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The Establishment of the Huguenots in Virginia

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THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HUGUENOTS

IN

VIRGINIA

by

MARY WILSON BOHANNAN LAND
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OF
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1942
To

My Mother and Father
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INTRODUCTION
Introduction

It has been my purpose in writing of the Establishment of the Huguenots in Virginia to present in a unified whole all of the material which I have been able to find in my research, pertinent to such a history. At least a general background of the Huguenots in France is necessary to such a record, and that has been included as a very important prelude to the coming of the Refugees to Virginia. That background of persecution emphasizes the necessity for their seeking refuge in countries where they could find freedom of religion, the inalienable right of all men. The sufferings and hardships endured by them likewise emphasize the spontaneity with which they reshaped their lives on foreign soil by dint of their innate qualities of industry, ingenuity, and loyalty to a cause, which in itself gave them a "raison d'être."

The settlement of the Huguenots in Virginia was not without its social, economic, and political implications. It was necessary for them to learn to live with one another and adjust themselves to the life of a new community, under restrictions imposed, necessarily, by their own leaders, as well as those of the government in Virginia. When they finally had reached Virginia, they had found out that they had not reached the end of their trials; indeed, they were in dire need of financial resources, of materials with which to work, and at times, even of sufficient food. But thanks to the aid from the Colony, and to their stubborn hard work, they overcame these difficulties. By a retro-
gression of several hundred years in order to see why they came here, how they lived, what their influence on the life of the Colony was, how they in turn were influenced by the elements in their new life, how they scattered out and intermarried with the English colonists, we can see how they lost their identity as Huguenots and became Virginians.

Here, in Virginia, as well as elsewhere in the United States where there have been Huguenot settlements, conspicuous places in the annals of history have been held by these French Refugees, and their descendants. They have contributed in no small degree to the development and the prosperity of the State which had so generously given them the same rights and privileges as its own citizens, regardless of their religious creed.
CHAPTER I

Beginnings of Protestants in France. Persecutions
Beginnings of Protestantism in France. Persecutions

We can but wonder at the strength of the religious and political zeal which impelled France to drive from her shores over five hundred Huguenots. Among these persecuted emigrants were representatives of all social ranks, and consequently many types of people. These refugees, so imbued with religious spirit, had those traits which would naturally accompany such fervor; they were outstanding in piety, thrift, and successful industry. So it is easily understandable that we see transplanted in foreign countries the skill in manufacturing cloth and other commodities, products for which heretofore these very countries had been dependent upon France. So she now inflicts upon herself a double injury: industrial and commercial losses. It may be claimed that the number of these leaving France has been grossly exaggerated, and that the nation did not suffer any substantial loss in respect to industry and commerce. However, actual records of lists of French refugees during this period of emigration, as well as names clearly showing Huguenot extraction, attest to the vast number of all those who could flee from intolerance, in spite of all the obstacles and official measures taken to prevent them from leaving their country. How France was to suffer industrially and commercially from such a policy of intolerance cannot be overestimated.

We can look with equal admiration and wonder at the strength of religious zeal which enabled the followers of the Reformation to endure the sufferings and vicissitudes which were their lot for a period of over two centuries, and which started with the beginning of Protes-
tantism in France.

The search for enlightenment and truth which resulted in the Reformation in France was, of course, a phase of the Renaissance - the seeking by the individual for a basis, founded on reason, for his religious beliefs, wherein his spiritual desires could find satisfaction in truth.

To James LeFevre, a doctor of theology at the University of Paris, is attributed the priority of having successfully culminated a long search, through the study of philosophy and the Scriptures, especially the latter, with the longed-for enlightenment. He forthwith began the dissemination of his ideas, and found many enthusiastic disciples in the University, chief among them being one of his pupils, William Farel. The teachings were not confined to the University and soon found an ardent patroness in Margaret, sister of Francis I. At the same time Count William Briconnet, Bishop of Meaux, became interested in the teachings of Le Fèvre, and in turn, by his preaching in Meaux, brought about four hundred converts to the new faith.

The success of the reception of the new ideas caused great alarm from the outset, and Le Fèvre and Farel fled to Meaux, and finally to Strasbourg. Briconnet was forced to give up preaching a now accepted dangerously dangerous doctrine, and so, immediately began the persecutions and the firm opposition which resulted in a series of struggles lasting over two hundred years, so deep-rooted was the intolerance toward the Reformists.

The first martyr in France to suffer death for the sake of this new religion was a woolcarder of Meaux, John Le Clerc. He died
after enduring dreadful tortures.

It is worthy of note here that at this time, 1525, there was at the University of Paris, a promisingly brilliant young Papist, who was exceedingly strong in his consciousness of right and wrong. In his search for spiritual truths, he became interested in the faith of the Reformers, and soon became an ardent follower of dangerous influence; for that reason, he was compelled to leave France. Thus it happened that John Calvin took refuge in Switzerland where he developed his doctrines.  

The religious struggle in France had by this time become a political one, many of the nobility having aligned themselves with the new faith, probably as a means of strengthening their stand against the house of Guise, a powerful political element, who, likewise, was using its religion to secure its own ends, and also to control Henry II who had acceded to the throne in 1547. This strengthening of the ranks by the nobility was decidedly favorable to the Protestants, and their adoption of the faith was by no means fundamentally for political reasons, as witness the example of Coligny, Admiral of France, who was a staunch devotee, and was able to do much to further the cause of the Huguenots.

The influence of Protestantism was also becoming stronger

1 In 1536, he published his Christianae Religionis Institutio (Institutes of the Christian Faith) dedicated to Francis I as a plea for the Protestants in France, and thus gave to Protestantism a firmer basis for its establishment and organization in France.
among the people of the middle class; they were not long in visualizing in this religious-political contest a possible means of opposition to the nobility and to the monarchy.

In its early days, Protestantism had found its chief supporters among the lower classes, but as has just been observed, it was fast finding adherents in all ranks. The more rapid the spread of Protestantism, the more relentless became the spirit of intolerance and persecution. This in no way cooled the ardor of the converts, seeming rather to fan the flame of religious fervor. By 1547, every province had numerous Protestant churches.

It is not our purpose to give here more than an outline of the facts and events which attended the spread of Calvinism in France. It had become a powerful force in opposition to the Catholic Church; in addition, on account of its political implications, it had also to face the opposition and sometime the hostility of the king. More and more the scant privileges granted to the Huguenots were being curtailed by edicts. Persecutions had never stopped; on the contrary, they had steadily increased in violence, and the violator of an edict was sometimes punished by unspeakable tortures.

Before giving an account of the chief events relative to Huguenot history through the period leading up to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, it may be well to offer here some explanation concerning the origin of the term Huguenot, which was first used about 1560. Authorities have found it impossible to determine the true origin of this appellation, and many theories have been advanced in explanation.
In the Etymological Dictionary of Clédat, we find that Huguenot is a "Désignation de l'allemand eidgenossen, confédérés, modèle peut-être sur le nom de Quelque reformé qui s'appelait Huguenot, le petit Hugon." 2

The formation of Huguenot from eidgenossen seems to have first place among many explanations offered. As there was a party in Geneva at the time, known by that name, it seems plausible that the French Protestants would have used the same term.

Baird 3 gives the following explanations also: "Roy Huguet, or Hugon, a hobgoblin supposed to haunt the vicinity of Tours, to whom the supersitious attributed the nocturnal assemblies of the Huguenots." Etienne Pasquier claims that he heard this term used by some friend of his eight or nine years before 1560.

Huguenot was supposedly at one time the name of a very small coin, and the term may have been used by enemies to imply that the Protestants were not worth a huguenot (farthing).

It has also been asserted that the name was derived from Hugues Capet, whose descendants, the Valois, the Huguenots defended.

Some suppose the term to be derived from Hugon, a word used in Touraine to signify persons who walk at night in the streets, the early Protestants, like the early Christians having chosen that time for their

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Smiles, author of the above, also advances the surmise that the word was derived from one Hugues, the name of a Genevese Calvinist.

Such are the most popular of the explanations brought forward, none of which can be validly established as truly the origin of the word. But whatever it might have been, it suddenly became, in 1560, a means of distinction from the other sects.

To return to our cursory view of the history of the Huguenots in France, we find that one of the most important of the first edicts issued against them was that of Henry II issued in 1551, the Edict of Chateaubriand, which was a demand on civil and ecclesiastical courts to do all in their power to suppress Protestantism. Provision was made for barring Protestants from magistratures and teaching, for penalties for any evidence of aid to Protestants, and special care was given to checking dissemination of heretical material through the press.

Countless edicts followed The Edict of Chateaubriand, by which the Protestants were faced with "imprisonment, confiscation of property, and death"; they not only had to endure these penalties fixed by law, but were subject to lawless violation of person and property by an easily swayed populace.

The height of infringement of personal rights seemed to be reached in the drastic provisions of the Edict of July, 1561 - provisions, the strict execution of which, would have strained to an open

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"Smiles, Samuel The Huguenots (1868)."
break the hostile relations between the two religious parties. "It inflicted punishment by imprisonment and confiscation upon all who, whether armed or unarmed, should attend any heretical service of worship, public or private." 5

Catherine de Medici, Regent for Charles IX, seeking in her cunning, scheming manner, to maintain a middle course between the parties, sought the advice of Coligny when she saw that some kind of conciliation was necessary. His counsel resulted in the "Edict of January", 1562, which finally gave to Protestantism a legal standing in France, thereby entitling it to legal protection. A General Council of the Church was to be called for the "settlement of all questions of religious faith"; until such time, the followers of the new faith were free from all penalties previously fixed on them. Protestants were not to be molested while going to or from their religious assemblies. An officer of the government was to be present at ecclesiastical meetings.

The advantages accruing from this edict were short-lived. Civil war broke out and continued at intervals for eight years, finally terminating in the peace of St. Germain, August, 1570, a peace with terms so lenient that the rightfully skeptical Huguenots suspected further plotting for their extermination. However, Catherine was apparently earnest for a while in her efforts at enforcement. But the Peace became less and less effective. Scarcely two years later, Catherine perpetrated her diabolical plot to destroy the Huguenots by ordering

their dreadful massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572. One of the first to lose his life in this massacre was Admiral Coligny; thousands were literally butchered in this wholesale slaughter. The massacre was not confined to Paris, but was extended to many of the provinces. This barbaric outburst of intolerance deprived France of her best families.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day by no means was successful in its purpose—the extermination of all Protestants. Many succeeded in fleeing to England, Germany, and Switzerland, some to remote mountain regions, and still others to cities which were still strongholds of Protestantism in France. Chief among these cities was La Rochelle, and here the Huguenots resisted for nine months a siege begun in November 1572, under Charles IX. At the end of that time, the king was forced to compromise, and the Huguenots obtained many concessions in the peace which followed, principally: "liberty of conscience, freedom to worship in the cities of Nîmes, Montauban, and La Rochelle; confiscated property was to be restored, and forced abjurations were nullified."

Sancerre was in turn besieged, and though the inhabitants were reduced to sufferings worse if possible than those endured in La Rochelle, they held out until they were granted the right to continue their Protestant form of worship.

Continued efforts were made to exterminate Protestantism. The ranks of the Reformers were constantly being reduced by flights to other countries. At the death of Henry III, who had succeeded Charles IX, the Huguenots lost a staunch friend and supporter in his
successor, Henry of Navarre, who became king as Henry IV. He had been immediately recognized as their rightful king by the Huguenots, who were, of course, opposed to a change in the king's faith. However, this was the condition put upon the support of Henry by leaders of other powerful factions in the kingdom; they recognized his well justified claim to the throne, but — he was a Protestant. He finally decided to abjure, urged to do so by the Duke of Sully, who told him that "embracing the Catholic religion did not include the necessity of persecuting all others." So, after his decision, "Paris vaut bien une messe", he refused to agree to the continued persecution of the Protestants. Their sufferings were by no means at an end, but their condition was decidedly ameliorated by this show of loyalty from their former ally.

In 1597, the Huguenots prepared a book in which they compiled a long list of grievances, and entitled it: "Complaints of the Reformed Churches of France, about the violences they suffer in many parts of the kingdom, for which they have with all humility applied themselves at several times to His Majesty and the Lords of the Council." Outstanding were their complaints in regard to restrictions in worshipping, education of their children, ministrations to the sick, and the burial of the dead. Henry could not turn a deaf ear to the plea for an edict which would guarantee certain rights to his former loyal supporters, so in 1598, he issued the Edict of Nantes. This document had for its pur-

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6 A History of the Huguenots. Written for the American Sunday School Union, and revised by the Committee of Publication. (1844) Ch. IV pp. 102, 103.
pose the protection of the Huguenots, and in no way gave them recognition as a Church. However, it did grant to them the privilege of living in France without molestation, full liberty of conscience, permission to worship in certain places; "and for the peaceful maintenance of these exercises, all the authority of the crown was solemnly pledged." 7

So was ended, by this edict, nearly a century of civil strifes, persecutions, and tortures, and the Huguenots had won for themselves the right to worship, although their religion was not officially recognized.

The record of the following century witnesses, however, the gradual suppression of the privileges granted by Henry IV, solemnly given pledges are soon repudiated, persecutions flare up again, and the ever-growing spirit of intolerance will soon lead to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV.

Indeed, all through the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV runs a chain of events, which for the Protestants meant more and more infringement upon their rights under the Edict, in spite of the fact that Louis XIII had confirmed the Edict of Nantes no less than three times, in 1610, during the Regency, when he had declared that the "Edict is perpetual and irrevocable"; he then had wished to assure his subjects of the royal intention to require a strict observance of this law; in 1614, on reaching his majority, he had again confirmed it in terms no less clear; in 1615, he had renewed these promises, or-

dering that the provisions of the Edict be "maintained and kept inviolably," this, also, in spite of the fact that his coronation oath had included a pledge to drive out of France "all heretics denounced by the Church." Again in 1619, he had reaffirmed his determination to require a strict observance of the Edict.

Louis XIV was no less emphatic in his affirmations of intentions to maintain this "singular work of the perfect prudence of Henry the Great, our grandfather." While outwardly agreeing to execute the law, his policy was presumably to grant nothing further to the Huguenots, and to circumvent their growth in power by every means, civil and religious.

Among the persecutions most difficult to be endured were: the law authorizing children of seven to renounce Protestantism and embrace Catholicism; and the placing of the Dragonnades in all parts of France, which was the equivalent of military occupancy of the home, until such time as the Huguenots on whom they were quartered would abjure. Other indignities were the restrictions on pastors that they could not remain longer than three years in the same place, since this was considered a means by which the pastors could strengthen the hold of Protestantism in the hearts of its adherents. Other measures, designed possibly to force children into Catholic education, did away.

