamment à fin de luy etre fidelle jusqu'à la mort.

Il y a toutes les aparences que je ne seray ici que fort peu de jours. Vous vous imaginès bien que la plus grande consolation que j'attends du cotté du monde est de vous voir avant que je parte. Je viens de voir un moment mad^{me} de Moulens par une grille qui ma demandé si je changeois de lieu. Je luy ay repondu que je n'en scavois rien, et elle ma dit quil ny avoit plus de retardement pour elle et quelle partoit demain pour Montpellier. Je n'ay point encore veu mon procureur, j'ay seulement appris que notre affaire etoit renvoyee au greffe pour conclure, je ne sais point asteure [à cette heure] ce quil faut faire. Je souhaiterois bien de voir mon fils mais j'aprehende que cela ne puisse se faire qu'avec beaucoup d'embaras. Je luy [envoye mes] benedictions. Gardes tout ce qui pourra un jour le faire souvenir de moy, et de l'exemple que Dieu me fait la grace de luy donner. Je souhaite toute sorte de benedictions à toute la famille. Dieu veuille vous tenir en paix. Je suis avec tout sorte de respect, mad^{lle} ma mere, V. T. h. et obeissant serviteur. Mascarene, Signé.

J'ay pris autres cinq ecus que j'ay presque deja achevés. Le capitaine du quel (?) vient de dire au garçon fayancier quil prit garde à luy, et quil le conduiroit apres quil seroit revenu de la conduite de madame de Moulens. Ce matin 11 May mad^{me} de Moulens est partie pour Montpellier et j'ay appris qu'on a écrit pour sçavoir ce que le Roy veut faire de nous n'ayant trouvé de quoy nous condamner.

to prepare for whatever issue with entire resignation to His will. You may imagine that I passionately desire to see you before my transportation. I do not think that I shall remain here long. I wish you every blessing. 1687.

LETTER TO HIS MOTHER.

May 10, 1687.

MADAM MY MOTHER:

You will see from the letter that I write to my wife, what was said when I was under examination. Thanks be to God, I was no more disturbed than I am this moment by the fear of the penalties which seemed to me almost inevitable. If I escape the galleys, it will apparently be to go into that exile which frightens so many people; but I hope everywhere to find God, who will always be my comforter, and who will sustain me to the last moment of my life. It is He who gives me strength to look with an assured countenance upon all the sufferings in preparation for me, and who will help me bear them constantly, to the end I may be faithful to Him until death.

There is every appearance that I shall be here only a very few days. You can fancy that the greatest consolation I expect, on the side of the world, is to see you before I leave. I have just seen for a moment Madame de Moulens, through an iron grating. She asked me whether I was to be removed. I replied that I knew nothing about it, and she told me that there was to be no delay in her case, and that she was to leave to-morrow for Montpellier. I have not yet seen my attorney. I have only learned that our matter was referred to the clerk's office for conclusion. I do not know at the present hour what must be done. I should greatly wish to see my son, but I fear that this could only be done with much difficulty. I send him my blessing. Keep everything that may one day remind him of me and of the example that God is giving me the favor to set him. I wish every kind of blessings to all the family. May God keep you in peace. I am with every kind of respect, Madam my mother, your very humble and very obedient servant.

(Signed)

MASCARENE.

I have taken five more crowns, which I have already almost used up. The captain ——— has just told the crockery-ware boy to take good care of himself, and that he would conduct him after he should have returned from conducting Madame de Moulens. This morning, May 11th, Madame de Moulens left for Montpellier, and I have learned that the king has been written to, to know what he wishes to be done with us, nothing having been found to condemn us for.

1687. Confession de foy de Mr. Mascarene par luy rendue à un grand vicaire, dans les prisons de L'hotel de ville de toulouse.

1 Je ne veus pour objet de ma religion quun Dieu Pere Fils et St. Esprit.

2 Je ne veus l'adorer qu'en esprit et en verité.

3 Je ne veus invoquer que luy.

4 Je ne veus flechir religieusement les genoux que devant luy.

5 Je ne veus reconnoître pour notre interceseur que Jesus Christ.

6 ni d'autre chef de leglise que luy.

7 ni d'autre Vicaire quil ayt laissé pour la conduite de l'eglise universselle que son St. Esprit.

8 Je ne veux reconnoître d'autre Sacrifice propitiatoire qu'une seule oblation une fois faite du corps et du sang de mon Sauveur.

9 ni d'autres merites que nous puissions metre en avant pour etre exhaucés dans nos prieres que les merites de Jesus-Christ.

10 ni d'autres satisfactions dont nous puissions payer la justice divine que ses souffrances.

11 ni d'autre purgatoire que son precieux sang.

12 ni d'autre indulgence que Sa grace.

13 je ne reconnois d'autre manducation de la chair de J. C. que la spirituelle dont il est parlé au 6^e de St. Jean.

14 enfin je ne reconnois personne qui ayt droit de retrancher le calice que Jesus Christ donna à ses comunians en leur disant, beuvés en tous et faites ceci.

Ayant ces sentimens dans le cœur je suis persuadé, Mr., quil ni [n'y] a aucun de vous qui me conseilât de faire une profession extérieure de votre religion. D'autre côté, je vous proteste, m^r, avec toute la sincerité dont suis capable, quil m'est impossible de changer ces sentiments, quil n'est pas même en mon pouvoir de souhaiter le changement, et qu'au contraire je ne demande rien à Dieu avec tant ardeur que la grace dy perseverer.

Mr. Mascarene's Confession of Faith, handed by him to a Grand Vicar, in the prisons of the Hôtel de Ville of Toulouse. 1687.

1. I will have, as the object of my religion, only one God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

2. I will adore Him only in spirit and in truth.

3. I will invoke Him alone.

4. I will bow my knees, religiously, only before Him.

5. I will acknowledge only Jesus Christ as our intercessor ;

6. And no other Head of the Church but Himself ;

7. And no other vicar left by Him for the conduct of His Church universal than His Holy Spirit.

8. I will acknowledge no other propitiatory sacrifice than the one sole offering, once made, of the body and blood of my Saviour ;

9. Nor other merits that we can set forth, in order to be heard in our prayers, than the merits of Jesus Christ ;

10. Nor other satisfactions by which we can pay divine justice, save His sufferings ;

11. Nor other purgatory [cleansing] than His precious blood ;

12. Nor other indulgence than His grace.

13. I acknowledge no other feeding upon the flesh of Jesus Christ than the spiritual feeding of which it is spoken in the sixth chapter of St. John.

14. Finally I recognize no one as having the right to withhold the cup which Jesus Christ gave to His communicants, saying to them, Drink ye all of it, and Do this.

Having these sentiments in my heart, I am persuaded, Sir, that there is no one of you that would advise me to make an external profession of your religion. On the other hand, I protest, Sir, with all the sincerity of which I am capable, that it is impossible for me to change these sentiments, that it is not even in my power to desire the change, and that on the contrary, I ask of God nothing with so much ardor as the grace to persevere therein.

1687.

Cantique composé dans les prisons de l'hotel de ville en 1687.

I

O roy des roys souveraine puissance
 en qui j'ay mis toute ma confiance
 assiste moy par ta force invincible
 et l'on verra ce qu'on croit impossible
 entretiens dans mon cœur
 la celeste vigueur
 qui prend de toy sa source
 et sans jamais broncher
 on me verra marcher
 jusqu'au bout de ma cource.

2

[finir]

Pour m'enpecher de fournir ma carriere
 on veut m'oter ce que j'ay de lumiere,
 et l'on metra bien tôt tout en usage
 pour essayer d'ebbranler mon courage.
 deja privé du jour
 dans cest affreux sejour
 rempli d'objets funebres
 on offre à tout moment
 à mon entendement
 les plus noires tenebres.

3

Puisque je vois l'erreur et le mensonge
 ne permets pas que mon ame si plonge
 que ton Esprit qui deigne me conduire
 chasse du mien ce qui peut me seduire
 que les biens advenir
 m'otent le souvenir
 de ceux que j'abandonne
 au mileu des liens
 et des maux que je crains
 montre moy la couronne.

4

Satan qui voit qu'un gennereux martire
 sera toujours fatal à son empire
 a pris les soins à me forger des crimes
 afin qu'on crut mes peines legitimes

seigneur rends ses desseins
 inutiles et vains
 et fait partout entendre
 que l'on poursuit en moy
 ta pure et sainte loy
 que l'on me veut deffendre.

1687.

5

je t'ay suivi, je veux encor' te suivre
 privé de toy, seigneur je ne puis vivre
 Je suis à toy et je te sacrifie
 ma liberté, mon repos, et ma vie
 Je scay que ton pouvoir
 egale ton vouloir
 et que ta providence
 malgré tous les humains
 peut m'arracher des mains
 de quiconque m'offense

6

mais si ta main des prisons les plus fortes
 ne brise pas les grilles et les portes
 et pour bien tôt metre fin à mes peines
 faire tomber et mes fers et mes chaines
 au moins accorde moy
 l'esperence et la foy
 et cette patience
 que triomphe de tout
 et qui jusques au bout
 soutienne ma constance.

Coppie de Lettre de Mr. Mascarene à Mr. le Baron de Montbeton.
 Monsieur et tres honnoré frere en notre Seigneur Jesus Christ
 Bien loin d'avoir honte de votre chaine, je la regarde comme une
 marque et comme un gage certain de la couronne que Jesus Christ
 vous prepare dans le ciel. Je la regarde comme la joye des anges,
 la gloire de l'Eglise, l'edification et la consolation des fidelles, l'ad-
 miration et l'etonnement des ennemis de la verité, et comme un
 éguillon puissant pour porter ceux qui sont tombés, à la repentance
 que vous faites eclater d'une maniere si illustre. Je souhaite que
 nos freres qui sont les compagnons de vos souffrances soient aussi
 les imitateurs de votre fermeté, et que loin de tourner leurs
 regards du coté du monde ils ne regardent comme vous qu'à Jesus

1687. le chef et le consommateur de notre foy. Je vous prie de vous souvenir de moy dans vos prieres comme je me souviens aussi de vous dans toutes les mienes. Dieu veuille vous benir et vous accompagner par tout.

Copy of a letter of Mr. Mascarene to Baron de Montbeton. Sir and very honored brother in our Lord Jesus Christ. Very far from being ashamed of your chain, I regard it as a mark and a certain pledge of the crown which Jesus Christ is preparing for you in heaven. I regard it as the joy of angels, the glory of the church, the edification and consolation of the faithful, the admiration and astonishment of the enemies of the truth, and as a powerful stimulus to lead those that have fallen, to the repentance which you show forth in so illustrious a manner. I wish that our brethren that are the companions of your sufferings may also be imitators of your firmness, and that, far from turning their gaze in the direction of the world, they may like you look only to Jesus the author and finisher of our faith. I beg you to remember me in your prayers, as I also remember you in all mine. May God be pleased to bless you and accompany you everywhere.

