"With the sole exception of a little band of French Huguenot refugees ... none but English immigrants were admitted to the [Massachusetts Bay] colony; even the Huguenots were here for half a century before they were naturalized."

— Tourtellot, Arthur Bernon, The Charles
NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 294

“NARRATIVE HISTORY” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION,
THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY
The name “Bernon” is to be seen in a list of Crusaders dating to this year.
April 13, Thursday (Old Style): King Henri IV of France signed the Edict of Nantes assuring freedom of conscience and the right of Huguenots to worship in public anywhere — except of course never in Paris itself.¹ (But freedom of conscience did not mean freedom of speech or of the press, and Bibles continued to be hard to come by, and Europe’s records are full of attempts to arrange for new editions to replace people’s worn-out copies.)

1. In order to obey this edict, the Huguenots in Paris would be worshiping at a church in Charenton, just outside the city limits, until on October 18, 1685 King Louis XIV would revoke this Edict, thus provoking one of the greatest sustained persecutions and diasporas of European history. (The English term “refugee” would come about due to reluctance to employ the term “diaspora” which seemed to be reserved for the scattering of the Jews per John 7:35. In 1985 French President Mitterrand would issue an official apology, on behalf of the French government and the French people, for Louis XIV’s diktat, and a commemorative postage stamp would be issued characterizing this our modern era as under the suasion of “Tolerance, Pluralism, Brotherhood.”)
April 6, Saturday (Old Style): Gabriel Bernon was born as the 4th son of André Bernon and Suzanne Guillemard Bernon in an ancient mercantile Huguenot family of La Rochelle, France. (His baptismal certificate at the Protestant church there is now on file at the Rhode Island Historical Society.)

NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT
September 19, Sunday (Old Style): Birth of Ester le Roy, who would become the 1st wife of Gabriel Bernon.

November 10, Wednesday (Old Style): The Bay colony suffered through a severe storm.

Baptism of Ester le Roy, who would become the 1st wife of Gabriel Bernon.
September 20, Saturday (Old Style): Gabriel Bernon got married with Ester Le Roy at the Protestant church in La Rochelle, France (she would bear one son and several daughters, and would die in Newport, Rhode Island in 1710 — the marriage contract of this couple is still in existence, on seven pages of parchment, and can be viewed at the Rhode Island Historical Society).

DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.
March 7, Tuesday (1681, Old Style): Gabriel Bernon embarked for New France (Canada). With the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, since it could no longer be allowed for a Huguenot to be present in that French colony, he would be ordered to return to Europe — and would be imprisoned for seven months in the Tour de la Lanterne of La Rochelle.

September 5, Tuesday (Old Style): At the Rhode Island Historical Society, there is some sort of document of sale and lease by Fauvre and wife to Gabriel Bernon and wife, in French, bearing this date.
Between this year and 1715 France would lose about a tenth to a fifth of its population to starvation, expulsion of Jews and Huguenots, disease, and execution, with some French cities losing even as much as a third of their citizenry. In a still-extant image, Huguenot refugees were depicted arriving at Dover:

WHAT I’M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF
Gabriel Bernon’s brother Samuel Bernon converted to Catholicism. “Dans ses lettres écrites de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, il tente de convaincre son frère de se convertir et de rentrer en France.”

October 18, Sunday (Old Style): John Evelyn’s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:

Dr. Good-man [at Whitehall:] preached on 2:Cor:4:18:
The King was now building all that range from East to west by the Court & Garden to the streete, & making a new Chapel for the Queene, whose Lodgings this new building was:
as also a new Council Chamber & offices next the South end of the Banqueting-house:
King Louis XIV of France commenced a merciless persecution of his Protestant subjects, by declaring the April 13, 1598 Edict of Nantes which had been issued by King Henry IV to be null and void and by removing all religious and civil liberties of any French citizens who were Huguenots. The eighth and largest mass out-migration of Huguenots began:

In this year Pierre Thoreau, who at the time was approximately ten years of age, his two sisters Francoise and Marie, and their mother, fled from the Poitou-Charentes district of France, initially to Richmond near London and then to St. Hélier on the island of Jersey in the English Channel. Presumably this religio-political situation was what occasioned the flight, at penalty of being sent to row in the galleys had they been intercepted. (We can imagine the image above, which is of Huguenots arriving in this year on the shingle beach under the white cliffs at Dover, as an approximation of the group including the combined Thoreau and Guillet families disembarking in the harbor on the island of Jersey!) Presumably the Thoreau family fled from France to Jersey in the Channel Islands in about 1685, at roughly the same time that the Jacques Louis Guillet family fled to England.

2. This movement of refugees is said to have been the “largest forced migration of Europeans in the early modern period.” Refer to Jon Butler’s THE HUGUENOT IN AMERICA: A REFUGEE PEOPLE IN NEW WORLD SOCIETY. Cambridge MA: Harvard UP, 1983. The English word “refugee” would come about due to reluctance to employ the term “diaspora” which seemed to be reserved for the scattering of the Jews per John 7:35. The Huguenots amounted to some 1/4th million out of France’s 20 million citizens, and during the years 1682-1690 were concentrated in the West and in the South. After some 50,000 had fled to England, they made up 5% of London town at a time when the London population was 10% of England. Genetically, the statistical probability that the next English person you meet in England will have at least some Huguenot ancestry is 75%. Refer to Bernard Cottret’s THE HUGUENOT IN ENGLAND and to Peter Steven Gannon’s volume on REFUGEES IN THE SETTLING OF COLONIAL AMERICA.

In 1985 French President Mitterrand would issue an official apology, on behalf of the French government and the French people, for Louis XIV’s diktat revoking the Edict of Nantes, and a commemorative postage stamp would be issued characterizing this our modern era as under the suasion of “Tolerance, Pluralism, Brotherhood.”
Jersey, because the two families were intermarried.

It would be Pierre’s grandson Philippe Thoreau who would become the ancestor of Henry David, but it would be his great-granddaughter Marie who would marry Charles William Guillet in 1796 and it would be their son John Guillet who would emigrate in 1832 to Cobourg on Lake Ontario east of Toronto, eventually producing Edwin Clarence Guillet, the Canadian historian. Since the American branch of the Thoreau family would come to an end with the unmarried generation of Helen Louisa Thoreau, John Thoreau, Jr., Henry David Thoreau, and Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau, this Edwin Clarence Guillet, who died in 1974, would be one of Henry David’s few modern American relatives (though Henry had a closer relative in England until 1949, a son of Sophia Thoreau Du Parcq who had risen to the status of Law Lord and been entitled, who was named at birth Herbert Du Parcq).
As you can see in the following footnote from page 230 of his *The Pioneer Farmer and Backwoodsman*, Edwin was quite proud of Henry — although reluctant to brag about being a relative:

The period of the settlement of Upper Canada was too late for the inclusion of religious refugees among its settlers. But a large number of descendants of French Huguenots, driven from France in the sixteen-eighties, came to the United States and Canada, where they have tended to retain an independent and non-conformist attitude. The greatest of them all, of course, is Henry David Thoreau, whose philosophy and example have been so influential in shaping the career of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, British labour leaders, and broader loyalties of every type throughout the world.

In addition to the above revocation of religious liberty at home, Louis also proclaimed a *Code Noir* for his colonies in the Caribbean. First, all Jews get out, you are to be gone within three months. Second, Huguenots may not observe their religion in any way. There was to be no intermarriage of non-Catholics with Catholics. Products of such unions were declared bastards. Slaves of Huguenots were to be baptized as Catholics. When the news of this reached the Caribbean, many Huguenot families fled from French islands to English and Dutch islands.

Now I need to lay on you an analogy which you may consider, at first glimpse, to be severe. “Even with due allowance for exaggeration in contemporary accounts, one gets the impression of stark terrorism just as grim as the anti-Semitic nightmare in Nazi Germany.” Yet the opinion I just gave you is that of a reputable historian, Warren C. Scoville. As an example, the king of France had declared that if any “New Convert” from Protestantism to Catholicism should recant his conversion on his death bed, all his property was to be seized by the authorities, and they were to have his “naked body dragged through the streets and tossed on a public dump.” Of every six men captured in Huguenot worship meetings, one was to be executed and five condemned to serve as galley slaves, and in fact we know of at least 1,132 men who became galley slaves in this manner prior to the death of Louis XIV. Serving out one’s sentence as a galley slave was no guarantee of release, and in fact a number of Huguenots were kept at their seats on the rowing benches, in their chains, for the duration of their lives, in spite of the fact that they had long since completed their sentences.

