

God Bless the Good Ship *China*

by

Harry Booyens

On 20 March 1688 a Dutch ship of the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* set sail from Goeree in *Suid Holland*. On board were a number of passengers in three groups. The first group consisted of eight young Dutch orphan girls on their way to the southern tip of Africa where they were destined to become the wives of anxious young men. The second group consisted of just two passengers. There was nothing out of the ordinary about them. They were merely regular passengers as one might find on any VOC ship of the time. Our story is about the third group of 28 individuals. This event at once marked for them the end of an epic flight from oppression and the beginning of an even greater journey that some would not survive.

Goeree – Saturday, 20 March 1688

As eight excited Dutch orphan girls watch from the deck of the ship, the huge sails are unfurled and the VOC ship *China* slowly gains way under the hand of Captain Samuel van Groll¹, leaving Goeree behind. Towards one end of the ship it is another group of passengers that demands our attention. They comprise 28 people² who immediately strike us as different from the excited Dutch girls. They look weary and apprehensive and they have very good reason to be. They have absolutely zero experience of the sea. Most have never seen it. But we shall return to that.

They watch intently as the crew divides into two groups. The first is called the Prince's Quarter or the First Watch and the second is Count Mauritz's Quarter or the Dog Watch. As soon as the First Watch is set, a little bell is rung to mark time and a hourglass with 30 minutes of sand is turned. These clocks are carefully watched, for at the end of four hours the Dog Watch takes over, the watch being shared out among sailors in such a way that all get some rest. At the end of the first half hour, the bell is rung once, and thereafter it is rung at the end of every half hour for the number of half hours passed. At the end of the four hour watch it is therefore rung eight times. The Provost summons the Watches and the Quartermaster fetches them – loudly. Herewith a ritual is implemented that will mark the journey of some four months across the open ocean, mostly out of sight of any land.

It is the start of a period of bitter hardship for the group of 28 passengers. They come from a sunny landscape with grape vines, peach trees and olive trees. Actually, most come from one very small area in Southeastern France, known as the Luberon. In fact, most of them come from three little neighbouring towns called Cabrières d'Aigues, La Motte d'Aigues and Saint Martin de la Brasque. These lie in what is known as the Aigues valley, itself situated in the great sweeping bow of the Durance where this river turns to head for the Rhône. "Aigues" simply means "water" in their mother tongue of Occitan or Provençal, the language of southern France. A few other passengers come from nearby towns such as Lourmarin, just west of Cabrières d'Aigues, Roque d'Antheron to the southwest across the Durance River, and Peypin d'Aigues near St. Martin.

One man is a little more distant from his fellow passengers, both in bearing and in origin. His name is Pierre Roux and he is a weaver from Orange beyond the Luberon Mountain. This used to be a principality owned by none other than the House of Orange which rules in the Netherlands. King Louis XIV of France invaded the area in 1672 and more recently again in August 1682. Ever since then the Protestant population of the area has been subjected to ever increasing oppression. All "foreigners" have just recently been expelled.

Our 28 passengers are naturally apprehensive, for theirs is a story that stands out amongst the horrors of European history. No one else in the history of the continent disappearing behind them has ever been as consistently persecuted as they have been – for they are the *Vaudois*. The Dutch call them *Dalluyden* – People of

¹ Commission pour l'histoire des églises Wallonnes, *Bul. de la Comm. pour l'histoire des églises Wallonnes, Vol.1;* (1885), pp.243

² Various texts somehow maintain that there were several more refugees on board. The author finds no evidence for this assertion which has been repeated until it has assumed the status of truth in the history of the nation that the survivors will help to build.

the Valleys. The Germans call them *Waldensen*. The Italians call them *Valdese*. Their blood hails from Piedmont in what will one day be far northwestern Italy, west of Turin, where they have lived in the mountain valleys since times Roman – and they have opposed the Roman Catholic Church as far back as anyone cares to trace.

So, let us go back three years and place ourselves in the Luberon in the year 1685, where we shall take stock of the various families that will affect South Africa for the next few centuries.

In the Luberon three years earlier - 1685

Our Vaudois families have tended their vineyards, olive trees and fruit trees on the sunny southern slopes of the Luberon Mountain chain of Provence ever since 1495. In that year some Vaudois moved to the Luberon from their original country in the “lost valley” of Freisinnières, south of Briançon at the foot of the Cottian Alps. In fact, they were invited to the Luberon by the Catholic landowners of the area who had been ruined by constant warfare in the area. While some Vaudois remained in the upper reaches of the Durance north of Embrun, the main body of these people live west of Turin in the isolated valleys of Piedmont in what one day will be Italy. In the 1600s it is the independent Duchy of Savoy. Now, in 1685 specifically, the head of state in Turin is Duke Victor Amadeus II. The House of Savoy, while one of the most powerful houses in Europe, is intimidated by its all powerful neighbour to the west, Louis XIV of France – The Sun King. And Louis XIV is expanding his territory.

The Vaudois insist that they have practiced their religion in its particular form since the 4th Century. They insist that they handsomely predate even the Cathars, against whom the horrific Albigensian Crusade was directed by Rome. They deny being followers of a man named Valdo from Lyon and his sect named the “Poor of Lyon”, as some suggest. Certainly the Catholic Church complained bitterly about the religion of the Vaudois back in the 1100s already. In the rest of Protestant Europe the “Waldensers” are viewed as “co-religionists”.

Throughout history the Vaudois have been repeatedly persecuted by Rome, by the Dukes of Savoy and by the Catholic French aristocracy. The horrors perpetrated upon the Vaudois in Savoy are absolutely beyond description. The horrific extremes of torture inflicted on them through the ages are simply too revolting and depraved to describe here. Suffice it to say that in 1655 Oliver Cromwell of England himself intervened on their behalf with both Louis XIV and Victor Amadeus' father, Charles Emmanuel II of Savoy. Three years later the persecution flared up again and Cromwell wrote³ to the leaders of the Swiss cantons on 26 May 1658, clearly recognizing the unique position of the Vaudois within Christian history.

“Such iniquity is not to be endured; whether we regard the safety of our bretheren, the Vaudois, who are the most ancient professors of the Orthodox Faith, or that of religion itself. [...] It depends upon you, with the help of God, to see that the original stock of the True Religion be not cut down [...]

In the Luberon area Provence in France, Maynier, the Count of Oppède, massacred the Vaudois in 1547 without warning. In the process he destroyed all the Vaudois villages. The town of Mérindol, in particular, suffered terribly. More recently the present count of Oppède, also named Maynier, has been involved in helping Louis XIV take some of the papal lands around nearby Avignon and again oppressed the local Vaudois. Louis XIV has been forcing his policies down systematically on the citizens of the area. Already they have been forced to break down their Protestant churches. In Cabrières d'Aigues they were ordered to build a church for the only two Catholic families in town from the stones of their own demolished church. They are now no longer allowed to have church services anywhere other than at Mérindol, which is a very long walk for these devout people.

We shall be following a number of key families⁴ and individuals (in bold) from the 1685 Luberon towns:

3 William Stephen Gilly, *Narrative of an excursion to the mountains of Piemont*, (1824), pp. clxxxix

4 Unless otherwise stated the sources of information for this following section are as follows:

a. Locations : Database of the CNRS of France <http://refuge-huguenot.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr/recherches.php>

b. Relationships: Database of the CNRS of France <http://refuge-huguenot.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr/recherches.php>

c. Ages: The 23 December 1687 letter by the VOC - Graham Botha in *The French Refugees at the Cape* (1919) p.142

1. Saint Martin de la Brasque

1.a The Jourdans⁵ of Belle Etoile:

The hamlet of Belle Etoile is some 500 metres to the north of the town. It comprises a small cluster of houses immediately west of the minor road to Peypin d'Aigues, the next significant town to the northeast. Here we find the family of Pierre Jourdan, also known as “Carretier”, who passed away in 1677. His tough widow, **Jeanne Marque**, who married him in 1645, is pretty much in charge on the farm. She is the daughter of David and Marie Grange. Jeanne has 5 surviving children, one daughter having died earlier. The children are:

- i. Magdalene *ca. 1647, married to Daniel Roux
- ii. **Marie** *1648, married to Jean Roux (See La Motte d'Aigues below)
- iii. Barthélemy, married to Jeanne Bret with one daughter, Isabeau
- iv. Catherine who died young some 9 years before in 1676
- v. **Jean** *1660
- vi. **Pierre** *1663

Barthélemy, Jean and Pierre are working with their mother on the farm. Magdalene and Marie live elsewhere with their respective husbands.

1.b The Meinards

The head of the family is **Jean Meinard** who is married to **Louise Courbon**. Louise will state her maiden name to be Courbonne – the feminine form. Louise is 28 at this time and Jean 26. They already have five children:

- i. **Jeanne** *1678
- ii. **George** *1679
- iii. **Jacques** *1680
- iv. **Jean** *1681
- v. **Phillipe** *1682

Louise's mother⁶, **Marie Anthouarde** lives with them or nearby.