REPONCE

De Mr le Baron de montbeton à m^r Mascarene.

Ecritte de Bordeaux lorsqu'il fut attaché à la chaine.

Votre billet m'est un cordiaque contre les foiblesses de l'ame. et peut me servir d'épitheme contre les sincopes et les maux de cœur gennereus confesseur de Christ, il vous confessera devant son Pere, brave athlete vous combatès le bon combat, vous remporterès la couronne de gloire : pour ma chaine, mes amis savent, qu'en me l'attachant je dis,

Benite soit la chaine
qui m'attache à mon Dieu :
Je n'ay douleur ni peine
qui dans le sacré lieu
ne soit un jour changee
en douceurs en plaisirs
heureuse destinée !
tu combles mes desirs

Voila mon tres cher frere mes sentiments et l'état de mon ame : je suis votre imitateur et de tout mon cœur votre obeissant serviteur.

Nos tres cher compagnons vous embrassent de tout leur cœur.

C. M.

Answer of Baron de Montbeton to Mr. Mascarene, written from Bordeaux when he was made fast to the chain. 1687.

Your note to me is a cordial against faintness of soul, and may serve me as an epithem against swoons and sickness. Generous confessor of Christ! He will confess you before His Father. Brave athlete! you are fighting the good fight; you will win the crown of glory. As for my chain, my friends know that, when it was being made fast to me, I said :

Now blessed be the chain
That binds me to my God!
I have no grief nor pain
But in His own abode
Shall be exchanged, one day,
For joys that never tire.
O glorious destiny,
That crowns my best desire.

Such, my very dear friend, are my feelings, and such is the state of my soul. I am your follower, and with all my heart your obedient servant.

Our very dear companions embrace you with all their heart.
C. M.

NOTE.—The foregoing papers of Jean Mascarene were preserved in the family of his brother, César Mascarene, of Castres (see above, page 125, *note*), and came into the possession of the American branch of the family about eighty years ago. In 1763, John Mascarene, of Boston (page 250, *note*), only son of Jean Paul, and grandson of Jean, visited England. Desiring to find out whether any of his father's relations were still living in Languedoc, he made inquiry in London, and at the suggestion of a gentleman from that province he wrote to a "Mr. Mascarene," in Castres. The person addressed proved to be his cousin, a son of César Mascarene, who at once replied, expressing the greatest joy upon hearing from him. (See the correspondence, a translation of which was published in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. IX. [1855], pp. 239-247.) It was through this relative that John Mascarene received copies of his grandfather's papers.

RELATION D'UN PROTESTANT FRANÇAIS REFUGIÉ A BOSTON.¹

[Bibliothèque de Genève, Collection Court, No. 17, tome I., folios 71-76.]

1687.

Je suis, par la grace de Dieu, arrivé en ces heureuses contrées en parfaite santé depuis le 17 du mois passé, après une traversée de cinquante et trois jours, à conter depuis les dunes qui sont à 20 lieues de Londres jusqu'à Boston, et je puis dire qu'il y a peu de navires qui passent un si peu de temps. Nostre navigation a esté fort heureuze, et je puis dire qu'à la réserve de trois jours et trois nuits que nous avons eu un fort orage, tout le reste n'a esté qu'un temps agréable et délicieux ; car un chacun menoit joye dans nostre bord. Les femmes, filhes et enfans ont esté presque tous les jours sur le gailhard à se divertir. Nous n'avons pas eu le plaisir de la pêche sur le banc, parce que nous n'y avons pas touché ; nous en avons passé à 50 lieues au sud, nostre route a presque tousjours esté de l'est à l'ouest. Nous sommes passés à la hauteur des Fejallas distans d'environ 60 lieues ; ce sont des isles qui appartiennent aux Portugais et qui sont à 400 lieues de l'Angleterre. Si l'on n'aprehendoit les corsaires de Sales qui croisent souvent autour de ses isles, l'on iroit souvent mouiller dans ces ports, mais ces pirates font que l'on s'en tient esloigné du costé du Nord. Nous avons rencontré en mer quantité de navires, les uns venant de la pêche du banc, et les autres des isles de l'Amérique. Entre autres nous avons rencontré un navire de la Rochelle, qui venoit de la Martinique chargé de sucre, et qui auparavant avoit fait voyage en Guinée d'où il avoit apporté 150 nègres, et deux pères Capucins qui ont esté obligés d'abandonner leur poste de Guinée, veu le peu de progrès qu'ilz y faisoient. Presque tout l'équipage et le capitaine sont protestans. Ils vinrent à nostre bord avec leur chaloupe, et nous promirent qu'ilz ne tarderoient pas longtemps à nous venir voir à Boston, pour faire réparation d'avoir malheureusement succombé. Ils nous dirent de plus que presque tous les habitans des isles françoises protestans sont sortis ; nous en avons icy plusieurs à Boston avec toute leur famille.

Par un navire arrivé des isles nous avons nouvelles que la plus grande partie de nos pauvres frères qui avoient esté conduits à l'isle Saint-Martin se sont sauvés dans l'isle Saint-Eustache qui

¹ By the kindness of M. Ph. Plan, Librarian of the Public Library of Geneva, I am enabled to give above a carefully collated transcript of this interesting document, which was originally published in the *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*, volume xvi., (Février, 1867,) pp. 69-81.

NARRATIVE OF A FRENCH PROTESTANT REFUGEE IN BOSTON.

[See above, volume I., page 233 ; volume II., pages 183-185, 202-204, 226, 258, 271, 300.]

By the goodness of God, I arrived in this favored land in perfect health on the seventeenth of last month, after a passage of fifty-three days—counting from the day we left the Downs, sixty miles from London, to the day we reached Boston—and I may say, that few ships make the trip in so short a time. Our voyage was a very happy one, and I may say that with the exception of three days and three nights, during which we experienced a heavy storm, the time passed agreeably and delightfully, every person on board enjoying himself. The women, the young girls and the children gathered on the deck, almost every day, for diversion. We did not have the pleasure of fishing on the Banks, inasmuch as we did not reach them, but sailed fifty leagues to the south of them, our course being almost uniformly from east to west. We reached the latitude of the Fayal islands, [the Azores,] passing within sixty leagues of them. These islands belong to the Portuguese, and lie at the distance of four hundred leagues from England. Were it not for the fear of the corsairs of Salee, [Morocco,] which frequently cruise in the vicinity of these islands, vessels would often visit their harbors ; but on account of those pirates they avoid them, keeping to the north. We met while at sea a great many ships, some coming from the fisheries on the Banks, and others coming from the islands of America [the West Indies]. Among the latter, we met a ship of La Rochelle, which was on her way from Martinique with a cargo of sugar, and which had previously made a voyage to Guinea, whence she had brought one hundred and fifty negroes, and two Capuchin friars, who were obliged to abandon their post in Guinea, on account of the small progress they had been making there. The captain and nearly all the crew were Protestants. They came to us on their long boat, and promised us that they would not long delay to visit us in Boston, and make reparation for having unhappily yielded [to the Church of Rome]. Moreover they informed us that almost all the Protestant inhabitants had left the French islands. We have several of them here in Boston, with their entire families.

By a vessel lately arrived from the islands, we have had the news that the greater number of our poor brethren who were taken to the island of St. Martin had escaped to the island of St. Eustatius, which belongs to the Dutch : and it is hoped that the rest may soon be received. You have doubtless learned that one of the

1687. appartient aux Hollandois, et l'on espère avoir bientôt le reste. Vous aurez sans doute sceu qu'il se perdit un navire des trois qui conduisoit ces pauvres frères, duquel il ne se sauva que l'esquipage. Dieu pardonne à ces cruels, qui sont cause de ces malheurs et les convertisse ! Par un autre navire arrivé de la nouvelle Yhork, nous avons des lettres qui nous marquent que le gouverneur de Kébecq avoit écrit une lettre fort choquante au gouverneur de la nouvelle Yhork, sur ce qu'il avoit donné des munitions aux Iroquis qui sont en guerre avec les François, en luy disant que, s'il leur continuoit son secours, il les viendrait voir cest hiver. M. le gouverneur de la nouvelle Yhork luy fit response comme il le méritoit, et à mesme temps fit faire une levée de 3 à 4 milles hommes tous Anglois, (n'ayant pas voulu détourner les François de leurs nouvelles habitations où ilz ont besoin d'une grande assiduité au travail,) pour camper cest hiver sur la frontière et observer les démarches des François. Le gouverneur de Virginie a ordre de se tenir prest avec ce qu'il pourra lever de gens pour venir à son secours, au cas il en eût de besoin. Je croy que les mesmes ordres sont icy ; Boston seul peut fournir 15 milles hommes combatans, et s'il faut croire ce qu'on m'a dit, il en peut mettre 20 mille. S'il se passe quelqu'autre chose de nouveau, je ne manqueray pas à vous en faire part. Je respond presentement aux articles dont il vous a plu me charger à mon départ, du moins à ceux desquels j'ay desja pris connoissance.

Premièrement pour venir dans ce pays, il faut s'embarquer à Londres, d'où il part tous les mois l'un pour l'autre un navire. Le temps le plus propre pour s'embarquer est à la fin de mars, ou à la fin d'aoust et au commencement de septembre. Ce sont les véritables saisons, d'autant plus qu'il ne fait ni trop chaud ni trop froid, et que l'on n'est plus dans le temps des calmes qui sont fréquents en esté, et qui sont cause que les navires demeurent des 4 mois à passer de deça, outre que les chaleurs causent souvent des maladies dans le navire. L'on n'a point des fatigues à essuier, lors que l'on a avec soy des bons rafraichissemens et de toute sorte. Il est bien aussy d'avoir un chirurgien dans le navire où l'on s'embarque, comme nous avions dans le nostre. A l'esgard du danger, il faut prendre garde de s'embarquer sur un bon navire et bien équipé du monde et du canon, et bien pourveu de vituailles, surtout que pain et l'eau ne manque pas. Pour la route j'en ay suffisamment parlé cy-dessus, il n'y a du danger qu'en approchant les terres, et sur le banc de sable qu'on trouve. Nous avons sondé en deux endroits, au cap de Sable, que est dans le costé du Port-Royal ou Accadie, où nous trouvâmes 90 brasses. Alors nous n'estions qu'à 20 lieues de terre ; nous prîmes au large, et vinsmes sur le Banc Saint-George qui est à 80 lieues de Boston, où nous trouvâmes 100 brasses. Du despuis, nous ne sondâmes plus, car trois jours après nous vîmes le cap Coot, qui est à 20 lieues de Boston du costé du Sud, et le lendemain nous arrivâmes à Boston, après avoir trouvé une quantité de fort jolies isles qui se trouvent devant Boston, la plus part cultivées et habitées par des peysans, qui font une très-belle vue. Boston est situé au fond d'une baie qui aura de 3 à 4 lieues de tour, englos des isles que je vous ay dit.

three ships that carried these poor brethren was lost, and only the crew were saved. God forgive the cruel men who were the cause of these disasters, and convert them ! By another ship that has arrived from New York, we have had letters informing us that the governor of Quebec has written a very offensive letter to the governor of New York, regarding the supplies which he has given to the Iroquois, who are at war with the French; telling him, that should he continue such aid, he will come to see him this winter. The governor of New York answered him as he deserved, and at the same time caused a levy to be made of three or four thousand men, all English, (as he was not willing to call the French away from their new habitations, where their most assiduous labors are needed,) to encamp this winter upon the frontier, and watch the proceedings of the French. The governor of Virginia has his orders to hold himself ready, with the men whom he may be able to raise, to come to his help, should he require it. I think the same orders have reached this place; Boston alone can furnish fifteen thousand fighting men, and if I am to believe what is told me, can raise as many as twenty thousand. Should anything else of interest occur, I will not fail to inform you of it. I reply at present to the articles with reference to which you were pleased to charge me upon my departure; at least, to those concerning which I have already obtained knowledge.