It was in the Languedoc-Dauphine area of southern France, so impacted by the Catholic extermination of the Cathar heresy, that Huguenots were most concentrated. Under persecution, there were visions, people claimed they had heard choirs of angels in the sky and so on and so forth, and a belief arose that the Christian millennium was coming in the year 1689.

A number of Huguenots would wind up in Charleston.

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4. During this period the Pope himself, in the Papal States, was holding galley slaves to row him to and fro. These slaves might be in one or another of the following categories: “convicted criminals condemned to a life sentence” — “captured non-Christian prisoners of war” — “bonavoglie, so-called ‘volunteers’ who through indigence had sold themselves into slavery, and could be released at the end of their contracted period of service in the galleys on condition of good conduct.”
I suppose Abraham D. Lavender to be the poet who wrote the following (since he did not attribute the poem and since the color lavender appears in it):

THE EXILE

Your sunny shores,
Your rugged peaks,
Your vineyards, fields, and forests,
Your flowery gardens in bloom,
With red, yellow, lavender, pink, and blue,

Your meandering rivers,
Your flowing streams,
Your roads that lead everywhere,
Your humble hamlets,
Your teeming towns,
Your courtly cities ablaze,

Your toiling farmers,
Your masterful merchants,
Your artful artisans and would-be scholars,
Your poor, pious, pampered, and princely,
Men and women of all nuances and shades,

Your lives so colorful,
Vivaciously vibrant,
But oppressive,
Struggling to be free,
To break the shackles of an ancient age,

Blood of my fathers,
Tears of my mothers,
Roots of my branches,
All intertwined in your soil so deep,
My mother earth,
My father land,

How my heart weeps for you,
From whom I was so cruelly exiled,
In leaking boats,
Over frightful borders,
Hurried journeys in the darkened nights,
Leaving behind so much of me,
Embittered, impoverished, but free,

Angered by the fearful tyrant,
The betraying countrymen,
The yoke of intolerance,

Saddened by the theft of freedom,
The rupture of dreams,
The hopeful hope of a speedy return,

A new beginning,
In a strange new land,
Different, engulfing, demanding,
But flexible, sensitive, and free,
This land that welcomed me,
Exhausted, lonely, afraid,
Sadder, but wiser,
Stronger and prouder,

Reaffirmed in honor,
From a life torn asunder,
This exile that became me,

Days turned into years,
And years into decades,
And generations multiply and divide,

A new language,
A new name,
A new home,
New loves to love,
In this no longer strange new land,

But, your sunny shores,
Your rugged peaks,
Your vineyards, fields, and forests,
Your flowery gardens in bloom,
With red, yellow, lavender, pink, and blue,

My colorfully vibrant memories,
That my mind cannot repress,
My meandering gazes ablaze,
That go with me everywhere,

My mother earth,
My father land,
How my soul dreams of you,
I am a part of you,
And you are a part of me,

The dreams,
The hope,
The faith,
That neither tyranny,
Nor time,
Can ever erase.
October: Gabriel Bernon was imprisoned in the Tour de la Lanterne of La Rochelle, evidently as part of religious persecution by French Catholics of French Protestants. He would be held there for some seven months.

THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT
Interest had begun early in the 1680s in the development of a plantation in the area west of Natick in the south central part of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Hugh Campbell, a Scots merchant in Boston, petitioned the General Court for permission to establish a town there. At about the same time, Joseph Dudley and William Stoughton attempted to claim all lands west of the Blackstone River to the southern land of Massachusetts to a point northerly of the Springfield Road then running southwesterly until it joined the southern line of Massachusetts. Robert Thompson of London was involved in this Dudley/Stoughton scheme. Dr. Daniel Cox of London, John Blackwell of London, and Thomas Freak of Hannington, Wiltshire were listed among the original proprietors. They were pledging that within four years they would settle 30 families there and provide them with an orthodox minister, but the four years elapsed without any such success and so an extension had been sought, and granted by the General Court.

In this year the original proprietors of this proposed isolated town of New Oxford in Nipmuc Country extended their hospitality to a band of about 30 families of Huguenots, some from the shores of the Bay of Biscay and some from Rochelle in France. A number of them bore the name Rochellois. They were under the leadership of Gabriel Bernon and their first minister was Daniel Bondett. They received 11,000 to 12,000 acres at the east end of the area, 1 1/4 miles outside of Oxford village on the French River. The first ten families of Huguenots were guided there from Boston in this year, accompanied by their pastor, on foot, by Isaac Bertrand DuTuffeau. They built their meetinghouse and established their burying ground near the road to Norwich CT, at the foot of Mayo’s hill. The Wachusett wilderness could be seen to the northwest. They built one fort near the meeting-house and another at the top of their hill, each of course with its own well. (A plan of one of these fortifications is at the Rhode Island Historical Society.) They established a grist mill and a malt mill. They planted vineyards and orchards.

When Robert Thompson met Gabriel Bernon he learned that this Huguenot refugee businessman was seeking an area in which his Protestant countrymen, who had fled their native France after the Edict of Nantes, might re-establish their lives. Their primary concern was avoiding further religious persecution. This proposed town of New Oxford at that time included the larger part of what is now Charlton, a quarter of what is now Auburn, a fifth of what is now Dudley, and the easterly area now known as Webster, as well as several square miles of the northeast portion of what is now Southbridge! There were lots of hay meadows there in what the American natives referred to as Manchaug, alongside the region’s ponds, brooks, and rivers, to provide the necessary winter fodder for farm animals — as these natives had been keeping the area free of underwood and brush, to assist them in their hunting for small game, by regular burnings.

Although these Protestant immigrants were settling near the site of a town which would later grow up, that we now know as Oxford MA, we need to bear in mind that there is not continuity with present-day Oxford, for eventually, under Nipmuc attack, their pastor Père Boudet deserted the others and took with him all documentation of their land grant and the Huguenots would then evacuate the area. (The English settlement would not begin until 1713.) Then, when an English family which had settled on the outskirts of their Huguenot village, the Johnsons, was murdered by native Americans (possibly Hurons, Catholic native Americans from Canada?), the settlers were driven into the safer settlements along the coast and as usual for Huguenots, integrated immediately with the other Europeans there. They would leave behind them only

5. The native American name for the freshwater pond dotted upland plateau the white intrusives knew as “Nipmuc Country” was Mauchaug.
6. At that time there were only about 20 French families in Boston although there was a somewhat larger number settled in Frenchtown, a community at Narragansett in Rhode Island.
Boston names such as Sigourney, Bowdoin, Faneuil, Revere, and Johonnot to mark their episode as religious refugees in the wilderness.

A “French Church” was established on School Street by French Protestant refugees residing in Boston. This church was at least nominally “Presbyterian.” After assimilation had proceeded, and attendance fallen off, it would be sold, and eventually this structure would become the chapel in which, during the Revolution, chaplains from the French fleet would celebrate the mass for Boston’s few Catholic residents. (One supposes that these French Catholics knew nothing of the origins of the structure they were using, which they were renting at that time from Congregationalists. –Or, perhaps they knew and it did not matter. Regular mass would begin in this chapel in 1788, and would prove, according to the Reverend Jeremy Belknap, to be not only “mummery” and “a puppet show,” but –would you believe– “a source of ridicule.” These comments, of course, come from the period when, on Guy Fawkes Day of each year, the 5th of November, gangs of toughs from Boston’s North End would battle it out in the streets with gangs of toughs from Boston’s South End, for possession of each other’s offensive effigies of the Supreme Pontiff of the Roman Catholic faith. “Pope’s Day,” this source of ridicule was termed locally, until it came to be the 5th day of November in the Year of Our Lord 1764, and a child died as a result of the mock warfare. 7)

The following material about Boston MA as a refuge for fleeing Huguenots appears on pages 152-3 and then passim of Abraham D. Lavender’s FRENCH HUGUENOTS: FROM MEDITERRANEAN CATHOLICS TO WHITE ANGLO-SAXON PROTESTANTS (NY: Peter Lang, 1990), and helps explain how one of Thoreau’s ancestors fleeing France to the islands of the English Channel happened to wind up in Boston:

With the Revocation, Boston became a major Huguenot area. By 1704, the Huguenots began a decade-long plan to build a Huguenot church. But, assimilation was rapid. Butler discusses "The

