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Channel Crossings: Social Relations and Networks of Huguenot Refugees

By Susan Broomhall



Northern France and the Spanish Netherlands in the 16th century, showing refugee escape routes to England.

The French Church at Threadneedle Street was first established after Edward VI granted a charter to persecuted strangers in 1550, making it the oldest of the French Huguenot Churches in England.¹ The community of the French Church was comprised of French-speaking refugees from northern France and the Low Countries following the Genevan Calvinist example. The death of Edward caused the communities to disband, with many returning to the continent, but after the accession of Elizabeth, the

¹ Elsie Johnston (ed.), Actes du Consistoire de l'église française de Threadneedle Street, Londres: vol. 1, 1560–1565 (London: Huguenot Society of London, 1938) (hereafter Actes I), p. xii.

French Church was re-established in 1559. By 1560, the Church began to order itself, electing elders and deacons in July of that year.² However, Elizabeth I never formally confirmed Edward's original charter, leaving the stranger Churches in an ambiguous and nervous position as to their status and permanence in England during this period.

The stranger communities of early modern England have been the focus of sustained attention. Scholars have tended to conclude that individuals identified strongly with the Church, and that the French Church shows evidence of a coherent and disciplined internal community.³ This essay examines the sixteenth-century records of the French Huguenot community of Threadneedle Street, and its particular systems of social discipline and support.

The consistory acts reveal how the Church's governing men dealt with moral discipline, from quarrels and fighting, drunken, immoral, and blasphemous behaviour, marital squabbles and adultery, to irregular betrothals and marriages.⁴ Several sequences of acts from the sixteenth-century consistory of Threadneedle Street remain extant for analysis. These cover the period from June 1560 to September 1561, April 1564 to December 1565, and June 1571 to September 1577.⁵ The acts dealt with a range of disciplinary offences for which members of the community were brought before the elders. They recorded not only offences and punishments, but also frequently the voices of those brought before the consistory and debates among the elders themselves.

The Church provided an important network for strangers to the city, and security for those who had not received, or could not obtain, letters of denization.⁶ The acts suggest that not all members consciously chose the discipline of French Calvinist practices so much as accepted the Church's moral authority as a requirement for the membership that their social and financial status as foreigners and outsiders in London demanded. In April 1561, for example, the acts recorded the views of Anthoine le May and his wife Jeanne Le Febur, from Valenciennes, who asked to join the Church 'because they said that they had been told that they could not work at their trades if they were not members of the Church'.⁷ However, the company raised concerns 'that they had not heard good reports of them, especially the man, and that they could not receive them until one could see that they conducted themselves without reproach'. ⁸ Membership of the congregation required acceptance of its oversight and disciplining of their lives. The Church was not to be viewed simply as a haven for economic refugees. Such cases suggest that individuals realized the importance of the French Church as a conduit for working in London, a significance that appeared at least as important for some as its role as an asylum through which they could practice their faith.

As individuals were investigated before the consistory for illicit relationships and immoral behaviours both within the church community and beyond it, the records provide evidence of social relations, neighbourliness, companionship, love, and sex operated for Huguenot strangers. The acts of the consistory constituted a material and textual repository of emotions for the French Church of Threadneedle Street, one seen very much through the eyes of 'the company'. These men were generally senior men elected from among the congregation who served as elders and deacons, to sit in judgement on the morals and behaviour of the congregation, and occasionally also over its ministers and each other. The company had the power to refuse communion to members of the Church, denying individuals both the act of taking the Eucharist and the fellowship of the congregation, which could leave refugees in limbo about their entitlement to work and live in the city. However, continued misconduct within the community could also suggest the weak authority of the consistory to limit their actions, at least in the short term. It was, for example, common for angry individuals to refuse to admit their faults. By no means did the whole of the Church's congregation willingly accept the company's judgement of their actions.

The long-running case of Denis de Bonnighe in the records appears to attest to the correctness of

² Actes 1, p. xvi.

³ See 'Tracing your poor Huguenot ancestors in London Huguenot records', a guide to seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and nineteenth-century Huguenot poor relief documentation provided by The Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, which can be viewed as a PDF from their 'Family History' page at: http://www.huguenotsociety.org.uk/family.html [accessed 15 September 2014];

⁴ On comparative Huguenot social disciplining in France, see Raymond A. Mentzer, '*Disciplina nervus ecclesiae*: The Calvinist Reform of Morals', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 18, no. 1 (1987), 89–116;

⁵ Actes 1; Anne. M. Oakley (ed.), Actes du Consistoire de l'église française de Threadneedle Street, Londres: vol. 2, 1571–77 (London: Huguenot Society, 1969) (hereafter Actes 2).

⁶ Actes 1, pp. xiv, xv: their legal position was precarious because of the non-confirmation of the charter by Elizabeth.

⁷ Actes 1, p. 38, 5 April 1561:

⁸ Actes 1, p. 38:

the company's decision to patiently unpick the complex elements of the evidence until they achieved a moral truth. In August 1571, the company recorded their dismay and despair that there was little more they could do with Denis de Bonnighe than forbid him publicly from communion, 'for his rebellion and refusal to come to the consistory, called up to four times already'.⁹ He was, it seems, involved in a sexual affair with Chrestienne Marissal that had resulted in her pregnancy. Already the elders had investigated Bonnighe's claims that Marissal and her mother had used abortifacient drugs, suggesting Chrestienne had bought the herbs named 'venquel' to drink and so 'to discharge herself of her fruit'. The consistory summoned Chrestienne to explain. She admitted that she had bought the herb but told the Church's governing men that her mother had recommended it 'because she did not have her usual periods'.¹⁰ Once they had admonished and re-integrated the mother and daughter, their attention turned back to Bonnighe. There was the damning testimony of Bonnighe's friend Jan Ballenghem to resolve. Ballenghem had testified before the consistory that Bonnighe had once observed to him:

"there is the house of the girl who has given me a child", about which he [Ballenghem] said to him "but is it yours?" Denis said to him, "is it possible to have a child just doing it once? I only did it with her once it was at the last festival of Easter after lunch". He [Ballenghem] replied to him, "I don't know because I have never done it".¹¹

Bonnighe still maintained his denials, and accused Ballenghem and other witnesses of lying. Then, in October 1571, he came before the company to announce that he would admit the truth, 'not to have your judgement (for I don't value you at all) but to have the true judgement of God', a statement the company carefully recorded in the acts. He accused Marissal of getting him drunk, and causing him to fall into sin.¹² This was perhaps an attempt by Bonnighe to see an end to the matter but the company were not impressed, especially seeing as 'he had shown no sign of being touched by repentance'.¹³ It was not before several more appearances and the continued insistence of the consistory that, in January 1572, Bonnighe finally apologized to the men whom he had accused of false witness and agreed to recognize his fault publicly the following Sunday.¹⁴ The accounts of the consistory here bear witness to their persistence, which had paid off, and, moreover, to their valid assessment of the appearances of true contrition.