First, in order to come to this country, it is necessary to embark at London, from which place a ship sails about once a month. The most favorable time for embarking is the latter part of March, or the end of August and the beginning of September. These are the proper seasons; all the more because the weather is then neither too hot nor too cold, and one does not experience the dead calms which occur frequently in summer, and on account of which vessels take four months to cross hither: besides which, the heat often produces sickness on ship-board. If one will provide himself with suitable refreshments of all kinds, he will not have to endure any discomfort. It is well also to have a physician on board, as we had in our ship. With regard to danger, one must be particular to take passage on a good vessel, well equipped with men and with cannon, and well provided with victuals, and especially with an unfailing supply of bread and water. As to the route, I have spoken sufficiently on this point. There is risk only in approaching land, and on the sand-banks which one finds. We took soundings twice, off Cape Sable, which is in the neighborhood of Port Royal or Acadia, where we found ninety fathoms. We were then only twenty leagues from land. We stood off to sea, and came to St. George's Bank, eighty leagues from Boston, where we found one hundred fathoms. After this, we took no soundings; for three days after we sighted Cape Coot, [Cod,] twenty leagues to the south of Boston; and on the following day we reached Boston, after meeting a multitude of exceedingly pretty islands in front of Boston, most of them cultivated, and inhabited by peasants, and presenting a very pleasing appearance. Boston is situated within a bay three or four leagues in circumference, and shut in by these islands. Here ships ride in safety, in all kinds of weather. The town is

1687. Quels temps qu'il fasse, les navires sont en seureté. La ville est bastie sur la pente d'une petite colline, et aussy grande que La Rochelle. La ville et le dehors n'ont pas plus de trois milles de circuit, car c'est presque une isle: l'on n'auroit qu'à couper des trois cent pas de largeur tout sable, qui en moins de deux fois 24 heures rend Boston une isle que la mer battroit de tous costés. La ville est presque toute bastie de maisons de bois; mais depuis que le feu a fait quelques ravages, il n'est plus permis de bastir de bois, de sorte qu'ilz se font présentement de fort jolies maisons de brique. Je devois vous dire, dans le commencement de cest article, que l'on paye à Londres pour passer icy 20 escus, et 24 si l'on veut payer à Boston, de sorte qu'il vaut mieux payer icy qu'à Londres; l'on a un escu de quitte, parce que 100 livres de Londres font icy 125 liv., de sorte que 20 escus à Londres l'on devroit payer icy 25, à raison de 25 p %, et l'on n'en paye que 24; cette augmentation d'argent est d'un grand secours aux pauvres réfugiés, pour peu qu'ilz en apportent.

2°. Il n'y a icy point d'autre religion que la presbytérienne, l'anglicanne, l'anabatiste et la nostre. Nous n'avons point des papistes, du moins qui nous soyent connus.

3°. Je respondray au troisieme article touchant le R. lorsque j'en seray mieux informé.

4°. Boston est situé soubz le 42 1-2 degré, de latitude septentrionale. Il est présentement jour à six heures du matin, et nuit à six heures; j'entends l'aube du jour, trouvant presque une heure de prescuspulle [crépuscule] jusqu'au lever du soleil.

5°. Je ne respond point à vostre 5° article, n'ayant pas encore parcouru la campagne. Je dois partir dans deux jours pour Noraganzet. A mon retour, Dieu aidant, je vous diray la bonté et fertilité de la terre et de ce qu'il y croit.

6°. A l'esgard des acquisitions des terres, celles qu'on prend dans la contrée de Noraganzet coûtent 20 liv. sterlin pour cent acres à payer content, et terme 25 pour 3 ans; mais l'on ne les paye point parce qu'on ne sait point si cette contrée restera aux propriétaires ainsy mal nommés, ou au roy. Jusqu'à ce que cest affaire soit decidé, l'on ne payera point, toutefois l'on ne peut estre obligé de payer que le prix cy-dessus, et suivant le contract passé par-devant les maires de la ville. L'on assure mesme que si le roy les a, l'on ne payera rien ou du moins fort peu, se contentant d'un petit droit seigneurial, moyenant quoy l'on peut vendre et engager, vous appartenant en propre. La contrée de Nicmok appartient en propre à M. le président, et la terre ne coûte rien. Je ne scay point encore la quantité qu'on en donne à chaque famille; quelques personnes m'ont dit de 50 jusques à cent [acres], suivant les familles.

7° et 8°. A respondre.

9°. Il depend de ceux qui veulent prendre des terres de les prendre à l'une des deux contrées, au bord de la mer ou dans les terres. Celle de Nicmok est dans la terre et à 20 lieues de Boston, et autant esloignée de la mer de sorte que, lorsqu'ilz veulent envoyer ou recevoir quelque chose de Boston, il faut voiturer par charette. Il y a des petites rivières et des estangs autour de

built upon the slope of a little hill, and is about as large as La Rochelle. With the surrounding land it measures not more than three miles around, for it is almost an island. It would only be necessary to cut through the sand about three hundred paces, and in less than twice twenty-four hours Boston would be made an island, with the sea beating upon it on every side. The town consists almost entirely of houses built of wood: but since the ravages made by fires, it is no longer allowed to build of wood, and several very handsome houses of brick are at present going up. I ought to have stated to you, at the beginning of this article, that the price paid in London for a passage hither is twenty crowns, and twenty-four crowns if one chooses to pay in Boston, so that it is better to pay here rather than in London; one has a crown clear, since a hundred pounds of London make here one hundred and twenty-five pounds, so that twenty crowns in London ought to cost twenty-five crowns here, at 25 per cent., but cost only twenty-four. This increase in the value of money is of great advantage to the poor refugees, if they bring ever so little.

II. There is no other religion here than the Presbyterian, the Anglican, the Anabaptist, and our own. We have no Papists, or at least none that are known to us.

III. I will reply as to the third article, touching [the King], when I shall be better informed upon the subject.

IV. Boston is situated in degree $42\frac{1}{2}$ north latitude. At present it is day at six o'clock in the morning, and night at six; I mean the dawn, as there is almost an hour of twilight before sunrise.

V. I do not answer as to your fifth article, not having yet traveled through the country. I am to leave for Narragansett two days hence. Upon my return, God helping, I will speak to you of the quality and fertility of the ground, and of its products.

VI. With regard to the acquisition of lands, those that are taken up in the Narragansett country cost twenty pounds sterling per hundred acres, ready money; and on time, twenty-five pounds at the end of three years: but the lands are not yet paid for, because it is not known whether that country will remain with the proprietors—improperly so called—or with the king. Pending the decision of this matter, no payments will be made upon the lands. However, one can only be compelled to pay the price stated above, and according to the contract made in the presence of the mayor of the town. Indeed, it is said that should the lands fall to the king, nothing or very little will be paid, the crown contenting itself with a small quit-rent, in consideration of which one may sell or mortgage, as rightful owner. The Nipmuck country is the property of the president [of the Council], and the land costs nothing. I do not yet know how much land is given to each family: some persons have told me, from fifty to a hundred acres, according to the family.

VII. and VIII. To be answered later.

IX. It rests with those who wish to take up lands, to do so in the one or the other of the two countries, on the seaboard or inland. The Nipmuck country lies inland, twenty leagues from

1687. cette habitation, fertiles en poisson, et bois plein de chasse. M. Bondet en est le ministre. Il n'y a encore d'habitans que 52 personnes. La contrée de Noraganzet est à 4 milles de la mer, et par conséquent elle a plus de commerce avec les isles maritimes, comme Boston, Plemud, et l'isle de Roderlan, qui n'en est qu'à dix milles. C'est une isle à ce qu'on m'a dit fort habitée, et d'un grand negosse, ce que je sauray moy mesme. Il y a à Noraganzet environ 100 personnes ; M. Carré en est le ministre.

10^e. L'on peut mener avec soy des engagés de quelle vocation que ce soit ; il en faut necessairement pour travailler les terres. L'on peut tenir aussy des nègres et négresses ; il n'y a point de maison dans Boston, pour peu de moiën qu'ilz aient, qu'ilz n'en aient un ou deux. Il y en a de ceux qui en ont cinq ou six, et tout cela gaigne bien sa vie.

L'on se sert des sauvages pour travailler vos terres, moyennant un chelin 1-2 par jour, et nourris quy est 18 pences ; bien entendu qu'il leur faut fournir le bestail ou outilz pour travailler. Il est mieux d'avoir des engagés pour travailler vos terres. Les nègres coutent de 20 jusqu'à 40 pistolles, suivant qu'ilz sont adroits ou robustes ; il n'y a point de risque qu'ilz vous quittent, ni mesme des engagés, car dès aussy tost qu'un manque de la ville, l'on n'a qu'à advertir les sauvages, qui, moiennant qu'on leur promette quelque chose, et leur dépeindre l'homme, il est bien tost trouvé. Mais cela arrive rarement qu'ilz vous quittent, car ilz ne sauroient où aller, ayant peu de chemins frayés, et ceux qui sont frayés s'en vont à des villes ou villages anglois, qui, en escrivant, vous renvoyent d'abord vos gens. Il y a les capitaines de navire qui en peuvent enlever ; mais c'est un larrecin manifeste et quy seroit rigoureusement puny. L'on peut bastir des maisons de brique et de charpente à bon marché, pour ce qui est des matériaux, car pour la main des ouvriers elle est fort chère : l'on ne scauroit faire travailler un homme à moins de 24 p. par jour et nourry.

11^e, 12^e, 13^e. A respondre.