7. In the struggle the carriage bearing one of the Pope effigies rolled over this five-year-old’s head. Anti-Catholicism was seen as appropriate for Guy Fawkes Day because it commemorated the exposure of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, and that plot had been a conspiracy by Roman Catholics to blow up the English Parliament.
Disappearance of the Huguenots in America," and concludes that in Boston the Huguenots had disappeared as an immigrant group by 1784, when the French Church disbanded. They disappeared through a "subtle, evolutionary process" that is particularly hard to trace because it occurred so fast. They rapidly entered into the mainstream of Boston's established political and economic life, and had an extraordinarily high rate of intermarriage with Boston's English society. Soon, they lost their social and religious identity as Huguenots, and French was replaced by English. Anglicanism was the most favored denomination as these Huguenots changed from French churches. Kingdon suggests that the Anglicans' active charitable help for the Huguenots both in England and in the United States was the major reason for this preference.8 Other factors such as social status and a general lack of heavy religious involvement also inclined the Huguenots toward the most establishment religious identity. Other religious factors, discussed in the next few pages, also influenced the Huguenots. most Huguenot ministers moved toward Anglicanism. Butler concludes that only one colonial New England Huguenot minister ever became a Presbyterian.9... Butler concludes that internal disintegration and assimilation were completed by 1750, with the official end being the collapse of the French Church in 1776. Large scale intermarriage took place, first with the Dutch and then, after the 1750s, increasingly with the English. There was a revival in the 1760s resulting from an influx of immigrants from eastern France and Switzerland, but this revival did not last long.... Smaller numbers of Huguenots joined other Protestant denominations. As Butler notes, however, "None seem to have become Quakers and only after 1750 did a few Huguenots associate with the city's Presbyterian Church. Despite the apparent 'presbyterian' character of French Protestantism, neither the Huguenot clergy nor the Huguenot laity evidenced significant interest in Presbyterian institutions"10.... Where did the Huguenots come from before their exile? Baird notes that a large proportion of the Huguenots who came to the United States came from western France, from "the towns and villages of the country between the Loire and the Gironde."11 A number of Huguenots also came from northern France, around Normandy and Brittany, and a lesser number from southern France, around Languedoc. But, those who came to America were largely from the "younger segment of the Huguenot population that left France in the 1680s."12... In the late 1600s and early 1700s, there was some prejudice against French immigrants in the United States. The Puritans especially, and to a lesser extent the

10. Butler, page 194
12. Butler, page 56
Anglicans, had brought a fear and dislike of Catholicism with them from England. In England, these Protestants concluded that England “could save herself from Catholic aggression only by assuming the role of aggressor.” They had used this fear of Catholic internationalism, in an era of intense nascent nationalism, to “win converts from among the common people” who were not attracted by theological arguments alone.13... With the fear of Indians, and the good relations between Indians and French traders near the frontier (particularly in New York and Pennsylvania, next to Canada), French in general were suspect. The typical non-French person did not understand the internal politics of France, and all French were viewed with suspicion: “Not only every stranger but even the most peaceful neighbor who spoke French was a possible spy and a potential accomplice of skulking savages.”14 Huguenots often were taken to be secret Jesuit priests.

In France, the government became aware that Huguenot families were abandoning the French islands of the Caribbean for the English and Dutch islands, and steps were taken to replenish the supply. That is, the French government began assembling columns of citizens in French Huguenot communities and marching them to ports to be delivered to the French islands of the Caribbean as slaves. “Parents and children, husbands and wives, neighbors and friends, were carefully separated from one another. Companies of soldiers escorted the wretched travelers, not so much to prevent their escape, as to degrade them, by giving the procession the aspect of a gang of criminals.”15 Of course, mortality was high at every stage along such a journey. The Tour de Constance was used as a prison for these people, and the initial shipload sailed out of Marseilles harbor in September.

May: Having been held for some seven months in the La Lanterne Tower of La Rochelle on account of his Protestant faith, the Huguenot merchant Gabriel Bernon was released. He would flee with his wife Ester le Roy Bernon and their children Gabriel, Marie, and Esther from France to Amsterdam, eventually arriving in London. (Note that this was the very month during which, in London, the English Catholic king James II was ordering his common hangman to burn publicly before the Royal Exchange, the Huguenot refugee Jean Claude’s anonymous LES PLAINTES DES PROTESTANS CRUELLEMENT OPPRIMEZ DANS LE ROYAUME DE FRANCE, 192 pages printed in Cologne chez Pierre Marteau MD.C.LXXXVI, for the offense of describing the persecutions being experienced by French Protestants such as the Bernon family and the Thoreau family.)

September 9, Thursday (Old Style): There is still in existence at the Rhode Island Historical Society an order for John Faneuil to pay £100 to Gabriel Bernon, at Rotterdam on this date.

14. Reference given only to page 384 of “Hansen 1931.”

The Reverend Daniel Bondet, who had been educated at Geneva, was able to preach in French, English, and Indian. He began to serve the New Oxford community of refugee Huguenots in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in this year, and would continue until sometime in 1695. (In about 1697 he would become the pastor of the French church in New Rochelle, New York, and would serve there until his death in 1722.)
A Huguenot arrived in Boston and reported to co-religionists still in Europe, in a series of three letters:

[At Boston, the 15-25 of November, 1687:] By the Grace of God, I have been in these happy Regions, in perfect Health, since the seventeenth of the last Month, after a Passage of fifty-three Days, reckoning from the Downs, which are twenty Leagues from London, to Boston, and I may say there are few Vessels which make the Passage in so short a Time. Our Voyage was most fortunate, and I can say that, excepting three days and three Nights when we had a great Storm, the entire remainder was only agreeable and delicious Weather; for one and each brought Joy to our Bark. Wives, Daughters and Children came almost every day to enjoy themselves on the Poop-deck. We had not the Pleasure of fishing on the Banks, because we did not come upon them; we passed them fifty Leagues to the South; our Course was almost always from the East to West. We passed in the Latitude of the Fejalles,\(^1\) distant about sixty leagues; these are Islands belonging to the Portuguese, and are four hundred Leagues from England. If there were no Fear of the Corsairs of Sales,\(^2\) who often cruise about these Islands, Vessels would often come to Anchor in these Harbors, but these Pirates are the Cause of Vessels holding a Course far to the North. We met a Number of Ships at Sea, some coming from the fishing Banks, others from the Islands of America; among others we met a Ship belonging in La Rochelle, which was coming from Martinique laden with Sugar, and which had previously made a Voyage to Guinea, whence it had brought one hundred and fifty Negroes, and two Capuchin Fathers who had been obliged to abandon their Post in Guinea, in View of the little Progress they there made. Almost the entire Crew and the Captain are Protestant. They came to our Vessel in their Launch, and promised us they would soon come to see us in Boston, in order to make reparation for having unluckily succumbed.\(^3\) They told us, moreover, that almost all the Protestant Inhabitants of the French Islands have gone; we have several here in Boston, with their whole Families.

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1. Azores Islands.
2. A pirate port near Rabat, Morocco.
3. Succumbed to what, to the Love of Gain? Note the contrast with a later paragraph in which the black people who have been enslaved and transported in this manner are treated as mass quantity: “there is not a House in Boston, however small may be its Means, that has not one or two.”
By a Ship arrived from the Islands we have News that the greater Part of our poor Brethren who had been conveyed to St. Martin Island, have escaped to the Island of St. Eustatius, which belongs to the Dutch, and there is Hope that the Rest will soon be there. You will have learned, no doubt, that one of the three Ships that transported these poor Brethren, was lost, and from her only the Crew were saved. May God pardon these cruel Men, who are the Cause of these Sorrows, and convert them!...

April 27, Wednesday (Old Style): Gabriel Bernon, who had arrived in London earlier this year, was granted English citizenship. A plan was created, in London, for the Huguenot refugee town of New Oxford in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Refer to “Delineation of the town of Oxford,” a map at the Rhode Island Historical Society.

16. REPORT OF A FRENCH PROTESTANT REFUGEE, IN BOSTON, 1687: TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY E.T. FISHER, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK. Albany NY: Munsell, Printer, 1868, edition of 125 copies — a translation of surviving portions of three letter reports, now in the Manuscript Collections of Antoine Court at the Library of Geneva, from a Huguenot in Boston, presumably originally from the Languedoc region, to his (her?? – a history book speaks of the author as “her”) compatriots who were contemplating emigration after the Edict of Nantes. Another source tells us that “a Huguenot woman in Boston” –and presumably this would be another snippet by the same person– wrote to a Huguenot friend on the other side of the Atlantic who was considering resettlement in America, offering:

You can bring with you hired help in any Vocation whatever.... You may also own Negroes and Negresses; ... there is no Danger that they will leave you, nor Hired help likewise, for the Moment one is missing from the Town you have only to notify the Savages, who, provided you promise them Something, and describe the Man to them, he is right soon found.
April 28, Thursday (Old Style): Jacques Hipaud signed a contract to provide his labor for two years at the plantation of New Oxford in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. On the document we see, at the Rhode Island Historical Society, a red wax lump that has been impressed with the family seal of the Bernons, which was being carried by Gabriel Bernon on an ivory-handled, silver-headed seal stick.