1.c The Mallans

There are three Mallans living in and around St. Martin:

- i. **Pierre Mallan** is married to **Isabeau Richarde**.
- ii. **Anthoine Mallan** is married to **Isabeau Verdette** and they have a little daughter.
- iii. The third is **Jacques Mallan**, cousin of Pierre and Anthoine. He is as yet unmarried.

2. La Motte d'Aigues

La Motte is situated a stone's throw west of Saint Martin, essentially separated by a slight valley.

2.a The Roux family:

Marie Jourdan, daughter of Jeanne Marque from Belle Etoile, lives with her husband Jean Roux in La Motte. They have daughters:

- i. **Jeanne** *1672
- ii. **Marie** *1677
- iii. **Marguerite** *1680

5 Virginia Belz Chomat, *Cabrières d'Aigues et la Famille Jourdan*, Edition Cabrières, (2007); pp.207

6 The CNRS database consistently has Marie Anthouarde together with Louise Courbonne and Jean Meinard, but the Frankfurt church entry shows Marie as being “the mother of Jeanne Courbonne”. We take this to be a data entry error and that it refers to Louise Courbonne as there is no associated Jeanne Courbonne in the database. C. Graham Botha, in *The French Refugees at the Cape* translates “haer schoonmoeder” in the 23 December 1687 VOIC document as “her mother-in-law”, assuming it to refer to Louise Courbonne, but that Dutch phrase is ambiguous. Boucher, in his two publications on the matter, first presents her as the mother of Louise and then as the mother of Jean. The author prefers to follow the Frankfurt church and take her to be Louise's mother.

The custom in this area is to differentiate the surnames between the masculine and feminine forms. In this way the four ladies in the family now bear the name Rouse, while the father is Roux. For the sake of clarity we shall refer to Marie senior as Marie Jourdan-Rouse where possibility of confusion exists.

2.b The Jouberts

The Joubert family is not as extensive as many of the others. However, one wing⁷ is located in La Motte. The patriarch of the family is Pierre Joubert who is married to Jeanne Goirande. They have six children:

- i. Jeanne
- ii. David, married to Marguerite Borgue – they have children Pierre (22), Jacques and Judith
- iii. Catherine
- iv. Magdaleine
- v. Francoise
- vi. Jacques, married to Franchise Rambert – They have a son **Pierre** (22)

2.c Goirande and Long

In La Motte we also find **Suzanne Goirande** and her (suggested⁸) cousin **Isabeau Long**.

3. Cabrières d'Aigues

Cabrières d'Aigues is by far the biggest of the three villages. Like La Motte, it will retain its old world charm. It has rather more to recommend itself than La Motte. The village is situated on two ridges with a valley and stream in between. The eastern ridge is known as Les Jourdans and the road up that ridge will still be known as the Rue des Jourdans in the 21st century. There are olive trees, peach trees and vineyards everywhere within and around the town. It can be said to be the “Town of the Jourdans”.

In 1625 three Jourdan brothers, cousins of Pierre “Carretier” Jourdan of Saint Martin, carved their names on the arch of a doorway of a home they constructed. Those inscriptions will still be there in the 21st century. The town is on the route to Cucuron and Lourmarin, the latter being a rather bigger town to the west and the nearest gateway through the Luberon Mountain via a gorge of hairpin bends. A mule path leads up the mountain behind Cabrières d'Aigues.

3.a The Courbon family⁹:

André Courbon of Cabrières d'Aigues and his wife Jeanne Rouse have at least seven children.:

- i. **Louis**
- ii. Pierre
- iii. François
- iv. André
- v. Daniel
- vi. Catherine
- vii. Isabeau

We have no evidence that Louise Courbonne (see Meinard) is a sister of Louis Courbon above as speculated by Boucher¹⁰.

7 This Joubert genealogy is provided by Kenn Joubert : http://www.eggasa.org/familia/19_4_1982_85_89.htm

8 M. Boucher, *Frankfurt am Main and the Cape refugees*, Bulletin of the Huguenot Society of South Africa, 19, pp. 12 (1981). The author finds no such relationship in studying the Swiss and German churchbooks that Boucher perused.

9 Virginia Belz Chomat, *Cabrières d'Aigues et la Famille Jourdan*, Edition Cabrières, (2007); pp.248 - abjurations

10 M. Boucher, *French Speakers at the Cape* (1981); pp. 191

3.b The Grange family¹¹:

The 50-year old François Grange is married to the 50-year old Marguerite Courbonne, sister of André Courbon above. They also have at least two sons:

- i. **Pierre** (24), cousin of Louis Courbon
- ii. Daniel (12)

3.c The Jourdan family:

The 65-year old Pierre Jourdan, “cavalier”, heads this family¹². He is married to the 48-year old Susanne Pascal and they have at least two sons:

- i. **Pierre** (24)
- ii. Anthoine (16)

There is another Jourdan family¹³ in Cabrières d'Aigues that will influence our story. This one comprises Magdalene Pellade, wife of the late Pierre Jourdan, who has at least one son, **Paul**.

3.d The Goirand family:

This family consists of **Pierre Goirand** and his wife **Françoise Rouse**, both key individuals to our story. Pierre is originally from La Motte d'Aigues where a country road will still bear his family name in the 21st Century.

3. The other five Luberon towns

A small number of individuals in whom we are interested live in some other local towns. **Jean** and **Esprit Furet** live in Peypin d'Aigues, which is northeast of Saint Martin de la Brasque. Like Saint Martin de la Brasque, it is considered to be a satellite town to La Motte d'Aigues. We have no clear evidence that they are directly related to each other, but it certainly seems very likely.

A mere handful of miles west of Cabrières d'Aigues is Lourmarin. Here we find **André Rey** and his wife **Jeanne Mille**, with their two sons, **Jean** and **Jacques**. In the same town is the **Frachasse** family. Our interest is in two brothers. The first is the unmarried **Mathieu**; the second is **Pierre**. Pierre will enter our story as a married man, his wife being Marguerite Barrale.

Young **André Pelanchon** lives in Sivergues, an isolated village on top of the Luberon Mountain behind Cabrières d'Aigues. One of the more interesting locations is La Roque d'Antheron. It is the only one of our group of Vaudois towns that actually lies on the south bank of the Durance River. It has a long history of Vaudois culture. In the year 2009 it will still have a Rue de Vaudois. In this area the name Rey abounds, but it is **Suzanne Reyne** (the feminine form of the surname) who holds our interest. In fact, there are two Suzanne Reynes in town at this time and we have no simple way to tell them apart as yet. The other party in town that demands our attention is the Verdote family. In particular, we are interested in brothers **Jacques** and **Hercule Verdote**.

When one passes through the Luberon Mountains by means of the rugged ravine behind Lourmarin, the wickedly twisting road progresses some distance before it forks between the roads to the depressing town of Apt to the northeast and that to Bonnieux to the northwest. A short distance beyond Bonnieux, securely perched on a hilltop in full view of Bonnieux, is Lacoste. In the vicinity of this town we find the family of **Antoine Gardiol** and his wife **Marguerite Perrotet**, along with their three children, **Suzanne**, **Marguerite** and **Jean**.

One single individual in our story comes from Orange, some distance to the Northwest – the weaver, **Paul Roux**. Paul's hometown has its own terrible Vaudois history, worthy of a dedicated treatise.

11 Virginia Belz Chomat, *Cabrières d'Aigues et la Famille Jourdan*, Edition Cabrières, (2007); pp.249 - abjurations

12 Virginia Belz Chomat, *Cabrières d'Aigues et la Famille Jourdan*, Edition Cabrières, (2007); pp.249 - abjurations

13 Virginia Belz Chomat, *Cabrières d'Aigues et la Famille Jourdan*, Edition Cabrières, (2007); pp.251 - abjurations

The King's Soldiers are coming!

On 18 October 1685 Louis XIV, King of France, revokes the Edict of Nantes. The very same day his Dragoons enter Provence. Between 22 and 26 October 1685 the citizens of Cabrières d'Aigues abjure their faith en masse¹⁴. The same soon follows in the other towns. On 22 October the Courbon family members abjure their faith in Cabrières in front of notary public Lafourest. Father André signs that young Louis (17) is ill and [likely] at home. *Cavalier* Pierre Jourdan, along with his wife Susanne Pascal (48) and their sons Pierre and Anthoine also abjures at the same occasion. Francois Grange and his wife Marguerite Courbonne abjure with their sons Pierre and Daniel. The very next day, 23 October 1685, Jeanne Marque's eldest daughter Magdalene Jourdan, her husband Daniel Roux and their two daughters Jeanne and Marie abjure their Protestant faith at La Motte d'Aigues. The same follows for son Barthélemy, his wife Jeanne Bret and their daughter Isabeau. Paul Jourdan of Cabrières d'Aigues, together with his mother and three of his sisters, abjures on the 24th in that town. On the 26th, also in Cabrières, it is the turn of Pierre Goirand and his wife Francoise Roux.

The younger men like Louis Courbon, Pierre Jourdan Jr., Paul Jourdan, Pierre Grange and Pierre Goirand will try to live under the yoke of Louis XIV, but it will get systematically more difficult as that king implements his infamous Draggonade, by which the King's dragoons and other soldiers are billeted en masse in the homes of Protestants and the unwilling hosts have to pay the soldiers until they deny their faith.