14^e. Les pasturages abondent icy. L'on peut y élever toute sorte de bestiaux qui viennent fort bien. Un bœuf coute de 12 à 15 escus ; une vasche, 8 à 10 ; des chevaux, de 10 jusqu'à 50 escus et en quantité. Il y en a mesme des sauvages dans les bois, que si vous pouvez les avoir, ilz sont à vous. L'on prend quelquefois les poulains. Le bœuf couste 2. p. la livre ; le mouton 2 p. ; le couchon de 2 jusques à 3 p., suivant la saison ; la farine 14 chelins les 112 livres, toute passée ; le poisson est à grand marché, et le légume aussy ; choux, navaux, oignons et carottes abondent icy. De plus, il y a quantité de noies, chatagnes et noisettes sauvages. Le

Boston, and equally distant from the sea; so that when anything is to be sent to or received from Boston, it must be carried by wagon. There are small rivers and ponds, abounding in fish, and woods full of game, around this settlement. M. Bondet is the minister of the place. As yet the inhabitants number only fifty-two persons. The Narragansett country lies four miles from the sea, and consequently has more trade with the maritime islands, such as Boston, Plymouth, and Rhode Island, which is only ten miles off. It is, I am told, a very populous island, and has a flourishing trade: of which I shall know for myself. There are in Narragansett about one hundred persons: M. Carré is the minister.

X. One may bring with him persons bound to service, of whatever calling; they are indispensable in order to the cultivation of the ground. One may also hold negroes, male and female; there is not a house in Boston, however small the means of the family, that has not one or two. Some have five or six, and all earn well their living.

The savages are employed, for the tilling of the lands, at a shilling and a half, or eighteen pence per day, with their board. Of course they must be supplied with beasts or with tools for labor. It is better to have persons bound to service for the cultivation of the soil. Negroes cost from twenty to forty pistoles, according to their skill or vigor. There is no danger that they, or even that the bond-servants will leave you, for so soon as one is missing from the town, it is only necessary to give notice of the fact to the savages, and describe the person to them, promising them some reward, and the man is soon found. But it seldom happens that they leave you, for they would not know whither to go, few roads having been opened, and those that have been opened, leading to English towns or villages, which, upon your writing to them, would forthwith send back your people to you. There are ship-masters who might carry them off; but that is a manifest larceny, and one which would be severely punished. Houses of brick, and of wood, can be built cheaply, as it regards the materials, for as to manual labor, that is very dear; a man could scarcely be induced to work for less than twenty-four pence per day and his board.

Articles XI., XII., XIII., to be answered later.

XIV. Pasturage abounds here. All sorts of cattle can be raised, and they do well. An ox costs from twelve to fifteen crowns; a cow, from eight to ten; horses, from ten up to fifty crowns, and plenty of them. There are indeed wild ones in the woods, which you may appropriate if you can secure them. The colts are sometimes caught. Beef is sold at two pence per pound, mutton at two pence, pork at two pence to three pence, according to the season; meal, already sifted, at fourteen shillings per quintal; fish is very cheap, and so are vegetables; cabbages, turnips, onions and carrots, are in abundance. Moreover, there are quantities of wild walnuts, chestnuts and hazel-nuts. The

1687. fruit en est petit, mais d'un gout merveilleux. L'on m'a dit qu'il y en a d'autre sorte que nous verrons dans la saison. L'on m'assure que les bois sont pleins de fraises dans la saison. J'ay veu quantité de vigne sauvage, et mangé du raisin qu'un de mes amis avoit conservé d'un fort bon gout, L'on ne doute point que la vigne ne se fasse très-bien ; il y en a quelque peu de plantée dans la contrée, qui a poussé. L'on a de la peine d'avoir du plant d'Europe. Si l'on en avoit peu avoir, l'on en auroit beaucoup plus planté. Ceux qui voudront passer de desça, doivent tacher d'en apporter avec eux du meilleur.

15^e, 16^e, 17^e, 18^e. A répondre.

19^e. Les rivières sont fort poissonneuses, et nous avons si grande quantité de poisson de mer et rivière qu'on n'en fait point de cas. Il y a icy toute sorte de gens de mestié, et surtout des charpentiers pour la construction des navires. Le lendemain de mon arrivée, j'en vis mettre un à l'eau de 300 tonneaux, et du depuis on en a mis deux autres un peu moins grans. Cette ville icy fait grand negosse dans les isles de l'Amérique et en Espagne. Ilz portent dans les isles de la farine, du bœuf sallé, du cochon sallé, de la mourue, de la futaille, du saumon sallé, du maquereau sallé, des oignons et des huitres salées dans des barilz, desquelles il se pêche icy une grande quantité ; et pour leur retour ilz apportent du sucre, du cotton en laine, de la mellasse, de l'indiguo, du racoul et de pièces de 8 R. Pour ce qui est du negosse d'Espagne, ilz n'y portent que du poisson sec, que l'on a icy de 8 à 12 chelins le quintal, suivant sa qualité ; leur retour est en huiles, vin et eau de vie, et autres marchandises qu'ilz font passer à Londres, car l'on ne peut rien faire apporter icy, venant de l'estranger, qui n'ait auparavant passé à Londres et payé le demi-droit, après quoi l'on peut le transporter icy où l'on paye pour tout droit demy pour cent pour l'entrée, car de sortie les marchandises ne payent du tout rien.

20^e. A répondre.

21^e. Il faut se desabuser que l'on fasse icy des avantages aux réfugiés. A la vérité du commencement l'on leur a donné quelque subsistance, mais à présent il ne faut rien espérer pour ceux qui n'apporteront rien. A Nicmok, comme j'ay dit cy-devant, l'on donne des terres pour rien, et à Noraganzet il les faut acheter 20 à 25 liv. sterlin les cent acres, de sorte [que] qui n'apporte rien icy ne trouve rien. Il est bien vray qu'il y fait très-bon vivre, et qu'avec peu de chose l'on peut faire un bon établissement. Une famille de 3 ou 4 personnes peut avec 50 pistoles faire un joly établissement ; mais il n'en faut pas moins. Ceux qui en portent beaucoup, le font à proportion.

22^e et 23^e. A répondre.

24^e. L'on peut venir dans ce pays, et s'en retourner tout de mesme comme en l'Europe, L'on y est fort libre, et l'on y vit sans aucune contrainte. Ceux qui souhaitent de venir dans ce pays

fruit is small, but wonderfully palatable. I am told that there are other varieties, which we shall see in their season. I am assured that the woods are full of strawberries in their season. I have seen a quantity of wild vines, and have eaten grapes of a very good flavor which one of my friends had preserved. No one doubts that the vine will do very well; some plants that have been set out in the country have put forth. Difficulty has been experienced in obtaining young vines from Europe. Had it been found practicable to procure them, many more would have been planted. Those who intend to come over, should endeavor to bring with them some of the best kinds.

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Articles XV., XVI., XVII., XVIII., to be answered later.

XIX. The rivers abound with fish, and we have so much, both of sea and of river fish, that no account is made of it. There are persons here of every trade, and particularly carpenters for ship-building. The day after my arrival, I witnessed the launching of a vessel of three hundred tons, and since then, two others, a little smaller, have been launched. This town carries on an extensive trade with the islands of America, [the West Indies,] and with Spain. To the islands they take meal, salt beef, salt pork, cod-fish, staves, salt salmon, salt mackerel, onions, and oysters—a great quantity of which are caught here—preserved with salt in barrels; and upon their return they bring sugar, cotton-wood, molasses, indigo, *racoul* [?] and pieces of eight [reals]. As for the trade with Spain, they carry thither nothing but dry fish, which can be had here at eight to twelve shillings per quintal, according to the quality. Their return cargo consists of oils, wine, brandy and other merchandise, which they pass [through the custom-house] at London; for nothing can be brought hither, from foreign parts, without having passed at London and paid the half duty, after which the goods may be transported to this place, where for all duty one pays half per cent. impost; for nothing at all is paid upon exports.

Article XX., to be answered later.

XXI. The impression that advantages are granted here to the refugees is one that needs to be dispelled. At first, indeed, some supplies were given them, but at present, nothing is to be hoped for in behalf of those who bring nothing. At Nipmuck, as I have before stated, lands are given away; and at Narragansett they have to be bought at twenty to twenty-five pounds sterling per hundred acres, so that he who brings nothing hither finds nothing. It is quite true that there is very good living here, and that, with a very little, one can keep house very comfortably. A family of three or four persons can keep house very nicely upon fifty pistoles; but nothing less would suffice. Those who bring many [persons] spend in proportion.

Articles XXII., and XXIII., to be answered later.

XXIV. One can come to this country and return just as in Europe. One is entirely free here, and lives without any constraint. Those who wish to come to this country, should become

1687. icy, doivent se faire fridanniser à Londres pour estre libres de negossier toute sorte de marchandises, et voyager dans les isles angloises, sans quoy il ne se peut point.

25^e, 26^e et 27^e. A respondre.

Les articles que je manque à respondre sont ceux desquelz je ne puis point donner aucune raison, parce qu'il faut m'en informer exactement, et le voir moy mesme. Je vous ay dit cy dessus que l'argent de Londres donne de proffit 25 p. %. Quoy que l'on voye cet advantage, il est pourtant mieux de porter des marchandises sur lesquelles l'on gagne près de 100 p. % compris le 25 de change, car l'on n'achète icy qu'en troc des marchandises, et si vous donnez de l'argent, il ne vous est point du tout avantageux. Par autre occasion, je donneray le prix des marchandises, et les sortes qui sont propres pour ce pays icy, ce que je ne puis faire encore, ne faisant que d'arriver. Si j'estois arrivé un mois ou deux plutost, j'aurois peu voir les récoltes qui se font dans ce pays icy. J'y ay esté assez à temps pour avoir veu une quantité prodigieuse de pommes, desquelles l'on fait du cidre qui est merveilleux. 120 pots ne coutent que 8 chelins, et au cabaret on le vend 2 p. le pot, 2 p. le pot de la bière. Il y en a de la petite qui ne coute que 5 à 6 chelins 120 pots. Je dois prendre chambre avec un de mes amis, et faire nostre ordinaire ensemble pour passer nostre hiver, qu'on nous dit estre icy fort rude et long, et l'esté extremement chaud, ce que j'esprouveray, si Dieu me fait la grace de le passer, et donner une relation exacte de toutes choses. A Boston le 15-25 novembre 1687.

II.

Depuis mon arrivée, il n'est parti que deux navires par lesquels je me suis donné l'honneur de vous escrire. Ma première lettre estoit dattée du 15-25 novembre 87, où j'ay respondu à plusieurs articles de vostre mémoire, et par celle cy je tâcheray à respondre, à quelques autres. Ma deuxième lettre estoit du 1^{er} décembre par laquelle vous aurez heu la relation exacte de mon voyage fait à Noraganzet, et le nombre des familles qui y sont establies. J'ay respondu au 2^e article de vostre mémoire touchant les religions; mais j'ay oublié à vous dire qu'il y a icy un temple d'anabatistes, car pour les autres sectes dont je vous ay parlé dans ma relation de Noraganzet, c'est seulement pour ce pays-là et non pour Boston, car nous n'avons icy autres religions que l'anglicane, la presbiterienne, l'anabaptiste et la nostre. Pour des papistes, j'en ay decouvert depuis que je suis icy 8 ou 10, trois desquels sont François et viennent à nostre Eglise, et les autres sont Irlandois, à la réserve du sirurgien [chirurgien] qui a famille. Les autres ne sont icy que passagers.