October 15, Saturday (Old Style): There is still in existence at the Rhode Island Historical Society an order (for payment?) from a Daniel Hays to “Gabriel Bernon French merchant at London” for (£?)70 sterling, at Dublin.
In this year or the following one, Gabriel Bernon and Caleb Church, millwright, entered into an agreement to build a “corn or grist mill” at New Oxford, Massachusetts.

April 22, Sunday (Old Style): Contract between Gabriel Bernon and Jean Mourgue de Languedoc. On the document we see, at the Rhode Island Historical Society, a red wax lump that has been impressed with the family seal of the Bernons, which was being carried by Gabriel on an ivory-handled, silver-headed seal stick.

April 26, Thursday (Old Style): At Gravesend, England, Pierre Cornilly signed a contract to provide three years of services to Gabriel Bernon in return for paid passage to America, with nourishment along the way, plus the sum of £15 “argent” per year “a Boston ou aux Environs.”
June: The Huguenot merchant Gabriel Bernon, in his flight from the Catholic persecution in France, arrived at Boston in New England with about £5,500. His intention, formed at meetings with other refugees in London, was to sponsor a Huguenot settlement at New Oxford, Massachusetts. The home being built for him there was to do double duty as one of the little community’s fortifications. He would remain, himself, in Boston, while the 40 Huguenot refugees who had come over with him went on to build their homes and work their farms. He quickly established himself in trade in Boston, becoming involved in the construction of ships and in the manufacture of nails, as well as in the commodity market for salt and for pine rosin. He set up awash-leather manufactory in New Oxford, to make use of the labors of his fellow Huguenot refugees, and began to supply the Boston and Newport glovers and hatters with fine leathers. His success in these enterprises would enable him to obtain contracts from the English government for the provision of naval supplies.

17. René Grignon, partner of Jean Papineau in this chamoiserie, was also a silversmith and goldsmith: a silver porringer he would create in 1692 is now at Yale University. Earlier, Grignon had been a member of the Narragansett settlement at East Greenwich RI in Rhode Island, which lasted from 1686 to 1691. During 1696-1699 he would be elder of the French church in Boston. After New Oxford would finally be abandoned in 1704, he would become master of a sailing vessel and then settle in Norwich, Connecticut, where he would be a jeweler and merchant until his death in 1715. The church bell from New Oxford would be contributed by him to the church in Norwich.
April: Gabriel Bernon entered into some sort of contract in the English language with John Barre of “Boston in New England” concerning Barre’s “warfaring” voyage in the Porcupine (presumably this amounted to the usual provisioning of a privateering expedition in return for a specified percentage of the loot). As part of this business arrangement, Barre granted to Bernon power of attorney to act locally, on his behalf while he remained at sea.
May 9, Friday (Old Style): A contract in English between Gabriel Bernon and Peter Canton “of Boston in New England” for manufacture of rosin was signed by Peter with his mark, a very blotty “P.”
Twice in the following four years, Gabriel Bernon would be making business voyages to London to visit the offices of the Lord Commissioners of Trade in regard to provisions for the British fleet.

December 23, Saturday (Old Style): Peter Canton granted to Gabriel Bernon a power of attorney to manage a rosin and turpentine works. Again, Bernon’s family seal is pressed into red wax on the document. Again, Peter’s “marke,” his capital “P,” is inscribed by way of signature.
May 21, Monday (Old Style): Contract for sale of all rosin produced, at a set price, by Gabriel Bernon to John Taylor of Hackney in Middlesex, England.

18. Of course, no-one would do this sort of thing without a damn good reason.... For instance, during this year some Hurons sneaked down from Québec and killed a young girl and kidnapped her siblings in an inland settlement of the Massachusetts Bay Colony (as a result of this incident, some of the 20 to 30 Huguenot farm families –never more than 70 to 80 persons– that lived at New Oxford would abandon their work and flee to the safety of Boston).
The Reverend Daniel Bondet, who had begun to serve the New Oxford community of refugee Huguenots in 1687, left his flock, either inadvertently or purposefully taking with him the ownership documentation for all the land. (In about 1697 this reverend would become the pastor of the French church in New Rochelle, New York, and he would serve there until his death in 1722.)
August: After the murder of four members of the Johnson family,19 the Huguenot “Plantation of New Oxford” of 500 aikers of Land granted by their Excellencies Mr Dudley and Mr Stoughton to Isaac Bertrand Du Taffeau and Gabriel Bernon in the year 1687 and the 250 aikers granted since, making in all 750 aikers” in Nipmuc country20 was abandoned. (This Johnson family was in fact not Huguenot and not integral with the French settlement. There is in existence a short testimonial regarding the actions of Gabriel Bernon in the encounter, and a description of the killings of John Johnson and his three children (“fes trois Enfans”). I have seen, however, another account that alleges that the total was five rather than four white deaths, and Bernon’s untranslated document in French does mention the name “John Évane.”)

The remainder of the intrusives at this point fled, primarily into Boston. Their names were:

- Montel
- Jacques Dupen
- Captain Charles Germain
- Peter Cante
- Bereau Caeini
- Elie Dupeu
- Ober Jermon
- Jean Maillet
- Andre Segourney (Town Constable)
- Jean Maillet, ant.
- Peter Canton
- Jean Jeanson
- Mr. Germaine
- Jean Baudoin
- ???? Baudoin
- Benjamin Faneuil

I do not know why the names of Isaac Bertrand du Truffeau, village Magistrate and Bernon’s agent, and his wife the former Demoiselle Rochefoucauld, do not appear on this list. The name “Bernon” is not on this list. Although “Their Excellencies Mr Dudley and Mr Stoughton did grant to the faid Mr Bernon for his own use

19. Nearby, while this attack was going down, an elderly white woman was being safely delivered of one female and two male infants!
20. The native American name for what the white intrusives knew as the “Nipmuc” Or “Nipnet” country was Mauchaug.
alone 1750 aikers more, which makes in all 2500 aikers which Mr Bernon justly claims,” that founding family never actually moved onto its farm in Oxford, choosing to reside instead in Boston and then somewhat closer to their plantation, in Providence. (The name “Faneuil” on this list is of course of interest, since Benjamin Faneuil’s brother Andre, who was married to one of Gabriel Bernon’s sisters, would become one of the wealthiest merchants in Boston and would erect the famous Faneuil Hall as a market house. Jean Baudoin of New Oxford was the brother of James Baudoin of Boston, a distinguished merchant and for several years a member of the Colonial Council; James’s son James Bowdoin would become a Governor of Massachusetts and give his name to Bowdoin College.)

Here are the entries for this month in the diary of John Evelyn:

August 9, Sunday (Old Style): ... I drank Epsom waters some days: nothing of publique this weeke save the Bank lending the King 200000 pounds for the Army in Flanders, that having don nothing against the Enemy, had so exhausted the Treasure of the Nation that one could not have borrowed mony under 14 or 15 per Cent on bills nor Exchequer Tallies [on] the best funds for 30 per Cent, so miserably had we lost our best credit: Reasonable good harvest weather:

August 23, Sunday (Old Style): ... Clippers & abusers of the publique Coine every day discovered, & all these disorders evidently occasioned by the dishonesty of the Goldsmith & Banker, &c:

August 29, Saturday (Old Style): I went to Lambeth, dined with the A Bishop: there had that morning ben a Court upon the Complaint against Dr. Watson the Bishop of Bristol suspended for Simonie; The ABishop told me how unsatisfied he was with the Cannon Law, & how exceedingly unreasonable all their pleadings appeared to him: After dinner I mooved him for Dr. Bohune for a preferment promised me for him; & told him how much I had ben solicited to Bespeake his suffrage for the Deane of Carlisle, to succeede the Bishop of that Diocese, now very old: As also concerning Okewood Chapell &c:

December 29, Tuesday (Old Style): The son of Gabriel Bernon and Esther Le Roy Bernon wrote in French to his parents at Boston.
Gabriel Bernon relocated permanently from Boston to Rhode Island. While in Massachusetts, he had been a member of the French Church in Boston, but in Newport, where he initially settled, he joined the Trinity Church, which was Episcopal, which is to say, part of the Church of England.