The Dragonnades began in Poitou, but soon spread to all parts of France.

Baird, Chas. W., D. D. Ch. IV The Huguenot Emigration to America. I (1885) pp. 248 - 250.
with many Huguenot schools. The new buildings of the Protestant college at Nismes were given to the Jesuits, and the professors placed under Jesuit authority; the maintenance of Academies was forbidden; Protestant nobles. Protestant teachers could teach no branch of learning besides reading, writing, and arithmetic. In any of the places where public profession of the Protestant religion was allowed, there could be only one teacher. The seats of higher learning came also under the suppression of Protestant educational facilities: the Academy founded by Coligny at Chatillon-sur-Loing was suppressed in 1661, as well as the one at Sedan, founded by Henry IV. Others suppressed were the Academy of Die, of Saumur, and of Montauban.

The "temples" of the Protestants suffered a fate similar to that of the schools and academies; in many cases they were demolished, and the worshipers were forbidden to gather for services on the site of many their church, though/continued to do so in spite of penalties.

Evidently seeking to touch every phase of the life of the Protestants in the tireless efforts to suppress the so-called heresy, the government under Louis XIV, though contrary to the Edict of Nantes, barred the Huguenots from certain offices, professions and trades: principally, "they were excluded from all civil and municipal charges." The liberal professions were closed to them; they could not be "printers, booksellers, clerks, and public messengers. The various classes

9 Pierre Bayle was a professor of philosophy at the Academy of Sedan at this time.
of craftsmen were cautioned against admitting them.\textsuperscript{10}

Finally, after a period in which Louis XIV was outwardly upholding the terms of the Edict, while he actually was continually curtailing its effectiveness, after a period in which the clergy seemed unaware of the new outrages inflicted upon the Huguenots through their efforts, Louis decided that the time had arrived when the Edict of Nantes was no longer necessary. He said since "we now see that our efforts have attained the end we have had in view, since the best and greater part of our subjects of that religion have embraced the Catholic Religion. And inasmuch as by this means the execution of the Edict of Nantes \ldots \ldots remains useless, we have judged that we could do nothing better \ldots \ldots than to revoke altogether the said Edict of Nantes."\textsuperscript{11}

This Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, October 22, 1685, was the "coup de grace" to Protestantism, the political and military power of which had been crushed after the fall of La Rochelle, in 1628.

Its first provision naturally did away with the Edict of Nantes, and all other edicts, grants, or laws favorable to the Protestants; no gatherings of Protestants for services could take place; all ministers who refused to become Catholics had to leave France; private schools for Protestant children were abolished, children had to be bap-

\textsuperscript{11}Baird, Chas. W. Ch. IV The Huguenot Emigration to America. Vol. I (1885) pp. 257-258.
tized by Catholic priests and brought up in the Catholic faith; refugees could return and claim their property; no Protestants, nor any one in their families were permitted to leave France, nor to export any part of their goods; infractions would result in "galley for men, and confiscation of body and goods for women." The final provision of the Revocation sounded a note of tolerance, but under the surface, there remained the same hypocrisy, which had been manifest in all the actions of its author, throughout the various stages of his actual policy of intolerance.

CHAPTER II

First Emigrations and Their Repercussions
First Emigrations and Their Repercussions

Since its beginning, Protestantism had been subject to a degree of persecution which often surpassed the limits of endurance; the natural result of such suffering, and such restriction of freedom was the search for places of refuge, where the pursuits of religion could be carried out in some semblance of peace. Many Huguenots fled to mountain fastnesses in France, but many others fled to foreign countries. The year 1666 marked the occasion for the departure of Huguenots in even greater numbers than before, this occasion being the passing of the General Laws, on April 2, a declaration embodying former decisions made in regard to Huguenots, which thereafter would be law. However, the number of those fleeing was comparatively small until the terrible slaughter of Huguenots in 1572.

The Law of 1681 was no less effective in driving from France many of her best citizens, for this was a law which struck not only at the Protestant religion, but also at the very heart of the family; it authorized children of seven years to renounce the religion of their Protestant parents and embrace the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion.\(^1\)

The real height of the rising tide of emigration was reached in 1685, when the ever-increasing means of persecution likewise reached a culmination in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Those fleeing were

none the less deterred from their purpose by the fact that flight was specifically prohibited by one of the provisions of the Revocation. The one thought uppermost in the minds of these oppressed people was to reach some land where they could find religious freedom, preferably some country near France, so that ties with those left behind in the native land would not be completely broken.

Since the last part of the seventeenth century, even before the Revocation, several countries, England, Holland, Switzerland, and Germany, moved by sympathy for the Protestants, aided them greatly by signifying that they would be made welcome in those countries. In England, Charles II promised letters of denization, and other privileges. Other countries, notably Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and Switzerland, likewise made it possible for the refugees to establish themselves within their borders. From these countries, many Huguenots went to America, preferring to find liberty of conscience in a new land, where they joined, if possible, those of their religion who had preceded them there.

An exact reckoning of the number of the emigrants has been impossible, leaving as they did from every region of France, and by every means which their ingenuity could conceive. It is possible that the number ranged from five hundred thousand to a million or more. Certain it is that they left in numbers sufficiently large to affect seriously economic conditions in France. Trade was badly crippled, and the manufacture of certain articles almost ceased in some towns. France thus lost

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for the benefit of the countries which received them, thousands of her best citizens: sober, intelligent, and well educated people. Skilled artisans and manufacturers thus continued their trades with great success in other lands. "They introduced the art of printing calico, making glass, and weaving velvets, cambrics, silk, and many sorts of worsted fabrics into England." § So France was deprived of large sources of revenue, these countries being no longer dependent on her for these articles.

It would be of interest to note here some facts relative to the distribution of the Huguenots in France. They were considerably in the minority there, but in some parts of the country they were so numerous that they were not without great influence.

So was the case with Normandy and Poitou, where they were predominating, and it is from the former province that refugees fled after the Revocation in such alarming numbers; it has been estimated that one-hundred and eighty thousand Huguenots left Normandy. Other provinces in which there were many Protestants were Saintonge and Aunis: (part of the stronghold la Rochelle) Bearn, Upper Guyenne, Lower Languedo, Vivarais, and the Cevennes.

It is from these French provinces that originated the refugees who came to Virginia, and though it is not known from what localities all of them came, some few are known to have been natives of towns and provinces as follows:

The family of Imbert came from Mârs (Lower Languedo); one

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*A History of the Huguenots - written for the American Sunday School Union, Ch. X (1844) p. 209.*
of this family was a settler at Nanakintown, Virginia.

From Montauban in Guyenne came Antoine Trabue, in 1687, also one of the settlers on the James river; he died in January 1724.  

Also from Guyenne, Louis Latané went to Virginia, and for over thirty years was minister of South Farnham Parish, Essex County, Virginia. "He was a man of blameless life and devoted to the work of the ministry."  

From Loudon in Poitou came Jacob, Pierre, and Matthieu Ammonet, "chefs de familles à Loudon, 1634." Jacob Ammonet was one of the settlers of Nanakintown.

The birthplace of Olivier de la Mace, the founder of the settlement at Nanakintown was not far from Nantes in Bretagne; here was the seat of the noble house of La Mace-Ponthus (David, his son César, and his grandson Olivier). Soon after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Olivier de la Mace attempted to flee from France, but was arrested on the island of Ré. He was imprisoned in La Rochelle, and Nantes, where every effort was made to persuade him to abjure, but without success, so he was finally expelled from France as a dangerous heretic. He was sent to England, from where he later came to Virginia on the "Mary and Anne", in 1700. 

4 Baird, Chas. W. Ch. VIII The Huguenot Emigration to America. Vol. II (1885) p. 152.
5 Ibid - footnote, p. 145.
Also a native of Nantes, in Bretagne, was Paul Micou (1658-1736) who came to Virginia from England, and settled on the Rappahannock in Essex County. 7

Claude Philippe de Richebourg, the first minister of the Huguenot settlement in Virginia, came from St. Séveré in the Province of Berri. Owing to disputes in his parish, he moved in 1707 with a number of his adherents, to the Carolinas, and was pastor of the French Church in Charleston; he died in 1719.

"To Manakintown from Port des Barques came Jacques Bilbaud."

"Jean Bilbaud d(it) raccruet, matelot, sa femme, biens, 4,000 livres, fled from Port des Barques in 1681 to England. Jacques Billebaud (Bilboe, Bilbaud, Billebo), one of the inhabitants of Manakintown, 1700-1723, was doubtless of the same family." 8

At Soubise was born Jean Panetier. "Jacques Panetier, fugitif de Soubise." (Arch. Nat.). "John Pantrier, naturalized in England, March 8, 1682, Panetier one of the settlers of Manakintown, Virginia, in 1700. Jean Panetier, 1711." 9

Chatelas, in Saintonge, was the birthplace of Jacques Fontaine, the Huguenot pastor, ancestor of the American families of Fontaine and Maury." 10

9 Ibid - p. 18
10 Ibid - p. 45
Abraham Salle, son of John Salle by Mary his wife, born at St. Martins in France, petitioned the governor and council for denization, New York, 1700. The children of Abraham Salle and Olive Ferrault, his wife, baptized in the French Church, New York were Abraham, born October 31, 1700, and Jacob, born July 28, 1701. Salle removed to Manakintown, Virginia, where he was a member of the first Vestry of King William Parish. Another was Abraham Salle, who seems to have been a leading man, and who was justice of Henrico in 1709.

As a result of bitterness and quarreling in the colony, Abraham Salle became very dissatisfied there. There was an open break between him and the pastor Richebourg in 1707. Though Richebourg and several of his adherents left Manakintown and went to South Carolina, Salle seems never to have felt completely satisfied, and addressed George I, probably about 1714, in a petition, asking that he be allowed to have "some part in this solid and advantageous establishment which your Majesty intends to make in that country (Ireland) in favor of poor exiles."

However, he never left Virginia, and died there (Manakintown) in 1719.

From Figeac in Guyenne, Jean Cairon escaped to Switzerland at the time of the Revocation, stayed several years in the Pays de Vaud.

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then came to America, and in 1714 was pastor at Manakintown.

From Sedan in Champagne, came Susanne Rochette, who married one of the French refugees in Virginia, Abraham Michaux. A dramatic story is told of her escape from France, from which she derived her nickname of "The Little Nightcap." When she and her husband came to Virginia, they first lived in Stafford County, but later removed to Manakintown.14

Béthémé Dupuy was also probably from this part of France. He first fled to Germany, reaching there with his wife after a perilous journey; he remained there fourteen years; from there he went to England in 1699, and shortly afterward to Manakintown, in Virginia.15

From the Isle of Ré came Joseph Bernard (and Abraham Salle). "Joseph Bernard and his wife were among the settlers of Manakintown, 1701." The name of Bernard appears on the list of Tithable Persons for the years 1713 and 1714 in the Vestry Book of King William Parish.16

14 There is recorded in Stafford County a paper, "French Men's Petition", of which Abraham Michaux was one of the signers. The petition states that "they have come into Stafford as strangers, reduced to extremity and poverty, and praying to be exempted from county levies for what time the Court shall think fit." Dated March, 1700. "Huguenots in Stafford, 1701." Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. II (1895) p. 100.


CHAPTER III

Plans and Propaganda for the Emigration of
Huguenots to America
Plans and Propaganda for the Emigration of

Huguenots to America

As has been said, the Huguenots fled from France in increasing numbers after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, principally to Switzerland, Holland, and England. Many of them, by reason of the privileges extended to them in these countries, were able to establish themselves permanently in their new homes. Others, however, of more adventurous spirit, or desirous of obtaining even more freedom, left these countries for America.

But even before the great exodus in 1685, there had been a steady stream of Protestants from France, beginning with the earliest days of their persecution. Several colonies were set up in America, some ending in failure, while others were more successful. It was but natural that many should be attracted to the English colonies in America, where they knew they would find many of their own religion, and of which they had heard such inviting accounts of profitable trade, and of lands rich in agricultural promise.

To encourage this inclination of the Huguenots toward America, as well as that of others who were looking with longing eyes toward this "Promised Land", a few travelers of the period wrote in glowing terms of what they had seen, and gave much publicity to their works, which became, intentionally or not, propaganda for attracting new colonists to America.
Chinard in "Les Refuges Huguenots en Amerique"\(^1\) cites a few of these, one of them being the work of Rochefort, "Historire Naturelle et Morale des Antilles de l'Amérique", to the fourth edition of which he adds a "Récit de l'Estat présent des célèbres colonies de la Virginie de Marie Land et de la Carolina...Tiré fidèlement des habitans de mêmes colonies en faveur de ceux qui auroyent le dessein de s'y transporter pour s'y établir-1681."

Another very interesting one cited is "Le Voyage d'un Français exile pour la religion avec une description de la Virginie et Marilan ... 1687."\(^2\) The author fled from France to escape the terrors of the dragonnades, arriving in England late in 1685, from whence he sailed to America in 1686. In reading this account of his travels, it is of especial interest, in view of the subject with which we are concerned, to note that it is Virginia which most impresses him. "La Virginie...........est le plus beau, le plus agréable, le plus fertile pais de toutes les Indes Occidentales." "C'est un pays si bon et si fertile, que lorsqu'un homme a cinquante acres de terre, deux valets & quelque bétail, ni lui ni sa femme ne font jamais rien que se promener les uns chez les autres."

After recounting his travels in Virginia, in the "Dernier Voyage", the author summarizes by enumerating his reasons for considering Virginia preferable to Carolina, then advances reasons for preferring "les Provinces de Rappahannock & d'Estafort (Stafford)" to the others of

\(^1\) Chinard, Gilbert Ch. IV Les Refuges Huguenots en Amerique. (1925) p.69
\(^2\) Ibid - p. 66
the Colony, the reasons being "l'agrement, la santé, et la fertilité."
He feels constrained now to set forth to his fellow Protestants in France,
this account of his travels, in order that by so doing he might aid in
their establishment in the "most beautiful and the best country he has
ever seen"; after doing that he would die happy. He adds to the relation
of his voyages the proposition of some gentlemen in Virginia in the
"Conté d'Estafort" in regard to offering land to French Refugees. He
cannot include those of his friend "Mr. Wormeley" as they are in English,
and he has found no one who can translate them for him. He has already
mentioned that His Excellency the Governor of Virginia offered fifty
acres of land to foreigners who would come and settle there. He was told
while in Stafford County that there were "those ....who had twenty-five
thousand acres of land to sell in this same County, and that there were
some men in London who had orders to offer this land to Frenchmen, and
also to advance them, if necessary, money for building homes, and wheat
for the first year. These are the propositions which he considered to be
suitable to be added at the end of his book.