The acts of the consistory allow us to interpret forms of social order and moral authority within the French Church through archives that offer insights into a range of emotions. Their very production spoke to the concerns of the Church's leading men to control individuals whose lives and behaviours sometimes covered both sides of the Channel, but they also provide evidence of their attempts to create forms of control.

Complex Networks and Sociabilities

The acts provide us with a wide range of examples of how the company sought to regulate the congregation, but the consistory was limited to investigating only those behaviours that were called to its attention by others. Here, the Church's leading men relied on an unusually wide network of surveillance and informants that covered both sides of the Channel. All of its members had travelled over the seas at least once to join the French Church in London, a process that often separated husbands and wives, and youths from supervising elders in the conventional ways and left individuals freer (or more at risk) to apply their own moral codes. Such freedom from the direct oversight of family, neighbours, and local communities while in transit may also have caused some of the resistance from parishioners to the consistory: having experienced social and moral freedoms, some were keen to not live under such restrictions again.

The case of Jean de Quief, for example, was a complex one, highlighting a range of challenges for the company in controlling the behaviour of congregational members who traversed the Channel. In December 1571, Quief, who had returned to the Low Countries some five weeks earlier, was brought before the consistory to explain rumours that during his ten-day journey back to London, he had committed debauchery with Jenne, a native of Chambray and the wife of Jean du Bois. Jenne was one of a number in the travelling party, which also included Robert Bloquet and his wife, from Bethune, and Pierre, the 19-

⁹ Actes 2, p. 9, 8 August 1571:

¹⁰ Actes 2, p. 3, 4 July 1571:'

¹¹ Actes 2, p. 20, 21 September 1571:

¹² Actes 2, p. 23, 6 October 1571:

¹³ Actes 2, p. 26, 17 October 1571:

¹⁴ Actes 2, p. 55, 9 January 1572.

year-old son of Henry de la Haye. Quief was questioned as to whether he had asked du Bois to sleep with him and if they had lodged together during the journey. He denied these allegations, explaining that upon their arrival at Sandwich there had been only two beds for all of the party, and that he had slept on a bench. Then Quief admitted that he had removed his stockings and slept at the end of du Bois's bed. The company pressed further, whereupon he confessed that he had had slept once with du Bois at Sandwich, although he claimed that he had not solicited her before or during the crossing and that it had been du Bois who had invited him to sleep in the bed.¹⁵ The company then ordered Jenne herself to appear before the consistory. She declared that Quief had asked her several times over the crossing, leading her to understand that she was not the first he had slept with in such a way.¹⁶ She denied inviting him into the bed and explained that in Sandwich she had wanted to sleep at the foot of the bed herself, while he was in the bed, but that

"he had greatly importuned her, while promising that he wouldn't do anything, and would leave her in peace. She, struck by cold and assured by his promise, got into the bed but had only just gotten in when he jumped on her, saying "if you say anything, they'll put you in prison. You must make them think you are my wife" amongst several other things. "¹⁷

These claims Quief denied. Jenne du Bois swore on the damnation of her soul it was the truth. The consistory decided to send them both to await further evidence from other members of the travelling party.

Within the week, Robert Bloquet attended the consistory. He declared that he had known Quief for five months, since they had set off from Arras together to come to London. Bloquet was aware that Jenne du Bois had a husband in London and declared that he heard from the party's night at Boulogne,

"the bed creaking a lot, about which he was surprised, and left his bed with his dagger in his hand, not wanting to allow any of that sort of mischief in his company but his wife stopped him, praying him not to intervene or say anything."

He also said that the pair had slept together at Sandwich and 'he had never heard the woman say a word; he did not perceive that du Bois's wife made any sign of resistance'.¹⁸ This was damning evidence indeed. Cateline Midy, Bloquet's wife, declared that for the first few days of the travel, Quief and du Bois had slept in a room with others, or apart in separate chambers. Indeed, she remembered that their hostess at Hedin who had 'perceived the way of things between Jean de Quief and the said Jenne ... said that she would allow no ribaldry in her house'. By the time they reached Boulogne, though, they had slept together 'as licitly as a man does with his wife'.¹⁹ Midy perceived no resistance from Jenne, indeed 'she showed her contentment with it and it seemed, to look at her, that she liked it very well indeed'.²⁰ From this kettle of fish the company admonished the Bloquets for not having prevented the immoral behaviour. The couple readily admitted their faults and promised 'to conduct themselves more Christianly in future'.²¹ As for Jean de Quief, the company reproached his failings, especially as a man in a public position offering assistance to those seeking to cross the sea, who placed themselves and their loved ones in his trust.²² By the end of the month, both Quief and du Bois admitted their faults and end.²³

However, on 1 January 1572, one Anthoine Troille, from the French community of Norwich, appeared to declare that he had heard from Loy Malpau of Arras that Quief had earlier slept with a 'slut at the Blan Coulon lodging house in Arras', and that the brothers Robert and Rollant Laiguier and Huchon Camu had said that 'Quief had been found debauching by a sergeant and been taken prisoner'. Troille also claimed that at Hedin, Quief had slept with a prostitute named Mariette and that at Sandwich he had borrowed money from both Meurisse de Horne and Guillaume Hennere, neither of whom he had paid back.²⁴ Troille later complained that Quief and another man, Jean de la Fosse, had attacked him in the street as he left the consistory, insulting and punching him.²⁵ De la Fosse later confessed that he had been upset

²⁵ Actes 2, p. 51.