3. Ce 3^e article ne m'est pas encore bien cogneu, quoy que je me sois exactement informé des personnes qui sont en quelque manière distingués des autres, et que j'ay creu m'en devoir éclaircir. Cependant ils ne savent rien, peut estre veulent ilz ignorer; toutes

naturalized in London, in order to be at liberty to engage in traffic of all kinds, and to voyage among the English islands; without this, it cannot be done. 1687.

Articles XXV., XXVI., XXVII., to be answered later.

The articles upon which I fail to reply are those concerning which I can give no satisfaction, because it is necessary that I should inform myself accurately about them, and see for myself. I have above mentioned to you that English money yields twenty-five per cent. profit. In view of this advantage, it is better, notwithstanding, to bring goods, upon which one gains nearly a hundred per cent. including the exchange at twenty-five per cent., for purchases are made here only by way of barter, and if you pay in money, it is not of any advantage. By another opportunity, I will state the prices of goods, and the kinds that are suited to this country, which I cannot do yet, having but just arrived. Had I reached here a month or two earlier, I might have seen the gathering in of the crops. I came in season to see a prodigious quantity of apples, of which they make cider that is marvelous. A barrel costs only eight shillings, and in the taverns they sell it for twopence per quart, and beer for twopence. There is a kind of small beer that costs only from five to six shillings per barrel. I am to take rooms with one of my friends, and we shall board together for the winter, which, they tell us, is very severe and very protracted, whilst the summer is extremely hot. Of this I shall judge by experience, should God permit me to live through it, and to give an exact account of all things.

Boston, November 15/25, 1687.

II.

Since my arrival, only two vessels have sailed from this place, by both of which I have had the honor to write to you. My first letter was dated the 15/25 November, 1687, in which I answered several of the articles of your memorandum; and in the present one I shall endeavor to reply to certain others. My second letter was of the first of December; by which you will have had an exact account of my trip to Narragausett, and the number of the families that are settled there. I have replied to the second article of your memorandum, touching religions; but I forgot to tell you that the Anabaptists have a place of worship here. As for the other sects of which I spoke to you in my account of Narragansett, what I said related only to that country, and not to Boston: for we have here no other religions besides the Anglican, the Presbyterian, the Anabaptist and our own. As to Papists, I have discovered eight or ten since I have been here. Three of these are French, and attend our Church. The others are Irish, save the surgeon, who has a family. The rest are here only transiently.

III. This third article is not yet well known to me, though I have made particular inquiry of persons who are in some sense distinguished from others, and who I thought might enlighten me upon the subject; yet, they know nothing about it. Perhaps they

1687. fois il n'y a pas de doute que tout ne soit soumis aux ordres de S. M. B. et que nous réfugiés ne soyons icy en toute seureté. Nous n'avons icy autre cour qu'un présidial qui juge du civil et du criminel, composé d'un président et 12 conseillers qui ont les mesmes loix et coutumes qu'ilz avoient cy devant. Tout ce qu'il y a de plus, c'est que M. le gouverneur assiste au conseil toutes les fois qu'il lui plait, et c'est lui qui tient la balance. On a depuis peu augmenté les droits du vin ; ce qui ne payait que dix chelins la pipe à la coutume en paye à présent 30 ; et les cabaretiers qui ne payoient que 50 chelins par pipe de vin qu'ilz vendoient, en payent à présent 100, et 12d. par gallon d'eau de vie, 30d. par baril de cidre, et 30 p. par baril de bière. Pour les autres marchandises, elles payent à l'ordinaire $\frac{1}{2}$ p. %. Outre ce présidial, il y a 8 juges à paix qui sont pour les affaires civiles qui surviennent dans la ville. Ce n'est pas qu'ilz puissent entièrement deffinir aucune affaire ; si les parties aiment la chicanne, ilz en appellent au présidial, ou au conseil de 24 qu'on n'assemble que dans des affaires de la dernière conséquence.

5°. Je ne puis respondre à cest article qu'en partie, n'ayant point veu encore de fruit sur les arbres ; mais je sçay bien que pour des figuiers, orangers, citronniers, oliviers, grenadiers, amandiers et muriers, il n'y en a point, le pays estant trop froid. Cependant je puis vous assurer que j'ay passé des hivers en Languedoc plus rudes que celluy cy. Nous n'avons eu que très-peu de glace et deux fois de la neige, d'un pied de hauteur chaque fois. Il est vray aussy que des Anglois m'ont dit qu'il y avoit plus de 50 ans qu'on n'avoit veu un hiver si doux ; mais ce que j'admire de ce pays icy, c'est qu'il ne pleut jamais passé 3 jours du mois. Depuis que je suis arrivé, je l'ay remarqué ; après quoy vous avez des jours serains, un air subtil et frais, ce qui fait qu'on voit très-peu de maladies, et beaucoup de gens de bonne appétit. Le terrain est icy de différente bonté, comme je vous ay déjà dit. Il y en a de sablonneux, d'autre noir, d'autre jonastre, et d'autre roux ; à la réserve du sablonneux, tout le reste produit fort bien. L'on recueille icy quantité de bled d'Inde, qui ne vaut à présent que 16 d. le boisseau ; l'on y recueille aussy du bled, froment et segle, mais non pas en grande quantité, et tout y vient fort bien, les légumes aussy ; pour la vigne elle y viendra fort bien ; l'on ne fait seulement que d'en planter. Il est arrivé une coche de Fayalles qui a apporté du plant. Les François s'appliquent autant qu'ilz peuvent à la faire venir.

7°. L'on cultive la terre avec la charrue, et après que la terre est bien préparée, l'on fait avec une cheville un trou en terre et l'on y met 4 ou 5 grains de bled d'Inde. Les trous sont distans également les uns des autres. Et lors que le bled est haut, l'on rehausse le pied de terre autant qu'on peut, afin que le vent ne le coupe, lorsqu'il vient à estre chargé de ses espis. L'autre bled se sème comme en Europe.

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choose to ignore it. However, there is no doubt at all that everything is subject to the orders of his Britannic Majesty, and that our refugees are in complete security here. We have here no court besides an Inferior Court, which tries both civil and criminal cases. It is composed of a president and twelve councilors, who observe the same laws and customs as heretofore. The only additional feature is, that the governor attends the Council whenever he so pleases, and has the casting vote. The duty upon wine has lately advanced; for, whereas ten shillings per butt were formerly paid at the customs, thirty shillings are paid now; and the tavern-keepers who paid only fifty shillings per butt for the wine they sold, now pay one hundred, and twelve pence per gallon of brandy, thirty pence per barrel of cider, and thirty pence per barrel of beer. Upon other goods, one-half of one per cent. is paid ordinarily. In addition to this inferior court, there are eight justices of the peace, who take cognizance of civil cases that occur in the town. It is not within their province to issue any case. If the parties are anxious for litigation, they appeal from them to the Inferior Court, or to the Council of Twenty-four, which meets only for transactions of the last importance.

V. I can reply to this article only in part, since I have not yet seen any fruit on the trees; but I know very well that of fig, orange, lemon, olive, pomegranate, almond and mulberry trees, there are none; the country being too cold. Nevertheless, I can assure you that I have passed winters in Languedoc severer than the present one. We have had very little ice, and snow only twice, to the depth of a foot each time. It is also true that the English tell me that for more than fifty years there has not been seen so mild a winter. But what I admire in this country is, that it never rains more than three days in the month. Since my arrival, I have remarked this. After which, you will have serene days, an atmosphere subtle and fresh, the effect of which is that one sees very little sickness, and a great many people with excellent appetites. The soil here varies in quality, as I have already told you. There is some that is sandy, some that is black, some yellowish, some red. All these, except the sandy soil, are very productive. A great deal of Indian corn is raised here; it brings at present only sixteen pence per bushel. Wheat and rye are raised also, but not in large quantities; and both do very well. So, also, with vegetables. As for the vine, it will thrive very well; they have only begun to plant it. A vessel has just arrived from Fayal, bringing some young vines. The French are doing their utmost to procure it.

VII. The land is tilled by means of the plow, and when the earth has been well prepared, a hole is made in the ground with a peg, and four or five kernels of Indian corn are placed in it. The holes are made at equal distances from one another. Then, when the stalk has reached a certain height, the earth around its base is raised as much as possible, in order that the wind may not break it when it comes to be loaded with ears. Other corn is sown as in Europe.

1687. 8°. Les terres ne sont icy chargées d'aucun impot, jusqu'à présent. Je vous ai dit de la manière qu'on les peut acquérir, à Noraganzet. Il y a icy diverses familles françoises qui ont acheté des habitations des Anglois toutes faites, et qu'ilz ont eu à grand marché. M. de Bonrepos, frère à nostre ministre, en a acheté une à quinze milles d'icy, et à une lieue d'une ville fort jollie, et où il y a grand négosse, qu'on appelle Sellem, pour 68 pistolles de 10 livres de France l'une. La maison est fort jolie, et elle n'a jamais esté faite pour 50 pistolles. Il y a 17 acres de terre toutes défrichées, et un petit verger. M. Légaré, un marchand orphèvre françois, en a acheté une à 12 milles d'icy du costé du sud, sur le bord de la mer, où il a une fort jolie maison et 10 acres et $\frac{1}{2}$ de terre pour 80 pistolles de 10 liv. de France la pièce. Il a encore sa part dans des comunaux, où il peut envoyer paistre ses bestiaux, et faire couper du bois pour sa provision, et pour en vendre icy, le pouvant envoyer commodément par mer. Il se trouve tous les jours des occasions semblables, et de métairies à ferme autant qu'on veut, et à un prix modique. M. Mousset, un de nos François, se trouvant chargé de famille, en prend une à ferme que l'on luy donne à 8 pistolles l'année; il y a une bonne maison, et 20 acres de terres défrichées. Il peut faire 6 à 7 barils de cidre, et le maistre luy donne le revenu de deux vaches. Si nos pauvres frères réfugiés qui s'entendent à travailler les terres, venoient de desça, ilz ne pourraient que vivre fort commodement et gagner du bien, car les Anglois sont beaucoup fénéans, et ne s'entendent qu'à leur bled d'Inde et en bestiaux.