The Reverend Daniel Bondet, who had been the pastor of the emptied community of refugee Huguenots at New Oxford in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, became the pastor of the French church in New Rochelle, New York, where there was also a very substantial, and considerably more prosperous, Huguenot settlement.²¹ (He would serve there until his death in 1722.)

²¹ There were substantial Huguenot communities on Manhattan Island, on Staten Island, and at New Rochelle, New York. New Rochelle in particular was completely Huguenot (completely, that is, if you leave out of your account as is customary the numerous black slaves owned by the more prosperous Huguenot families there).
November 23, Wednesday (Old Style): “Lord Belamont, Govr of Boston & New-York” wrote in French to Gabriel Bernon.
Attempts were made to re-establish the Huguenot plantation at New Oxford, which had been abandoned in 1696 after a family of four white people had been killed locally, evidently by native American raiders from Canada. The Reverend Jacques Laborie of Cardaillac was its new pastor, replacing the Reverend Daniel Bondet. The Reverend Laborie had completed the study of theology in Geneva in 1688 and had been ordained in Zurich, and had then for a decade served as a Huguenot pastor in London before coming to America in 1698. While serving at New Oxford he would also be serving as a missionary to the surviving local native Americans. (After the final abandonment of New Oxford by the French settlers in 1704, he would serve for two years at the French church of New-York, a large congregation since by the late 1600s the Huguenot church in New-York had come to be twice the size of the city’s Anglican church and half the size of its Dutch church. Then the Reverend Laborie would take up the practice of medicine and surgery in Fairfield, Connecticut, the town in which he would die in about 1731.)

January 2, Monday (Old Style): Monsieur Piere (at La Rochelle) wrote in French to Gabriel Bernon.

March 25, Saturday (Old Style): Gabriel Bernon wrote in French to the large French Church of New-York.

March 28, Tuesday (Old Style): George Cutler was tried for piracy before the Court of General Tryalls at Newport, Rhode Island and guess what, no one showed up to claim the cash and goods and levy charges against him. Questioned as to how he had come into all that money, Cutler avowed that he picked it up in various places, included being willed some of it by a resident of Madagascar. Wink wink, nudge nudge. The jury of his peers then acquitted. A few months later, as one of the wealthy men of the town, Cutler would join with Captain Thomas Paine and others in signing a petition for the assignment of an Anglican minister to Newport — thus becoming, along with the wealthy Huguenot merchant Gabriel Bernon, a founder of Trinity Church (Huguenots and pirates, assimilating with a vengeance).

April 4, Tuesday (Old Style): P. Chasseloup wrote in French to Gabriel Bernon.

May 2, Tuesday (Old Style): Prevost at Quebec wrote in French to Gabriel Bernon.

May 22, Monday (Old Style): The French Church of New-York replied in French to the letter it had received from Gabriel Bernon.

June 2(?), Friday(?) (Old Style): [Chavet?] Courtemarche of Québec wrote to Gabriel Bernon in acknowledgement of kind attentions and a loan of money to “his Mary.”

October: LaValiere wrote in French to Gabriel Bernon.
July 20, Saturday (Old Style): Bouhereau wrote in French to Gabriel Bernon.

Henri-Louis Duhamel du Monceau was born in Paris, a son of Alexandre Duhamel, lord of Denainvilliers.
On a voyage to the West Indies, Gabriel Bernon’s son Gabriel was lost at sea.

A large number of the refugee Huguenots who had settled in New York were entering the mainstream of political and economic life: 84 had become freemen since 1687, and 59 more would become freemen by 1710. Many of these French Protestant immigrants were becoming merchants, although about one in ten was a cloth or leather worker.
In France, there were about 40 Huguenot “prophets” serving time on the rowing benches of the galleys, and more than 350 Huguenots were being held in French prisons for the crime of belief. The remaining Huguenots in France were being pushed to the point at which they were going to turn violent, and resist this abuse. As of about this time, at least 150,000 Huguenots had made good their escape and were living in the three primary destinations of the mass migrations: Holland, England, and Germany. In addition, smaller groups had made their way to various of the Channel Islands (such as the intermarried Thoreau and Guillet families on the island of Jersey), and to such destinations as Denmark, Scotland, South Africa, Sweden, Turkey, various of the islands of the West Indies, and the North American colonies.

February: Sanceau wrote in French to Gabriel Bernon.

22. James Michener’s THE COVENANT has an interesting chapter on this.
September 30, Tuesday (Old Style): Elias Neau wrote in French to Gabriel Bernon.
With the government of France nearly bankrupt due to its wars and the series of bad crop years, the Huguenots of Languedoc-Dauphine in France abandoned a three-generation tradition of pacifism and became guerrilla fighters. They attacked French military and Catholic religious targets, taking as their battle song Psalm 68 and identifying themselves with the Jews of the Babylonian captivity. The odds were of course preposterous, approximately 3,000 Huguenot fighters against approximately 25,000 royal troops. This must have been a gesture of desperation; like the five Woodland Dakota tribes of Minnesota in 1862, they must have known in advance that they were going to get wiped out.

July 7, Tuesday (Old Style): Governor Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts wrote to Gabriel Bernon in regard to the commission for a captain over the palisaded house at New Oxford in the Bay Colony: “take care that the people be armed.”
Winter: During this year and the next the 1st Huguenot church was being established in Boston, which would become known as “the French church.” However, the “wiser heads” of this exile community would always prevail, and successfully urge a low profile and a non-confrontational stance, and there would be no conspicuous edifices of the sort that might generate fierce glares.

February 29, Tuesday (Old Style): The 291 villagers of Deerfield were surprised in their beds just before dawn by a snowshoe attack over the deep snows, which had risen to the level of the top of their palisade, of a force made up of 200 French and 140 Native American warriors, led by Hertel de Rouville. The snowdrifts had hidden one of their dwellings, a cellar dug in a hillside with a log front, in which overnight the fireplace had fortuitously gone out and was not giving their presence away. In that dugout huddled Benjamin Munn, the local carpenter, his wife Thankful, and their infant. Within a few hours of this sunrise, however, 49 of the villagers would be dead and many of Deerfield’s structures would be afire and 111 inhabitants would be taking part in a forced march toward Canada, where, as was conventional, they would be held hostage pending negotiations for redemption payments. Among the captives were the Reverend John Williams and his family.

Spring: After the native attack on the Deerfield settlement along the Connecticut River, the Huguenot settlement at New Oxford, Massachusetts was again abandoned.

Capt. Joseph Bulkeley with a company of 51 soldiers, chiefly from Concord, was engaged at Groton, Lancaster and other frontier towns in 1704. Penhallow remarks that “Capt. Prescott, Bulkeley, and Willard, with their companies, were so vigorous in pursuing the enemy that they put them all to flight.” The account of provisions furnished to this company mentions among others the names of “Mr. Choat, Dr. Simon Davis,” and several Indians.23

23. Lemuel Shattuck’s 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:... Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: John Stacy
(On or about November 11, 1837 Henry Thoreau would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)
The Huguenot refugee businessman Gabriel Bernon, who had since 1697 been residing in Newport, Rhode Island, at this point relocated to Providence. He would be instrumental in setting up a branch office of the Church of England there: St. John’s Episcopal church.

In this year or the following one, Pierre Daille, Leblond (?), Baker, and Guionneau wrote to Gabriel Bernon.

August 5, Monday (Old Style): Pierre Daillé wrote in French from Boston to his “tres cher ami” Gabriel Bernon in Providence.
April 11, Friday (Old Style): Pierre Daillé wrote again in French to Gabriel Bernon.

May 20, Tuesday (Old Style): Governor Joseph Dudley wrote to Gabriel Bernon. The reverse side of this letter would be used to document the leasing of the Bernon farm at Oxford to Oliver and Nathaniel Coller (this lease is undated).
March 1, Wednesday (1709, Old Style): Gabriel Bernon wrote in French to Governor Joseph Dudley.

March 28, Tuesday (Old Style): Someone, and presumably this was Gabriel Bernon, wrote in French to Governor Joseph Dudley.

April 19, Wednesday (Old Style): Someone, and presumably this was Gabriel Bernon, wrote again in French to Governor Joseph Dudley.

June 14, Wednesday (Old Style): Ester Le Roy Bernon died in Newport, Rhode Island at the age of 56.