¹⁵ Actes 2, p. 41, 12 December 1571.

¹⁶ Actes 2, p. 43, 13 December 1571.

¹⁷ Actes 2, p. 44, [13 December 1571]:

¹⁸ Actes 2, p. 45, 18 December 1571: ¹⁹ Actes 2, p. 46:

²⁰ Actes 2, p. 46...

²¹ Actes 2, p. 46:

²² Actes 2, p. 46.

²³ Actes 2, p. 50:

²⁴ Actes 2, p. 51, 2 January 1572:

that Troille called his wife a slut 'even in this country', at which point the consistory decided they would write to the Church in Norwich to find out the truth of all these allegations.²⁶ Troille, de la Fosse claimed, had made these allegations in a household in Arras and he produced Jeanne lHomme, the wife of Hubert Lenglé, in whose house the statement had been made, to support his evidence. He claimed that Troille had repeated the allegations on his journey from Norwich to London, where he was to testify about his knowledge of Quief's behaviour on the continent.²⁷ This case highlighted how difficult it was for the Church's leading men to control behaviours that took place in multiple locations, but also that regulation and discipline could and did occur after the event. The rumours and actions of Quief, Troille, and de la Fosse demonstrate the extensive links among French communities in London, Norwich, and Sandwich through which the refugee travellers were commuting on their arrival in England, between and in which they exchanged news from across the sea. Moving to England did not signal the end of past sociabilities, identities, and behaviours from the continent. Rather, they had a tendency to follow and catch up with newcomers and were an important part of the Church's vetting process for applicants to the congregation.

More common, though, was the consistory's participation in adjudicating on marriages, irregular cohabitation, or multiple betrothals of couples whose parishes of origin were far away. The company held suspicions that a number of couples might not have been formally married and required them to present evidence that a formal ceremony had indeed occurred. The complexities of lives lived across the Channel were apparent in cases such as that of Robert Tronquet, which came before the consistory in October 1560. Tronquet, originally from Arras but then living at Westminster, had married Jennette Du Verlin around 1532, and they had lived together for several years. After 'several debaucheries' Tronquet had left his wife for Boulogne, and afterwards travelled to England where he married another woman with whom lived for some 13 years. He had since left this wife and, recognizing 'that he had greatly failed', crossed the sea to find his first wife, telling her he had returned from life in Scotland and that he wished to resume their marriage. He lived with Du Verlin a bare fortnight before returning to London, where he submitted himself to the punishment of the company for his behaviour.²⁸

The case of Andrien du Pont, which came before the consistory in November 1571, illustrates some of the ways parishioners interpreted their marital circumstances. Du Pont asked the company to admit himself and his wife to communion in the Church. He provided a notarized statement of witnesses in Tournay to the fact that, as of August 1571, a woman named Joesne from Montz, whose real name was Francoise Hels, and who was married to du Pont, now lived with Rubert Moriel, with whom she had two children. Du Pont had left his wife in Antwerp 'in good friendship', but when he returned some months later he found that they could no longer get on with one another and that she had entered into another relationship. Du Pont and Hels had been married for some 13 years and had four children together, of whom only one survived and lived with du Pont's uncle. Du Pont had brought to the consistory another woman from Edam, whom he had since married, wishing now to participate in communion of the French Church. He had a good report from his local elder, and evidently considered his previous marriage null and void. The company agreed to his request and accepted the couple into the Church, concluding 'as to his marriage we will not interfere and leave this affair to those who have the authority'.²⁹

These cases indicate the breadth of control that the consistory tried to exert over its congregation and its reliance on the words of others to discipline illicit behaviour. Parishioners were often impatient to form partnerships and circumvented Church authority by simply living together, claiming marriages abroad in ceremonies that were difficult to verify, or using the English parish churches to marry, and only making apologies for these facts afterwards. Women were perhaps under particular pressures from men in the community to marry and re-marry, and the Church leaders encouraged husbands to bring out their wives and children quickly in order to support them but perhaps also to regulate male sexual behaviour.

Conclusions

The evidence of the sixteenth-century consistory acts suggests that for the leading men of the French Church at Threadneedle Street, most of whom were only temporarily in positions of authority as elected elders and

²⁶ Actes 2, p. 58, 16 January 1572:'

²⁷ Actes 2, p. 61, 6 February 1572.

²⁸ Actes 1, p. 12, 15 October 1560.

²⁹ Actes 2, pp. 32, 33, 7 November 1571

deacons, governance could be not only a source of power but also deep anxiety and frustration. It required constant vigilance, extensive use of communication networks across England and the continent, and tremendous patience to press individuals, sometimes over months and even years, until the full extent of illicit acts were revealed.

In the meantime, they could expect disruptive emotional behaviours, expressed as lies and verbal abuse within the consistory and even threats and insults to their families from hostile female and male parishioners outside it, for the unwanted attention these men shed on their lives. They also faced criticism from the London authorities for any misdemeanours within the community that became the subject of attention among the English, who had the power to impose additional restrictions on their lives and ultimately to refuse to support the refugees in England if they were perceived as a disruptive presence.

At the same time, individuals met the company's gaze on their behaviours with a wide range of affective responses that did not suggest every member of the congregation wholeheartedly accepted the agenda of moral discipline that was part and parcel of Calvinist confessional practices. Moreover, the exceptional mobility of the congregation led to increased opportunities for misdemeanours. Some men whose lives were lived between England and the continent appeared in particular to exploit their unique lifestyle to access certain sexual freedoms, although the evidence of the acts demonstrates that they were rarely as unobserved as they might have hoped. When examined, many women and men did comply quickly with quiet admissions and contrition, but others resisted for months before accepting the power of the Church's leading men to control their words, sexual partners, drinking habits, family life, neighbourly relations, and other behaviours in and out of their homes, the parish, and even the country. Without membership to a stranger Church, most of the refugees could not operate in the city, officially at least. What the acts demonstrate is that governing the morals of the French Church during its early years of establishment did not begin and end at the parish boundaries of Threadneedle Street, but reached back through time and over the sea to bring a far wider group of individuals into the emotional life of this Protestant community.