As the pressure on them increases, it becomes clear to the Vaudois families of the Luberon that they can no longer remain in France. However, it is illegal to flee the country. If caught, their children will be taken away to be raised in Catholic homes, the men will either be killed or be consigned to the galleys and the women to convents. Nevertheless, this present form of life is simply impossible for them.

By early 1687 it is obvious to them that they have no other choice but to flee. There will be safety in numbers, but larger groups are also easier to detect. As a result, they form into separate groups for their escape bid, loosely based on their towns of origin or on family ties.

The Flight to Freedom

Around the middle of August 1688 groups of people leave from all the Luberon towns. We have little in the way of documented accounts of their journeys. However, the following needs to be considered. Savoy is a very dangerous place where Vaudois are being subjected to extreme persecution. While a few documented cases do exist of people fleeing via Marseilles and Nice and thence to Switzerland, the more obvious way is to travel overland up the wide basin of the Durance River.

Their first problem is likely to be at Sisteron where the imposing fort overlooking the town guards the narrow passage of the river through the mountain. There is no simple way around this. Fortunately there are many Vaudois in the area who will help them. Interestingly, because of the wide floodplain of the Durance, Sisteron is the first place beyond Pertuis (near their home towns) where a bridge can at all be built across this dangerous and moody river.

Beyond Sisteron the ground gradually rises through agricultural countryside to some 2,500 feet above sea level. Near the village of Tallard the Durance suddenly swings eastwards toward its source in the Cottian Alps. This is the route to their old homeland in the Freisinnières Valley south of Briançon. From this point they leave the river and it is a short distance to the local centre of Gap.

They now face the highlands to their north. Over just a few miles they have to rise 1,500 feet to around 4,000 feet above sea level. However, it is a well trodden path and the world on top of the highlands is comparatively flat. Imposing mountains now rise not only to their right (the Cottian Alps), but also to their left (west). They have to make their way to the Col des Festreaux area – the pass down from the high country.

From here follows undulating countryside which forms the physically most challenging part of the trip. As soon as they finally descend from the highlands at La Mure, they are in the glacier scoured valleys that char-

14 Virginia Belz Chomat, *Cabrières d'Aigues et la Famille Jourdan*, Edition Cabrières, (2007); pp.247-252

acterize this part of the world. From here it is flat ground – typically only 700 to 1200 foot above sea level - into the Kingdom of Genève, the old home of the reformer John Calvin and safety. However, they have to pass through the Chambéry area of the Duchy of Savoy. Here they have to watch out for the Duke's soldiers and also for French guards on the French side of the border. Chambéry has a bad reputation with the Vaudois. It is the site of several Vaudois being martyred in the past.

The Help of the Swiss and the Dutch

As the fleeing parties reach the safety of Genève, they appeal to the Protestant Church for help. We have no idea how many may have been caught. We only know who arrives in Genève. The fact that their first point of registration for help is at Genève is conclusive evidence that they moved overland and not via Nice. The route via Marseilles, Nice and Switzerland to Germany bypasses Genève completely.

The Dutch have collected considerable amounts of money to support fleeing Vaudois in particular and so have the Swiss. The Swiss, however, are in a difficult position. They are not truly powerful enough to resist the young Duke of Savoy, and are certainly not even vaguely a match for the all-powerful Louis XIV. Hence they have to be very careful. They nevertheless do all humanly possible to help and this will stand forever to their credit. It is in the church books¹⁵ of Switzerland that researchers in the 21st century will search to find the names of the refugees as they pass from centre to centre.

The refugees clearly progress from Genève to Schaffhausen on the German border, sometimes showing up in Lausanne or Neuchâtel after Genève. From there they proceed along the Rhinlands or on the Rhine itself and then via Heidelberg to Frankfurt. Frankfurt, however, is the main centre of Lutheran Hesse. The French Church in Frankfurt is very willing to help all these refugees and Frankfurt defaults to becoming the main hub from where refugees will spread in all directions. However, the authorities do not encourage non-Lutherans to settle there, so most refugees move on from there. Some 4,000 refugees will indicate that their destination is "Hollande". Our refugees will never state their destination, but they are in fact on the way to Rotterdam.

The composition of the Luberon Vaudois refugee groups

We now trace our refugees in the Swiss and German church books and soon see that they move in groups. Most of them ask for help in Genève, Schaffhausen and Frankfurt. The detail following in Table 1 is drawn from the church books of these towns, some giving the names of wives while other books do not. There are many more fugitives from our Luberon villages. However, those listed in this table are the ones that hold interest for us and we shall be following them into the future.

As may be seen from Table 1, if we assume that parties who always appear on the same days at the same places were traveling together, then the St. Martin refugees all set off in one group. A reasonable calculation allows four to five weeks for them to cover the 270 miles to Genève by the route previously described. This allows for the older members and children. This in turn implies they leave St. Martin in the middle of August 1687. They likely meet up with the Rey family from Lourmarin and the main La Motte party at Schaffhausen. The bachelor team of André Pelanchon, Paul Jourdan, Louis Courbon and Pierre Grange also team up with them at that point. The Goirande family and Paul Roux of Orange likely meet with them at Frankfurt.

By 31 October 1687, when this main refugee group arrives at Frankfurt, Suzanne Reyne has already been there two days. The Gardiol family from Lacoste behind the Luberon, the Verdeaus (who were at Schaffhausen with Suzanne Reyne), the two Furets and Pierre Joubert of La Motte have all been at Frankfurt since the 27th of the month -that is four days earlier. The Frachasse family of two brothers and the wife of one of them probably traveled totally separately from all the others and have arrived on the 18th of the month, nine days before

For lack of better evidence, it seems reasonable to assume that all the above people decide at Frankfurt to go to Holland – Rotterdam in particular – and that they do so together, except for the Frachasse family.

15 Huguenot Refugee Database of National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) of France: <http://refuge-huguenot.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr/recherches.php>

Name	Origin ¹⁶	Genève	Schaffhausen	Frankfurt
Pierre Frachasse, wife Marguerite Barrale	Lourmarin	20.09.1687	05.10.1687	18.10.1687
Mathieu Frachasse, brother of Pierre	Lourmarin	20.09.1687	05.10.1687	18.10.1687
Pierre Taubert (Jaubert/Joubert)	La Motte d'Aigues	<i>No Entry</i>	<i>No Entry</i>	27.10.1687
Esprit Furet	Peypin d'Aigues & Lour.	10.09.1687	29.09.1687	27.10.1687
Jean Furet	Peypin d'Aigues & St. M	12.09.1687	29.09.1687	27.10.1687
Jacques & Hercule Verdot	La Roque d'Antheron	<i>No Entry</i>	09.10.1687	27.10.1687
Antoine Gardiol, wife Marguerite Perrotet, 3ch	Lacoste and Cab. d'A.	24.09.1687	09.10.1687	27.10.1687
Suzanne Reyne ¹⁷	La Roque d'Antheron	24.09.1687	09.10.1687	29.10.1687
Pierre Gouiran(de) & wife Françoise Rousse	Cabrières d'Aigues	24.08.1687	13.09.1687	31.10.1687
Pierre Jourdan of Cabrières d'Aigues	Cabrières d'Aigues	<i>No Entry</i>	29.09.1687	31.10.1687
Marie Jourdane (Rousse) & 3 children	La Motte d'Aigues	10.09.1687	29.09.1687	31.10.1687
Isabeau Long	La Motte d'Aigues	10.09.1687	29.09.1687	31.10.1687
Suzanne Goirande	La Motte d'Aigues	10.09.1687	29.09.1687	31.10.1687
André Pelanchon	Sivergues	<i>No Entry</i>	29.09.1687	31.10.1687
Paul Jourdan	Cabrières d'Aigues	10.09.1687	29.09.1687	31.10.1687
Louis Courbon	Cabrières d'Aigues	10.09.1687	29.09.1687	31.10.1687
Pierre Grange	Cabrières d'Aigues	10.09.1687	30.09.1687	31.10.1687
Jeanne Marque & sons Jean & Pierre Jourdan	St. Martin de la Brasque	12.09.1687	30.09.1687	31.10.1687
Jean Meinard, wife Louise Courbonne, 6 ch.	St. Martin de la Brasque	12.09.1687	30.09.1687	31.10.1687
Marie Antouar(de), mother of Louise C.	St. Martin de la Brasque	12.09.1687	30.09.1687	31.10.1687
Anthoine Mallan, wife Isabeau Verdette, 1ch.	St. Martin de la Brasque	12.09.1687	30.09.1687	31.10.1687
Pierre Mallan, wife Isabeau Richarde ¹⁸	St. Martin de la Brasque	12.09.1687	30.09.1687	31.10.1687
Jacques Mallan	St. Martin de la Brasque	12.09.1687	30.09.1687	31.10.1687
André Rey, wife Jeanne Mille	Lourmarin	15.09.1687	30.09.1687	31.10.1687
Jean & Jacques Rey, sons of André	Lourmarin	15.09.1687	30.09.1687	31.10.1687
Paul Roux	Orange	<i>No Entry</i>	<i>No Entry</i>	31.10.1687

Table 1. Some refugee parties from the Luberon region registering at Genève, Schaffhausen and Frankfurt church

Paul Roux and Pierre Joubert stand out as individuals who seek no help in Switzerland before finally registering at Frankfurt. According to Boucher Pierre Joubert states in his registration at Frankfurt that he has come via Zurich¹⁹.