Following is one of these, the proposition of Nicholas Hayward:

Pour la Virgine

Messieurs les Propriétaires de la terre située proche la Comté
de Stafford en Virgine, dans le trente neuvième degré, entre le Sudwest
à la Nordwest, dépendantes de la Rivière nommé Gitoquan Creeke à de la
ville qu'on a commencé d'y bâtir, appelée Brenton (pour l'encouragement
des personnes qui ont dessein de ce transporter dans ce pays là, & y faire
un établissement solide, font les propositions suivantes; à savoir:

Aux premiers qui se présenteront (à jamais pour eux & leurs
heritiers) ces Messieurs vendront cent acres de terre assez près de ladite Ville pour bâtir une maison, pour le prix & somme de dix livres Sterlings, argent content, & quatre Schelins Sterlins pour un rente tolerable, moyennant quoi ils seront entièrement propriétaires desdites terres à perpetuité.

L'on peut assurer ces personnes que ladite terre est extre- moment saine, bon & tres fertile, produisante toute sorte de graines comme du Bled, Orge, Avoines & autres, comme en Europe, Vignes & toute sorte de bon fruit, & les eaux se trouvent fort excellent.

L'on donnera la preference de choisir pour la scituation de leur mesterie & maison pour le suamentione prix aux premiers seulement qui se transporteront pour y faire leur 'etablissement, car on pretend à l'avenir de faire un tout autre prix plus cher pour la vente des- dites terres.

Et pour un meilleur encouragement aux families qui se pre- senteront des premiers qui ne voudront, ou ne pourront avancer aucun ar- gent content, & qui désirent d'estre assistez par ces Messieurs, ils offrent auxdites personnes, à eux & leurs heritiers, cent acres de terre pour faire une mesterie, & une acre dans ladite ville pour leur maison, & de fournir à chaque famille quinze boisseaux de Bled sarrazin pour leur subsistance la premiere année, des cious & ferrures à suffisance pour bastir ladite maison, qui sera de 26. à 28. pieds de longueur, à de 14. à 16. pieds de largeur, a raison de quatre escus sterlins de rente annuelle, pour le tout.

Et si l'on se trouve trop charge de cent acres, ou que l'on n'en ait pas assez, on leur baillera comme ils voudront, en payant à
Proportion soit en rente ou en rente, aux prix & conditions que dessus.

London ce 30. May 1687, de la part des propriétaires.

NICH. HAYWARD. 3

Nicholas Hayward, whose proposition is quoted above was "a practicing notary public on the Virginia walk in the Exchange", son of a Virginia merchant in London. He had acquired a plantation on the Potomac, next to Bedford, William Fitzhugh's home. He worked out a plan for the colonization of French Huguenots on this land. William Fitzhugh had wished to buy the lands, which offer Hayward refused. Being greatly taken with the idea of colonizing, he suggested to Hayward the advisability of settling the Huguenots on his own more extensive land. Hayward however was intent upon carrying out the plans for settling his own lands, and refused. But having realized the insufficient size of his own tract, he purchased thirty thousand acres in Stafford from Lord Culpeper. His next step was to make three men his partners in the enterprise; Richard Foote, Robert Bristow, and George Brent, the latter being the resident partner in Virginia.

Due to the politically agitated times, Hayward's next step was to gain from James II the assurance that his proposed Huguenot colonists would have the right of the "full exercise of their Religion." While Brent, in Virginia was making preparations such as opening the Brent (Brent Town) road, and laying out the town site, Hayward was busily dis-

tributing in London, "in the coffee houses of Soho and St. Giles and weavers' shops of Spitalfields, where the refugees foregathered," broadsides containing propaganda for attracting the Huguenots to Virginia.

In spite of carefully made plans and inviting handbills, as well as the support of shipmasters of the Virginia trade, the undertaking failed, and in 1689, we find Hayward the recipient of a letter from Fitzhugh condoling the unsuccessful venture. He even suggested that it become a refuge and sanctuary for Roman Catholics, being assured that the government would grant them "Indulgences... by reason of its convenient situation for a watch and defense against Indian depredations."

William Fitzhugh, as has been said, had tried to interest Hayward in sending the French Refugees to his lands, which later came to be known as Ravensworth, but he met with no success in that quarter. So he offered the lands himself, in 1686, saying that "for the French Protestants, I have convenient and good land enough to seat 150 or 200 families upon one dividend which contains 21,996 acres, which I will either sell them in fee at 7 pounds sterling for every hundred acres, or else lease it to them for three lives paying 20 schillings per annum for every hundred acres... The land I offer lies within a mile and a half of Potomack River, and of two bold navigable creeks... and is more proper for

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frenchman, because more naturally inclined to vines than yours (Hayward’s). 6

Though the plans of both Fitzhugh and Hayward for establishing colonies were not successful, there is sufficient proof that at least a few Refugees lived on Fitzhugh’s land, before the establishment of the colony at Manakintown. It is believed that Abraham Micheaux, who already has been mentioned, lived in Stafford County before going to Manakintown.

From the Vestry Book of King William Parish, Virginia, 1707-1750, we learn that as early as 1683 "Baron de Sance seated a colony on the lower James", having obtained permission from the English government to establish a colony of Huguenots in Virginia. The settlement was made in what is now Nansemond County, then known as "Southampton Hundred." This was evidently not a very favorable location for a colony, and no records of it have been discovered. 7

From the same source, we learn that in the year 1687, six hundred Huguenots came to Virginia, and that it is very probable that some of these settled on the lands offered by William Fitzhugh, some in Stafford, and some in Spotsylvania.

So we see that all through the 17th century, Virginia was constantly receiving the refugees from France, in large numbers and small, the number reaching its peak in 1700, when about eight hundred came over, many of whom settled at Manakintown. It is these settlers who will now be our chief concern.

7 Yosdick, Indian The Huguenots in Virginia.
CHAPTER IV

The Settling of Huguenots in Manakintown

"Up James River is a Colony of French Refugees, who at the Mannacan Town live happily under our Government enjoying their own Language and Customs."

The Present State of Virginia

Hugh Jones
The Settling of Huguenots in Manakintown

Plans for emigration had long been in the minds of those Huguenots who sailed from England in the year 1700, plans which had been in the making for about two years, and which had been changed many times. Much had been done in London to encourage and aid in going to America those who had become interested in so doing, since many of the Refugees had come to England with few or none of their possessions, and constantly required financial aid until they could establish themselves profitably. Disbursements were made to those needing money, from the Protestant Relief Fund, and it was from this Fund that many were enabled to come to Virginia. Records in the Library of Guildhall in London¹ give an account of these disbursements, as, for example, in June, 1700, the sum of thirty-eight pounds was given "to Mon" Benjamin de Joux, Minister, appointed to go to Virginia; ......... Later, in August of the same year, a request for twenty pounds was made for M. Castayne, one of the physicians among the Refugees bound for Virginia; later still in the same year, requests were made for money for "such Vaudois & French refugees as design to settle in Virginia.²

¹Baird, Chas. W. Ch. IX The Huguenot Emigration to America, Vol. II (1885) pp. 179, 180.
²It is of interest to note that many of the émigrants to Virginia at this period were Waldensians who had fled to the Pays de Vaud, thence to England. Their names in the lists of those sailing to Virginia seem to indicate this. In his book, Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, John Fiske says that a part of the settlers were Waldenses from Piedmont, who had taken refuge in Switzerland, and thence had made their way through Alsace and the Low Countries to England. (His source is Baird.)
Much was done, also, in regard to actually finding them land in America where they could settle. Negotiations had first been made with Daniel Coxe, "proprietor of Carolina and Florida," for purchasing land in Florida; the second objective had been Carolina. Letters in regard to a third plan indicate that land on the Nansemond River in Norfolk County had been designated as their destination.

3 A propos of this proposed settling in Norfolk County, the following is quoted:

William R.

Trusty and well Beloved, wee Greet you well, Whereas ye Marquis de La Marie Monsieur de Sailly, and Several other French Protestant Refugiez have by their petition humbly craved our Leave to Settle themselves In Norfolk County In Virginia undr ye Government and whereas wee are graciously pleased to afford them ye sd Refugiez all reasonable Countenance and Assistance In ordr to further and facilitate these Settlements there accordingly Wew Do hereby Will and Require you upon their Arrivall there to give them all possible Encouragement by granting unto them such Tracts of Land as usual to new Comers In ye Province and giving them such further Assistance in Settling their families and promoting their Endeavours In planting as may be reasonable, And So wee bid you farewell.

Given at our Court at Kensington ye 18th day of March 1700.

In Ye Twelfth Year of our Reign.

By His Majts Comand

Jersey

To ye Govr of Virginia.

To our Trusty and Well Beloved Francis Nicholson Esq" our Lieut Govr and Comand in Chief of our Colony and Dominion of Virginia in America or to our Chief Govrs there for the time being.

("Council Papers 1698-1700 " Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. XXI (1913) pp. 161, 162")
When the plans were finally carried out and four ships sailed to Virginia, carrying between seven and eight hundred Huguenots, Manakintown on the James River was to be the final destination for many of them, although those who came over in the first ship expected to settle in Norfolk County. Manakintown, the place chosen for the Huguenot settlement, was the site of a deserted village of the Monocan Indians, twenty miles above Richmond.

The reasons for this change of plan, that of sending the Huguenots to Manakintown instead of to Norfolk County, could be accountable to the fact that that section of the country was not a particularly healthful one. Also, part of the land lay in territory disputed between Virginia and Carolina; and the Governor may have wished to strengthen the frontier. There is, indeed, an allusion to the fact that the main reason for establishing the Huguenots at Manakintown was that the fron-

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4Although the majority went to Manakintown, a few settled around Jamestown, and in the counties of Norfolk, Surry, and Southampton. (Virginia Historical Collections Vol. V p. ix)

5The following is part of a letter to Francis Nicholson from the Board of Trade in England, written about the time of the departure of the first of these ships for Virginia:

April 26th 1700.

His Majesty having been graciously pleased upon our humble representation by a Letter and his Royall Sign Manual to require you to give all possible Incouragement to the Marquis de la Hace Monsieur de Sailly and other French protestants in their Design to Settle in Virginia and those gentlemen being now about to Embark themselves wee Can Do no Less then recomend them to your favourable Assistance Upon their Arrivall there In order to their Intended Settlement.

tier might be furnished with a guard against the Indians. 6

A slight digression will be made here in order to give some data concerning the Monacan Indians, who had had a village on the site which later was used for the settlement of the Huguenot Refugees.

The Monacans (the word is possibly an Algonquin one signifying a digging stick or spade) were a tribe or confederacy of Virginia in the seventeenth century, who lived on the land of the upper waters of the James River, above the falls at Richmond. They were allies of the Monohoacs and enemies of the Powhatans, and their language differed from that of both of these tribes. They were finally incorporated with other remnants under the names of Saponi and Tutelo.

The settlement of the Monacans proper was known to the whites as Monacantown. In 1669, they still had about thirty bowmen and one hundred souls. 7

Francis Louis Michel in the Report on his Journey from Berne Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701 - December 1, 1702 8 makes some interesting statements regarding these Indians. He says that the soil at "Manigkintown" is black and heavy, and so the Indians had res-

6 McIlwaine, Henry R. "Struggle of Protestant Dissenters for Religious Toleration in Virginia." (Book Review) Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. II (1895) p. 113
son to choose this place. "Today there is a red, rough stone, standing four feet high, out of the ground, where at certain times they (the Indians) held religious services, as they supposed about thirty years ago, they still dwell there, but when they inflicted some injury upon the Christians, Claud Borneau......who was then living on the frontier, namely at Palensgrig (Falling Creek)......mounted at once his company and attacked the Indians boldly. He soon overcame them, and put all of them to the sword....also destroyed their settlement, and whatever they owned." 9

As has been stated four ships came to Virginia, bringing the Refugees. The first of these four ships, the "Mary and Ann", brought to Virginia, in July 1700, two hundred and seven men, women and children. Many of these went to Manakintown. The pastor, Claude Philippe de Richebourg, was among these, as well as the Marquis de la Muce, and M. de Salilly. 10

On the second ship, the "Peter and Anthony", which arrived in Virginia about September 20, 1700, there were one hundred and sixty-nine Refugees. On board this ship was Benjamin de Joux, who was their pastor, and who was also the "real founder and leader of the whole settlement at Manakintown."  

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10 In a letter from the Lords of Trade and Plantations, written from Whitehall, December 4, 1700, to Governor Nicholson, we find the following: "Your care in placing the French Refugees that went over with the Marquess de la Muce & M. de Salilly, was very well, and we hope will be an Encouragement to other Refugees to follow; in Order whereunto we have according to ye\^ Desire intimated to some of them, that they will do well to apply themselves to M\^ Ferry for his Assistance in their passage." (*Council Papers-1698-1700.* *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*. Vol. XXI (1913) p. 390.)
The name of the third ship is not known, and only a few of its passengers went up to this Huguenot settlement.

Aboard the fourth ship, the "Nassau", which arrived in the York River in March, 1701, there were one hundred and ninety-one French Refugees, of whom only a few went to Manakintown. The only information which was then furnished in regard to any of the Refugees aboard this ship were letters concerning the minister, Mr. Louis Latane, and a French gentleman, John Boyer. Therefore, since the Governor has received no particular information or "commands" in regard to them, and the Refugees had made no applications in their own behalf, it was ordered that those who were willing should go to Manakintown, where the French were already settled, and where they could receive aid through contributions made for the relief of the French there; or, if they were not willing to go there, they were to be permitted to settle where they would.\(^{11}\)

In order to insure that the Huguenots would live happily in Virginia, and to encourage colonization by them, they were accorded special privileges; ten thousand acres of land were donated to them, "the best on the James River, twenty miles above Richmond, being the deserted village of the Monacan Indians"\(^{12}\), they were soon granted full citizenship; and were exempted from taxation for a period of seven years. They were granted freedom of worship, under ministers of their choice.