New York’s new Royal governor Robert Hunter arrived at New-York harbor, bringing with him from Europe some 3,000 Palatine Germans whom he intended to use to produce naval stores. These families would move up the Hudson River to the Schoharie region later in the year. Peter Loring Borst reports that:

Schoharie, with the exception of its Indian inhabitants, was first settled by the Germans and Dutch, and to religion and the love of liberty is that settlement mostly to be attributed. In saying Schoharie, I allude to all the settlements first made in Schoharie county, without distinction of towns; as a territory of many miles in extent, now making a part of several towns, was, at first, known by no other name than that of Schoharie. I find it somewhat difficult to harmonize the contradictory statements, tending to fix the precise year in which the Germans first arrived in that valley. Brown says “they sailed on new year’s day in the year 1710, from some port on the Rhine, down that river to Holland, from whence they sailed to England; that being there further provided, they sailed for America; and after a tedious voyage in which a great many died, they landed at New York on the 14th day of June, 1712; having been one year five months and several days (over two years,) on their journey; that they were then sent up the Hudson river to East and West Camp, (so called from the circumstance of their having encamped there,) where they wintered in ground and log huts. — That from there the spring following, they went to Albany, from whence some found their way to Schoharie, after a journey of four days by an Indian foot path, bearing upon their backs tools and provisions with which they had been provided by agent of the queen.”

The Borst Family were early settlers, and of which descendants may still be found. They came as early as 1713 or 1714, and were Germans. The head of the family we believe to have been Jacob, whose sons were Joseph and Jacob, of Cobleskill, and Peter, of this town. Peter built a grist-mill a short time previous to the
Revolution, which stood till the year 1795. That year the present "Davis mill" was built, and is now an interesting relic of other days. The frame is chiefly pine, and so well constructed that, upon the abutments being washed away a few years ago, the building sagged but one-half of an inch. The flooring was also pine, split out of large pine logs, to the thickness of three inches. One Forsyth was the builder, and tradition says he was assisted by one hundred men, in its erection.

Peter's son Peter, called "Tauty," followed him in the milling business, who was brother to Michael, the inn-keeper near the reformed church. The second Peter's son, Peter P., was also a miller, and brother of Milton Borst, now of the Cobleskill mill. William and Peter, sons of the last Peter P., are now owners of the mill above, of late years known as the "Borst mill." Mr. J. W. Davis purchased the old "Borst mill" property in 1858, after it had been in the Borst family's possession, at least one hundred and thirty years, and he is anticipating a gala day when the centennial year of the present structure arrives.

During the war, this immediate neighborhood was in sympathy with the royal cause, and the old mill was left standing to furnish supplies, and to it, the citizens of all principles were compelled to come, after the Eckerson mill was burnt. One of the family lived upon the farm now owned and occupied by Peter Zeh, and was true to the colonial cause. When Johnson's army was marching down the valley, on the 17th, Colonel Vroman dispatched Joseph Borst, then a lad of fourteen, to Albany on horseback for assistance...

August 11, Friday (Old Style): Judge Samuel Sewall made an entry in his diary in regard to Gabriel Bernon.
The Huguenot refugee businessman Gabriel Bernon, who had since 1706 been residing in Providence, Rhode Island, at this point relocated to Kingston. He would be instrumental in setting up a branch office of the Church of England there: St. Paul’s Episcopal church. During this year, at age 68, he remarried, with Mary Harris (she was 24 years of age and would produce one son and several daughters, the last one while her hubby was in his late 70s).
July 8, Wednesday (Old Style): The land of Oxford that had once been granted to Huguenots, with these French Protestants long since driven away by fear of native Americans, was reassigned to 30 families of English settlers.
The plan of the Huguenots to build a “French Church” structure in Boston was put on ice due to lack of interest, or due to fear of provoking a hostile response. The refugees were being entirely too successful in assimilating to the dominant culture to be willing to pursue this at the moment.

September 16, Thursday (Old Style): Gabriel Bernon’s family of origin at La Rochelle, France wrote to him in the New World.

December 8, Wednesday (Old Style): James Honeyman wrote to Gabriel Bernon about Bernon’s gift of a female slave to his daughter Sarah.

December 16, Thursday (Old Style): S. Bernon wrote to his brother Gabriel Bernon in French.
April 6, Wednesday (Old Style): J. Dudley wrote from Roxbury in English to Gabriel Bernon in regard to building a grist mill at Oxford, Massachusetts.
There exists a sketch of the “Plot of land owned by G. Bernon in Oxford” in the Massachusetts Bay Colony dating to this year or perhaps the following one, at the Rhode Island Historical Society.
Gabriel Bernon relocated from Kingston, Rhode Island back to Providence. He would reside there, his wanderings at an end, until his death in 1736.

October 29, Wednesday (Old Style): Gabriel Bernon leased his 500 acres at Oxford in the Massachusetts Bay Colony to Jonah Owen for 12 years, to the end of 1730. (In this document, at the Rhode Island Historical Society, we note that his family name is consistently spelled “Burnoono.” The document is listed under October 27 rather than October 29.)
October 1, Thursday (Old Style): The papers in regard to the two voyages of Gabriel Bernon to London for the business of making rosin were on this day “evaluated.” (What does that category indicate?)

Was the “Rime of the Ancient Mariner” inspired by something that actually happened, on this day? William Wordsworth would tell his friend Samuel Taylor Coleridge about a book he had recently read, George Shelvocke’s A VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD. Shelvocke would write about his 2nd in command having on this day, October 1, 1719 shot an albatross which had been following the ship for several days. He would go on to relate how his ship Speedwell was later lost at Juan Fernandez Island.

At 7 in the evening, as they were furling the main-sail, one William Camell cry’d out, that his hands and fingers were so benumb’d that he could not hold himself, but before those that were next to him could come to his assistance, he fell down and was drown’d. The cold is certainly much more insupportable in these, than in the same Latitudes to the Northward, for, although we were pretty much advanced in the summer season, and had the days very long, yet we had continual squalls [sic] of sleet, snow and rain, and the heavens were perpetually hid from us by gloomy dismal clouds. In short, one would think it impossible that any living thing could subsist in so rigid a climate; and, indeed, we all observed, that we had not had the sight of one fish of any kind, since we were come to the Southward of the streights [sic] of le Mair, nor one sea-bird, except a disconsolate black Albitross [sic], who accompanied us for several days, hovering about us as if he had lost himself, till Hatley, (my second Captain) observing, in one of his melancholy fits, that this bird was always hovering near us, imagin’d, from his colour, that it might be some ill omen. That which, I suppose, induced him the more to encourage his suspicion, was the continued series of contrary tempestuous winds, which had oppress’d us ever since we had got into this sea. But be that as it would, he, after some fruitless attempts, at length, shot the Albitross [sic], not doubting (perhaps) that we should have a fair wind after it.
October 21, Friday (Old Style): Attempts were being made to eject Gabriel Bernon from his very large plantation at Oxford in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which he had leased to an Englishman until 1730, and so he wrote from Newport, Rhode Island to Paul Dudley in regard to his defense of title.

November: Gabriel Bernon petitioned Samuel Shute, Esq., governor of Massachusetts Bay, for clear title to the extensive lands which he had once upon a time been granted at the Oxford plantation (before, under fear of native American attack, his Huguenot families had abandoned that area — evidently he felt that since the failure of the colony had “not been his fault,” he should still have his massive reward despite the fact that the rationale for this grant had been voided?).
South Carolina was made a royal colony. General Sir Francis Nicholson became Governor.

A Huguenot, Gabriel Bernon, settled at Providence, Rhode Island after trying out Boston and then Newport. He would help a bunch of wealthy retired pirates there found Trinity Church.

January 14, Saturday (1720, Old Style): While in Boston, Gabriel Bernon wrote a brief account of the 1696 massacre at the Huguenot settlement of New Oxford, Massachusetts.

July 2, Sunday (Old Style): The Reverend James McSparran wrote in English to Gabriel Bernon.

July 29, Saturday (Old Style): The Reverend Joseph Morse, “minister of Dorchester village,” wrote in English to Gabriel Bernon.

September 21, Thursday (Old Style): Gabriel Bernon wrote to the Reverend James Honeyman.

As a continuation of legislation that originated in 1719, the colony of South Carolina granted to His Majesty the King of Great Britain a Duty and Imposition of £10 per head on Negroes being imported or exported (plus Duties and Impositions on Liquors and other Goods and Merchandize).

"An Act for granting to His Majesty a Duty and Imposition on Negroes, Liquors, and other Goods and Merchandize, imported into and exported out of this Province." This was a continuation of the Act of 1719. Cooper, STATUTES, III. 159.