¹⁶ Some parties provide different origins when reaching different churches, presumably they came from one place via the other

¹⁷ Two Suzanne Reynes from La Roque appear in the books; Another travels in the company of a Marie Reyne and appears at Neuchâtel

¹⁸ In South Africa she is known as Richard(e), and it is given that way also by the VOC, but at Frankfurt, the only church where Mallan's wife is identified by name, it is Tricharde. This was likely an error as the surname Richard was reasonably common in the Luberon.

¹⁹ M. Boucher, *Frankfurt am Main and the Cape refugees*, Bulletin of the Huguenot Society of South Africa, 19, pp. 12 (1981)

The key aspect of Table 1 is that it addresses, with two exceptions, all the names of any parties who have ever been suggested may have been on the ship *China*. The first exception is a certain Jean Rogier, who some will claim to be on the ship. Two men named Jean Roger appear in the books; one from Picardie early in 1687 and a Jean Antoine Roger from le Bousquet (near Spain) in October 1687. The other exception is a certain Jean Viret²⁰, apparently not directly related to the Etienne Viret of the Cape. Etienne will sail on the *Suid Beveland*.

The Dallyyden, “our co-religionists”, are also welcome

Two years earlier, in a meeting of 3 October 1685 the Lords Seventeen of VOC resolved to send more settlers to the Cape. In particular they decided that French refugees of the reformed religion and with a knowledge of “*cultivating the vine, the making of vinegar and the distilling of brandy*” would be favoured. There was also a decision to send some 48 young women to the Cape. However, not much would happen on either of these subjects for some two years.

Now, on 6 October 1687 the VOC decides to expand the decision they made almost exactly two years earlier. Now they will specifically allow “*Piedmontese or Dallyyden (Valley People – Vaudois), our co-religionists*” to settle²¹. An Oath of Allegiance is then drawn up in French for any prospective Vaudois or other French refugees to sign if they wish to settle at the Cape. The basic arrangement boils down to them being transported to the Cape for free and that they will be given as much land as they can till. They will also be given farming implements and seed, for which they may later pay in kind. They have to commit to stay for 5 years and will have to pay their own return fare if they wish to return to Europe.

Seven weeks after registering at the church in Frankfurt, our Vaudois Protestant refugees from the Aigues Valley are in Rotterdam in Holland. This is evidenced by a letter to the Cape of Good Hope written on 23 December 1687 by the Rotterdam Chamber of the Dutch East India Company²². The Chamber identifies the following people as a list of those “People of the Valley” who have stated their intent to accept the offer of the company to transport them to the Cape on the ship *China*, and to resettle them at that faraway Cape. The list includes 34 names (as spelled by the Dutch), but it is still a whole three months before that fateful ship, the *China*, will sail. Much can happen in three months. We now map the Rotterdam VOC list onto our earlier Table 1:

The Church Books	VOC Passenger List dated 3 months before sailing*
Pierre Frachasse, wife Marguerite Barrale	
Mathieu Frachasse, brother of Pierre	Mathieu Frachasse (26)
Pierre Taubert (Jaubert/Joubert)	
Esprit Furet	
Jean Furet	Jean Furet (18)
Jacques & Hercule Verdot	Jaques (20) and Arcule (16) Verdeau
Antoine Gardiol, wife Marguerite Perrotet, 3ch	
Suzanne Reyne	Susanne Resue ²³ (20) unmarried
Pierre Goiran(de) & wife Françoise Rousse	Pierre Goiraud (30) and his wife Françoise Rousse (28)
Pierre Jourdan (2) of Cabrières d'Aigues	Pierre Jourdan* (24)

20 C. Graham Botha, *The French Refugees at the Cape* (1919), pp. 90

21 C. Graham Botha, *The French Refugees at the Cape* (1919), pp.128

22 C. Graham Botha, *The French Refugees at the Cape* (1919), pp.142

23 Resue is no doubt an erroneous transcription of Resne, an alternative spelling of Reyne

Marie Jourdane (Rousse) & 3 children	Marie Jourdan, widow (40) with daughters Jeanne (15), Marie (10) and Margarete (7): family of Jeanne Marthe
Isabeau Long	
Suzanne Goirande	
André Pelanchon	André Pelanchon** (15)
Paul Jourdan	Paul Jourdan** (22)
Louis Courbon	Louis Corbon (20), bachelor
Pierre Grange	Pieter Grange (23), bachelor
Jeanne Marque with Jean & Pierre Jourdan	Jeanne Marthe, widow of Jourdan (60) with her sons Jean Jordan (28) and Pierre Jordan (24)
Jean Meinard, wife Louise Courbonne, 6 ch.	Jean Mesnart (28) with Louise Corbonne, his wife (30), and six children, namely Jeanne (10), George (9), Jacques (8), Jean (7), Philippe (6) and the 5m. old baby André
Marie Anthouarde, step-mother of Louise C.	Marie Anthonarde, Jean Mesnart's mother-in-law
Anthoine Mallan, wife Isabeau Verdette, 1ch.	Anthoine Madan (38) and his wife, Eilsabeth Verdette (23) and their daughter-child (10m).
Pierre Mallan, wife Isabeau Tricharde	Pierre Malan (23) and his wife Isabeau Richarde (20)
Jacques Mallan	
André Rey, wife Jeanne Mille	
Jean & Jacques Rey, sons of André	
Paul Roux	
	Anthoine Scaet (Senet?) (19)

Table 2: The correspondence between the Swiss and German church books and the 23.12.1687 VOC planned passenger list

Notes to Table 2:

* The ages are as per the VOC letter of 23 December 1687 and may not always correspond to the work of Virginia Belz Chomat, *Cabrières d'Aigues et la Famille Jourdan*, Edition Cabrières, (2007).

** Stated by the VOC to be mutual first cousins

There is one loose standing fact that we need to record here. Sometime during the three month period following their arrival in Frankfurt, Pierre Joubert and Suzanne Reyne develop a relationship. Having submitted her name for going to the Cape of Good Hope, Suzanne no doubt does not want to give up this dream. And this is how she and Pierre end up on 1 February 1688 in front of the pulpit in the Belgian Walloon Church in Brielle near Rotterdam²⁴. Since minister Etienne Villet²⁵ of that church comes from Mérindol, he no doubt is favourably disposed toward Suzanne, who is from nearby Roque d'Antheron. The church promptly obtains the approval of the magistrate to have the banns of the couple read three times on that day, so that they might be married before their ship sails. This no doubt assures Pierre a berth on the ship with Suzanne.

Based on the above information we can see what the plans are. But that is all they are. The VOC letter that Table 2 is based on is dated about three months before the ship actually sets sail. The question is, which of

²⁴ Commission pour l'histoire des églises Wallonnes, *Bul. de la Comm. pour l'histoire des églises Wallonnes*, Vol.1; (1885), pp.243

²⁵ Commission pour l'histoire des églises Wallonnes, *Bul. de la Comm. pour l'histoire des églises Wallonnes*, Vol.1; (1885), pp.246

our refugees are actually on board the *China* in the last week of March 1688, as the ship makes her way into the Atlantic?

What few people ever refer to, are the Minutes of a VOC Assembly on 1 April 1688. This document states quite clearly that the “*French and Piedmontese refugees*” shipped by the Chamber of Rotterdam are 15 men, 6 women and 7 children. To this end a quick check of ships sailing for the Chamber of Rotterdam reveals that the *China* is the only ship departing for the Cape under the control of the Rotterdam Chamber between 23 December 1687 and 1 April 1688. Given that the date of departure of the *China* is 20 March 1688, it means that the VOC now knows how many people have *actually* set sail on the fateful ship. This means that, based on this information from the VOC, a total of 28 refugees are aboard and hence at least six of those on the December list never boarded her – more, if some were replaced by alternative candidates.

This raises an intriguing question about the status this ship will have in history books in the distant 21st century. Will the history books be correct in stating that the voyage to the Cape is to be longer and more terrible than usual? Will they be correct in stating that many of the refugees are destined to die aboard the *China*?

The Ship from Hell, or just another ordinary 17th century sailing?

The Holland to India sea journeys of the 17th century are absolutely notorious. The schedule to the Cape calls for around 4 months at sea. On rare occasions it is dramatically shorter. On some occasions longer. Instead of speculating, we can consider a collection of voyages from the same period between Holland and the Cape and then see how that of the *China* compares.

Data of shipboard deaths are available for 16 of the 18 ships that sailed from Holland to the Cape between June 1687 and June 1688. Since the departure and arrival dates and number of people on board is available for each of these, we can create a table of losses versus voyage length and number of people on board. This is given in Table 3. As can be seen, six ships have greater percentage losses than the *China* and 9 have lesser percentage losses. This hardly makes the *China* the “Ship from Hell”.