\(^{11}\)Brock, R. A. "At a Council Held at the Honorable Mr. Auditor Byrd's, March 9, 1700." _Virginia Historical Collections_, Vol. V (1886) pp. 37, 38

and King William Parish was to be under their exclusive control.
CHAPTER V

The History of the Manakintown Settlement
The History of the Manakintown Settlement

The tract of ten thousand acres which has been granted to the Refugees by letters-patent, extended along the south bank of the James River, one mile from it in depth, and twenty-five miles in length up the stream, and also included the islands in the river, lying opposite this tract. "The southern line was chopped upon the trees and for a hundred years after was known as the French line. The Eastern boundary was Bernard's Creek, and the western was Salle's Creek, whose names now recall the foreign birth of the new settlers, as does the name of Sabot Island, whose shape resembles the wooden shoe of the French peasantry."

1 "Bernard's Creek takes its name from the Huguenot family of Bernard, who settled near its banks." (Howe - Virginia, its History and Antiquities.) It is reasonable to conclude that this is also true of naming of Salle's Creek. The following is also quoted as indicative of the way in which the Huguenot settlement influenced the naming of places in its vicinity:

Passed February 26, 1856, ch. 359: An Act Incorporating the Huguenot Springs and Mining Company -- "and they are hereby incorporated and made a body politic under the name and style of the Huguenot Springs and Mining Company......for the accommodation of visitors and invalids, upon certain property in Powhatan County known as the Huguenot Springs."

(Rats of Assembly - 1855-1856 Ch. 359 - Richmond - Wm. F. Ritchie, Public Printer 1856).

It was to this site that came those Refugees who arrived in Virginia July 23, 1700, about two hundred in number, with their pastor, Claude Philippe de Richebourg, and their leader, the Marquis de la Mâce. Governor Nicholson, in a letter to the King, writes that he went to Kickotan (now Hampton) to meet them. He had decided with Colonel Byrd, and Colonel Harrison that the best place to send them was Manakintown. Colonel Byrd met the Refugees at the Falls of the River, showed them their land and helped them to get settled.  

After the allotment of one hundred and thirty-three acres of land had been made to each of the families, the settlers started to build their homes, after clearing the fields. The plans for the village

3Nicholas, Governor Francis "Communication of Governor Francis Nicholson of Virginia." Virginia Historical Collections. Vol. VI (1887) pp. 63, 64.

4The references quoted below are relative to the allotment to each settler of 133 acres of land. August 14, 1716, Williamsburg. "Daniel Bloièt, a French settler, prays for redress against one Dupins, who had unlawfully surveyed and seized upon a tract of 133 acres of land at Manicantown, belonging to the said Bloièt; being the amount of land that had been allowed to each family of French Refugees by the Government." Calendar of State Papers 1652-1781 Vol. I p. 187.

"The death of Peter Sallé of Goochland County, dated June 29, 1734, and recorded in Henrico on the 1st Monday in July, 1734, conveys to James Martin the Infant son of James Martin of the parish of King William in the County of Henrico 133 acres lying and being in Henrico County on the Southside James River....and it being part of the first five thousand acres of land Surveyed for the French Refugees and was granted unto Capt. Abraham Sallé by patent bearing Date the twenty Third Day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred and fifteen, and was by the said Capt. Abr. Sallé devis'd unto the said Peter Sallé....as the last Will and Test. of the said Capt. Abraham Sallé recorded in the office of Henrico County may more fully appear." (Robinson, Morgan P. "Henrico Parish in the Diocese of Virginia and the Parishes Descended Therefrom." Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. XLIII (1935) p. 19.)
were laid out in such a way that it would have a church, a glebe, and a
schoolhouse, as well as homes for the settlers. However, these plans
were not carried out to their full extent, as the village never had more
than a few homes and a church. The whole of the 133 acres allotted to
each family did not lie in the village proper, as it was intended that
each family should have a share in the rich river land, lying outside
the village.

In regard to the division of the land, Bishop Meade says that
when the land was divided into farms, that some of the richest was set
aside for the minister, for his use and possession. When there was no
longer a resident minister, the land was rented, and the proceeds used
for paying for the services of neighboring ministers.5

Mention of this is made several times in the Vestry Book of
King William Parish, 1707-1750. The Glebe was rented out at intervals
beginning in 1715. July 20, 1721, Dannielle Guerrent rented it for one
year beginning the first of the year 1722, for twenty-five bushels of
wheat, good and sound; there were also further considerations, chiefly
having to do with repairs.

Beginning February 2, 1725, until 1728, M. Barthelmis rented
it for a barrel and a half of wheat....

It was rented to Louis Soblet from March 29, 1735, until
"next Christmas, for three bushels of wheat."

We find in the minutes of the Parish for December 1, 1746, that

5Meade, Bishop Wm. "King William Parish, or Manakintown, The
Huguenot Settlement on James River," Old Churches, Ministers and Families
"the Glade will be let from the creek to the highroad on the river."

The Refugees at Manakintown labored under great difficulties, having as they did, so little with which to begin. But they were generously aided by the government of Virginia, and by friends who took a personal interest in them, particularly Col. William Byrd.

On the 10th and 11th of May, 1701, Col. Byrd writes of the conditions existing in the French settlement at Manakintown, having made a visit there May 10. He found that there were about forty "huts" between the two Creeks, that the old Monacan fields had been cleared for about three miles, and that some of the newer settlers had cleared new grounds, and were doing more work than those who preceded them. Though they had gardens and had planted corn, he did not consider that they had broken up sufficient land. So he admonished them that they must provide themselves with corn for the following year, as they could not expect to continue to receive relief. Although poor, the French seemed cheerful and very healthy.6

From the Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1700-1702, we learn that inquiry had been made into the state of the French Refugees, and that information obtained from Monsieur de Sallly and the Minister of the Refugees indicated that they had been maintained, since their arrival, by the people on the Upper James, and that further relief was necessary. Therefore, the Governor had issued a Brief for the Relief

of the French, appointing two members of the council to receive donations, which resulted in immediate subscriptions from several Members.

It was "Ordered that a Message be sent to his Excellency and the Council to acquaint them the House is well satisfied from his Excellency's Information of the present necessity of the French Refugees without any further Inquiry That Several of the Members have subscribed to the Brief with what they think fit to bestow towards their Relief."

Robert Beverly tells us that "the Assembly was very bountiful to those who remained in this Town." They were granted donations and provisions until they could support themselves. He speaks at length of the "Goodness and Generosity of Col. Byrd toward these distressed Huguenots", who spared no expense in helping them, and made them the object of many particular cares.

The historian (Beverly) suggests that this benevolent patron had one other opportunity for helping them; to request the Assembly to grant them a title to the land on which they were then living. "This seems to be worthy of an early care, lest the Land which they have improved by their Industry from wild Woods should hereafter unjustly be taken away from their children."

We find that this situation in regard to holding land was taken under consideration, and adjustments made. For instance, in the Journals of the House of Burgesses for May 23, 1702, the House agreed

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7Beverly, Robert Ch. IV The Present State of Virginia 1705. p. 46 ff.
"that such of the said Refugees as settled at the Said Manakin Towne shall hold their said Lands as the rest of his Majest's Subjects in this Colony and Dominion."

Likewise, at a Council held at the Capitol, November 18, 1710, a petition of Abraham Sallee and Claude Philippe de Richbourg was presented, in which they asked for more equal distribution of the land granted the Refugees at Manakintown. The Council thereupon made provision for regulating the distributing of the land, and went further and provided for its succession, as follows: that the Heirs "shall have and Enjoy the dividend allotted, or which ought to be allotted." If the head of the "Family be dead without Heir or other Representatives, his Share or Proportion of the said Lands shall be confirmed to such person or persons (being of the same Nation) as are now in possession thereof."

The Refugees at first attempted various French manufactures, but the task was too great a one to be carried through successfully, so for the most part, they took to agriculture. They also made "an Essay of Wine which they made of the wild grapes gather'd in the Woods, the effect of which was a Noble, strong-bodied Claret, of a curious flavor."

As has been said, the lot of the Huguenots was at first a difficult one. They were probably much dispirited on their arrival in Virginia, after their trying voyage across the ocean; prospects in Virginia must not have appeared as promising as they had hoped, and they

8Robertson, Wm. "At a Council Held at the Capitol the 18th Day of November, 1710." Virginia Historical Collections, New Series. Vol. V (1886) p. 73
were further discouraged to learn that, after all, they were not to set up a colony of their own. Even so, they seem not to have been able to get away from the idea that they were a separate colony. Differences in language and religion would tend to segregate them as a French settlement, but evidently the government at Williamsburg did not approve of their insisting on such an idea. We find the settlement of Manakin-town being admonished in 1702 that they are not to speak of themselves as a Colony and that, thereafter, all petitions must be presented to the Governor in English.

In spite of discouragement and want during the first winter, the little village finally prospered, under the leadership of the Marquis de la Mune, "a man of recognized excellence of character", and Charles de Sallly.

It is especially under the leadership of the latter that much was accomplished in the way of making the former Indian village habitable, by laying off streets, and by making a road to Falling Creek, where was located a mill belonging to Col. Byrd. This mill, about twenty miles distant, was the nearest point at which the colonists could obtain meal. Charles Campbell notes the fact that the Huguenots had no horses; they had to carry corn on their backs to the mill.9

Such hardships, patiently endured, serve but to exemplify more definitely their Huguenot characteristics of energy and industry.

9Campbell, Charles Ch. XLVI History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia. (1860) p. 370
Their success in finally establishing themselves shows their remarkable powers of adaptability and perseverance. In such ways were tested again and again their powers of endurance.

The ten thousand acres allotted the French Refugees in time proved too small, as the settlement continued to grow. Since they needed more land, they migrated to other counties: Goochland, Fluvanna, Louisa, Albemarle, Buckingham, Powhatan, Chesterfield, Prince Edward, Cumberland, Charlotte, Appomattox, Campbell, Pittsylvania, Halifax, and Mecklenburg.\textsuperscript{10} In this manner and through intermarriage, there was spread throughout the state the influence of their invaluable traits of courage, industry, sobriety, and faith.

\textsuperscript{10}Foote, W. R. Ch. XX The Huguenots or the Reformed French Church. (1870) p. 534.
Naturalization of the French Refugees

Many of the French Refugees planning to come to America applied for naturalization through royal letters-patent before leaving England. However, it is especially true of those who came to Virginia that they waited until their establishment there before becoming naturalized. Virginia was one of the first states to encourage naturalization, having passed a law, in 1671, by which naturalization would be granted upon application, and by taking the oath of allegiance and supremacy. Later, in 1680, it was granted through letters-patent by the governor, upon taking the oath of allegiance and supremacy.

At a session of the General Assembly in Williamsburg, beginning April 21, 1704, one of the questions taken up, but not settled till the following session, concerned the naturalization of the Refugees at Manakintown. It was decided that this would be done by an

*This matter was taken up at that time due to the fact that petitions had been presented by these Refugees seeking naturalization as it is seen below: "By his Ex'cy and the hon'ble Council, Mr. Sp't and Gent'n of the House of Burgesses: April 24, 1704. His Ex'cy and the hon'ble Council having received divers petitions heretofore presented by the French Refugees, settled at Manicantown, praying for naturalizacon, with several other papers relating to that settlement, Have thought fitt to recommend to y'r house the mature consideracon of the s'd petitions and papers as being a case of very great importance.

By ord'r of his Ex'cy and ye hon'ble Council.

W. R., C’lk, Go. C’t.

act of the General Assembly, after the necessary oaths had been taken. It was provided that these oaths could be administered at the respective homes of the Refugees, in order to spare them the expense of coming to Williamsburg. Before the next Assembly, the applicants had taken the oaths, and we find in Hening's Statutes for the session beginning April 18, 1705, that one of the acts passed was one for the "Naturalization of Claude Philip de Richbourg, Frances Ribot, Peter Fourr, John Joanny, James Champaine, and others."
CHAPTER VI

King William Parish and Its Ministers
King William Parish

In establishing the Huguenots within its borders, the government of Virginia was quite generous, in that it made, as has been mentioned, a grant of land for that purpose: ten thousand acres on the south side of the James River; it exempted these colonists from taxation over a period of seven years; it extended aid in the form of money and grain until such time as they were able to become established and later, able to support themselves; it encouraged naturalization. Finally, a factor of no little importance to these Protestant refugees was the passing of an act, December 5, 1700, by the General Assembly, which established King William Parish in Henrico County, the site of the French colony.¹

As a matter of importance and interest, and for a better understanding of the status of the Colony in regard to the Parish set up for its benefit, the above mentioned Act of December 23, 1700, is quoted here: "Whereas a considerable number of French refugees have been lately imported into this his majesty's colony and dominion severall of

¹King William Parish, formed in Henrico County in 1700, or a portion of it, was in the following counties for the periods indicated:
- Henrico (1700-1749).
- Goochland (1728-1749).
- Cumberland (1749-1777).
- Powhatan (1777-1934).

which refugees have seated themselves above the falls of the James River at or near to a place commonly called and known by the name of the Manakin town, for the encouragement of the said refugees to settle and remain together as near as may be to the said Manakin town.

"Be it enacted by the governour, Counsell, and burgesses of this present generall assembly, and it is hereby enacted, That the said refugees inhabiting at the said Manakin town and the parts adjacent, shall be accounted and taken for inhabitants of a distinct parish by themselves and the land which they now do or shall hereafter poses at or adjacent to the said Manakin town, shall be and is hereby declared to be a parish of itselife, distinct from any other parish to be called and knowne by the name of King William parish in the county of Henrico, and not lyable to the payment of parish levies in any other parish whatsoever."

"And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That such and so many of the said refugees as are already settled or shall hereafter settle themselves as inhabitants of the said parish at the Manakin Towne and the parts adjacent shall themselves and their families and every of them be free and exempted from the payment of publick and county levies for the space of seven years next ensuing from the publication of this act, any law, statute, custom, or usage, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding."

2Henig's Statutes at Large, 1682-1710. Vol. III (1823) p.201
The passing of this act was of significance, not only to the French colonists, but also to the Colony of Virginia. To the French, it meant the opportunity of continuing to worship in their own manner, and an encouragement to remain together. As for the Colony of Virginia, it revealed a belief in the principle of not denying to any man his right to worship as he will. This is the first of several instances in which Virginia encouraged colonization by adherence to this principle.

By this same act they were exempt from the law in regard to the maintenance of a minister, but were allowed to make an agreement with their minister, as to salary, such as their circumstances would permit.