September 25, Monday (Old Style) (?): The Reverend James Honyman wrote in English to Gabriel Bernon.

September 29, Friday (Old Style): Gabriel Bernon wrote to the Reverend James MacSparran.
October 9, Monday (Old Style): Gabriel Bernon wrote in English to the Reverend James McSparran.
The Reverend Daniel Bondet, who had been the pastor of the dispersed community of refugee Huguenots at New Oxford in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and then the pastor of the French church in New Rochelle (just north of New York City along the sound), died.

June 1, Friday (Old Style): The Reverend James Honyman wrote in English to Gabriel Bernon.
June 11, Monday (Old Style): The Reverend James McSparran wrote in English to Gabriel Bernon. (On the reverse of this letter is a response from Bernon, undated.)

James Franklin’s New England Courant published an article that would be considered offensive by the Boston powers that be. The printer would be summoned before the council but would refuse to provide the name of the author of the article, and would be jailed for a month for contempt.

June 15, Friday (Old Style): The Reverend James McSparran wrote in English to Gabriel Bernon.

July 4, Wednesday (Old Style): Gabriel Bernon wrote in English to the Reverend James McSparran.
July 5, Thursday (Old Style): Gabriel Bernon wrote in English to the Reverend James Honyman.

July 10, Tuesday (Old Style): The Reverend James Honyman wrote in English to Gabriel Bernon.

July 12, Thursday (Old Style): The Reverend James McSparran wrote in English to Gabriel Bernon.

September 1, Saturday (Old Style): The Reverend James Honeyman wrote to Gabriel Bernon in regard to the appointment of a minister to the Episcopal church in Providence, Rhode Island.

September 6, Thursday (Old Style): The Reverend James Honeyman wrote in English to Gabriel Bernon.

September 28, Friday (Old Style): The Reverend James Honeyman wrote in English to Gabriel Bernon.

October 4, Thursday (Old Style): Gabriel Bernon wrote to Francis Nicholson of South Carolina, soliciting funds to build an Episcopal church in Providence, Rhode Island. (The original of this letter is presently in the sacristy of this Anglican cathedral in Providence.)

December (?) 15, Saturday (Old Style): P. Bour wrote in French to Gabriel Bernon (a note in Bernon’s handwriting on the document indicates “this is Major Bour of St. Christophe one of my old friends [unclear word] of Du Blesson gentleman and of one of the best families of Portton”).
July 2, Tuesday (Old Style): Daniel Ayrault, a merchant of Rhode Island, wrote in French to Gabriel Bernon, Huguenot businessman refugee in the town of Providence. Bernon would respond shortly.

July 20, Saturday (Old Style): David Humphreys of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, wrote “To the members of the Church of England at Providence in the colony of Rhode Island” in reference to the appointment of the Reverend Mr. Pigot as its missionary at Providence.

August 5, Monday (Old Style): Thomas Phillips of North Kingstown, Rhode Island wrote to Gabriel Bernon in Providence in regard to the preaching schedule of the Reverend James MacSparran.

William Duce and James Butler, who had been highwaymen and footpads, were hanged on the Tyburn gallows outside London.24

However hardened some men may appear during the time they are acting their crimes and while hopes of safety of life remains, yet when these are totally lost and death, attended with ignominy and reproach, stares them in the face, they seldom fail to lay aside their obstinacy; or, if they do not, it is through a stupid want of consideration, either of themselves or of their condition.

William Duce, of whom we are now to speak, was one of the most cruel and abandoned wretches that ever went on the road. He was born at Wolverhampton, but of what parents, or in what manner he lived until his coming up to London, I am not able to say. He had not been long here before he got in debt with one Allom, who arrested him and threw him into Newgate, where he remained a prisoner upwards of fifteen months; here it was that he learnt those principles of villainy which he afterwards put in practice.

His companions were Dyer, Butler, Rice and some others whom I shall have occasion to mention. The first of December, 1722, he and one of his associates crossing Chelsea Fields, overtook a well-dressed gentleman, a tall strong-limbed man, who having a sword by his side and a good cane in his hand they were at first in some doubt whether they should attack him. At last one went on one side and the other on the other, and clapping at once fast hold of each arm, they thereby totally disabled him from making a resistance. They took from him four guineas, and tying his wrists and ankles together, left him bound behind the hedge. Not long after he, with two others, planned to rob in St. James’s Park. Accordingly they seized a woman who was walking on the grass near the wall towards Petty France, and after they had

24. LIVES OF THE MOST REMARKABLE CRIMINALS WHO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED AND EXECUTED FOR MURDER, THE HIGHWAY, HOUSEBREAKING, STREET ROBBERS, COINING OR OTHER OFFENCES / COLLECTED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS AND AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS, AND PUBLISHED IN 1735 / Edited by Arthur L. Hayward
robbed her got over the wall and made their escape. About this time his first acquaintance began with Dyer, who was the great occasion of this poor fellow’s ruin, whom he continually plagued to go out a-robbing, and sometimes threatened him if he did not. In Tottenham Court Road, they attacked a gentleman, who being intoxicated with wine, either fell from his horse, or was thrown off by them, from whom they took only a gold watch. Then Butler and Dyer being in his company, they robbed Mr. Holmes of Chelsea, of a guinea and twopence, the fact for which he and Butler died. Thinking the town dangerous after all these robberies, and finding the country round about too hot to hold them, they went into Hampshire and there committed several robberies, attended with such cruelties as have not for many years been heard of in England; and though these actions made a great noise, yet it was some weeks before any of them were apprehended.

On the Portsmouth Road it happened they fell upon one Mr. Bunch, near a wood side, where they robbed and stripped him naked; yet not thinking themselves secure, Duce turned and fired at his head. He took his aim so true that the bullet entered the man’s cheek, upon which he fell with the agony of pain, turning his head downwards that the bullet might drop out of his mouth. Seeing that, Butler turned back and began to charge his pistol. The man fell down on his knees and humbly besought his life. Perceiving the villain was implacable, he took the advantage before the pistol was charged to take to his heels, and being better acquainted with the way than they, escaped to a neighbouring village which he raised, and soon after it the whole country; upon which they were apprehended. Mead, Wade and Barking, were condemned at Winchester assizes, but this malefactor and Butler were removed by an Habeas Corpus to Newgate.

While under sentence of death, Duce laid aside all that barbarity and stubbornness with which he had formerly behaved, with great frankness confessed all the villainies he had been guilty of, and at the place of execution delivered the following letter for the evidence Dyer, who as he said, had often cheated them of their shares of the money they took from passengers, and had now sworn away their lives.

The Letter of William Duce to John Dyer
It is unnecessary for me to remind you of the many wicked and barbarous actions which in your company and mostly by your advice, have been practised upon innocent persons. Before you receive this, I shall have suffered all that the law of man can inflict for my offences. You will do well to reflect thereon, and make use of that mercy which you have purchased at the expense of our blood, to procure by a sincere repentance the pardon also of God; without which, the lengthening of your days will be but a misfortune, and however late, your crimes if you pursue them, will certainly bring you after us to this ignominious place.

You ought especially to think of the death of poor Rice,
who fell in the midst of his sins, without having so much as time to say, Lord have mercy on me. God who has been so gracious as to permit it to you, will expect a severe account of it, and even this warning, if neglected, shall be remembered against you. Do not however think that I die in any wrath or anger with you, for what you swore at my trial. I own myself guilty of that for which I suffer, and I as heartily and freely forgive you, as I hope forgiveness for myself, from that infinitely merciful Being, to whose goodness and providence I recommend you.

WILLIAM DUCE

He also wrote another letter to one Mr. R.W., who had been guilty of some offences of the like nature in his company, but who for some time had retired and lived honestly and privately, was no longer addicted to such courses, nor as he hoped would relapse into them again. At the time of his execution he was about twenty-five years of age, and suffered at Tyburn on the 5th of August, 1723.

James Butler was the son of a very honest man in the parish of St. Ann's, Soho, who gave him what education it was in his power to bestow, and strained his circumstances to the utmost to put him apprentice to a silversmith. James had hardly lived with him six months when his roving inclination pushed him upon running away and going to sea, which he did, with one Captain Douglass
in a man-of-war.