Ship	Departed Holland	Arrived Cape	Days	Deaths	tot people	% dead
<i>Castricum</i>	13 May. 1688	29 Oct. 1688	170	26	165	15.76
<i>Spierdijk</i>	30 Dec. 1687	23 Apr. 1688	115	21	173	12.14
<i>Langewijk</i>	30 Dec. 1687	19 Apr. 1688	111	11	109	10.09
<i>Oosthuizen</i>	06 Jan. 1688	28 Apr. 1688	113	13	150	8.67
<i>Honselaarsdijk</i>	07 Jan. 1688	11 Apr. 1688	125	17	252	6.75
<i>Zuid Beveland</i>	22 Apr. 1688	19 Aug. 1688	120	14	213	6.57
<i>China</i>	20 Mar. 1688	04 Aug. 1688	140	20	305	6.56
<i>Tamen</i>	30 Dec. 1687	18 May. 1688	140	6	98	6.12
<i>Schelde</i>	19 Feb. 1688	05 Jun. 1688	107	11	241	4.56
<i>Borsenburg</i>	06 Jan. 1688	12 May. 1688	127	4	101	3.96
<i>Prinseland</i>	22 May. 1688	21 Oct. 1688	153	4	215	1.86
<i>Sillida</i>	30 Dec. 1687	26 Apr. 1688	118	2	117	1.71
<i>Java</i>	30 Dec. 1687	11 Apr. 1688	103	3	216	1.39
<i>Oosterland</i>	29 Jan. 1688	25 Apr. 1688	87	4	325	1.23
<i>Zaamslag</i>	29 Nov. 1687	11 Apr. 1688	134	2	167	1.20
<i>Voorschoten</i>	31 Dec. 1687	08 May. 1688	130	1	192	0.52

Table 3: Comparison of the losses of life on the *China* with that on other ships of the VOC

Every attempt the author has made to correlate the deaths with either length of voyage or number of people on board or, in fact, the product of the two variables, has failed to produce any clarity. One is left having to accept that every trip had its own unique factors. Nevertheless, whichever way one turns this, the *China* does not stand out by any means as having taken dramatically longer than the other voyages of the season, nor are its losses percentage-wise dramatically greater.

We may compare the *China* with the ill-fated²⁶ *Gouden Buys* which will depart Texel on 4 May 1693 with 190 souls aboard. On 19 October she will drop anchor just north of St Helena Bay. She will have not 12 men left capable of working. On 11 November seven of the men will set off to look for help. Five of them will perish of hunger, but one will wander along the Berg River until some Hottentots will find him. He will be taken to the company post at Saldanha Bay. When help finally will reach the ship, one single man will be found alive, and he will die soon after. The other man on land will roam about for seven weeks before being found.

It is worth considering some little snippets that are of some importance regarding these voyages. First of all, the beer, fruit and cheese supply on these voyages typically runs out around the end of the second month at sea. There then follows around 60 days of brine soaked "laid in" meat, washed down with some vinegar to treat the excessive salt in the stomach and to help break down the meat. This explains why the VOC wanted men at the Cape who knew how to make vinegar in particular.

More importantly, this "toxic brew" instantly puts huge demands on the kidneys and is likely to affect the older and youngest passengers first. It is also hard on anyone that is exerting himself in doing strenuous work, such as the sailors. A heavy toll is taken from these sailors in the process.

Fundamentally, the bodies of the people on board are not getting any more significant vitamins after the first 60 days. In particular, they are not getting Vitamin C, without which scurvy, a vitamin deficiency condition, sets in rather rapidly.

If the body does not succumb to the load on the kidneys, the immune systems of people very soon become depressed, and the very young and the old succumb first to whatever contagion attacks them. Smallpox is rife at this time and it is not particularly exceptional to have a smallpox case aboard one of these ships.

According to Christoph Frick²⁷, who recorded one of these VOC journeys of 1680, the basic triage aboard ship is merely to place the sick on the port or larboard (left) side of the ship and the healthy on the starboard side. In this way those with dropsy, scurvy, diarrhea and even smallpox end up on the port side. Some survive this ordeal of all the ill being huddled together. Many do not.

Life is rather cheap at his time. In this respect the payment arrangement for refugees to return to Europe is insightful. It states that, should the passenger die, the balance of the return fee *not used up* will be paid out to the next of kin. It is when one reads this that one goes back to table 3 and one realizes that there is not a single ship on which someone did NOT die during the voyage.

All of these things, except the comments about Vitamin C, are known to the Dutch VOC and they tell the refugees this. They will also find out about the desperate shortage of young ladies at the Cape. It is entirely likely that, after having thought things over, some of the younger men will pull out of the arrangement. Few young men of 16 to 21 are likely to contemplate a life of farming in "darkest" Africa at the end of a death defying sea voyage of 4 months. They would rather seek employment in Western Europe with its bright lights and abundant supply of young ladies. For those traveling as families or who are closer to 30, the world looks different.

Having put the passage of the *China* in perspective, we may proceed to the known facts of the voyage.

The actual fatalities on the *China*

In the 19th to 21st centuries it will often be written that there was tremendous loss of life on the *China* and that some huge fraction of the refugees died. In 1897 Theal²⁸ will refer to "twelve others who died before the ship reached her destination". It is difficult to find evidence that anyone ever challenged this comment. In

26 George McCall Theal, *History of South Africa 1691-1795*; (1888); pp. 10

27 Christoph Frick, Christoph Schweitzer, *A relation of two several voyages made into the East-Indies*, (1700); pp.16

28 George McCall Theal, *South Africa under the Dutch East India Company V.1*,1969 (Negro Universities reprint); pp.331

1882 Theal will cement the notion of the “Ship from Hell” by stating²⁹ that it arrived after a voyage of “seven months”. Yet, in the very same paper, he will correctly set the departure date at 20 March 1688 and the arrival at the Cape as being on 4 August 1688, both of which dates are correct. Obviously, from 20 March to 4 August is only 4-1/2 months. This will clearly constitute a contradiction within the same paper. Also in this paper the death toll will be lamented by him listing 12 of the names of those in Table 2 as arriving at the Cape and then adding the statement “En 14 anderen die stierven voordat het schip aan de Kaap arriveerde”. Now the death toll is 14. All in all, the impression will be created that there is something hugely exceptional about the *China*.

However, let us look at the situation more closely:

According to J.R. Bruijn et al³⁰ the losses on board the *China* are in fact 8 passengers out of a total number of 38. The same authors, working from original documentation, find that one passenger continues to Batavia and 29 disembark at Cape Town. Twelve soldiers and seamen die, for a total of 20 deaths on board.

We now get to the actual purpose of this present work, which is to determine, using the scanty information available, which refugees board this ship and which ones die on board, and to allay some of the myths that abound surrounding this little knot of people so key to the history of South Africa.

The information (with sources) we have available to work with is:

- (a) The names of the refugees from the Luberon and most of their family relationships (Church Books³¹)
- (b) The names of 34 who *said* they would board, but that was *three months before sailing* (VOC)
- (c) The 28 refugees who *do* in fact board are 15 men, 6 women and 7 children (VOC)
- (d) Eight passengers of all kinds die on board and 29 passengers disembark at the Cape (Bruijn, et al)
- (e) Eight of those who disembark are Dutch orphan girls (Theal), (leaving 21 others of all kinds)
- (f) One passenger continues onward to Batavia (Bruijn, et al)
- (g) The list of names of individuals who received help from the Batavia Fund in early 1690. (Theal)
- (h) Some hugely inadequate Cape muster lists and later estate documents at our disposal.

Since the refugees have their fares waived by the VOC to go to the Cape and not to Batavia, we take it as read that the passenger who continues to Batavia is not a refugee. This implies that the 21 “other” passengers who disembark at the Cape include all the surviving refugees. Since there were originally 38 passengers, comprising 8 orphan girls and 28 refugees, it means that two passengers were ordinary passengers, being neither refugee nor orphan girl. This means that the composition of the 29 passengers who disembark at Cape Town is one of the following two:

- (i) 8 orphan girls, one regular passenger and 20 refugees, OR
- (ii) 8 orphan girls and 21 refugees. This second scenario assumes that one of the two regular passengers died. However, without being too cynical, it seems reasonable to assume that regular paying passengers would be better looked after than “wretched” refugees in the hard world of 1688. It is therefore much more likely that the 8 losses are among the refugees than among the two regular passengers.

The first scenario implies 8 refugees die and second implies seven die. We shall proceed with the assumption that all 8 losses are among the refugees. Of course, we hereby also ignore Theal’s comment³² about either 12 or 14 refugees dying.

The refugees who reach the Cape

We have two sources of information on the arrivals at the Cape. The first is the Cape Muster Roll of 1690, which leaves a lot to be desired. The second is the list of beneficiaries from the Batavia Fund³³. When we attempt

29 George McCall Theal, *De Hugenoten-emigratie naar de Kaap*; Het Zuid Afrikaansche Tijdschrift (1883) No. 25, March 1882; pp.158

30 J.R. Bruijn et al, *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping 1595-1795*; <http://www.inghist.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DAS/detailVoyage/92620>

31 Using the online database of the CNRS : <http://refuge-huguenot.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr/recherches.php>

32 George McCall Theal, *South Africa under the Dutch East India Company V.1*,1969 (Negro Universities reprint); pp.331

33 George McCall Theal, *South Africa under the Dutch East India Company V.1*,1969 (Negro Universities reprint); pp.337

to find the survivors of the escape from France to the Cape from among the refugees listed at Frankfurt and on the 23.12.1687 VOC list as per Table 2, we obtain table 4 .