After the establishment of the parish, a vestry was formed, composed of the following twelve men:

Jacob Amoner
Abraham Soblet
Jacques Brousse
Louis Dutartre
Jean Guerin

On the part of the French Colonists, in the interests of remaining together, they included the following in a petition to His Excellency Francis Nicholson:

"To prevent the dissolution of ye said Colony, your petitioners do beseech your Excell'ly to give strict order to ye English to entertain none of the ffrench without permission, and that such ffrench as shall desert their new settlement be ordered to restore the £5 Sterl'g paid for their passage, as also ye goods wch they received and belong to the said Colony."

("To His Excellency, Francis Nicholson, Esquire...." New Series. Vol. V. Virginia Historical Collections. (1886) p. 58)
Jacques Lacaze
Abraham Remy
André Aubry
Pierre Chastain
Jean Faroy
Jean Fonuille
Abraham Salle

4 There were three Chastains among the early settlers of Manakintown: Stephen Chastain, physician (already mentioned), Pierre Chastain, (the vestryman above mentioned), Jean Chastain, clerk of the Parish. (Vestry Book of King Wm. Parish, 1707-1750).

The Ministers of King William Parish

The Ministers of the little church at Manakintown were Huguenots as long as there were ministers of that faith in Virginia. Then they became dependent for their services upon the ministers of nearby parishes. The service was that of the English Church in French, though later, there were services in English, also. Since the Established Church at that time was strongly Calvinistic, the Huguenots easily adapted themselves to becoming a part of the Established Church in Virginia, though as has said, they were allowed to maintain themselves separately. After the passing of the second generation in the settlement, the English element in the community had become so large, and the speaking of English was so prevalent, that the parish now had little to distinguish it from any other parish in Virginia, "in their conformity to the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Church of England."

5In the minutes of the Vestry for December 26, 1718, Robert Jones requested the vestry to have the services read in English once every six weeks, which request was granted.

In a letter, written July 4, 1728, by the Vestry of Manakin-town to one of their ministers, Mr. Nearne, who was leaving for London, in regard to not wishing to be incorporated into another parish, they also say: "Many of our Parishioners understand no English, but for the sake of our Children and the English Families settled amongst us, we should be heartily glad to have the Common Prayers and Sermons in English as well as French."

6There is only one case on record in which there might be some question of doctrinal differences occurring. The Vestry Book records on February 6, 1747/8 that a Vestryman was discharged, as he was "no longer willing to conform to the canon of the Anglican Church."
The first three ministers of the Parish were the only ones who devoted all their time to King William Parish. These three were Huguenots, as were some of the others who agreed to give occasional services at Manakintown. But conditions must have changed considerably after the death of Jean Cairon, the last of these three Manakintown ministers, when the Parish became dependent on the ministers of neighboring parishes. They no longer had with them for spiritual guidance any of their own number who had shared their experiences of persecution and flight, and to whom they could look for the sympathy and understanding that would be particularly needed by those who had experienced such sufferings as they had.

In R. A. Brock's Huguenot Emigration to Virginia is found a list of these ministers of which he says: "Among the names which have been preserved of the ministers who served the Parish of King William (Manakin - Town) regularly or, occasionally, were the following:

Benjamin de Joux, until his death in 1704.
Claude Philippe de Richebourg, removed to Carolina in 1707.
Jean Cairon, died in 1716.
Peter Fontaine, 1720, 1721.
Francis Fontaine, 1722-24.
William Finney, 1722, and probably later.
William Murdough, of St. James', Northam, Goochland, and Zachariah Brooks, of Hanover County in 1727.

"Though this date is recorded by Brock, the Vestry Book contains references to him as minister through November 21, 1711."
Mr. Nearne, of Neirm, 1727, 1728.

David Mossom of St. Peter's Parish, New Kent County, 1727.

Mr. Swift and Daniel Taylor, of Blissland Parish, New Kent County in 1728 and 1729.

James Marys, 1731 - 1735, (left to go to St. Paul's Parish Hanover, the vestry having petitioned the Governor to allow him to leave his parish).

Anthony Gavin, 1739.

From 1750-1780, the Reverend William Douglass of Goochland and other neighboring ministers.
Biographical Notes on the Ministers of King William Parish

The following information on the above list of ministers who served the Church at Manakintown is offered simply as "Notes." However, its inclusion here gives something of a background, in most cases, of the lives of the ministers themselves, throws light on the customs of the Huguenots in regard to their church services, the engaging of their ministers, and even in a short period of time, the trend, through necessity, away from ministers of their own faith. Without doubt, this practice is an important factor in their assimilation into the life of the colony. It is of interest to note that they sought for a long time to keep their parish, King William, intact, and to preserve among themselves as long as possible their own language. This, in itself, is a matter of vital importance to any people. To the Huguenots, it was probably the expression of a nostalgic longing to keep France alive within themselves; it represented to them, perhaps, the preservation of their native culture. However, in succeeding generations, they assimilated, by intermarriage and by immigration, the characteristic phases of life dominant in Virginia, although they still kept their own particular national characteristics.

Benjamin de Joux of Lyon, France, came to Virginia on the Peter and Anthony; he had been ordained in London to be the pastor of the Refugees, and "was the real founder and leader of the whole settle-
Claude Philippe de Richebourg of Berri, France, came to Virginia in 1700, on the Mary and Ann, the first of the ships bringing the French Refugees; he was the first minister of the settlement at Manakintown.

In 1707, M. Philippe, as he was called, had a serious altercation with some of the parishioners. The difficulty seems to have arisen from the fact that Richebourg had made a certain "arrangement and agreement" with some of the parishioners, which the Vestry, in a meeting on March 27, 1707, declared contrary to the laws and customs of Virginia; also, it had been arranged without consultation of the Vestry, therefore, they decided that "they would make no order nor lay no tax for its payment."

On the following Sunday, Richebourg demanded the register, when, after the service, M. Ammonet was on the point of reading the declaration made in regard to the minister. An altercation ensued in which Richebourg said he recognized no Vestry, and that neither should the people. An attempt was made by Abrahm Salliès, as Justice, to quiet the disturbance which followed, reminding the angry congregation, with little effect, of the unsuitability of the day and the place for such procedure.

\[^{10}\text{Salliès was the first of the Huguenots to be appointed magistrate.}\]
The Calendar of Virginia State Papers\textsuperscript{11} contains the answer of Abraham Salle to a petition made by M. Philippe in regard to the situation, in which he gives his version of the difficulty. M. Philippe, in his complaint, had petitioned the Council for an "Order for Choosing a new Vestry, at Monocantown", so M. Salle proceeds to give reasons why the present one is a "lawful Vestry, and for several years have been own'd as such, even by M. Philippe himself, and he has always apply'd himself to them for his Salary." The decision rendered in the case was unfavorable to Richelbourg. Probably on account of this, he left Manakintown some time later for South Carolina, where he became minister of the French settlement at Santee; he died in 1719.\textsuperscript{12}

This was an unfortunate incident for the small settlement, and was the cause of no little bitterness. In a letter written to the King about 1714, by Abraham Salle who was the leader of the opposition to the minister, we find that he asked to be allowed to have a part in the proposed project for the settlement of French Protestants in Ireland. It is possible that his longing to leave, as well as that of "a considerable number of families" may have been due to a lasting dissatisfaction with conditions resulting from the aforementioned unhappy

\textsuperscript{11}"The Answer of A. Salle to the Petition of Mr. Philippe." 
\textsuperscript{12}Brock, R. A. "The Huguenot Emigration to Virginia." 
Jean Cairon, (*né à Figeac, ci-devant ministre de Cajarc dans la Haute Guyenne*) had taken refuge in Zurich, Switzerland, in 1688. He spent some years in the Pays de Vaud, came to America, where he was minister at Manakintown in 1714.  He is first mentioned in the Vestry Book of King William Parish on November 21, 1711; and last mentioned on March 30, 1714. The Parish seems to flourish under the apparently efficient ministry of M. Cairon; but conditions were considerably changed after his death.

Peter Fontaine was ordained in the Church of England in 1715; he married Elizabeth Founceau, and came to Virginia in 1716. According to the memoirs of Peter's father, John Fontaine, Peter's brother, had traveled in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, and "came to the conclusion that the last named province possessed the greatest advantages." He purchased a plantation there, and found a parish he thought suitable for Peter. He preached a short time at Jamestown, and was first rector of Westover Parish, Charles City County, being there from 1716 until his death in 1756. On April 20, 1720, he is mentioned in the Vestry minutes: "To Mr. Fontaine, Minister-10 00 00." 

12 There is an interesting sidelight here on the lack of facilities for education in Manakintown. Abraham Salle says in this same letter: "...our families which are very numerous and the place which we occupy quite limited, we find ourselves in the impossibility of procuring any situation for our children or even to have them instructed or give them any education." (Virginia Historical Magazine, Vol. 31, pp. 159, 160)

Frances Fontaine was the son of Reverend James Fontaine; he took his Master of Arts at Oxford, and was versed in the Oriental languages. He received Deacon's and Priest's orders from the Bishop of London. He was married in London to Miss Mary Glanisson, of French parentage from Jonzac in Saintonge; he sailed to Virginia soon after, (in 1721) bearing a letter from the Bishop of London to the Governor of Virginia. He settled in St. Margaret's Parish, King William County; he lived at Manakintown for one year, then went to York-Hampton. He died in 1749.

William Finney, M. A., University of Glasgow, was a minister of Henrico Parish from 1724 to 1727. The first mention made of him in the Vestry Book of King William Parish was March 10, 17/18. Together with the Fontaines, he served the Parish from time to time till after August 7, 1724. He died in the spring of 1727.

Mr. Mordock (Murdough) was rector of St. James-Northam, Goochland County. Mention is made of him in the Vestry Book referring to books loaned him on June 14, 1724, and also on September 14, 1725. He visited the Parish from time to time; he died in 1727.

Following is a quotation from a letter from Governor Spotswood to Reverend Frances Fontaine, June, 1716: "......but now that the building is well nigh compleated again, those undr whose care it is, have resolved to prosecute the Original design of its foundation; and I'm glad to be instrumental in the hon'r you will have of being the first Professor of Universal Learning there." Swem, E. G. "Some Notes on the Four Forms of the Oldest Building of William and Mary College." William and Mary Quarterly, Vol VIII Second Series (1928) p. 235.  

March 10, 17/18 ......to creat a fund for the payment of Mr. Finney, minister, of 10 pounds per year for four sermons, which he shall preach in the church of our parish." "Mr. Finis, 12 sermons per year, ......120 bu. of wheat, beginning Sept. 3."
Mr. Zachariah Brooke, M. A., of Cambridge, 1697, was ordained priest in 1702; he came to Virginia about 1713. On June 4, 1737, Mr. Brooke began preaching according to his arrangement with the Vestry of King William Parish, by which he was to preach six sermons a year. On April 21, 1738, by another agreement, he was to preach twelve times a year, beginning that day, and was to be paid at the rate of twenty-six shillings per sermon. Prior to these arrangements, he had performed baptisms in King William Parish in 1727. Mr. Brooke died in 1738.

Mr. Neame (Niorn, Norn, Nairn, Neron) is first mentioned in the Vestry Book "September 4, 1727-120 bu. of wheat, for 12 sermons, commencing September 4 of the present year." "October 14, Mr. Neam preached a sermon", this date being followed by several other dates on which he preached sermons, on a few of which, he also administered the communion. He served the Parish till he went to England in 1728. Mention had been made of the latter written to him by the Vestry, when he was on the point of leaving England to accept a parish in Wiltshire, asking his intercession with the Bishop of London in regard to the continued maintenance of King William as a separate Parish. Following is a letter of Governor Gooch written at the same time, in regard to the affairs mentioned in the letter from the Vestry:

My Lord

The Reverend Mr. Nearn being called to England to receive a Parish provided for him in Wiltshire, I laid hold of the opportunity of informing your Lordship that the Behavior of that Gentleman during his Ministry in the Country, gives his Parishioners just cause to lament his leaving them...

The French Refugees My Lord settled in this Country are very desirous of having a Minister to Preach to them in French as well as English; and to that end Petitioned me not long since to interced with your Lordship, in case they can find a Clergyman so qualific'd and willing to come hither, they themselves being very poor, that by your Lordship's Interest, the Society would help in paying his Sallary; which they propose shall be Eighty Pounds p Annu of which they would give forty. Mr. Nearn is well acquainted with the Circumstances of those People and will give your Lordship a perfect account of them and their request.

My Lord

Y Lordship's most obliged

and most faithful humb Serv't

WILLM GOOCH

Virginia

July 10th, 1728.

Endorsed Gooch

- French Refugees

- Minr. 19

David Mossom was born in London, 1690; he came to Virginia from Massachusetts, in 1726, was in New Kent Parish in 1727, and was minister there for forty years. (It was he who performed the marriage ceremony of George Washington at the "White House", in St. Peter's Parish, New Kent.)

Mr. Swift was minister of St. Martin's Parish, Hanover County, in 1728; he died in 1734. (Bishop Meade tells us that in 1728 and 1729, "the Revs. Mr. Swift and Deter baptized at Manakintown.)

Daniel Taylor was minister of Blissland Parish in New Kent County from 1721-1729.

James Marye came from Rouen, in Normandy. He had formerly been a priest in the Catholic Church, but on account of scruples in regard to certain tenets of the Church, to which he found he could not conform, he went to England in 1726, and later became a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church. In 1729, he and his wife came to Virginia, and his services in King William Parish began in 1730. "Aug. 16, 1730......It was agreed with Mr. Marye, minister, to give him 20 shillings per sermon, one to be preached every other Sun............There is due today to Mons. Marye, minister, six sermons." His contract was

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21 Meade, Bishop Wm. "Appendix - No. XXV."
22 Old Churches and Families of Virginia. Vol. II (1857) p. 496
renewed June 1, 1734. In Oct. 1735, he transferred to the Parish of St. George, in Spotsylvania, the vestry of that Parish having petitioned Gov. Gooch to allow him to come there. He died there in 1767 after a ministry of thirty-two years.25

Mr. Marye is mentioned by Col. William Byrd in his writings. On September 20, 1732, while at Tuckahoe, he writes: *In the Afternoon Monsieur Marij, the Minister of the Parish came to make me a Visit.*26

Anthony Gavin came to Virginia in 1735, and was minister of Henrico Parish, Henrico County, 1735-1736; minister of St. James' Parish, the undivided parish and county of Goochland, 1736-1744; minister of St. James Northam Parish, Goochland, 1744-1749. In 1736, Mr. Gavin was first engaged to "preach 26 sermons per year, 17 on Sun., the rest in the week." -July 25, 1736. 27 His first engagement was brief, due to dissatisfaction in fulfilling his contract. However, the agreement was renewed in 1739, 1740, 1741, and 1743-1744. According to the Vestry Book on September 1, 1739, the Vestry "agreed with Mr. Gavin to preach in our church 17 sermons for one year, including four in French."