Il n'y a pas icy à Boston passé 20 familles françoises, et tous les jour elles diminuent parce qu'elles s'en vont à la campagne acheter ou prendre de terres à ferme, et tacher à faire quelque établissement. L'on en attend ce printemps de tous les costés. Il vient d'arriver deux jeunes hommes de la Caroline, qu'ilz donnent quelque nouvelle du pays: premièrement ilz disent qu'ilz n'ont jamais veu un si misérable pays, ni un air si mal sain. Ilz y ont des fièvres pendant toute l'année, desquelles rarement ceux qui en sont atteint en relèvent; que s'il y en a quelqu'un qui en rechappe, ilz deviennent tout bazannés, comme sont ces deux qui sont arrivés, qui font compassion. De plus les chaleurs y sont si âpres, qu'il est presque impossible de les supporter, et qui leur infectoit les eaux, et par conséquent leur causoit les maladies, n'ayant autre boisson que celle là. Ilz nous donnent de plus nouvelle qu'avant leur départ il estoit arrivé un navire venant de Londres, où il y avoit 130 personnes, compris l'équipage du navire, desquels il en est mort 115, dès qu'ilz ont esté à terre, tout par de fièvres malignes qui se mirent parmy eux. Il y a environ 80 personnes qui s'en viennent de la Caroline pour venir s'établir icy ou à la nouvelle York. M. Gaillard, que mon père connoit, est arrivé avec toute sa famille en Caroline, et M. Brie de Montpellier. M. Delbos se porte bien, et devoit partir par la première occasion pour la nouvelle York ou pour icy.

VIII. Lands, up to the present, are not burdened with any tax. I have told you in what manner they may be acquired in Narragansett. There are several French families here, that have bought habitations already improved from the English, and have obtained them on very reasonable terms. M. de Bonrepos, our minister's brother, has purchased one at a distance of fifteen miles from this place, and within one league of a very pretty town, having a considerable trade, which they call Salem, for sixty-eight pistoles of ten *livres* of France each. The house is very pretty, and was never built for fifty pistoles. There are seventeen acres of land, completely cleared, and a small orchard. M. Légaré, a French merchant—a goldsmith—has purchased a property twelve miles south of this place, on the sea-coast, where he has a very pretty house, and twelve acres and a half of land, for eighty pistoles of ten *livres* of France each. Besides, he has his share in the common lands, to which he can send his cattle for pasture, and where he can cut wood for his own use, and to sell here, as he can readily send it by sea. Similar opportunities occur daily; and of farms on lease, as many as are wanted may be had, and at low prices. M. Mousset, one of our Frenchmen, being burdened with a family, has taken a farm on lease for which he pays eight pistoles a year. There is a good dwelling-house upon it, with twenty acres of cleared land. He can make six or seven barrels of cider, and the owner gives him the use of two cows. If our poor refugee brethren who understand farming should come here, they could not fail to live very comfortably, and gain property; for the English are very lazy, and are proficient only in raising their Indian corn and cattle.

There are not over twenty French families here in Boston, and they are diminishing in number every day, because they go off into the country to buy or lease lands and attempt a settlement. Others are expected this spring from every quarter. Two young men have just arrived from Carolina, who give some account of the country. In the first place, they say, they have never before seen so miserable a country, nor an atmosphere so unhealthy. Fevers prevail all the year, from which those who are attacked seldom recover; and if some escape, their complexion becomes tawny, like that of the two who have arrived here, and who are pitiable to behold. Moreover, the heat is so intense as to be almost unendurable, and as to infect the water, consequently producing sickness, as they have no other beverage. They bring us also the tidings that before their departure a ship had arrived from London, with one hundred and thirty persons on board, including the crew; of whom one hundred and fifteen died so soon as they landed, all from malignant fevers which spread among them. Some eighty persons are coming from Carolina to settle here, or in New York. M. Gaillard, whom my father knows, has arrived in Carolina with his whole family; also, M. Brie, of Montpellier. M. Delbos is well, and was to leave by the first opportunity for New York or for this place.

1687. 12°. J'ay respondu à cest article touchant les sauvages dans ma relation de Noraganzet.

13°. Pour des bêtes féroces, nous avons icy quantité d'ours, et de loups en grand nombre qui font du ravage aux moutons, lors qu'on ne prend pas bien ses précautions. Nous y avons aussy quantité de couleuvres sonnantes, mais elles ne se voyent pas encore. J'ay veu seulement de petis serpens de grosseur de 3 pouces et longs à proportion; il y en a beaucoup, car on les voit de 7 à 8 ensemble. Tous ces animaux fuyent l'homme, et l'on ne voit pas qu'ilz fassent du mal à personne.

15°. Les Anglois qui habitent les contrées sont comme ailleurs bons et mauvais; mais l'on en voit plus des derniers que des premiers, et pour vous le dire en peu de mots, il y en a de toute, et par conséquent de toute sorte de vie et de mœurs; ce n'est pas qu'il y arrive parmy eux de débat ni querelle, mais c'est qu'ilz ne mènent pas bonne vie. Il y en a qui ne font autre formalité de mariage que de se toucher la main, et vivent bien ensemble; d'autres qui ont 60 ans et ne sont pas encore baptizés, parce qu'ilz ne sont point membres. Il y a environ un mois que l'on baptisa à nostre Eglise une femme de 45 ans et 5 de ses enfans. Son ainée pouvoit avoir 16 ans; on ne la voulut point baptizer aux presbytériens, parce qu'elle ne s'estoit pas faite membrese.

16°. Il n'y a rien à craindre du costé des sauvages, car ilz sont en petit nombre. Les dernieres guerres qu'ilz eurent avec les Anglois, il y a 12 ans, les on réduits à petit nombre, et par conséquent hors d'estat de se deffendre.

17°. L'on trouve de la pierre rassiére pour batir, et de la brique autant qu'on en veut. Elle coutte 16 chelins le millier.

18°. Il ne se fait point du sel dans ce pays; on le porte de l'ille de la Tortille. Ceste année, il est revenu plusieurs navires des isles vuides, faute du sel et du sucre, les pluies ayant tout désolé; et la mer est entrée dans les salins, qui a tout fondu, de sorte que le sel qui ne valait que 9 chelins la barrique, en vaut à present 14; et comme les batimens commencent à partir pour la pêche, il pourroit venir plus cher.

20°. A la réserve des péleteries, toute autre sorte de marchandizes sont bonnes pour icy, et surtout la draperie, toiles bleues, toiles blanches, toiles peintes, ou indiennes de Levant, cables et manœuvres de navires, et toiles de Hollande pour les voiles. Sur toutes ces marchandises l'on peut conter de 80 à 100 p. %, compris le 25 p. % de change de la monnoie; le tout se doit embarquer à Londres et payer le demi-droit, lorsqu'on le porte d'ailleurs à Londres, car tout doit y passer avant venir icy.

XII. I replied to this article, relating to the savages, in my account of Narragansett. 1687.

XIII. With regard to wild beasts, we have here a quantity of bears, and wolves in great numbers, who commit many depredations among the sheep, when due precautions are not taken. We have also a quantity of rattlesnakes, but they are not to be seen as yet. I have only seen some small serpents, three inches thick and of proportionate length; there are many of them, for one sees seven or eight of them together. All these creatures flee at the approach of man, and it does not appear that they harm any one.

XV. The English who inhabit these countries are, as elsewhere, good and bad; but one sees more of the latter than of the former class, and to tell it to you in few words, there are all kinds, and consequently all kinds of life and manners. It is not that strife and quarrels occur among them, but it is that they do not lead a good life. There are some that practice no other formality of marriage than that of taking each other by the hand; and they live together peaceably: there are others, sixty years of age, who have not yet been baptized, because they are not members. About a month ago, a woman forty-five years of age, was baptized in our Church, with five of her children. Her eldest, a girl, may have been sixteen years of age. They would not baptize her among the Presbyterians, because she had not become a member.

XVI. There is nothing to fear from the savages, for there are very few of them. The last wars they had with the English, twelve years ago, reduced them to a small number, and consequently they are not in a condition to defend themselves.

XVII. Stone suitable for building purposes is to be found, and of brick as much as one may want. It costs sixteen shillings per thousand.

XVIII. No salt is made in this country; it is brought from the island of Tortola. This year, several ships have come back empty from the islands, for want of both sugar and salt, the rain having totally destroyed them, and the sea having made its way into the salt-works, and completely melted them; so that salt that brought nine shillings per barrel is now worth fourteen; and as the ships are about to start for the fisheries, it may become dearer still.

XX. With the exception of peltries, every kind of merchandise is suitable for this place; and especially woolen stuffs, blue and white linens, calicoes, cables, and rigging for ships, and holland for sails. Upon all these goods, one can count on eighty per cent. to a hundred per cent. profit, including the twenty-five per cent. profit on exchange. The whole should be shipped at London, and the half [per cent.] duty paid, if the goods be brought to London from elsewhere; for all goods must be passed there before coming here.

1684.

JUDITH (GITON) MANIGAULT'S LETTER.

[See above, pages 112-114, 182, 183.]

Je veux faire une rélation de notre sortie de France jusqu'à la Caroline, puisque vous le souhaitez. Nous avons souffert pendant 8 mois les contributions et les logemens des gens de guerre, pour la religion, avec bien du mal. Nous prîmes donc résolution de sortir de France la nuit, et de laisser les soldats dans le lit, et laisser la maison toute garnie. Nous fûmes à Romans (en Dauphiné) nous cacher pendant dix jours, cependant qu'ils faisoient la recherche pour nous trouver; mais l'hotesse étant secrette ne nous déclara point, car on vint demander si on nous avait vus. De là nous fûmes passer à Lyons, de là à Dijon, d'où mon frère aîné vous écrivit une lettre et une de Langres; je ne sçais si vous les avez reçues. Il vous marquoit que nous sortions de France. Nous passâmes chez M^{de} de Choiseule, où nous ne fîmes rien du tout: elle étoit morte, et son beau-fils étoit maître en tout; de plus, il nous fit bien connoître qu'il voyoit que nous voulions sortir de France, que si nous voulions lui demander quelque chose, il nous déclareroit. Nous poursuivîmes notre chemin pour aller à Metz en Lorraine, d'où nous nous embarquâmes sur la rivière de la Moselle pour aller à Treves; de là nous fûmes à Cochem et à Coblentz; de là à Cologne, où nous quittâmes le Rhin pour aller passer dans des carioles, d'où nous fûmes a Vesselle (Wesel) où nous trouvâmes un hôte qui parloit un peu françois, qui nous dit qu'il n'y avoit que trente lieues de là à Lunebourg.