Important Assumption:

We assume that someone (1) whose name was on the VOC list and (2) who appears at the Cape, does in fact come to the Cape on the *China* and not on another ship, such as the *Wapen van Alkmaar*:

Name	Frankfurt	VOC List	Batavia Fund	Comment (possibilities separated by semi-colons)
Pierre Frachasse	yes	no	no	Never boarded
Marguerite Barrale	yes	no	no	Never boarded
Mathieu Frachasse	yes	yes	yes	Boarded and survived
Pierre Joubert	yes	no	yes	Arrived - married first to S. Reyne, then Isabeau Richarde
Esprit Furet	yes	no	no	Never boarded
Jean Furet	yes	yes	no	Boarded and died; Died before boarding; Stayed behind
Jacques Verdeau	yes	yes	no	Unclear; Botha says he did arrive but gives no evidence
Hercule Verdeau	yes	yes	yes	Boarded and survived
Antoine Gardiol	yes	no	no	May have boarded and died on Wapen v. Alkmaar
Marguerite Perrotet	yes	no	yes	Arrived on Wapen v. Alkmaar
Suzanne Gardiol	yes	no	child	Arrived on Wapen v. Alkmaar - married Abraham de Villiers
Marguerite Gardiol	yes	no	child	Arrived on Wapen v. Alkmaar - married Jacob de Villiers;
Jean Gardiol	yes	no	child	Arrived on Wapen v. Alkmaar - on 1690 Muster list
Suzanne Reyne	yes	yes	no	Boarded and died; Died before boarding
Pierre Goirande	yes	yes	no	Boarded and died; Died before boarding; Stayed behind
Françoise Rousse	yes	yes	no	Boarded and died; Died before boarding; Stayed behind
Pierre Jourdan C. d'A	yes	yes	yes	Boarded and survived
Marie Jourdan Rousse	yes	yes	no	Boarded and died, given that the youngest children sailed
Jeanne Rousse	yes	yes	no	Boarded and died, given that the younger children sailed
Marie Rousse	yes	yes	yes	Boarded and survived
Margarete Rousse	yes	yes	yes	Boarded and survived
Isabeau Long	yes	no	yes	Arrived; ship uncertain - married Jean Jourdan soon after
Suzanne Goirande	yes	no	no	Never boarded
André Pelanchon	yes	yes	yes	Boarded and survived
Paul Jourdan	yes	yes	no	Boarded and died; Died before boarding; Stayed behind
Louis Courbon	yes	yes	yes	Boarded and survived
Pierre Grange	yes	yes	yes	Boarded and survived
Jeanne Marque	yes	yes	no	Boarded and died; Died before boarding; Stayed behind

Jean Jourdan (St. M.)	yes	yes	yes	Boarded and survived
Pierre Jourdan (St. M.)	yes	yes	yes	Boarded and survived
Jean Meinard	yes	yes	yes	Boarded and survived
Louise Courbonne	yes	yes	no	Boarded and died, given that the younger children sailed
4 Meinard children	yes	yes	yes	Boarded and survived
2 Meinard children	yes	yes	no	Boarded and died; Died before boarding; or one of each
Marie Anthouarde	yes	yes	no	Boarded and died; Died before boarding; Stayed behind
Anthoine Mallan	yes	yes	no	Boarded and died; Died before boarding; Stayed behind
Isabeau Verdette	yes	yes	no	Boarded and died; Died before boarding; Stayed behind
Child of A. Mallan	yes	yes	no	Boarded and died; Died before boarding; Stayed behind
Pierre Mallan	yes	yes	no	Boarded and died; Died before boarding
Isabeau Richarde	yes	yes	yes	Boarded and survived - married to P. Mallan then P. Joubert
Jacques Mallan	yes	no	yes	Boarded and survived - ship uncertain
André Rey	yes	no	no	Boarded and died; Died before boarding - ship uncertain,
Jeanne Mille	yes	no	yes	Arrived - married Arniel before April 1690 - ship uncertain
Jean Rey	yes	no	yes	Arrived - ship uncertain
Jacques Rey	yes	no	no	Boarded and died; Died before boarding - ship uncertain
Paul Roux	yes	no	yes	Arrived - ship uncertain
Anthoine Senet	no	yes	no	Boarded and died; Died before boarding; Stayed behind

Table 4. Table of those from Frankfurt who planned to sail, compared with those known to arrive at the Cape.

When Isabeau Richarde steps off the *China*, she is by all accounts already married to Pierre Joubert although there is no emphatic record of that. We therefore conclude that Pierre Joubert, though in a slightly different category, also sailed on the *China* and, likely, was married to Isabeau by the ship's unknown chaplain.

Table 4 thereby provides us with the names of 17 refugees (shaded in the table) who survive the voyage on the *China* specifically and arrive at the Cape. Table 5 provides the list of individual survivors separated into groups that will aid us in our analysis.

	Men	Women	Children	Tot
Names of survivors already identified	Mathieu Frachasse			
	Pierre Joubert			
	Hercule Verdeau			
	Pierre Jourdan (C. d'A.)			
			Marie Rousse	
			Margarete Rousse	
	André Pelanchon			

	Louis Courbon			
	Pierre Grange			
	Jean Jourdan (St Martin)			
	Pierre Jourdan (St Martin)			
	Jean Meinard			
			4 Meinard children	
		Isabeau Richard-Mallan		
Number of survivors so far identified	10	1	6	17

Table 5: Partial list of refugee passengers who survive the voyage on the *China*

In order to obtain clarity as regards the remaining three survivors, we now have to first turn to the matter of who perishes on the ship, and then we return to the matter of survivors.

The eight refugees who die aboard the *China*

From Table 4 we have 18 individuals who may have boarded the *China* and died on it. The names of all but two are on the VOC list of 23 December 1687 for the *China*. They are André Rey and his son Jacques Rey. As already seen, Jacques' mother Jeanne Mille and his brother Jean do eventually arrive at the Cape, but the ship is unclear. The names of all but one of the seventeen are in the Frankfurt church books. The exception is the mysterious young Anthoine Scaet/Senet, whose name is in fact on the VOC list for the *China*.

Of the eight fatalities claimed by Bruijn et al, we take four to be certain. The first two of those are Marie Jourdan-Rousse and her eldest daughter, Jeanne. We conclude this from the fact that the mother and three daughters were all alive and well in December 1687 and on the VOC list as well as from the fact that the two youngest children are clearly on the *China*. Upon arrival at the Cape, the two girls are referred to as “orphans” and there is no indication that they are in the care of their two uncles, Pierre and Jean Jourdan. So, we proceed based on the conclusion that the mother and oldest sister indeed set sail but perish on board.

The two grandmothers, Jeanne Marque and Marie Anthouarde have come all the way from the Luberon with their children and grandchildren and in each other's company. There is no way on earth they will heed the inevitable cautions of the VOC officials that they will not survive the trip at their age. They would argue that they would prefer to die in the loving presence of their children than to wait for death in a foreign country like Holland, surviving on the alms of the Dutch or the Walloon Church in the dismal Dutch weather. The northern winter of 1687 would only strengthen the convictions of these two ladies from the dry sunny Luberon. This leaves us with four refugees to select from among 10 candidates.

It seems hugely unlikely that Jean Meinard would board the *China* with all his (living) children if his wife were not with him. We therefore conclude that Jean Meinard, his wife Louise Courbonne and at least 4 of their children board, being the 4 referred to in the Batavian fund disbursement in Table 4. We thus conclude that Louise Courbonne perishes on the ship.

Given that Pierre Joubert is already concluded to be aboard the ship *China*, it stands to reason that his wife of 48 days, Suzanne Reyne, also boards. However, she never arrives at the Cape and we are forced to conclude that she dies on the voyage.

Taking it as read that the VOC interprets the word “child” consistently between the letter of 23 December 1687 and the minutes of 1 April 1688, we tabulate the situation thus far of those who do not survive the voyage as follows in Table 6, following the order in which individuals appear in Table 4. This provides us with the names of 6 who perish on the ship, two remaining to be identified:

	Men	Women	Children	Tot
Names already determined of those refugees who perish on board		Suzanne Reyne		
		Marie Jourdanne-Rousse		
			Jeanne Rousse	
		Jeanne Marque		
		Louise Courbonne		
		Marie Anthouarde		
Number who perish <u>so far</u> identified	0	5	1	6

Table 6: Partial list of refugee passengers who perish the voyage on the *China*

Tables 5 and 6 together identify 23 refugees. So, we have yet to identify five further refugee passengers. However, their breakdown is quite specific. Since we have already accounted for all seven children and all six women aboard the ship, the remaining five passengers must all be men, three of whom survive and two of whom perish. We have rather a limited choice left from table 4. The remaining candidates are shown in Table 7.