The other agreements follow chronologically.

The Reverend Mr. Douglas, one of the ministers who served the Parish from 1750-1780, was from Scotland. He came to this country in

26 The Writings of Col. Wm. Byrd, Esq., of Westover in Virginia.
1748 or 1749, and was teacher in the home of Colonel Monroe of Westmoreland, where he taught James Monroe (President Monroe)\textsuperscript{28}. Later in Goochland, another one of his pupils, Thomas Jefferson, was destined to become President. He kept a register of "baptisms, funerals, marriages, sermons, etc., interspersed with other notices, throwing some light upon the peculiarities which distinguished him."\textsuperscript{29} From the Douglas Register, we learn that he "served ye parish (of Goochland) most acceptably as minister above 27 years and Manakintown 19 years, at ye same time and Buckingham county 4 years, all most acceptably......\textsuperscript{30}

Before bringing to a close this chapter on King William Parish and its ministers, it is of interest to mention here the successive four Churches at Manakintown. The first two were in the town. The third was built "near the junction of the old Manakintowne Ferry Road......and the River Road, South Side, the church facing the Manakintowne Ferry Road. The fourth church was built about 1894, and in its construction, some of the materials from the third church were used, this church having been torn down as it was larger than was necessary. Both of these churches were built on the same lot; the fourth one faces the River Road, and is in use at the present time.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{28} One of the daughters of Mr. Douglas married James Monroe, nephew and adopted son of President Monroe. Jones, W. Mac. "King William Parish or Manakin Towne." The Douglas Register. (1928) p. 357.

\textsuperscript{29} Meade, Bishop Wm. "Article XLIII" Old Churches and Families of Virginia. (1857) p. 458.


\textsuperscript{31} McIlwaine, Dr. H. R. "The Huguenot Settlement at Manakin Towne." The Huguenot. No. 6 (1933) p. 76
CHAPTER VII

Some Outstanding Huguenots of Virginia
Some Outstanding Huguenots of Virginia

Of the Huguenots who came to Virginia, there are many who contributed much to the social, political, and military history of the Commonwealth, through themselves and their descendants. All, by the very fact of coming here, contributed noble examples of loyalty and fidelity to their faith. It is not without great difficulty that one attempts to make a list of illustrious names, where space is so limited. The criterion of the choice of names for such a list is, in this case, simply the element of interest in finding that so many of the figures familiar in Virginia and United States history are of Huguenot descent.

The name that heads this list is that of Nicholas Martiau (Martian), one of the earliest ancestors of George Washington in this country. He was born in 1591, and came to Virginia before 1620. A copy of an order of the Assembly of March 28, 1656, states that Captain Nicholas Martiau "obtained his denization in England, and could hold any office or employment in Virginia." He was a Burgess in 1623, 1631, 1632, 1632-1633, and a justice of York from 1633-1657. York records show that he owned the present site of Yorktown. It is significant that Martiau was one of the speakers at a meeting held to oppose the misgovernment of Governor Harvey of Virginia, the first organized resistance to oppressive government; and on land once owned by him, his illustrious descendant, George Washington, accepted the surrender of
Cornwallis at Yorktown.¹

An incident also relative to the Revolutionary War was the ride of Jack (John) Jouett, whose Huguenot ancestor was Matthew Jouett. This name is an example of individual settlement in Virginia, rather than settlement with the colony. He patented large tracts of land in Hanover County in 1732.

In June, 1781, Jack Jouett, (his descendant) performed a brave and daring deed, when he forestalled the plan of Cornwallis to capture the General Assembly in session at Charlottesville, by sending Colonel Tarleton there for that purpose. The movements of Col. Tarleton and his two hundred and fifty cavalry were observed by Jouett who immediately divined their plan. The subsequent race to Charlottesville was a dangerous one, but the Assembly was warned in time to make its escape, with the exception of seven members.² According to the House Journal of June 12, 1781, an "elegant sword and pair of pistols" were presented to Capt. John Jouett for this act of bravery.³

The Reverend Louis Latané is appropriately mentioned here as one of the fine Huguenot Ministers who came to this country. He fled to England from Guyenne in 1685, after the Revocation of the Edict of


³"Some Notes Relative to Gifts to Distinguished Citizens, Principally Virginians, authorized by the General Assembly, or Council of Virginia, 1780 to 1860," *William and Mary Quarterly* (2) Vol. II (1922) p. 97
Nantes. He came to Virginia, with other Huguenots, on the "Nassau", and became a minister in South Farnham Parish in Essex County. He held a joint patent with Bartholomew Yates, Christopher and John Robinson, Jeremiah Clowder, Harry Beverly, William Stanard and Edwin Thacker of 24,000 acres of land on the south side of the Rapid Anne in Spotsylvania County, July 20, 1722. He had five daughters and one son; he died in 1733.4

He is also to be remembered as the ancestor of the gallant Captain Latane, who fell near Old Church, Hanover County, Virginia, June, 1862, in the raid of General Stuart around the lines of General George B. McClellan. He was buried at "Summer Hill" by the ladies of that vicinity.

Outstanding names among the Huguenots are the Fontaines and Maurys. The Rev. Jas. Fontaine recounts in a most interesting manner, in "The Memoirs of a Huguenot Family", the persecutions and privations of his family in France, and later, their life in England. The name was originally "de La Fontaine", but since the "de la" was an indication of nobility, it was dropped as a sign of humility. He was born at Jencuille in France, in 1658. He was persecuted and imprisoned for his fidelity to his Protestant beliefs, but finally made a dramatic escape to England, December 6, 1685. He was admitted to Holy Orders, June 10, 1688. In 1686, he had married Anne Elizabeth Boursiquot, who had accompanied him

4 "Notes" Virginia Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. VIII (1901) p. 58
to England. Their children were: James, Aaron, Mary Anne, Peter, John, Moses, Francis, and Elizabeth. Peter and Francis have both been mentioned as ministers in Virginia; they both also were ministers as Manakin.town.

On December 20, 1716, Mary Anne Fontaine married Matthew Maury, who came from Castel Mauron in Gascony, of whom her father says in his Memoirs: "a very honest man, a good man, but without property." He had come to Dublin from France as a Refugee. He came to Virginia in 1717, and returned to England for his wife, whom he brought over to America in 1719. Their son was the Reverend James Maury of Albemarle County in Virginia, in whose Bible records we find: "James Maury, son of Matthew Maury & Mary Anne his wife, was born the 8th day of April 1716, O. S. 19th April, 1716; died June 9th, 1769." He was for a long time rector of Fredericksville Parish in Louisa County, Virginia, and was the plaintiff in the famous Parsons' Case, in Hanover, in which Patrick Henry took a prominent part.

The Rev. James Maury is also notable as the ancestor of one of our country's most famous scientists, Matthew Fontaine Maury, the "Pathfinder of the Seas", who is well known for many valuable works, his most important, besides that on the Gulf Stream, being the charting of the winds and currents in the Atlantic.6

It is a fact of no little interest that President John Tyler was of Huguenot ancestry, through the Contesses and the Marots.

It is not known when Dr. Louis Contesse came to this country, but he lived in Williamsburg in the early 1700's. In August, 1725, he patented two tracts of land of 400 acres each on the south side of the James River in Henrico County. His daughter Anne, married John Tyler, Marshall of the Court of Vice Admiralty of Virginia, and her son, John Tyler (1747-1813), a Virginia statesman of no little note, was the father of John Tyler, the President of the United States.

The great-great grandfather of President Tyler was Jean Marot, who was of the family of Clément Marot, French poet of the 16th century, whose hymns enjoyed popularity among the Protestants. Jean Marot came to Virginia in 1700, and was for a while in the employment of William Byrd at Westover. He later settled in Williamsburg, where he kept an "ordinary" (old term for inn). His great-grand-daughter, Mary Marot Armistead, married Judge John Tyler (mentioned above), the father of President John Tyler.

8 He is mentioned with Jean Maupin, another Huguenot who came to Virginia in 1700, as being among the prominent inkeepers of old Williamsburg.
It would be impossible to include here all those names which rightfully belong in a list of outstanding Huguenots. It would not be an exaggeration to say that there are few who have not helped to determine the course of life and ways in Virginia, so far-reaching is the line of their descendants. Indeed great is the number of Virginians who can proudly claim that they are of Huguenot descent.
CHAPTER VIII

Conclusion
Conclusion

Mention has been made frequently in the foregoing history of the Huguenots in Virginia, of their influence and contribution to the State. Now, by way of conclusion, an attempt will be made to show in what ways the Huguenot temperament was so endowed that it could bring to bear influences so strong that they will never die, influences which added to those of the English, have given us a heritage for which we can well be thankful.

There are many fine characteristics which are attributed to the French Huguenot, which make of him a splendid type, and one much to be admired. It is easy, however, to deal in generalities, and to romantically cherish the ideal that all of the Huguenots were endowed with those qualities, which should be reserved, rather, for the group as a whole. For so numerous are those traits which make these an outstanding people, that surely there was not one but who could lay claim to at least the fundamental qualities which made the Huguenot endure the trials to which he was subjected.

Salient facts about the Huguenot character may be listed as follows: first of all, the Huguenots being essentially French, had the fundamental French qualities such as, great, individuality, ingenuity, intelligence, lightheartedness, imagination, thrift, and steadfastness. This national inheritance which manifested itself constantly through their life constitutes what may be called
the "Huguenot type."

In the second place, they followed the reformed religion zealously as the heritage of preceding generations. Add, then, to their natural French qualities, those which developed from the deep convictions of their faith, and to the loyalty which they felt for this faith, the greater loyalty which was born of necessity, due to the persecutions of the times. Through the teachings of their religion came the development of their deep religious feeling, courage, integrity, and forbearance. Through persecution came the strengthening of power to endure sufferings inflicted upon them, of the will to cling tenaciously to the religion of their adoption, since it was the religion which expressed for them spiritual truths that best suited them, and which it was their right to maintain despite man-made laws; and, finally, the strengthening of loyalty to the Church. All of this developed in the Huguenots integrity and powers of wisdom which prepared them for beginning life anew in countries far removed from France, countries to which many were not able to carry any of their possessions, where many were separated from their families, and in most cases, where ties with their native France were completely broken.

The third consideration of factors which determined the temperament of the Huguenot is that of the parts of the country from which they came, and the vocations which they followed there. They represented all classes, and all professions and trades; however, they were chiefly industrial, as those who left France went largely from the manufacturing centers of the northwest. In France, their mode of living, and the means by which they lived were determined by the region in which
they lived; therefore, this was an important determining factor in the
conduct of their lives in the environment in which they found themselves
in Virginia. Could they readily adapt themselves to the climate of the
new home, would they have at hand materials with which they could pursue
their former vocations? Those who were agriculturists naturally were
more fortunate at Manakintown than those of professions, or those from
industrial centers, because they soon found that they had recourse only
to tilling the soil as a means of subsistence. However, it cannot be
gainsaid that those traits, which they had strongly developed from what-
ever walk of life they had come, stood them in good stead when they
finally reached Manakintown, where they realized that their troubles were
by no means at an end. Their ability to adjust themselves, and their
native resourcefulness helped them in a great measure to overcome the
initial difficulties of their new life. Their undying hope of better
things to come, which had carried them through so many ordeals again in-
spired them to surmount these obstacles. These were the people who had
helped to make their own land powerful and influential among nations, and
who were to lend those same qualities which they owed to France, to their
religion, to their own particular "terroir", and to their chosen "métier",
to molding and influencing the life of the colony.

These, then, are the underlying traits of character on which
the Huguenot was to rely when he arrived in Virginia, with his hopes high
in the anticipation of finally establishing himself in a new home where
he could maintain, without molestation, those ideal institutions dear to
the heart of every Frenchman: religion and the family.
As has been noted, the Huguenots were sent to Manakintown, the site of the deserted village of the Monacan Indians, where they were assigned ten thousand acres of land, "the best on the James River." Even though it was the best, the Refugees were faced on their arrival with the task of reclaiming the land which was the site of the old village, as well as with the necessity of opening up new ground. The time of the year, midsummer, when the first Refugees arrived, was not propitious for beginning to plant crops to provide sustenance through the winter months. They were faced at the outset with bitter disappointment; and the various ills, which assailed them, for lack of adequate food, undermined, in many of them, the will and the energy to work.

Nevertheless, the determination to live peaceably and quietly helped them to overcome these difficulties, which at first seemed insurmountable. They had aroused the sympathies of their neighbors near the Falls of the James River, and through aid given by them, and through the brief issued by the Governor in Williamsburg in their behalf, they were enabled to live through the first difficult winter. They received monthly allowances of meal from the mill at Falling Creek; and oftentimes, some "corn, wheat, beeves, horses, nails, meat, and fish." In William Byrd's diary of May 10th and 11th, 1701, which has been mentioned, he says, that though their condition was poor, they seemed cheerful and healthy. There had, of course, been sickness among them, but the return to health of those who had been ill served to encourage the others.

By the spring of the year following their arrival, they were well on the way to establishing themselves, though this had to be, naturally,
by means of agriculture, as they had no means of continuing in any other industry in which they might have engaged before coming to Virginia. In the cases in which the Huguenots came to Virginia Colony singly or in small numbers, before or after the establishment of the colony at Manakin-town, it was much easier for them to continue in their professions or establish themselves in new ones other than agriculture. There are instances of these, some of which have been mentioned, of ministers, professors, physicians, innkeepers, and landowners who held civil offices.

From the first, the influence of the Huguenots on the English was without doubt marked. They came in contact with them, at first, through the aid tendered during the early days of their being at Manakin-town. There were frequent contacts with Williamsburg, arising from the business of becoming a part of the English Colony, of requests for citizenship, and for settling of disputes. After the year, 1716, with the death of Jean Cairon, their last Huguenot minister, ministers of other parishes officiated at the Manakin-town Church. This last practice has already been stressed as one of the important factors in the absorption of the French into the English Colony, with its accompanying influences on the lives of the English. In the second generation of Huguenots, there were many English people living in the community, and the French language was being replaced by English.

Living in such close communication and touch with the English, it is easy how influence was exerted. The French, though at first their means of living were, of necessity, crude, sought to preserve as far as possible those phases of life which make it more gracious, certain
amenities which make for gentle living, and it is an accepted fact that it is to these Huguenots of Virginia that the English, of somewhat rough exterior, looked for the acquirement of these evidences of culture.