Nous savions que vous étiez là en quartier d'hiver, car nous avions reçu une de vos lettres quinze jours avant de sortir de France, qui nous apprenoit que vous passiez là l'hiver. Notre défunte mère et moi priâmes instamment notre frère-aîné de vouloir passer par là ou nous laisser avec elle, cependant qu'il vous pourroit aller voir lui-même; c'étoit dans le plus fort de l'hiver—mais il ne voulût jamais, n'ayant que la Caroline en son esprit, de peur de perdre quelque occasion pour y venir; ce qui m'a causé toujours un grand chagrin quand j'ai pensé à vous, et avoir perdu une si belle occasion pour vous voir, au moins encore une fois. Que j'ai eu de regret de voir un frère avoir si peu de naturel! que je lui ai reproché de fois! mais il étoit notre maître, il nous falloit faire tout comme il vouloit. Après nous passâmes en Hollande pour aller en Angleterre. Je ne me souviens pas bien dans quelle année c'étoit; en quatre vingt quatre ou en quatre vingt cinq; c'étoit l'année que le Roi Charles d'Angleterre est mort (Fevr. 1685). Nous fûmes trois mois à Londres pour attendre un vaisseau prêt pour Caroline. Etant embarqués nous fûmes bien mal; la fièvre pourpreuse se mit dans notre vaisseau, dont il en mourût beaucoup; notre défunte mère en mourut, étant agée. Nous fûmes neuf mois avant d'arriver en Caroline; nous fûmes à deux ports, un portugais, et une isle appelée

Bermoude, appartenant à l'Angleterre, pour racommoder notre vaisseau, à cause d'une grande tempête où nous fûmes bien mal traités. Notre capitaine de vaisseau ayant fait quelque friponnerie fut mis en prison et le vaisseau saisi. Notre argent ayant été entièrement dépensé, ce fût avec la plus grande difficulté que nous procurâmes passage dans un autre vaisseau. Après notre arrivée en Caroline nous avons souffert toutes sortes de maux ; notre frère aîné mourût un an et demi après notre arrivée ici d'une fièvre, n'étant pas accoutumé au rude travail où nous étions exposés. Nous nous sommes vus depuis notre sortie de France en toute sorte d'afflictions, en maladie, peste, famine, pauvreté, travailler bien rudement. J'ai bien été dans ce pays six mois sans avoir goûté de pain, et que je travaillois à la terre comme une esclave, et même j'ai bien passé trois ou quatre années avant d'en avoir quand je voulus. Dieu nous a fait une belle grace d'avoir pu résister à toutes sortes d'épreuves. Je crois que si je voulois vous faire un détail de toutes nos aventures je n' aurois jamais fait. Il suffit que Dieu a eu pitié de moi, et a changé mon sort à un plus heureux, gloire lui en soit rendue.

1685.

DAILLÉ LETTERS.

Henricus Selyns, Minister of the Protestant Reformed Dutch Church in New York, to the Boston Ministers.¹

New York, May 8 | 18, 1683.

1683,
May
8 | 18.

Ego solus sum, et huic et circ [] jacentibus Ecclesijs solus a sacris sum, singulis hebdomadibus ter in hac urbe, et aliquibus plus alicubi concinando. Excep [] Rev. d^o. Petro Daille, qui Galliam deseruit persecutionis causâ et qu [] concionatur, et d. Petro van Zuuren, qui non in hac urbe, sed qu [] dam in pagis eloquiorum Dei promulgator est. Sunt viri, vita gemini et fidei.²

(*Translation.*)

I am alone, and alone am ministering in sacred things to this church and to circumjacent churches, by preaching three times every week in this city, and in some [weeks] oftener elsewhere : except the Reverend Mr. Daillé, who forsook France on account of persecution, and who preaches [to the French], and Mr. Peter Van Zuuren, who is a promulgator of the oracles of God in certain country places. They are men of similar life and faith.

The same to the Classis of Amsterdam, in Holland.

Domine Peter Daillé, late professor at Salmurs, [Saumur] has

¹ James Allen, minister of the First Church in Boston, 1668 to 1710 ; Increase Mather, minister of the Second or North Church, 1664 to 1723 ; and Samuel Willard, minister of the Third, or South Church, 1678 to 1707.

² (Mather papers, (MSS.) Vol. V. No. 17. In Prince Library, Boston Public Library.)

1683. become my colleague. He is full of fire, godliness and learning. Banished on account of his religion, he maintains the cause of Jesus with untiring zeal.¹
- October
21 | 31.

DAILLÉ TO INCREASE MATHER.²

- 1686,
May
2. Clarissimo, doctissimoq. Domino Crescentio Mathero Verbi
Divini fideli Ministro in urbe Bostoniensi.

Reverendissime ac doctissime Vir :

Quod mei memineris in litteris, quas ad dominum Sleins collegam meum doctum, scripsisti, perjucundum fuit : cùm te benè erga me affectum esse manifestum sit. Qua de re opera pretium fore duxi, si tibi renunciarem, me viri pietate, charitate, doctrinaq. insignis, magni facere benevolentiam. Quam, sibi alijsq. Gallis profuturam, non fovisse Dominum Vandembosh mirum est. Sed rogo te, celeberrime Domine, ne molestia a Domino Vandembosh illata in causâ sit, cur minus faveas Gallis, qui iam adsunt in vestrà urbe, quiq. ad eam sese recepturi sunt. Unius culpa alijs innoxijs neque imputari, neque creare damnum debet. Itaque pristina charitatis ergo fideles istos profugos, gravissimamq. persecutionem passos, documenta te daturum spero : Neque etiam dubito quin ad Ecclesiam Gallicam Bostoni restituendam manum adhibere velis. Ad eam rem operam meam offero, ut non benè antea gesta resarciantur. Tibi collegisq. tuis doctis gaudium debitum pro mœstitiâ immeritâ efflorescat. Sumus fratres, fraterna igitur amicitia colenda est ! Hoc efficere pro viribus mihi mens est. Tibi collegisq. tuis inclytis (quibus plurimam etiam salutem dico) significando me esse Reverende ac doctissime Vir obsequen-
tissimum addictissimumque Sruum [servum] tuum.

DAILLÆUM.

Datum in Urbe Eboracensi die 2^o men. maij, annoq. 1686.

(Translation.)

To the most illustrious and learned Increase Mather, faithful minister of God's word in the city of Boston.

Most Reverend and learned Sir :

It was exceedingly pleasant that you remembered me in the letter which you wrote to Mr. Selyns, my colleague : since it is clear that you are well disposed to me. Wherefore I thought that it would be worth while, if I announced to you in return, that I consider of great account the good will of a man illustrious for piety, charity and doctrine. Which [good will], that Mr. Vandembosch did not cherish, as likely to be of service to himself and other

¹ Memoir of Henricus Selyns, in Anthology of New Netherland, by Henry C. Murphy. New York, 1865.

² Mather Papers, in the Prince Library ; Public Library of the City of Boston.

Frenchmen, is surprising. But I beg you, most celebrated sir, that the annoyance occasioned by Mr. Vanderbosch may not be the occasion of your favoring less the French who are now in your city, and who shall betake themselves thither. The fault of a single person ought neither to be imputed to others, nor to do them harm. I hope, therefore, that you will give, as of old, proofs of your charity to those faithful refugees, who have suffered the most severe persecution. Nor do I doubt that you will be willing to lend a hand to the restoring of the French Church in Boston. For this matter I offer my help, that affairs previously not well managed may be mended. May merited gladness arise for you and your learned colleagues, in place of undeserved sadness. We are brethren; therefore fraternal friendship ought to be cultivated! It is my intention to effect this according to my strength, signing myself as being, to you and your illustrious colleagues (to whom I also send hearty greeting), Reverend and most learned Sir, your most obedient and devoted servant,

1686.

May
2.

DAILLÉ.

DAILLÉ TO INCREASE MATHER.¹

Reverende Vir

Dominus Selyns in genere solummodo mihi retulit, qua in particulari de Domino Van den Bosk ipsi scripseras. Sed ab aliis audivi vos iure meritò ej infestos esse, quod reipublicam ecclesiamq. vestram malè habuerit. Nos etiam experimur dictum Vandenbosh omnia agere perversè, cùm in animum multorum Gallorum inducere conatus fuerit Dominum Deschamps (qui in Bostoniâ vixit) admittendum esse ad sacram synaxim, etiam si consistorium nostrum contrarium censuerit, quod tumultus quosdam in ecclesiâ nostrâ antea pacatâ excitavit. Sed ut alia multa prætermittam, ille adversus fidem datam, et id quod honestum iustumq. est duas partes (quæ degunt ruri) ecclesiæ nostræ sibi arripuit, ita ut ecclesia nostra, quæ ante adventum memorati Vandenbosh intime conjuncta, et, ut ita dicam, unum cor, unaq. anima erat, iam in partes abierit. Rogo te Reverende Vir ut mihi rescribas, eaq. a Domino Vandenbosh acta enarres. Ille Doctor, qui tibi reddet hasce meas litteras, est optimus homo, reformatæ nostræ religionis, peritissimus in arte suâ. Passus est maximam jacturam, ita ut omnes sarcinos, omniaq. medicamenta injustè amiserit. Vuult emere Bostonia medicamenta et ea quæ necessaria sunt ut uitam quærat, artem suam profitendo. Sum certus, Reverende Vir, te velle, si opus sit, suppetias ipsi ferre. Mihi gratum feceris si eum adjuveris, hanc rem te rogo, et tibi Deo ego et ille rependemus grates. Non licet mihi per tempus alia addere; quia navis iam parat iter. Itaque finem facio tibi collegisq. tuis doctis salutem plurimam impertiendo, omniaque prospera et fausta præeundo. Sum Reverende Vir obsequentissimus et addictissimus servus tuus. DAILLAEUS.

July.

Datum in Urbe Eboracensi Julij an. 1686.

¹ Mather Papers, in the Prince Library; Public Library of the City of Boston.

1686.

(Translation.)

DAILLÉ TO INCREASE MATHER.

July. Reverend Sir :

Mr. Selyns related to me in general only what you had written to him in particular concerning M. Vandenbosch. But from others I have heard that you are justly hostile to him, because he acted badly to your State and Church. We also find by experience that the said Vandenbosch acts perversely in everything ; since he attempted to suggest to the mind of many Frenchmen, that Mr. Deschamps (who lived in Boston) ought to be admitted to the holy meeting, although our Consistory decided the contrary, because he excited certain tumults in our Church, which had previously been peaceful. But to pass over many other matters, he, contrary to pledges given, and to what is honorable and just, snatched away to himself two parts [two-thirds] of our Church (which reside in the country); so that our Church, which, before the arrival of the above mentioned Vandenbosch was intimately joined together, and, so to speak, one heart and one soul, now went off into [distinct] parts.

I beg you, Reverend Sir, to write to me in reply, and narrate what has been done by Mr. Vandenbosch. The Doctor who will give you this letter of mine is an excellent man, of our reformed religion, most skilled in his art. He suffered the greatest danger, so that he lost unjustly all his baggage and all his medicines. He wishes to buy medicines in Boston, and those things that are necessary for him to gain his living by practicing his art. I am certain, Reverend Sir, that you will be willing, if need be, to give him assistance. You will oblige me if you aid him. This thing I beg of you, and, God [assisting], he and I will repay you.

I cannot on account of the time add other matters, because the ship is getting ready to start. Therefore I make an end by sending to you and your learned colleagues hearty salutations, and praying for every thing prosperous and favorable.

I am, Reverend Sir,
Your most obedient and devoted
servant,

DAILLÉ.

New York, July, 1686.

DAILLÉ TO THE SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY FOR
THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN
PARTS.