Here he was better used than most young people are at the first setting out in a sailor's life. The captain being a person of great humanity and consideration, treated James with much tenderness, taking him to wait on himself, and never omitting any opportunity to either encourage or reward him. But even then Butler could not avoid doing some little thieving tricks, which very much grieved and provoked his kind benefactor, who tried by all means, fair and foul, to make him leave them off. One day, particularly, when he had been caught opening one of the men's chests and a complaint was thereupon made to the captain, he was called into the great cabin, and everybody being withdrawn except the captain, calling him to him, he spoke in these terms.
Butler, I have always treated you with more kindness and indulgence than perhaps anybody in your station has been used with on board any ship. You do, therefore, very wrong by playing such tricks as make the men uneasy, to put it out of my power to do you any good. We are now going home, where I must discharge you, for as I had never any difference with the crew since I commanded the Arundel, I am determined not to let you become the occasion of it now. There is two guineas for you, I will take care to have you sent safe to your mother.

The captain performed all his promises, but Butler continued still in the same disposition, and though he made several voyages in other ships, yet still continued light-fingered, and made many quarrels and disturbances on board, until at last he could find nobody who knew him that would hire him. The last ship he served in was the Mary, Capt. Vernon commander, from which ship he was discharged and paid off at Portsmouth, in August, 1721.

Having got, after this, into the gang with Dyer, Duce, Rice and others, they robbed almost always on the King’s Road, between Buckingham House and Chelsea. On the 27th of April, 1723, after having plundered two or three persons on the aforesaid road, they observed a coach coming towards them, and a footman on horseback riding behind it. As soon as they came in sight Dyer determined with himself to attack them, and forced his companions into the same measures by calling out to the coachman to stop, and presenting his pistols. The fellow persisted a little, and Dyer was cocking his pistol to discharge it at him, when the ladies’ footman from behind the coach, fired amongst them, and killed Joseph Rice upon the spot.

This accident made such an impression upon Butler that though he continued to rob with them a day or two longer, yet as soon as he had an opportunity he withdrew and went to hard labour with one Cladins, a very honest man, at the village called Wandsworth, in Surrey. He had not wrought there long, before some of his gang had been discovered. His wife was seized and sent to Bridewell in order to make her discover where her husband was, who had been impeached with the rest. This obliged him to leave his place, and betake himself again to robbing.

Going with his companions, Wade, Meads, Garns and Spigget, they went into the Gravesend Road, and there attacking four gentlemen, Meads thought it would contribute to their safety to disable the servant who rode behind, upon which he fired at him directly, and shot him through the breast. Not long after, they set upon another man, whom Meads wounded likewise in the same place, and then setting him on his horse, bid him ride to Gravesend. But the man turning the beast’s head the other way, Meads went back again, and shot him in the face, of which wound he died.

When Butler lay under sentence of death he readily confessed whatever crimes he had committed, but he, as well as the before-mentioned criminal, charged much of his guilt upon the persuasions of the evidence Dyer. He particularly owned the fact
of shooting the man at Farnham. Having always professed himself a Papist, he died in that religion, at the same time with the afore-mentioned criminal, at Tyburn.
April 7, Tuesday (Old Style): Gabriel Bernon wrote in English to the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.
July 17, Saturday (Old Style): Gabriel Bernon wrote in English to the Reverend Mr. Wissle, “member of the old town in Marthervigner [Martha’s Vineyard],” asking for him to recommend a local attorney “to help me defend my land” on the island.
In Providence, Rhode Island Gabriel Bernon and others founded King’s Chapel, later to be known as St. John’s church. (The existing building would not be constructed until 1811.)

February 16, Friday (1727, Old Style): At “Rhoad Island and Providence plantations in New England,” Gabriel Bernon made his will in English (proven copy, 1735/1736). In the will he disposed of various artifacts and properties, inclusive of “Negro man woman and 4 children £500.” His desire was that “Negro man Manuel, Negro woman Peggy, to be at disposition of wife also the Negro boy and girl and the product of them, if sold,” which accounts for four of this family of six human beings, and then, casually mentioned, “One Negro child being with daughter Esther Powell, is left to her,” and “a boy has been given to daughter,” seems to account for the final two members, unnamed, of this family of six human beings.25

25. A statistic that we have, dating to 1703, is that 37% of the Dutch households in the American colonies, 44% of the English households, and 50% of the Huguenot households possessed slaves. Looking at the above will created by this wealthy Providence, Rhode Island citizen of Huguenot extraction, I am somewhat surprised at its casualness. It seems clear that at this point in American history, merely passing an owned Negro from person to person within a white family, and merely passing an owned Negro along from generation to generation, amounts to no big deal, with there being no worry to be sure to dot every “i” and cross every “t” of the formal documentation. Clearly, there is no concern whatever that the transaction might be scrutinized or challenged. –This is in very marked contrast with manumission documents, which tend to be on their face much more “worried,” more precise and legalistic (perhaps for good reason). We note in this context that in 1687, while these Huguenots were embarking for the New World, one who had already arrived reported back to her co-religionists still in Europe that in America it was very easy to maintain control over one’s servants — since one could always count on help in this regard from the native Americans:

You can bring with you hired help in any Vocation whatever.... You may also own Negroes and Negresses; ... there is no Danger that they will leave you, nor Hired help likewise, for the Moment one is missing from the Town you have only to notify the Savages, who, provided you promise them Something, and describe the Man to them, he is right soon found.
April 9, Wednesday (Old Style): George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne wrote in French to Gabriel Bernon.

May 30, Friday (Old Style): George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne wrote again in French, presumably to Gabriel Bernon.
April 28, Monday (Old Style): John Boydell wrote to Gabriel Bernon in English about a debt he was trying to collect.
Gabriel Bernon died in Providence, Rhode Island at the age of 92. His body is now beneath St. John’s Episcopal Church. Although only his daughters would produce offspring, a number of Rhode Island’s oldest families, such as the Allens, Crawfords, Dorrs, Coddingtons, and Whipples, are now among his descendants.
August 1, Tuesday: Eve Bernon of Providence, Rhode Island, being still of Perfect Mind and Memory tho’ weak of Body and convinced from the Uncertainty of human Life of the Necessity of disposing of such worldly Estate as it hath pleased God to bless Her with whilst she was in full Enjoyment of her Rational Faculties, DID on this First Day of August AD 1775 make and publish her last Will and Testament. After bequeathing to her beloved Sister Mary Crawford, her Niece Freeove Crawford, her Niece Sarah Cooke, and this Niece’s daughter Abigail Mathewfon, the sum of £30 each, and after bequeathing her home to her near Friend & Kinfman Zachariah Allen, she provided for her two slaves, a Negro Woman named Amey and her son called Manny:

Item I do hereby manumit set free and Discharge my Negro Woman named Amey and her son called Manny from all Servitude Slavery or Subjection whatever to Me my Heirs or Assigns, giving and Surrendering up to them my Right & Property in their Persons: And if said Negro Amey or her son by (Sic) or any other Accident shall be rendered unable to Support themselves then my Will and Meaning is that they shall be maintained and Supported by the said Zachariah Allen Mary Crawford Freeove Crawford Sarah Cooke and Abigail Mathewfon out of the Estate Given them by this Will.

26. Would this Amey and Manny be descended from the black family of six disposed of by Gabriel Bernon in his 18th-Century will? “Negro man woman and 4 children £500.”... “Negro man Manuel, Negro woman Peggy, to be at disposition of wife also the Negro boy and girl and the product of them, if sold.” ... “One Negro child being with daughter Esther Powell, is left to her.” Also “and a boy has been given to daughter.”
June 11, Tuesday: The Reverend Thomas M. Clark delivered a discourse on Gabriel Bernon at St. John’s Church in Providence, Rhode Island. (This would be issued as a printed pamphlet, and a copy of this pamphlet at the Rhode Island Historical Society bears an anonymous handwritten chronology of the events subsequent to Bernon’s flight from France.)
A history of the Huguenot settlement in Oxford, Massachusetts, George F. Daniels’s The Huguenots in the Nipmuck Country or Oxford Prior to 1713, with an Introduction by Oliver Wendell Holmes (Boston: Estes & Lauriat).
September: William D. Ely drew a plan of a fortification that had existed in Oxford, Massachusetts.
October 2, Thursday: A monument was erected to honor the Huguenot settlers of Oxford, Massachusetts.
The two volumes of the Reverend Charles Washington Baird’s HISTORY OF THE HUGUENOT EMIGRATION TO AMERICA:

“MAGISTERIAL HISTORY” IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY
“It’s all now you see. Yesterday won’t be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago.”

- Remark by character “Garin Stevens” in William Faulkner’s Intruder in the Dust

Prepared: October 28, 2014
This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.
Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology—but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary "writerly" process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.