The influence of the Huguenots is found elsewhere than in the surrounding community. Through intermarriage, and through migration, the surrounding counties especially were not without many French inhabitants. These and their descendants held and continue to hold important places in Virginia history. Large land grants were held by many, some were burgesses, some surgeons, sheriffs, ministers, army officers, justices, professors, and lawyers.

Thus history has proved that so dominant was the temperament of the Huguenot that there was never danger of its becoming static, but rather, it quickly found a place in the making of Virginia - and there is scarcely a part of the State which does not have in it some bearer of a Huguenot name. The history of Virginia since 1700 bears out the fact that the Huguenots have been a lasting influence since their advent here as refugees, seeking a haven from oppression. Many well-known Virginians, among whom some still bear Huguenot names, have Huguenot names in their lineage. To recall the name of even one great Virginian - Matthew Fontaine Maury - in itself stands for a fine example of the contribution of the French to our life; but he is only one among many, who contributed so much to the growth of Virginia.
APPENDIX

A. Chronological Table of the History of the Huguenot Settlement.

B. Chronological Lists of Huguenots Who Settled in Virginia.

C. Bibliography.
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE HUGUENOT SETTLEMENT
## Chronological Table of the History of the Huguenot Settlement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March 17, 1699</td>
<td>Letter sent by the King of England to Governor Nicholson in Virginia, in regard to providing land and other assistance to the Protestant Refugees desiring to settle in Virginia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 12, 1700</td>
<td>Letter sent to Governor Nicholson in Virginia, from the Board of Trade in England, further recommending assistance to the French Protestants about to embark for Virginia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 23, 1700</td>
<td>The &quot;Mary and Ann&quot; arrives in Virginia bringing 207 men, women, and children (French Protestants). They are sent to Manakintown.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 20, 1700</td>
<td>The &quot;Peter and Anthony&quot; arrives in Virginia bringing 169 Refugees. They are sent to Manakintown.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dec. 4, 1700 - Letter from the Lords of Trade and Plantations, in London, to Governor Nicholson, commending care given to the Refugees, suggesting that this will be an encouragement to others to follow these.

Dec. 9, 1700 - Brief issued by Governor Nicholson for the relief of the French Refugees at Manakintown.

Dec. 23, 1700 - Act passed by the General Assembly establishing Manakintown "and the parts adjacent" as a distinct parish (King William), to be free from payment of parish levies in any other parish; the inhabitants also to be free from payment of public and county levies for the next seven years.

March, 1701 - The "Nassau" arrives in Virginia, bringing French Refugees; Louis Latané among them.

May 10, 11, 1701 - Col. Wm. Byrd Visits Manakintown, and reports on conditions there.

May 23, 1702 - The House of Burgesses acts in regard to giving the Huguenots title to the land held by them.
April 24, 1704 - Recommendation by the Governor and Council to the House of Burgesses, to consider the question of naturalization of the French Refugees at Manakintown.

April 18, 1705 - Act passed by the General Assembly for the naturalization of Claude Philip de Richebourg and other French Refugees.

Nov. 18, 1710 - Petition of Richebourg and Sallée presented to the Council, in which more equal distribution of the land at Manakintown is asked.

1715 - Beginning of the period in which the Glebe was rented.

1716 - Death of Jean Cairon, last of the Huguenot ministers.

Aug. 14, 1716 - Redress asked by Daniel Sloiies for unlawful seizure of his land at Manakintown, the 133 acres allotted each family there.

Dec. 26, 1718 - The Vestry at Manakintown is requested to have the services read in English once every six weeks.
July 4, 1728 - Letter from the Vestry at Manakintown to Mr. Nearne, in regard to not wishing to be incorporated into another parish. They also express willingness to have services in English as well as French.

June 29, 1734 - Deed of Peter Salle, of Goochland County, conveying to James Martin "of the Parish of King William 133 acres..... it being part of the first five thousand acres of Land Surveyed for the French Refugees....."
Chronological Lists of Huguenots Who Settled in Virginia

1. List of Refugees aboard the "Mary and Ann" - July, 1700.

2. List of Refugees aboard the "Peter and Anthony" - September, 1700.

3. List of Persons who were to be at Manakintown the whole year (1700).

4. List of Refugees aboard the "Nassau" - March 5, 1701.

5. List of Persons at Manakintown in 1701.


7. List of King William Parish, June, 1744.
List of Ye Refugees

Pierre Delome et sa femme
Marguerite Sene, et sa fille
Magdalaine Mertle, Jean Vidau
Tertulien Sehult, et sa femme et deux enfants
Pierre Lauret, Jean Roger
Pierre Chastain, sa femme et cinq enfants
Philippe Duvivier
Pierre Nace, sa femme et leur deux filles
François Clere, Symon Sardin
Soubragon, et Jacques Nicolay
Pierre Loy, Abraham Nicod.
Pierre Mallet, Françoise Coupet
Jean Oger, sa femme et trois enfants
Jean Saye, Elizabet Angeliere
Jean et Claude Mallefant, avec leur mere
Issac Chabanas, sou fils, et Catherine Bomard
Estienne Chastain, Adam Vignes
Jean Meneger et Jean Lesnard
Estienne Badoüet, Pierre Morriset
Jedron Chamboux, et sa femme
Jean Farray et Jerome Dumas
Joseph Bourgoian, David Bernard
Jean Chevas, et sa femme
Jean Tardieu, Jean Moreau
Jaques Roy, et sa femme
Abraham Sablet, et des deux enfants
Quintin Chastatain et Michael Roux
Jean Quictet, sa femme et trois enfants
Henry Cabanis, sa femme et un enfant
Jaques Sayte, Jean Boisson
François Bosse, Jean Fouchie
Françoise Sassin, André Cochet
Jean Gaury, sa femme et un enfant
Pierre Gaury, sa femme et un enfant
Jaques Hulyre, sa femme et quatre enfants
Pierre Perrut, et sa femme
Isaac Panetier, Jean Parransos, sa sœur
Elie Tremson, sa femme, Elizabet Tignac
Antoine Trouillard, Jean Bourru et Jean Bouchet
Jaques Voyes, Elizabet Mingot
Catharine Godwal, Pierre la Courru
Jean et Michell Cautepié, sa femme et deux enfants
Jaques Broret, sa femme et deux enfants
Abraham Moulin et sa femme
Francois Billot, Pierre Comte (?)
Etienne Guevin, René Massoneau
François du Tartre, Isaac Verry
Jean Parmentier, David Thonitier et sa femme
Moyse Lewreau, Pierre Tillou
Marie Levesque, Jean Constantin
Claud Bardon, sa femme
Jean Imbert et sa femme
Elizabet Fleury, Loys du Pyn
Jacques Richard, et sa femme
Adam et Marie Prevost
Jacques Viras, et sa femme
Jacques Brousse, son enfant
Pierre Cornu, Louiss Bon
Isaac Fordot, Jean Pepré
Jean Gallard, et son fils
Anthonie Matton, et sa femme
Jean Lucadou, et sa femme
Louiss Orange, sa femme et un enfant
Daniel Taure, et deux enfants
Pierre Cupper, Daniel Roy, Magdelain Gigou
Pierre Grelet, Jean Jovany, sa femme, deux enfants
Pierre Ferrier, sa femme, un enfant
La vefve saure et quatre enfants
Isaac Arnaud, et sa femme
Pierre Chatanier, sa femme et son pere
Jean Fonasse, Jaques Bibbeau, Jean March
Catharine Billot, Marie et Symon Jourdon
Abraham Menot, Timothy Moul, sa femme, un enfant
Jean Savin, sa femme, un enfant
Jean Sargeaton, sa femme, un enfant
Claude Phille et sa femme
Gabriel Sturter, Pierre de Corne
Helen Trubyer

59 femmes ou filles
38 enfants
108 hommes
205 Personnes

Messrs. De la Muce et de Sailly font en tout 207 personnes.

Virginia:

James Town, July 31, 1700.

This is a true Copy.

Olivier de la Muce
Ch. de Sailly.

Received of ye hon'ble Marquis de la Muce and Chas. de la Sailly, ye summe of nine hundred, fourty-five pounds in full for ye passage of two hundred and five people aboard ye ship Mary Ann, bound for Virginia, I say receiv'd this 19th April, 1700.

Geo. Hawes.

£ 945

Witness:

Alexander Cleere.

Virginia: James City, July 31, 1700.

This is a true Copy.

Olivier de la Muce
Ch. de Sailly
This is a true copy, the original being in the
Custody of -

(Signed) FFrs. Nicholson *

List of All Ye Passengers from London to James River, in Virginia
Geing FFrench Refugees Imbarqued in The Ship Ye Peter and Anthony,
Galley of London, Daniel Ferreau Commander (Viz't)

Monsieur de Joux, Minister
Jean Bossard, sa femme and 3 enfans
Jean Morroe
Pierre Masset
Solomon Jourdon
Estienne Chabran, sa femme
Susanne Soblet and 3 Enfans
Jean Hugon
Michel Michel
Theodore de Rousseau
Pierre Cavalier, sa femme and un garcon
Pierre Anthonie Eupins
Isaac Le ffeure
Jean Martain
Jean Combelle
Pierre Renaud
Marthien Roussel
Augustin Couillard
Jean Couillard
Jacques du Crow, sa femme et une ffille
Paul Laurion
Moise Broc
Jean Pierre Bondurand

Pierre La Badie

Guillaume Rullet

Anthony Gioudar

Anne Carbonnet and un enfans

Guillemme Guervat, sa femme et un garçon

Louis Robert and un fille

Estienne Tauvin, sa femme and 2 enfans

Paul Castiche

Jean Mazetis

Noel Delamarre, sa femme and un fille

Jean Le Vilain

Jean Marisset

Jean Maillard and 3 enfans

Thimotthee Roux

Gaspart Quamondet and sa femme

Jean Pilard

Estienne Ocosand

Abraham Remis, sa femme

Jean Le Franc Vudurand

Daniel Maison Dieu

Pierre Baudry

David Menestrier

Jacob Fleurnoir, sa femme, 2 garçons and 2 fille

David Blevet, sa femme and 6 enfans

Elizabeth Lemat

Abraham Le Foix, sa femme and 4 enfans
Jean Aunant, sa femme and un fille
Jean Genge de Melvis
ffrancois de Launay and un enfans
Gaspart, sa femme and 7 enfans
Samuel Mountier, sa femme and deux enfans
Jacques Corbell
Jacob Capen
Isaac Troc
Elie Gastand
Anthonie Boignard
Nicholas Mare, sa femme and 2 enfans
Jacques Feuillet and sa femme
Pierre Sarazin
Jean Perrachou
Philippe Claude
Simon Hugault
Samuel Barrel
Gaspar Guerer, sa femme and 3 enfans
Jean Soulegre
Louis Desfontaine, and sa femme
Daniel Rogier
Pierre Gosfand
Solomon Ormund
Louis Geoffray
Maize Verneuil sa femme and 5 enfans
Joseph Olivier
Jaques Faucher
Pierre La Grand, sa femme and 5 enfans
Pierre Prevol
Daniel Riches
ffrancis Clapie
Jacob Riche, sa femme and un enfans
Mathieu Passedoit
Pierre Riuert
Michel Fournet, sa femme and deux enfans
Jean Monnicat
Simon Faucher

I, Daniel Perreau, Commander of ye above said vessel, Certified that
ye above one hundred and seventy Passengers - French Refugees - were
embarqued in London in my said Ship, men women, and children of several
ages, for which said Passengers I have received full freight for their
Passage in London to Virginia the sum of seven hundred and seventy-five
pounds sterling, and have given receipt in England for the same.

James Towne, in Virginia,

Ye 20th of Sept'r, 1700.

Daniel Perreau.

5 £ Sterling for each man and woman; 50 Shillings for children under 12
years of age. Males in all 155, at 5 £ a head, 775 £.

A true copy,

Test:

Dionisius Wright. *

Liste des Personnes du Sec. Convoy Qui Serent Toute L'Année à Manicanton (1700).

Pierre Labadie
Samuel Aulegues, sa femme et deux enfans
Estienne Asseau
Pierre Baudry
Anthoine Boignaut
Jean Pierre Bondurant
Jean Bossart, sa femme et trois enfants
Daniel Bloëst, sa femme et sept enfants
Jean Brand
Meyle Broc
Jacob Capon
Paul Castiche
Pierre Cavalier, sa femme et un enfant
Estienne Chabran, et sa femme
Anne Charboneau et 2 enfants
ffrancois Clapier
Jean Combel
Jaques Corbet
Augustin Coliart
Anthoyne Dupuy
Jean Burraud
Isaac le Feme
Jacob Fleminoie, sa femme et trois enfants
Louis de Fontaines, et sa femme
Abram Le Foy, sa femme et quatre enfans
Elie Castral
Anthoyne Guiodan
Jean George de Melez
Pierre le Grand, sa femme et cinq enfants
Simon Hugaut
Salomen Jourdan
Gaspard Kernent, sa femme et trois enfants
Lavfue de Launay (alias francoise de Monine)
Elizabet Leurat
Jean Hugon
Jean Malard, ve fue a trois enfants
Nicholas Mare, sa femme et 2 enfants
Noé de la Mare, sa femme et un enfant
Jean Maricot
Jean Marot
Pierre Massot
Jean Mautin
Jean Maseres
David Menetrie
Michel Michel
Joseph Olivier
Jean Onan, sa femme et un enfant
Pierre Prevot
Abram Remy, et sa femme
Josue Petit, sa femme et 2 enfants
Louys Robert et sa fille
Jaques Riche, sa femme et 2 enfants
Mathiue Roussel
Timothée Roux
Guillaume Rullean
Susanne Soblet, et trois enfans
Jean Soulegre
Estienne Tanin, et sa femme
Isaac Troc
Jean Vilain
Moyre Verrueil, sa femme et cinq enfants
Gaspart Sobry, sa femme et sept enfants

fait ce 1, Xbre 1700
B. de Joux, Ministre

3md Convoy

Jean Reniol
Anthoyne Rambaeye
ffrancois Agnast
Pierre Rondere
Jaques Giraut
Jaques Roux

fait ce 1, Xbre 1700.
B. de Joux, ministre.