	Men	Women	Children	
Names remaining to choose among	Jacques Mallan			
	Paul Roux			
	Pierre Mallan			
	Paul Jourdan			
	Jacques Verdeau			
	Jean Furet			
	Anthoine Senet			
		Isabeau Long		
	André Rey	Jeanne Mille – Rey	Jean & Jacques Rey	
	Anthoine Mallan	Isabeau Verdette - Mallan	10-m old Mallan	
	Pierre Goirande	Francoise Rousse-Goirande		

Table 7 : remaining refugee passenger choices (parties unlikely to be passengers are shaded)

Since all the women and children have been accounted for:

1. Jeanne Mille, her two sons, Jean and Jacques, and her husband, André Rey, do not board the *China*. Jeanne Mille and son Jean do indeed eventually arrive at the Cape, but possibly on another ship. We know that Jeanne Mille and Jean “Roy” receive help at the Cape from the Batavian fund. The assumption is that André Rey and his son Jacques are destined to die on the voyage to the Cape on another ship; likely the *Wapen van Alkmaar*.
2. Isabeau Verdette, her 10 month old baby and her husband Anthoine Mallan do not board the *China*
3. Francoise Rousse-Goirande and her husband Pierre Goirande do not board the *China*
4. Isabeau Long does not sail on the *China*, but arrives on another ship, possibly *Wapen van Alkmaar*.

On the other hand,

1. Given that his wife, Isabeau Richarde, has been concluded to be on the ship, it is most likely that Pierre Mallan boards the ship with her, but perishes on board. Isabeau then marries Pierre Joubert, after he loses his own young wife, Suzanne Reyne on board.
2. We know that Paul Roux and Jacques Mallan do eventually arrive at the Cape. By Occam's Razor, we are obliged to assume the most simple answer to the puzzle to be the correct one and thereby conclude that they are indeed the two remaining men who complete the journey on the *China*. Like Isabeau Long, neither of them gave his name to the VOC before 23 December 1687. Jacques Mallan will in fact eventually marry Isabeau Long, but that will be at the Cape.
3. This leaves us to identify two more individuals from among Paul Jourdan, Jacques Verdeau, Jean Furet and Anthoine Senet. It seems entirely reasonable to the present author that the 20 year-old Jacques Verdeau would be on the *China* to shepherd his younger brother Hercule, who survives the voyage. Based on C. Graham Botha's statement, we take Jacques Verdeau as the remaining man to survive.
4. Given the fact that Paul Jourdan has traveled all the way from Cabrières d'Aigues with Pierre Jourdan of that town, it seems reasonable to accept that he also boarded the *China*, but did not survive.
5. The final implication is that Jean Furet and Anthoine Scaet/Senet withdraw their applications before the ship sails and they are not on board, resulting in a passenger list for the *China* as provided in Table 8.

	Men	Women	Children	Tot
Number embarked	15	6	7	28
Survivors	Mathieu Frachasse			
	Hercule Verdeau			
	Jacques Verdeau		Marie Rouse	
	Pierre Jourdan (C. d'A.)		Margarete Rouse	
	André Pelanchon			
	Louis Courbon			
	Pierre Grange			
	Jean Jourdan (St Martin)			
	Pierre Jourdan (St Martin)			
	Jean Meinard		4 Meinard children	
	Pierre Joubert	Isabeau Richard-Mallan		
	Jacques Mallan			
	Paul Roux			
Total Survivors	13	1	6	20
Deaths aboard	Pierre Mallan	Marie Jourdanne-Rousse	Jeanne Rouse	
	Paul Jourdan	Jeanne Marque		
		Marie Anthouarde		
		Louise Courbonne		

		Suzanne Reyne		
Total Deaths Aboard	2	5	1	8

Table 8. The refugee Passenger List for the China as determined in the present study

For the sake of completeness, we provide here also the names of the eight Dutch orphan girls who all complete the journey to the Cape³⁴ (some of their alternative names are provided):

- Ariaantje Jansz van Son; Ariaentgen Jansz van Son van Rotterdam
- Wilhelmina Adriaanse de Wit; or Willemtgen Arijens de Wit
- Adriana Jacobs van den Berg; Ariaantje Jacobs; Arijantgen Jacobs van den Berg; Ariaantje Adriaansse
- Judith Verbeek; Judith Jansz Verbeecq
- Petronella van Capelle; Petronelle Cornelis van Capelle
- Engeltje Cornelisz van der Bout; Jongetgen Cornelis van den Bout
- Catrina Janse van der Zee; Catharina Jans van der Zee
- Anna Eltrop; who came from the German Duchy of Cleves; also known as Anna van Kleef

There are the two “regular” passengers as per Bruijn et al. One of these passengers disembarks at the Cape while the other proceeds onward to Batavia. The balance of the complement of the ship is composed of 156 seafarers and 111 soldiers. Of these men, 9 seafarers and 3 soldiers die on the voyage.

It is useful to combine the result of Table 8 with the result of Table 4 and the origins of the refugees as per Table 1 in order to provide a continuous track of the individuals from the Luberon to the Cape. The result is Table 9. Those aboard the China are in bold and those who survived the journey are shaded as in Table 4.

Name	Origin	Frankfurt	VOC List	Batavia Fund	Comment
Pierre Frachasse	Lourmarin	yes	no	no	Stayed in Europe
Marguerite Barrale	Lourmarin	yes	no	no	Stayed in Europe
Mathieu Frachasse	Lourmarin	yes	yes	yes	Arrived on China
Pierre Joubert	La Motte d'Aigues	yes	no	yes	Arrived on China
Esprit Furet	Peypin d'Aigues	yes	no	no	Stayed in Europe
Jean Furet	Peypin d'Aigues	yes	yes	no	Stayed in Europe
Jacques Verdeau	La Roque d'Antheron	yes	yes	no	Arrived on China
Hercule Verdeau	La Roque d'Antheron	yes	yes	yes	Arrived on China
Antoine Gardiol	Lacoste and Cab. d'A.	yes	no	no	Died en Route to Cape, not on China
Marguerite Perrotet	Lacoste and Cab. d'A.	yes	no	yes	Arrived, not on China
Suzanne Gardiol	Lacoste and Cab. d'A.	yes	no	child	Arrived, not on China
Marguerite Gardiol	Lacoste and Cab. d'A.	yes	no	child	Arrived, not on China
Jean Gardiol	Lacoste and Cab. d'A.	yes	no	child	Arrived, not on China
Suzanne Reyne	La Roque d'Antheron	yes	yes	no	Perished on China
Pierre Goirande	Cabrières d'Aigues	yes	yes	no	Stayed in Europe

34 As per the excellent article by Richard Ball: <http://www.eggso.org/articles/Weesmeisies.htm>

Françoise Rousse	Cabrières d'Aigues	yes	yes	no	Stayed in Europe
Pierre Jourdan C. d'A	Cabrières d'Aigues	yes	yes	yes	Arrived on China
Marie Jourdan Rousse	La Motte d'Aigues	yes	yes	no	Perished on China
Jeanne Rousse	La Motte d'Aigues	yes	yes	no	Perished on China
Marie Rousse	La Motte d'Aigues	yes	yes	yes	Arrived on China
Margarete Rousse	La Motte d'Aigues	yes	yes	yes	Arrived on China
Isabeau Long	La Motte d'Aigues	yes	no	yes	Arrived, not on China
Suzanne Goirande	La Motte d'Aigues	yes	no	no	Stayed in Europe
André Pelanchon	Sivergues	yes	yes	yes	Arrived on China
Paul Jourdan	Cabrières d'Aigues	yes	yes	no	Perished on China
Louis Courbon	Cabrières d'Aigues	yes	yes	yes	Arrived on China
Pierre Grange	Cabrières d'Aigues	yes	yes	yes	Arrived on China
Jeanne Marque	St. Martin de la Brasque	yes	yes	no	Perished on China
Jean Jourdan	St. Martin de la Brasque	yes	yes	yes	Arrived on China
Pierre Jourdan	St. Martin de la Brasque	yes	yes	yes	Arrived on China
Jean Meinard	St. Martin de la Brasque	yes	yes	yes	Arrived on China
Louise Courbonne	St. Martin de la Brasque	yes	yes	no	Perished on China
4 Meinard children	St. Martin de la Brasque	yes	yes	yes	Arrived on China
2 Meinard children	St. Martin de la Brasque	yes	yes	no	Died in Europe
Marie Anthouarde	St. Martin de la Brasque	yes	yes	no	Perished on China
Anthoine Mallan	St. Martin de la Brasque	yes	yes	no	Stayed in Europe
Isabeau Verdette	St. Martin de la Brasque	yes	yes	no	Stayed in Europe
Child of A. Mallan	St. Martin de la Brasque	yes	yes	no	Stayed in Europe
Pierre Mallan	St. Martin de la Brasque	yes	yes	no	Perished on China
Isabeau Richarde	St. Martin de la Brasque	yes	yes	yes	Arrived on China
Jacques Mallan	St. Martin de la Brasque	yes	no	yes	Arrived on China
André Rey	Lourmarin	yes	no	no	Died en Route to Cape, not on China
Jeanne Mille	Lourmarin	yes	no	yes	Arrived, but not on China
Jean Rey	Lourmarin	yes	no	yes	Arrived, but not on China
Jacques Rey	Lourmarin	yes	no	no	Died en Route to Cape, not on China
Paul Roux	Orange	yes	no	yes	Arrived on China
Anthoine Senet	<i>Unknown*</i>	no	yes	no	Stayed in Europe

Table 9. The Vaudois refugees from the Luberon and their relation to the Cape of Good Hope

* There is no evidence that he is even from Provence.