(Susan Broomhall is the Director, Centre for Medieval and Early Modern Studies, UWA)

'Renault' to 'Renaud':

How a humble Huguenot family from La Beauce ended up in the Uckermark, Germany

By Neil Renaud

n the 4th December 1685, just six weeks after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Claude Renault and his wife Judith Louise Callu (my 7th great grandparents), accompanied by their three children, abjured – renounced their Protestant faith and converted to Catholicism. This occurred at the 12th century Catholic parish church of St Germain at Sougy, a small town north west of Orléans, France. Why did they do this, and how did it happen that, within the next fifteen years, they came to live in the Uckermark region of Brandenburg-Prussia (Germany), as French Protestants? I don't have all the answers, but this is what I have found out.

My Renaud ancestors, as far back as can be traced, came from north-central France. The area from which they originated was, in the 17th century, known as La Beauce, in the northern part of the old French province of Orléanais. The earliest Renauds were French Protestants, in what was a predominantly Catholic nation. Following the teachings of John Calvin, the protestant religion grew in the La Beauce area from about the 1530s, with protestant *temples* being established in many towns and villages. By the end of the 1550s the reform was very significantly established there, though it never became a noted Protestant/Huguenot stronghold. It is from the surviving records of those churches, held in current French departmental archives and largely available online, that much of the following information is obtained. Conflict surrounding their religion was certainly responsible for my ancestors eventually leaving France.

The earliest of my direct Renaud ancestors who can be identified are Azor Renault and his wife Anne Desfontaines. They are listed as the parents of Isaac Renault at his marriage to Madeleine Godard on 27th

October 1602 at Châteaudun. From other evidence (mainly the Couvret family tree on Geneanet), we can assume a number of things about Azor, including that he and Anne were Protestants. Isaac Renault, who married Madeleine Godard, was born in about 1578. He is later described as a *"laboureur"* living in Sancheville. A *"laboureur"* in early French times was a well-off peasant who owned a ploughing train with at least two oxen, and employed a plough farmhand to drive it. Usually he owned his land.



An early 20th century postcard of Bazoches-en-Dunois

Copied from: Cercle de recherches généalogiques du Perche-Gouët website (<u>http://www.perche-gouet.net/histoire/photos.php?rue=12264</u>

Isaac and Madeleine had six known children, the fourth of whom was Abraham Renault who was born in about 1612 at Sancheville, and baptised probably at a small village called Bazoches-en-Dunois. On 2nd April 1634, at Artenay, he married Marie Baudoin. They had at least two children, Isaac Renault (born about 1643) and Claude Renault (born in 1647 at, or in the vicinity of, Bazoches-en-Dunois). There may have been other children, as it is hard to imagine the first child (Isaac) being born nine years after the marriage. Later German records for the Renault/Renaud family tend to identify this Bazoches-en-Dunois as the family's French place of origin.

We first meet Claude Renault in the records on 24th January 1672 (aged about 24), where he is the godfather at a baptism at Bazoches-en-Dunois. Interestingly, the godmother is the 17-year-old Judith Louise Callu (whom Claude Renault married less than a year later – that seems quite romantic!). We can see Claude's not very tidy signature on the entry:

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. However on 13th March 1672, when Claude is the godfather at the baptism of his niece Judith Renault, he declared *"ne savoir signer"*. We do have his signature on several later occasions, for example at his own marriage, so I'm not sure if he could read and write. I suspect he couldn't, but could sign his name.

Where did Claude live and what did he do? Several references indicate that he lived at Bazoches-en-Dunois and he is twice described as a *"laboureur"*.

On 2nd January 1673 Claude Renault (aged 25) married Judith Louise Callu (aged 18), under unusual (and romantic?) circumstances. Judith had been born in 1654 at, or in the vicinity of, Bazochesen-Dunois, daughter of Etienne Callu and Elisabeth Godefroy. Claude's father Abraham had died before 1673, and Judith's mother Elisabeth died on 10th October 1671. So Claude's widowed mother Marie Baudoin and Judith's widowed father Etienne Callu decided to marry – yes, on the same day as the marriage of Claude and Judith, and presumably as part of the same ceremony, as all of this is recorded in the one entry in the church records of Bazoches-en-Dunois. Claude's father-in law was also his step-father, and Judith's mother-in-law was also her step-mother! I haven't come across this situation before!

Claude and Judith ultimately had eight children that we know of: Claude (jnr) was born on 11th October 1673, and Madeleine was baptised on 5th April 1676, both at Bazoches-en-Dunois. However, the next recorded events are the burial of young Claude (aged three) on 5th October 1677 at Marchenoir, closely followed by the burial of Madeleine (aged one) on 29th November 1677, also at Marchenoir. Now Marchenoir is about 25 kilometres south-west of Bazoches-en-Dunois, so this indicates that, between April 1676 and October 1677, the family moved. This is confirmed by those two burial records, which specify their residence as Le Ramage, a hamlet near Saint-Léonard-en-Beauce (a kilometre west of Marchenoir), "alongside the Wood", which I think today would be the Forest ("*Forêt domaniale*") of Citeaux.

Why did the family move? There is a possible reason. The minister at Bazoches-en-Dunois was, since 1671, Jérémie Perrot. Author Henry Lehr says that Perrot's ministry there does not seem to have been "zealous", causing the number of baptisms to decline after a few years. This situation was investigated by the local Synod in 1679. In 1682 Perrot "abjured", renouncing his protestant faith and becoming Catholic. Lehr describes this as abandoning the church in its hour of danger, and ending, in effect, public worship at Bazoches-en-Dunois. Perrot's unpopularity may have caused the Renault family, and others, to leave.