Doctissime Vir

Cum sis maximè propensus (ut fama est) ad beneficiendum ecclesijs, earumq. ministris, credidi te æqui benigni. consulturum, si hisce literis multâ cum reverentiâ a me rogatus esses, ut libellum supplicem hîc inclusum prælegas plurimum venerandæ societati

vestræ, et ut velis operam navare ad auxilium mihi necessarium procurandum. Decet ministrum, omnia tentare antequam deserat suum gregem. Si potes efficere, Doctissime Vir Dñe, ne hoc accadat meo respectu, mihi comparando supplimentum unde possim sustentari, promovebis rem gratissimam Deo, vestrae admodum inclytæ Societati gloriosam, atque ecclesiæ utilem ob benevolentiam tuam eximiam multum tibi obstrictus ero, et tibi omnia prospera et fausta semper precabor, sicuti nunc facio Doctissime Vir obsequentissimus tuus P. DAILLÉ.¹

1706.
September
8.

Datum Bostoniæ octavo die Septembris 1706.

(*Translation.*)

Most learned Sir :

Inasmuch as you are very greatly inclined (as is reported) to confer benefits upon the churches and their ministers, I have thought you would take it in good part should I very respectfully request you, by this letter, to read the inclosed petition to your most venerable society, and to consent to exert yourself to procure me the help that I need. It is proper that a minister try every resource before forsaking his flock. If you can prevent this from happening in my case, most learned Sir, by securing me the means for my support, you will advance a cause most pleasing to God, honorable to your very illustrious Society, and useful to the Church. For your rare kindness I shall be under great obligations to you, and I shall ever pray for your prosperity and happiness as I now do, most learned Sir. Your most obedient,

P. DAILLÉ.

A HUGUENOT PASTOR'S DISCOURSE.

[See above, page 303.]

From "The Charitable Samaritan, a Sermon by Ezechie Carré, Minister of the French Colony in Narrhaganset." Printed in Boston. 1689.

1689.

APPLICATION.

Let us, my Brethren, make some Reflections on the four sorts of persons which here present themselves. You see here first, a man wounded. Secondly, The Thieves that assaulted him. Thirdly, A Priest and a Levite that abandoned him. Fourthly, A Samaritan that comforted and healed him. 1. In Beholding this man Lying by the way so cruelly Murdered, you will be apt to Bemoan and Deplore his hard hap, Sinners, and yet you little think that you your selves are that man ; seek then after no other Subject of your Complaints than your selves, and as Jesus Christ said to the

¹ Letter-books of the Gospel Propagation Society.

1689. Inhabitants of Jerusalem, Daughters of Jerusalem weep not for me, but weep for your selves. One may say here the same thing to you: Miserable Mortals, bewail not the hap of this poor wounded person, but bewail your own; Sinners, consider then your miserable condition, you are this man half dead, and strecht out by the way. 'Tis you that sin hath mortally wounded, you were born, and you live in this Estate; and that which is more to be Lamented is, that though this misery be so great, yet we know it not. The pride of men carries them for the most part to believe they are able of themselves to come forth of this Calamity, and that they have strength enough to raise themselves out of that condition; no, no, my Brethren, that is not in the least the Truth of the Fact. Quit your selves of these unjust and bold Sentiments. Free-will is but a Chimera that Cheats almost none but the followers of Antichrist. To discover the vanity of these pretentions, you need only consult your own experience. How many times have you undertook the over-coming your passions without ever prevailing? Sinners, do you not perceive in your hearts an invincible torrent of corruption? Assure your selves, that you are in no capacity to succeed without the Assistance of Heaven; acknowledge then the necessity of Grace, implore with humility the Efficacy of the Holy Ghost; never appear before God without a lively feeling of your misery, and if you find in you any good Disposition, give all the glory thereof to God. But in avoiding this Precipice, my Brethren, take heed of falling into another opposite thereto. Do not from this miserable Estate wherein you are, take up a pretence to sit still with folded Arms in the work of your Salvation, say not through weakness and culpable Remissness as that slothful Sinner, seeing I am not able to raise my self, I must wait until Grace Convert me; Oh my Brethren, God acts not with us, as with insensible Stocks, he cannot Convert you without your selves, you must give him a Subject to work upon, at least you must present the sick person to him, if you would have him healed, you must then put your selves into a Condition to receive his grace; is it not true, that if this wounded man had not been in the way, the Samaritan had not met him; and is it not true, that if he had not been in a posture to move pity, this Charitable man had gone by him without saying any thing to him? There are also some certain steps that the Sinner must make for to prepare a way for grace; he must be found in the way, which he doth, when he is found hearing the Word of God, in God's House; and when he gives attention to the Preachings of his Servants, and when he implores help from God for his Conversion, and when he fervently desires the same. Oh then it is that he is powerfully assisted, and receives the impressions of Grace; Seek and you shall find, Knock and it shall be opened unto you, (Matt. 7.7.) 2. But if you should agree with me, that you are that man half dead, overthrown by the way side, I am sure you will not so easily conclude, who are the other persons of the second Rank, you'll say without doubt, that it is none of you that were these infamous Robbers that Assassinated this man, you abhor their action, yet permit me to tell you, That you are the persons again, of whom mention is made

in the second place. Yes, it is you Sinners (in a sence) that are these Thieves; suffer me to say of this Parable, as Nathan said of his to David, 'Tis thou that art the man, 2 Sam. 12. This offends you, but have patience a little, and see the proof. Thou slanderer that Rendest thy Brother in secret thou ought not Refuse to be put in this Rank, dost not thou in a sence Murther thy Brother by thy Calumnies? These are stabs thou piercest him withal, stabs without doubt more cruel, than the wounds of the Body, since thou assaultest his honour, which is more dear to him than his life. Revengeful person! thou that seekest all occasions to be revenged on thy Brother, and that keepest an implacable hatred in thy heart against him. Thou art a Murderer of him, in the opinion of a great Apostle, John 3.15. Unjust Merchant! Thou deservest to be placed in this Rank, thou who makest use of a thousand Frauds, and a thousand subtile shifts in thy Dealing, to enjoy the Goods of thy Brother, ah in so doing thou Robbest him. I tell thee then, as Nathan said to David, Thou art the man. Wretched Father! Thou oughtest to be put into the number of these Robbers; thou who by thy Debauchery or Idleness, causest those which God hath given thee to bring up, to dye with Hunger, thou Stickest a Dagger in their bosoms, since by thy evil management, thou reducest them it may be in their necessities to seek their Livings by unlawful ways: Thou art this Thief, since thou takest from them, that which God hath appointed for their subsistence: to wit, thy Labour and pains, but thou art a far worse Robber, and more cruel Murtherer by thy fatal Example. I say to thee once again, Thou art the man. Finally, We will put amongst this Troop of Robbers and Murderers, those Wretches who bare away the Goods of their Brother by Gaming: And I positively assert, That there is no person, who gives his mind to Gaming, but forms a resolution to rob his Neighbor, I speak not here of those slights and cheats that accompany Gaming, I speak of that which is the most innocent in these sort of things (if at least one may say, there is any thing innocent in them) which is, that each Gamester purposeth to win, and one of necessity must win, behold the Robbery, according to the Law of right, which defines Robbery, by enjoying the Goods of another contrary to the will of the Possessor; so that following this Maxime, wherever there are two Gamesters, there are two Thieves, the one by inclination, the other real and Effective: because he which loses, desires to win, and would not willingly see his money in the others hands. But you will say, I am no High-way Robber, as those were who assaulted this poor man; you are not High-way Robbers, it is true, but is your cruelty the less extream, is he that stabs another without giving him warning, or in embracing him less criminal, than he that kills by open Force or Threats. 3. But another will say, I am none of these Thieves and Murderers, since I am no calumniator, nor Gamester, nor Debauched, nor Revengeful, &c. I do no hurt to any; thou bad Christian, it is not sufficient not to do evil, but thou must also do good: the bad rich Man was not in Hell for doing evil to Lazarus, but it was because he did no good to him. This Priest and this Levite will very well shun the judgment of God in

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that they Killed not this Man; but I know not whether they will escape punishment for not relieving him when they might have done it: this I know of a surety, that liberality is one of the principal points on which Jesus Christ will examine Men at the last day, and that hard heartedness to-wards the Distressed will be motive sufficient for Damnation. I was an hungry and you gave me not to eat, thirsty and you gave me not to drink, I was a stranger and you took me not in, &c. Depart from me you cursed into everlasting fire prepared for the Devil and his Angels, Matt. 25. 41, 42, &c. I make no doubt but you will consent with me in this, and in your heart blame this want of Charity in the Priest and Levite, who passed by without succouring this poor man: but you consider not that every day you do the same; all those times that you know the necessity of your Brethren and do not concern your selves about the remedy thereof, do not say that you know not any that are poor and indigent, or that have need of your help, Ah! have you not them every day before your eyes? Many whom the Robbers of Persecution have reduced almost to the condition of this poor wounded man in my Text (that is to say) who are half dead with miseries, for they cannot properly be said to live that are in such a condition: they may be said to be half dead. How many times have you passed by them with an heart as indifferent as this Priest, and this Levite shewed to this wounded man, notwithstanding, they are your Brethren, of the same blood, of the same Nation, of the same Religion. Ah my Brethren! you ought to lay their poverty to heart, since it is caused for the best of all causes in the World, to-wit, that of Jesus Christ: how much should that move us since thereby Christ presents occasion to us to exercise our Charity in such manner as may be most agreeable to God (Gal. Chap. 6, ver. 10,) how much should it animate us! since it confirms us in our holy Profession, for so many persons would not expose themselves to such harsh miseries, and all for a lye. Brethren, you that have saved something from this Shipwreck have compassion according to your Ability. Let it be known that the same interest inspires you in your mutually assisting one the other. 4. But Christians, limit not your Charity only to your Brethren, else what do you more than the Turks and Pagans, Do good to all even to your very Enemies, Imitate this Samaritan towards this Jew. These two Nations (as you know) hated one another mortally, and were of different Religions, nevertheless this Samaritan passes all that by, and shows to this poor afflicted man all the good Offices he was capable to perform. Let the very seeing the miserable, suffice you for the finding objects worthy your pity. And for to overcome the utmost Efforts of the hard-heartedness of Mankind; remember what Jesus Christ hath done for you, he stript himself of his glory, he made himself poor and miserable, yea mortal, for the Love he bore to you, will you then refuse to give him some small portion of your Temporal Goods? For inasmuch as you give it unto one of these little Ones, you give it unto him, Matt. 25. 40. The poor are the Treasurers of Jesus Christ, he charges to his own account that which you bestow on them, and he will largely pay you the Interest another Day. If

you advance some part of your Goods to the poor, he will Restore you an hundred fold in the world to come. He will do much more, he hath promised to give you Heaven for a cup of cold Water. Of all the Goods you possess, you shall carry nothing with you, you shall have nothing Remaining to you, but what you have (as it were) Deposited into the hands of our Lord, Then make to your selves Friends of this corruptible Riches, so that when you fail, they may receive you into Everlasting Habitations. Amen. 1689.

To God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the Adorable Trinity, be Honour and Glory, for ever, Amen.



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