Copia,

Test:

Dionisius Wright.*

* "Listes des Personnes du Second Convoy qui Serent Toute l'Année a Maniconton" - Virginia Historical Collections - Vol. V - (1886) - pp. 22-25.
Mons'r Latane, Ministre, Madame sa femme un Enfant Une Servante

Mr. Daniel Braban, sa femme, 3 enfants, 1 garçon

Jean Pierre Gargean, sa femme, 3 enfants

Jacob Amonet, sa femme, 4 enfants

Paul Papin

Jean Leroy

Jacques Lacaze

Jean Dubroq

Catharine Basel, une fille

Ester Lefebre

Ester Martin, un enfant

François Ribot

Joseph Molinie, sa femme

Leon Auguste Charéitiè sa femme

Jean Barachin, sa femme

Joseph Caillau', and sa femme

Jean Dauphin

Jeane Bellin

Margueritte Gautie

Marie Mallet

Thomas Deneille

Jacques Macan, et sa femme

Jean Thomas and sa femme
Jean Robert, sa femme and une fille

Alexandre Madouy

Noel Richemon and sa femme

Jean ffonnielle and sa femme

Estienne Bocar, sa femme and 2 enfants

Jaques ffradot

Gabriel Maupain, sa femme and 3 enfants

Jacob Sponge and sa femme

Ester Duncan

Jaques Hornon

Jean Chaperon

ffrancois Felsau

Jean Prain

Salomon Taniere and sa femme

Pierre Odias

Jean ffaouton

Pierre ffferre, sa femme and un enfant

francois Gonfan, sa femme and sa fille

Lazare Lataniere and sa femme

Jean Bellos

Jacques Delinet

Salomon Bricou and sa femme

Glaude Barbie and sa femme

Estienne Dehon

Henry Corneau

Daniel fferan

Jean Gomar, sa femme and 5 enfants
Jean Roussel
Pierre Montgut
Alexander Vaillan
Salomon Gondemay and sa femme
Louis Girardeau
Daniel Dousseau
Michel Cahaigne
Daniel Duval
Corneille Frampain
Paul Coustillat
Pierre des maizeaux
Jean Velas Lorange, sa femme and un enfant
Jean Egarnae
Pierre Gueraux
Anthoine Lalorie
Matthieu Bonsergent et sa femme
Paul Leroy and sa femme
Bernard Lanusse and sa femme
ffrancois Charpentier and sa femme
Jean Surin
Jacques Lemarchand
Isaac Bonviller
Melkier de Vallons
Isaac de 'Hay
Abraham Cury
Joseph Berrard and sa femme
Charles Parmantie
Jean Rousset
Pierre Montgut
Alexander Veillan
Salomon Condemay and sa femme
Louis Girardeau
Daniel Dousseau
Michel Cahaigne
Daniel Duval
Corneille Frampain
Paul Coustillat
Pierre des maizeaux
Jean Velas Lorange, sa femme and un enfant
Jean Egarnae
Pierre Geraux
Anthoine Lalorie
Matthieu Bonsergent et sa femme
Paul Leroy and sa femme
Bernard Lamusse and sa femme
ffrancois Charpentier and sa femme
Jean Surin
Jacques Lermarchand
Isaac Bonviller
Melkier de Vallons
Isaac de Hay
Abraham Cury
Joseph Berrard and sa femme
Charles Parmantie
Emanuel Langlade
Jean Olmier
Charles Charier
Sebastian Prevoteau
ffrancis Delpus
Henry Collie, sa femme et un enfan
Estienne Chenau and sa femme
Daniel Duchemin and sa femme
Daniel Gueran, sa femme and 4 enfans
Jean Soulié, sa femme and 3 enfans
Nicholas Ducre and sa femme
Jean Noel Levasseur and sa femme
Rebecé Poitevin
Louis Losane, sa femme and 2 enfans
Elisabet Curien
Jean Boyé Surgan
Marie Catherine Lecoin
Jean ffauquaran and sa femme
Elisabet Morel
Pierre Balaros
Paul Legover

(Suisses)
Jean Jacques Faizant
Jacob Aigle
Pierre Shriflit
Ouly Cumery

Madame Herbert, 4 demoiselles, sa filles
(Genevois)

Jean Pasteur

_____ Dupuy

Charles Pasteur and sa femme

Elizabet Hayer, alemande

Marie Henns, yanwelle flamande

Total ....................191.

"Rolle des Francois, Suisses, Genevois, Alemans, et Flamans
Embarques Dans Le Bavire Nemme le Nassau Pour Aller a la Virginia" -
Virginia Historical Collections - Vot. V - (1886) - pp. 29-34.
A List of Ye French Refugees That Are Settled Att Ye Mannachin Town
Are As Follows:

In Ye First Shipp

Mr. Phillip and his wife
Mr. Peter Chalin, his wife and 3 chil'n
Mr. Abrah. Nicod
Mr. Char. Sailee
Theph. Mallot and his wife
Gulte
Mullin
John ffarcy and his wife
Steph. Chastain and his wife
Peter Tuly and his wife
John Joacmi and his wife
Minst and his wife
Gawey and his wife
Bilbun and his wife
ffaur, his brother and sister
Parcule and his wife
Leverre
Gillan
Voyer and his wife
Peter Gaway and his wife
John Saye
Pantier
Chambures and his wife
Mornet and his wife
Peter Perry
Mallon, his wife and father
Brouse and one child
Corun
Cabarnis (now Cabiness) and wife
Imbart and his wife
Sasin
Vigue
Garren
Chalagenie, his wife and one child
Debart
Bernard and his wife
Cath. Billet
Sublet, his wife and four children
Moroll and his wife and one child
Cocuelguiic
Veras and his wife
Isaac Verey
John Buffe, Du Clue, La Cadon

The names of such as came in ye second ship:

Mr. Benj'n De Joux
Barel, his wife and one child
Gavin, his wife and Joshua Pettit
Alocastres, John Gunn and Timothy Russ
Isaac Lefavour and his wife and Meshall
John Owner, and his wife, Gavand and his wife
Remy and his wife, Gavand and his wife
Villam, and his wife and Shabron
Abrate Befour, his wife and 4 children
Jasper Subus, his wife and 4 children

All and every ye persons herein before mentioned are seated between ye creeks (except Duclow and Sneadow) who came also in ye first ship and are settled on ye other side ye said creek.

And these that follow are likewise seated between ye said creeks but came in the third ship, (vizt):

Rapine, his wife and 2 children
ffran Benon and Gillaum
Treyon, his wife and 1 child below ye creek

The names of those y't came in ye fourth ship and are also settled between ye creeks:

Buffo, Shulo, and his wife and 3 children
Tumar and his wife, Chevas and 2 children
Vallant, ffasant, John Pastour
Mary Legraund
Robert, his wife and one child
Macks, his wife and one child
Lamas

A list of such as came in ye second and fourth shipps, and that are seated below ye creeks are as follows:
Jno. Boshard, his wife and 3 children
Dan'l Bluet and 2 children.
Pet'r Musset and his wife, and Misar Brocket
Jos. Oliver, Po. Leaseo, and Jno. Marsarae
ffr'a Clapy-and Legraund and 3 children
Nicti Mar, his wife, and 2 children
Sam'l Huntteeker, his wife and 2 children
ffra Duacon, Anth. Bonion, and Provo
Muller and 1 child
Dufontaine, his wife and one child
Jasper Gardner, his wife and 3 children

In ye fourth Shipp:

John Leroy, booker and his wife and one child
Coullon and his wife

below ye creek:

Merchant Suillee, his wife and 2 children, and one negro woman
Anthony Obray between ye Creeks

These two persons last mentioned came from New York.

David Ministres and his wife not gone up falling creek.

Nov. 10, 1701.

Wm. Byrd

Copia,

Testa,
Dionisius Wright

Total ...................... 203.*


Noms Des Hommes

Jean Cairon, Ministre
Abraham Salle
Pierre Chastain
Charles Perault
Jean Forquerand
Anthoine Matton
Isaac Lesebure
Jacques Bilbaud
Jacob Ammonet
Michel Cantepie
Jean Voyé
Francois Dupuy
Daniel Guerrand
Barthelemy Dupuy
Jacques Sobler
Pierre Trauve
Mathieu Agé
Thomas Briaus
Jean Chastain
Francois De Clapie
Louis Sobler
Tho. D'Allizon
Pre. Dutoit
Jean Calver
Jean Farcy
Estienne Chastain
Estienne Bonard
Abra. Solber, lesué
Abra. Sobler, le jeune
Gedeon Chambon
Pre. Morissen
Isaac Lafuittte
Jean Panetie
Jean Joanis
Jacq. Bioret
Jean Solaigre
Daniel Maubain
Isaac Parenteau
Andre Aubry
Gillaume Genin
Jean Fonuiele
Joseph Cailland
Joseph Bernard
David Bernard
Estienne Regnault
Pierre Oliver
Pierre Viet
Anthoine Giraudan
Jean Levillain
Jean Filhon
Abra. Michaux
Adam Vique
Abra. Remy
Anthoine Trabue
Jean Martin
Moize Leneveau
Jacob Cappon
Pierre Delaunay
Francois Lassin
Jean Powell
Jean Dupre
Jean Gorner
Gaspard Gorner
Mathieu Bonsergent
Jacques Legrand
Pierre David
Claude Garry
Micollas Souille
Anthoine Rapinne
Gillaume Martin
Pierre Deppe

Femmes Veuves Et Leurs Enfans

Lavenne Souillé
Lave. Lorange
Lav. Gorry
Lave. Mallet
Lave. Launay 5 Femmes Veuves
Enfants Orphelins

Jean Faure
Estienne Mallet
Suzanne Mallet
Marie Mallet
Isaac Gorry
Jean Gorry
Anthoine Berin
Pre. Sobriche
Jeanne and
Suzanne
Jean Loncadou
Pierre Loncadou

Suzanne Imbert
Jeanne Imbert

The foregoing is a list of the parishioners of King William Parish, probably of the year 1714. The total number, including the wives and children of the men, and the children of the widows, was 291.*

* "Liste Generalle de Tous les Francois Protestants Refugies, Establys dans la Paroisse du Roy Guillaume......" - Virginia Historical Collections - Vol. V. - (1886) - pp. 74-76.
June, 1744 - A List of King William Parish

The estate of John James Flourney, viz: Jos., Akin, Yarmouth, Charles, Will, Sue, Sara

John James Dupuy, Dick, Betty
John James Levilin, Betty
James Ford, Stephen Ford
Thos. Bradley
Stephen Mallet, Robin, Lucy, May
John Levilin, Jack, Dick, Mary, Nan
James Cocke, Henry Godsie, Jack Dick, Sarah, Hannah, Betsy, Jane
Wm. Salle, George, Betty, Jenny, John Proan
Peter Salle, Jemine
Peter Bondurant
John Bondurant
Joseph Bondurant, Thomas Miles
Richard Annis, Constable
William Meginson, Tom, Abram, George
Peter Ford, Daniel, Jogg
Peter Soblet
John Young
John Harris, Demetius Young, Bob, Chloe, Phillis, Moll
Peter Lewis Soblet
Thomas Porter, Isaac Dutoy, Hamton, Joe, Caesar, Judy, Sarah
John Peter Bilbo, John Gory, Sara, Will
John Porter, Judy
John Chandler, Jos. Chandler
Stephen Forssee, Sam

Thomas Smith, James Smith, Will

Peter Guerrant, John J.

Tom, Betty

John Burner

For Mrs. Elize Bernard: Will'm Howard, James, Charles, William, Adam, Essex

Edmund Goin

Stephen Reno, Jno. Weaver

Mattie Ayce, Jas. Ayce, Francis Hilguro, Ege Edins

John Butler: George, Jack, Betty

David Lesueur, Dick, Philis

Thomas Kemp

John Ford

Benjamin Harris, Ben, Harry, Matt, Lasey

David Thomas, Betty

James Robinson, Moll

John Carner, William Carner

For Am't Bennj.: Matt. Bingley, Am't Debril, Betty Cassy, Jenny, Jack

Peter Depp, Peter Orringe

James Drowen

Andrew Quinet, Jno. Ford

Eliza Hampton, Left.

John Sullavant, Phillis, Sarah, Moll

Jno. Pankey, Lucy

Daniel Gory

For Rene Chastain: Thos. Godsee, Betty
Sam. Weaver, Sam'l Weaver, Jr., Wm Young, Sam Robin

Henry Trent, Jno. C'k

Dilee Aggy

Chastain, Jno. Chastain, Jun., Charles, Prince, Belinda

Charles, Ominett

William Platt, Charles Stannad, Phillis

Mrs. Anne Scott: Dan'l Scott, Thomas Mansfield, Sampson, Jerry, Cooper, Jupiter, Pope, Dick

Talb Dillery

Anthony Ayce

John Edins

Wm. Banton

John Young

Peter Lookado

Peter Ford, Jr.

Clark Trabue: June

Joseph Bingley, Butler, Judy

James Bryant, Sec'y

Jeremiah Rasceine

James Stelman, Jr., Watt, Jonathan, Caesar, Lucy, Effe

Widow Martin: Wm. Kemp, Peter, David, Jack, Dick, Jenny, Kate

Peter, David, Dick Manowa, Jupiter, Dina

John Jas. Flornoir

John Young

Giles Ford

Stephen Reno

Samuel Weaver
Antony Bevin
Peter Loucadou
Daniel Peres
Louis Soblet
Jno. Bartholomew Dupuy
Charles Pean
Jean Faure
Richard Sumpter
Richard Sumter
Jean Moriset
Isaac Robinson
Wm. Quettle
Eli Sassin
Jacob Trabu
Jaque Martain
Janne Dupres Tevis
Antoine Bernard
Samuel Jordins
Pierre Forqueran
Richard Deen
Magdelaine Salle
Abraham Salle*

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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>Fife, Prof. R. H.</td>
<td>The Vestry Book of King William Parish, Virginia - 1707-1750. (Translated from the French and annotated by Prof. R. H. Fife, Wesleyan University, and with an introduction by Col. R. L. Maury, Richmond, Virginia, from the original, the property of Miss Leila Walker, Ft. Estill, Ky.)</td>
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Vita

Name: Mary Wilson Bohannan Land
Born: May 24, 1905 - Surry, Virginia.
Parents: Aurelius Wilson and Mary E. Jones Bohannan.
Training: St. Mary's School, Raleigh, N. C., 1921-23
College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1923-25, A. B.
Summer School: University of Toulouse, France, 1925.
Summer School: McGill University, Montreal, Canada, 1939.
Summer School: University of Florida, 1940.
Summer School; College of William and Mary, 1927, 1933, 1934, 1936, 1937, 1938.
Occupation: Teaching, Quantico Post School, Quantico, Virginia.
Candidate for the Master of Arts Degree from the College of William and Mary, 1942.