On 27th March 1678 another child of Claude and Judith, Abraham, was baptised at Marchenoir. There is no further mention of this Abraham, so I don't know if he subsequently went with the family to Germany. The next child born was Philippe (my direct ancestor) on 4th March 1683 at Saint-Léonard-en-Beauce, who was baptised at Marchenoir. At this point, we return to a bit of general history, because trouble for the family, as for all French Huguenot families, was brewing.

Although the Protestant religion had been legal and tolerated since 1598 (by the Edict of Nantes), persecution was growing. In 1681, when there were about 730,000 Huguenots living in France, a policy of the French government called the *"dragonnades"* was introduced, to intimidate or terrorise Huguenot families into converting to Catholicism. This involved billeting dragoons or soldiers in Protestant households, with implied permission to abuse/harass/intimidate the family members until they converted, or "abjured". Abjuration was the process of renouncing the protestant faith, admitting the "error" of your ways, and converting to Catholicism, though for many who did this, it later worked in a reverse process after they had left France.

The "*dragonnades*" spread across France, reaching the La Beauce region by October/November 1685. By the time of the Revocation (October 1685) half the Protestants of Marchenoir abjured in one step, through fear of the "*dragonnades*". At Saint-Léonard-en-Beauce, near Marchenoir, there were 101 conversions on 19th November 1685. The final step in all of this was the revocation (withdrawal) of the privileges granted by the Edict of Nantes, via the Edict of Fontainebleau on 22nd October 1685. Among other things, this Edict: forbade Protestant worship; ordered the destruction of all Reformed churches; forbade Protestant schools; and forbade Huguenots to leave France. The "*religion réformée*" was now termed "*religion prétendue réformée*" ("so-called" or "alleged" reformed religion) by the authorities.

How did all of this affect the Renault family? Firstly, it saw the end of their church at Marchenoir. Jean Barbin, minister since 1668, may have ended his ministry on 3rd June 1685, though he continued to sign church register entries up to September. A note in the church register on 5th July 1685 seems to imply that the register was now maintained by the Catholic Church. The last mention of the Renault family is on 20th August 1685, where Judith Renault (who still couldn't sign her name) is godmother at a baptism. The last

entry in the Marchenoir records is dated 2nd September 1685. In October 1685, the church was demolished, as described in one source: "In the month of October of the same year [1685] the lieutenant-general civil and the king's attorney, from the bailiff's office and the head office of the court of justice of Blois, came to Marchenoir, and had carried out, under their eyes, the demolition of the temple of the Protestants, in execution of the Edict supporting the revocation of the Edict of Nantes" (my translation).

What could Claude and Judith do now? Like many others, they abjured. This was done on 4th December 1685 at the Catholic parish church of St Germain at Sougy. To what extent this was voluntary or under compulsion we don't know, but as they later left France and settled in a remote part of Brandenburg-Prussia, we can be fairly sure that their abjurations were unwilling. Claude and Judith's abjurations closely followed those of their parents, Etienne Callu (on 14th November 1685) and Marie Baudoin (19th November 1685). Judith's brother-in-law Raphael Godefroy abjured on 28th January 1686, at Terminiers, but interestingly his wife Elisabeth Callu refused to, and when she was buried on 3rd February 1704, it was in her garden, "because she wished to die in the religion of Calvin and without receiving the sacraments of the Roman church". Also abjuring on 28th January 1686 at Terminiers was Isaac Renault, Claude's cousin.

At their abjurations, Claude and Judith are described as having three children. Two of these can be identified as the previously mentioned Abraham and Philippe, but who is the third? Later German records indicate that they had a son Jaques, born in about 1686, whose place of origin is given as Sougy, La Beauce. He must be the third child. But we have no birth or baptismal record for him, either at Marchenoir or at Sougy, so I am thinking that he may have been born between September 1685 (when the Marchenoir records ceased) and December 1685 (when Claude and Judith abjured). He may have been baptised somewhere else or, due to special circumstances, not at all.

For the next 4¹/₂ years, at least, Claude and Judith lived as part of the parish of St Germain at Sougy, though I don't know where their actual residence was. Three more children were born there: Marie (baptised 9th December 1686 at Sougy), Claude (baptised 13th May 1689 at Sougy, but buried 20th May 1689 at Sougy) and Etienne (baptised 2nd May 1690 at Sougy). Unfortunately, this is the last record we have for Claude, Judith and family in France. At some point afterwards they, like about 200,000 other French Huguenots, decided to leave, and to resume their protestant faith in another country. The next record we have for them is just over <u>twenty</u> years later, when, on 17th June 1710, at Angermünde (or more correctly, at that time, New Angermünde) in Prussia, Claude and Judith's 27-year-old son Philippe married Marie Malingreau(x).

So how did they end up there, and when, how and why did Claude and Judith Renault and their family leave France? There are no definite answers, so we need to look at what was likely, from the evidence. They were in France on 2nd May 1690, and in Prussia on 17th June 1710. However, in the parish records for Sougy, in April 1697, there is a list which seems to be the names of the members of this church. Claude and family are <u>not</u> on this list, so we may assume that they had either left the parish, or left France, before then. Additionally, the Bibliothèque Wallonne Card Indexes show a marriage in Berlin, Brandenburg-Prussia, on 10th April 1692, for Isaac Renaud, son of the deceased Isaac and Madeleine Baudouin. This Isaac is Claude's cousin, mentioned earlier, who abjured on 28th January 1686 at Terminiers. So we have a family presence in Germany by April 1692. Additionally Maurice Boucher lists a Susanne Renaud from Bazoches-en-Dunois as marrying Pierre Godefroy in London on 27th November 1692. This Susanne cannot be identified, but may possibly be a sister of our Claude Renault.