Discussion of the results

This work is built on :

- The VOC Minutes of 1 April 1688
 - reporting that the Chamber of Rotterdam has sent 15 men, 6 women and 7 children as Vaudois refugees to the Cape
- J.R. Bruijn et al, *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping 1595-1795*
 - claiming 38 passengers of whom 8 died, 29 disembarked at the Cape and one went on to Batavia
 - showing the *China* to be the only ship sailing for the Cape under the commission of the Chamber of Rotterdam at the time
- The church assistance registration data of refugees in Switzerland and Germany
 - particularly relationships, names and origins, allowing us to group people and trace their progress during their flight

The conclusions are fundamentally made possible by four key “fortuitous” factors:

- The fact that the *China* was the only ship that sailed for the Cape under the aegis of the Chamber of Rotterdam at the time of the above minutes and therefore carried all 15 men, 6 women and 7 children.
- The timing of the VOC minutes, which confirms how many refugees actually embarked.
- The fact that so many Meinard children made and survived the voyage
- The fact that so many women with close relationships to surviving family never arrived.

It is certainly, by way of example, possible to argue that (say) Marie Anthouarde and (say) Jacques Verdeau/Verdot stayed behind and then place Pierre Goirand and his wife Francoise Rousse on the ship, where they then both perish. However, that would require family ties to be ignored between the two Verdeau brothers on the one hand, and between Marie and her family on the other. It would also require that a husband and wife both perish on a ship where, it would seem, the majority of women succumbed but 13 out of 15 men survived. Such a scenario seems to fly in the face of both statistics and human nature. So we see, for example, both Pierre Joubert and Isabeau Richarde losing a spouse, but in neither case did both members of a married couple perish.

The author believes the scenario presented in this work to be the one that most clearly takes into account the known data and synthesizes it taking due cognizance of human relationships that have not before been clearly traced from their source in the Luberon region of Provence.

After the arrival

On the Zuid Beveland³⁵ (arriving only 15 days later) comes the church minister for the Huguenot community. He turns out to be Rev. Pierre Simond from none other than the strongly Vaudois area of Embrun on the way to the Freisinnières valley, the origin of the Luberon Vaudois in 1495. He will turn out to be a typical of the strong-willed “Piemontese” Vaudois and will look very well after his flock. He will be one of the first authors at the Cape, creating a new version of the Psalms. Eventually he will return to Europe to see to the publication of his life's work. By 8 November of the year of landing, 1688, Paul Roux of Orange is appointed as Secretary for the French Parish of Drakenstein and as teacher to all the French children. He will stay in this role until his death in 1723 when there will still be some 25 of the original French settlers who cannot understand Dutch³⁶.

At first the settlers struggle terribly and the VOC finally obtains access to the so-called Batavia fund to help them. It is from this fund of some 6000 Rijksdalers that the VOC will help the refugees in 1690. The Rev. Simond will be asked to apportion the monies. This is the source of the information for Table 4.

³⁵ George McCall Theal, *South Africa under the Dutch East India Company V.1*, 1969 (Negro University reprint); pp.332

³⁶ C. Graham Botha, *The French Refugees at the Cape* (1919), pp.24.

For the first while after their arrival the people from the Luberon have loan farms from the VOC, but in the 1690s they are granted their own farms. They promptly name these after towns in the Luberon. Cabrières is obviously named after Cabrières d'Aigues. Two farms end up named La Motte, after La Motte d'Aigues. At least one is named La Roche after La Roche d'Antheron. Yet another is named Lormarin after Lourmarin west of Cabrières d'Aigues. Another is simply named La Provence.

As to the refugees themselves, the hardest hit family is that of Jean Meinard. By the end of 1692 Jean himself will be no more. Not long afterwards Philippe will be the only survivor of the original family of 9 Meinards who set out from Saint Martin de la Brasque in August 1687. From him will descend the entire Minnaar family of South Africa.

The unmarried Jacques Mallan will become the progenitor of all the Malans in South Africa, a number of whom will play central political roles in South Africa centuries later.

Pierre Joubert and Isabeau Richard will give us the huge Joubert family of South Africa, including Kommandant-General Piet Joubert, leader of the Boer forces in two wars against Britain. In this he will gain the reputation of being the only military leader in the world to formally defeat Britain in a war in the Victorian era – the First Anglo-Boer War of 1881. He will also be leader in the second war and gain thereby the admiration of all of Continental Europe.

The late Pierre “Carretier” Jourdan and his brave widow Jeanne Marque, who loses her life aboard the *China*, will be the source of all the Jordaans in South Africa, who can hereby know to visit Belle Etoile just north of Saint Martin to see their own origins.

Jean Jourdan will become the progenitor of all Jordaans in South Africa beyond the 18th century. His eldest son Jean will marry Pierre Jordaan d'Cabrière's daughter Suzanne. Pierre d'Cabrière's eldest daughter Anna will be one of the two Founding Mothers of the vast Fourie family in South Africa. Pierre Jourdan of Belle Etoile will leave no male progeny but, intriguingly, his one daughter will marry the son of an Indonesian Sultan who converts to Christianity at the Cape of Good Hope. They will assume the surname Sultania.

Twenty-four-year old Pierre Grange will become the progenitor for all the Lagranges of South Africa and Paul Roux will become the progenitor of the large family Roux. The two Gardiol sisters will marry two de Villiers brothers, thereby becoming the Founding Mothers of a large fraction of the de Viliers families of the country.

However, the names Verdeau, Frachasse, Pelanchon, Rey and Courbon will not survive past the 18th century. We will not hear much more about young Marie Rousse, but her sister Marguerite will marry Estienne Viret who arrives on the ship Suid Beveland. Even though they will have five sons, the name will not survive in the country.

The contribution of the French Huguenots to the development of the country of South Africa is well known and well documented. Not all in Europe viewed it the same way. Some time into the future, in the later 1700s, the great French philosopher, Voltaire³⁷, will not be very complimentary toward the efforts of his countrymen at the southern tip of Africa:

“There were those who settled around the Cape of Good Hope. The nephew of the famous De Quesne, Lieutenant General of the Navy, founded a small colony at the end of the earth; it has not prospered. Those who embarked mostly perished; but there are still remnants of the nearby settlement of Hottentots. The French were dispersed further than the Jews.”

Clearly the illustrious writer will know little about the Cape or the “Hottentots” (Khoi/Khoekhoe) and even less about Huguenot settlements. In fact he would be confusing the Huguenots with the collection of Frenchmen left on the Island of Diego Rodrigues by Admiral Du Quesne³⁸. A few decades later, the man who is to build his Empire partly on the well-intended writings of Voltaire – Napoleon Bonaparte – will invite the head of one of the Cape Huguenot families, Du Plessis, to return to France and reclaim his ancestral estate and lands³⁹. The Emperor will be politely turned down by the simple Cape farmer, whose own destiny was in Africa.

37 François-Marie Arouet (Voltaire), *Siècles de Louis XIV et Louis XV*, Vol 3; (The Didot publication of 1803); pp.140

38 C. Graham Botha, *The French Refugees at the Cape* (1919), pp.58.

39 Captain W.H. Hinde, Paper of January 9, 1895, *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, Vol.5 (1898), pp. 210

Conclusions

This work was initiated to obtain maximal clarity as regards who the actual Huguenot passengers aboard the ship *China* were, given that the proper passenger list does not exist. By striving to make the various collections of information from VOC sources, Swiss and German church books and the Cape Archives mutually consistent, we come away with the conclusion that there were never more than 28 Huguenot refugees aboard the ship and not 34, and that 8 of them died on the voyage rather than the 12 or 14 suggested by Theal.

As a byproduct of this work we have also established greater clarity as regards the family relationships among some of the refugees and we can now confirm that the Anthoine "Madan" of the 23 December 1687 VOC list is in fact Anthoine Mallan, cousin of South Africa's Jacques Malan.

Moreover, the results clearly show that the entire group of refugees aboard the ship was composed of Occitan-speaking Vaudois *Dalluyden* from one quite small area within Provence. There can be little doubt that the particularly difficult history between these Piedmontese people and the Catholic Church lies at the heart of the tough character strain that they brought to the new country which they would help found.

This work furthermore addresses the enduring myth that the voyage of the *China* was somehow extraordinarily long and arduous. The facts are that these voyages were inherently dangerous, that people almost always died on them, and that the 1688 voyage of the *China* was no worse than most.

It is hoped that this work allows us to say "*God bless the Good Ship China*" which brought us so much of the soul of the Afrikaner nation, and that she may now live down her reputation as the "*Ship from Hell*".

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