By what route would the family have travelled to Germany (or more precisely, to the Uckermark region of Brandenburg-Prussia)? In general terms, there were three possible routes:

- 1. They could have headed roughly north-east to the French border at Sedan or Metz, then to the Rhine River, and then found their way by boat to either Frankfurt on the Main, or Cologne, where the agents of the Elector of Brandenburg would furnish them with the means to proceed either down the Rhine to Clèves and Mark, or further north-east into the Elector's territories (route 2 on the map), or
- 2. They could have headed north to the Dutch Republic (United Netherlands/United Provinces). There were two different routes from the Paris area: (i) Senlis to Amiens to Arras to Lille to Roubaix to

Courtrai, then across Flanders to Breda and s'Hertogenbosch, then on to Amsterdam; (ii) Senlis to Saint-Quentin to Le Quesnoy to Valenciennes to Mons, then across Brabant to Breda and s'Hertogenbosch, then on to Amsterdam. From there they would be provided, by the agents of the Elector of Brandenburg, with free shipping to Hamburg, and from there, with the assistance of the Elector's resident, they would go to the various intended destinations in Brandenburg-Prussia (route 1 on the map), <u>or</u>

3. They could have headed roughly south-east to the Swiss border and travelled the established route through Switzerland, proceeding either to the Dutch Republic (and from there to the Uckermark) or more directly from Switzerland to the Uckermark. While this is the most circuitous of the three routes, it actually has the best evidence, based on the mention of other Renaults from Marchenoir receiving assistance along this route (route 3 on the map).



Copied from: The German Huguenot Museum in Bad Karlshafen website (<u>http://www.huguenot-museum-germany.com/huguenots/map-europe.pdf</u>), with my additions

I feel that whichever route was taken, they are likely to have gone through the Dutch Republic at some stage, based on the fact that a number of other people from the Bazoches-en-Dunois and Marchenoir areas ended up in, or travelling through, the Dutch Republic at about this time or earlier. There is detailed evidence for this which will not be given here. I even feel it is possible that Claude Renault and family intended to settle in the Dutch Republic, but decided to move on further. The Bibliothèque Wallonne Card Indexes have many entries from German records for direct members of Claude and Judith Renault's family, after their arrival in Germany. While none of these indicate any prior connection with the Dutch

Republic, I wonder whether it possibly indicates some prior connection of the family with the Walloon church there.

Why did they leave France? Apart from the general desire to "flee persecution" we don't know. There was probably some encouragement and inspiration from other family members and neighbours who left (as early as 1687, it would seem). As to why they went to Brandenburg-Prussia (from 1701 the Kingdom of Prussia), the policy of encouragement offered by Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, would be highly significant. Without attempting to discuss this in depth here, the Elector, on 29th October 1685, issued the Edict of Potsdam, inviting French Huguenot refugees to settle in his domains, and offering them concessions and inducements to do so. He probably had a combination of religious, political and economic reasons for this (for example, repopulating devastated villages following the Thirty Years' War – 1618-1648). Facilities were also set up to assist the Huguenots in reaching their destinations. Much has been written on the economic impact of all of this on both France and Brandenburg-Prussia. It is estimated that about 43,000 Huguenots went to the German territories, of whom about 16,000-20,000 came to Brandenburg-Prussia, which had a population of about 1.5 million at that time. About 2,000-3,000 settled in the Uckermark (north of Berlin). It is there, at Angermünde, in 1710, that we come across the first record of Claude and Judith's family outside France.

When and where did Claude and family arrive in the Uckermark? I have one as yet unconfirmed clue. A book by Eduard Muret, written in 1885, describes the founding of a Huguenot settlement in Angermünde in 1687. From the early church books, which began in 1691, the names of the early settlers have been extracted, one of whom is "Renaud, aus Bascos bei Orleans" (Renaud, from Bascos at/near Orleans). Now Bascos is almost certainly Bazoches (which is frequently misspelt in German records), and I think it highly likely that this is Claude Renault. If that's the case, he may have arrived in or soon after 1691. A check of those church books should clarify this one way or the other. A second clue comes from Dr Dierk Loyal of the German Huguenot Society, who did some research for me. He has stated that Claude Renault "ging nach Prenzlau, Ackerbauer" (went to Prenzlau, cultivator). I have asked for a source and date for this statement, without an answer yet. A move from Angermünde to Prenzlau does fit later chronology. One other mystery remains. We have, in the German records, only three dates of death for the family: Judith died on 31st October 1720 at Berlin, as a widow; Jaques died on 28th May 1736 at Berlin; and Philippe died on 21st November 1747 at Prenzlau. So what happened to Claude, and (if they went to Germany) the children Abraham, Marie and Etienne? In short we don't know. Claude died before 1720 (and possibly after 1714, in Berlin), but we have no French or German record of his death. There is no further mention of the children, but there are several Abraham Renaults in the Bibliothèque Wallonne records in the Dutch Republic, any one of whom just might be Claude and Judith's son.

For the next 180 years the descendants of Claude and Judith Renault lived in the Uckermark/Berlin region as part of the French Huguenot community, but that is another story for another occasion. Records in the various French Reformed Church books have enabled a full family tree to be constructed. In 1883 my 2nd great grandparents Abraham and Wilhelmine Renaud left the little Uckermark village of Woddow to come with their six children to Australia, opening up a new chapter in the family story – again, another story for another occasion.

Researching Poitou By Roger Juchau

In September 2015 I spent time in Poitou tracing family origins and investigating conditions which prevailed when my forebear, Charles Juchault, left for England around 1710. The province of Poitou was divided at the time of the French Revolution into three *départements*: Vendée, Deux-Sèvres & Vienne. Previously these had been known as Bas-Poitou, Moyen Poitou and Haut Poitou (Lower Poitou, Middle Poitou & Upper Poitou).

Fortunately there are a range of resources in Poitou which are available to assist family research and exploring regional histories, especially during the reign of Louis XIV. Three important archives exist in Poitou which contain Protestant records, including baptisms, marriages, emigration details as well as abjuration lists. They are:

- 1) The department archives for Deux-Sèvres at 26 Rue de la Blauderie, 79000, Niort
- 2) The Protestant museum at Bois-Tiffrais Monsireigne, in Vendée
- 3) The Protestant museum at La Couarde in Deux-Sèvres

All have websites and need to be checked for services and opening times. They have staff who can assist research, and a few speak English.

A critical resource in the Niort archive is a hand-written alphabetical dictionary of Protestant family names of Poitou, which gives other details such as marriages and emigration destinations. The work was done by Pastor Jean Rivièrre (1904-1992) who painstakingly compiled the dictionary from years of research and checking. His 4-volume work is entitled, *Dictionnaire Alphabetique des*

Familles Protestantes en Poitou. In this work I was able to find details of

Charles Juchault, including the fact that he was a church elder (*ancien*) in his home village of La Mothe St Heray.



The town of Pouzauges in Vienne, which was the site of a secret church of the Desert in the 18^{th} century.

Apart from these sources there are six books which have excellent coverage of life and events in Poitou during the reign of Louis XIV. They are in French.

Benoist, Paysans du Sud-Deux Sèvres (Geste)

Marcade, Les Protestants de la Vienne (Geste)

Marcade, Les Protestants de Vendée (CVRH)

Marcade, Protestants Poitevins de la Révocation à la Révolution (Geste) Richard, La Vie Quotidienne des Protestants Français sous l'Ancien Regime (Hachette) Rivierre, La Vie des Protestants du Poitou après la Révocation (Phénix)

The Poitou area is dotted with important sites where Protestants experienced troubles, and there are guides to tracks and walks to visit important landmark sites. The towns of Niort, Exoudun, Melle and Celle sur Belle have great historic features. On the coast to the south is the wonderful city of La Rochelle. Department regional capitals Niort, Poitiers and La Roche- sur-Yon are worth a visit.

Researching family records in France can be a hit and miss affair. Frustratingly local town hall records can be unhelpful in tracing family and property links. To assist research, I recommend personal visits to the archive of the department relevant to family origins.

(Editor's note: This article complements Roger Juchau's talk, 'Seeking Light after Darkness – Juchau Exiles', which he gave to the society in Sydney on 6^{th} August.

Readers interested in Huguenots in Poitou could refer to previous articles on that area, particularly Roger Juchau's:

'Finding French Family Roots – The Search for Louis Juchault in Poitou' in Huguenot Times #23, May 2014; & 'Abjurations in Poitou – The case of the Village of Jazeneuil' in Huguenot Times # 24, November 2014;

and Terri Dittman's article on Vendée, 'My visit to the land of my Huguenot ancestors' in Huguenot Times #25, May 2015.)

See also the article below on our **website**, for information on Poitou archives départementales, (Deux-Sèvres & Vendée).

Book Review

CAZALY: The Legend, by Robert Allen, published by Slattery Media Group, 2017

Much may have been written already about Roy Cazaly, one of Australia's most famous sportsmen, but I don't think a fulllength biography had ever been produced before. The author, Robert Allen, is eminently well qualified to do so, since he had approached the task objectively, and with an impressive knowledge of the history of AFL and an obvious love of the sport. He records Roy's lengthy career both as a player and a coach, in Victoria and Tasmania, and impressive appendices at the back of the book catalogue his extraordinary contribution in the sheer number of games he played and the successes of the teams he represented and coached.

But he does far more than that, for he shows the diversity of Roy Cazaly as a man: player, coach, horsetrainer, pioneer physiotherapist and loyal family man, who seems to have impressed all who knew him by his honesty, principled morality and ability to work hard.

The author is honest about the problems Roy faced during his life, and his failures as well as triumphs, so this is no sycophantic hymn of praise for a hero, but a frank appraisal of a man who never enjoyed publicity or adoration. The book deals adequately with the Huguenot origins of the



Cazaly family, their life in the East End of London and in the goldfields of Ballarat. After reading it one is left with a feeling that here is a man one would have liked to have known – a man who always stood up for his principles. As journalist Hec De Lacy said of him, "Philosopher, fighter, family man, healer. He's the man you like to call a friend."

Huguenot Snippets



Members of the group at the top of Mont Orgueil castle

Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme en Normandie: At the beginning of June this year two members of our society, Robert Nash & Wendy Bennet, had the pleasure of liaising with members of this French society of Protestant historians and genealogists from Normandy on a weekend trip to Jersey. Organised by the able (and bilingual !) Genevieve Cornevin-Ferrari, we explored the island and enjoyed its history and landscape. Both of the 'Anglophones' (English-speakers) were made thoroughly welcome, and had a great time at the castle of Mont Orgueil, St Saviours & St Brelades churches and the gardens of Saumarez manor. It was a

particular pleasure to renew our acquaintance with Monsieur Robert Malet, whose lovely garden at Varengeville we toured in 2006. A big thank you to Genevieve for organising this excellent trip.

Congress 2018 Between 9th-12th March 2018 the Society of Australian Genealogists will host the 15th Australasian Congress on Genealogy & Heraldry at the International Convention Centre in Darling Harbout, Sydney. Our Secretary, Robert Nash, will be talking on Huguenot research, and our society will have a stall, giving out information and selling merchandise. Do come along ! Information is on the website www.congress2018.org.au or via email at info@congress2018.org.au

International Reunion of Huguenot Descendants: This tri-annual event is next due to take place between 17th & 23rd September 2018, based at Reims in north –eastern France. Visits will be made to Wassy, Sedan, Lemé, Thiérache and Château-Thierry, amongst other places. The reunions are always a wonderful experience and we thoroughly recommend them to our members. We will publish further details as they become available. email <u>contact@huguenot.fr</u>

French Protestant Church Services in Sydney: This are held the second Sunday of every month at the Baptist church in Church St Newtown. Francophones and Francophiles are all welcome ! For more information contact the pastor, Peter Hynes, at <u>Peter.Hynes@student.moore.edu.au</u>

& Society News &

Membership Renewal: The next mailout will include renewal forms for 2018. Will members **please** renew promptly, as this makes the work of the Membership Secretary much easier. Membership will remain at \$30 per annum, which is excellent value. This mailout will be posted only to those members who do **not** have email addresses. Members with email addresses, and who cannot attend a meeting, will receive this paperwork via email. This will save the society an enormous amount of postage.

Huguenot Times: this will continue to be posted to members who have so requested, and only emailed to members who have indicated they are happy with that method. However, we are always keen to save the society some money, so if you think you would like to receive Huguenot Times via email (which means of course you can get it in full colour) please let us know.

Huguenot Historical Conference: As we go to press the preparations are well underway for our society's next major effort, our conference in Sydney, 'The Huguenots: French Reformers, their Faith and Diaspora' which will be held on Saturday 4th November at '99 on York', York St, Sydney, between 10 & 6pm. This will be followed by a dinner in the evening. The keynote speaker will be our Patron, Dr. Robin Gwynn, and other distinguished speakers will include Dr Jo-Anne Pemberton from UNSW, Prof. Stuart Piggin from Macquarie Uni., & the Rev. Dr David Hohne from Moore College. This promises to be an excellent historical opportunity for anyone interested in Huguenot history, and we urge our members to register to attend. For those who cannot attend, the papers will probably be published afterwards.



Huguenot Archives Research Day: The next research day will be on Wednesday 6th December at the Secretary's house, 74 Prospect St, Erskineville, starting at 2pm. If you would like to use this opportunity to use the society's extensive Huguenot resources please let Robert Nash know on 02 9519 6290 or email <u>ozhug@optushome.com.au</u> Members who cannot make this date are always welcome to contact Pobert Nash to arrange

Members who cannot make this date are always welcome to contact Robert Nash to arrange an alternative.

Welcome New Members ! A warm welcome to the following new members who have joined since November 2016. You will find some of their research interest after their names:



Mr Stanley Adams (De Dour) Mrs Carolyn Badcock (Bigoe, Espinasse) Mr Matthew Bromhead (Rousseau, Mesnard, Pienaar) Mr Alan Brown & Mrs Margaret Brown (Bellett) Mrs Julie Bruhl (Hacker, Lucas) Ms Angela Dundon (De Dour) Mr Bobby Gambrill (Gambrielle, Jourdan) Ms Catherine Govey (Luly, Reboul) Ms Caroline Haigh (Gourbon) Ms Elaine Hartman (Hugoe, Kilner, Langford) Ms Peta Hay (Ruffy) Mr Trevor Hislop Mrs Lesley Huxley (Calas, Mousset, Profichet) Ms Jennifer Lardner (Bottom, Guion, Larcher) Dr John Lea (Pittar) Mrs Marie Pinter (De Baun) Mrs Maureen Salerno (Grulellier, Guiton, Bilbau, Forgerit, Darton) Ms Belinda Stinson & Mr Tony Stinson (Meurant) Mr Jon Tually (Meurant) Ms Marylynne Whittaker (Courchois, Cushway)

Society Website: Members-Only section. With the kind assistance of a young French lady from Sydney University, Ms Chloé Jambon, we have added more useful material, including a guide for English-



speakers on how to use French language websites, such as the 'Archives Départementales'. The section now has information on the following <u>departements</u>: Deux-Sèvres (Moyen Poitou), Vendée (Bas Poitou), Gard (Languedoc), Ardèche (Vivarais), Aisne (Picardy) and Ariège (Foix). The names in brackets refer to the old provinces of France.

Also remember that Marcia Watson on Perth has included some excellent information on how to use the *Archives Départementales* of Charente Maritime in back issues of our e-newsletter, Hugo. No 1 (Aug 2012) had information on the registers of La Rochelle, and No.2 (February 2013) on the registers of La Tremblade. If you need to access these, just email Robert Nash

on ozhug@optushome.com.au.

Password: Remember that we will be adding a new password for the Members-Only section on 1st January 2018. If you cannot attend a meeting, just email the Secretary on <u>ozhug@optushome.com.au</u> or the Membership Secretary on <u>dennisddyer@bigpond.com</u> and they can tell you what it is.

NSW:

The AGM on 6th May passed off successfully, and was followed by our President talking to us about 'Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain'. After that we had our annual Huguenot Heritage church service at St Swithuns, Pymble on Sunday 18th June, which included an address by the Dean of Sydney, the Very Rev. Kanishka Raffel. This is available on our website. At our August meeting on 5th of that month Prof. Roger Juchau spoke on 'Seeking Light after Darkness' and the Huguenot experience in the province of Poitou. Our Spring lunch was held on Thursday 12th October in Mount Wilson, at the house of John and Judith Teulon. Many thanks to them for being willing to host this enjoyable and important social event. Finally (as mentioned above) on Saturday 4th November we will have our Reformation Conference and Dinner, to mark the 500th anniversary of the Reformation. Preparations for this are well underway (masterminded by our Vice-President, Dr Geoff Huard) and it promises to be an event worthy of this milestone.

Queensland:

On Sunday July 30th Robert Nash gave a talk on 'Silkweavers of Spitalfields.' This topic had been covered before, in 2009, but it was a long time ago and it still proved of great interest of the Qld members,

including many whose Huguenot ancestry goes back to the East End of London. The next meeting will be held at Toowong Library on Sunday 26th November, when Rev. Cannon Bruce Maughan will speak on 'The Background & Context of the Edict of Nantes'. We are most grateful to Kevin Haley, the new Qld State Secretary, and the other committee members (Dawn Montgomery and Val Hayward) for their hard work.

Victoria:

Victorian members had a special treat on 26th August when a visiting Huguenot expert, Prof. Bertrand Van Ruymbeke of the Université de Paris, spoke on '*Rêves d'Amerique*: How Huguenot Refugees Imagined and Experienced America." This event was thoroughly enjoyable and also provided the Professor with an opportunity to meet some Australian Huguenot descendants. On Friday 27th October 2017 we had our annual lunch at the Malvernvale Hotel, and the following day the postponed 2017 AGM was held and Robert Nash addressed us on the topic of 'Silkweavers of Spitalfields'. As stated above, this topic has been addressed before, but it was a long time ago, and will no doubt be of interest to many members. This meeting was held in the GSV's new premises at Level 6, 85 Queen St, Melbourne. Many thanks to Sue a'Beckett and the other committee members for their hard work.

During the past few months we have been informed of the deaths of the following members. We would like to convey our sympathy and condolences to their families and friends: Mr Jim Bell (Victoria), Mrs Elizabeth Sharpe-Paul (Victoria), Mr Barry Perdriau (NSW) & Mr Brian Saint (NSW, and a long-time Committee Member)

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AUSTRALIA Inc.

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