

David E. Lambert, *The Protestant International and the Huguenot Migration to Virginia, New York, Washington, D.C./Baltimore, Bern et al.* (Peter Lang) 2010, X–222 p. (Studies in Church History, 12), ISBN 978-1-4331-0759-7, EUR 48,30.

rezensiert von/compte rendu rédigé par
Susanne Lachenicht, Bayreuth

Following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, an estimated 150 000 French Protestants, the so-called Huguenots, fled persecution in France in order to re-settle in the Dutch Republic (50 000), England (40 000), Brandenburg-Prussia (25,000), the reformed cantons of Switzerland (22 000), Ireland (1500-3500), the English colonies in North America (3500), Denmark and Sweden (2000) and the Cape of Good Hope (400). In North America, Huguenots settled – some already prior to 1685 – in Boston, Oxford, at the Narragansett Bay, in (South) Carolina, today's New York State and Virginia. The most famous Huguenot settlement in the latter was Manakin Town with an estimated 700 French Protestant settlers.

In his study of the English-sponsored Huguenot settlement of Manakin Town in 1700, David Lambert – as the blurb claims – uses »a wider, more European focus« delineating »a Huguenot refugee resettlement network within a ›Protestant International‹«. It asserts that »King William and Lord Galway sponsored the Manakin Town migration to provide an alternate location for Huguenot military refugees in the worst-case scenario that they might lose their Irish refuge«.

What was the »Protestant International«? Specialists of the Huguenot diaspora such as Herbert Lüthy, John Bosher, Robin Gwynn, Carolyn Lougee Chappell and – most recently – Susanne Lachenicht¹ have used this concept in order to describe various aspects of Pan-Atlantic and European Protestant and Huguenot networks. The latter linked members of the Huguenot diaspora in Europe, South Africa and North America with each other but also with their brethren back in France, the governments of Europe's Protestant states, diplomats and international merchants. External and internal networks guaranteed (not only for Huguenots but also for other early modern diasporas) the successful flight from the country of persecution, as well as migration, settlement, economic success and the establishment of a distinct diaspora identity².

Analysing the »Protestant International« and Huguenot migration between 1697 and 1700 calls for a broad knowledge of what constituted the former: Protestant states, international commercial families

¹ Herbert Lüthy, *La Banque protestante en France et la révocation de l'édit de Nantes à la Révolution*, 2 vol., Paris 1959/1961; John Bosher, *Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century*, in: *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd ser. 52:1 (1995), p. 77–102; Robin Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Britain, the ›Protestant International‹ and the defeat of Louis XIV*, in: Randolph Vigne, Charles Littleton (ed.), *From Strangers to Citizens. The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America 1550–1750*, Brighton, Portland 2001, p. 412–424; Susanne Lachenicht, *Hugenotten in Europa und Nordamerika. Migration und Integration in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Frankfurt a. M., New York 2010.

² See Susanne Lachenicht, *Huguenot Immigrants and the Formation of National Identities*, in: *The Historical Journal* 50:2 (2007), p. 309–331, and, id. (ed.), *Religious Refugees in Europe, Asia and North America, 6th–21st centuries*, Hamburg 2007.

and religious diasporas and their agents at the European courts. Also, any such study requires languages, ideally the languages of all groups involved in the »Protestant International«. While Lambert claims (IX) that he has reading knowledge of Dutch, Italian and German, his »Selected Bibliography« (183ff.) (and footnotes) include two German titles on the Huguenot diaspora. However, understanding the »Protestant International« without the bulk of German (or Swedish) primary and secondary sources reduces the scope of the author's knowledge substantially. Relevant work on Central European aspects of the »Protestant International«, e.g. the problems arising between Calvinist and Lutheran states, and its failure in »rescuing« Huguenot refugees is therefore missing³.

With these limitations of Lambert's study in mind, it is less surprising that his analysis of the »Protestant International« and its impacts on the Manakin Town settlement mostly focuses on but a few aspects of Western European and trans-Atlantic networks and their agents: Charles de Sailly (a French refugee in the service of William of Orange), Henri Massue de Ruvigny (later Lord Galway), also a French refugee and one of the most important diplomats in the service of William of Orange, and William of Orange himself, from 1689 King William III of England.

In Chapter 1 Lambert describes the present »state-of-the-art« with regard to the Huguenot settlement of Manakin Town. Chapter 2 places the rise of the »Protestant International« in the framework of Louis XIV foreign policy, the persecution of Huguenots in France and the Vaudois in Savoy and the diplomatic efforts of the refuge, i.e. Huguenots and Vaudois refugees in London, Dublin and Switzerland. Not very surprisingly, Lambert identifies William of Orange as the head of the rising »Protestant International«, forged against the hegemony of Catholic France in Europe. Chapter 3 investigates Henri Massue de Ruvigny and his endeavours to settle French Protestants in England and Ireland. For the connoisseur of these chapters of European and Huguenot history, this part of Lambert's dissertation offers nothing new.

Chapter 4 treats of the post-1697 efforts to move French refugees from Zurich, Geneva and Bern to other Protestant destinations and of King William »at bay« to rid (following the Peace of Rijswijk) the British Isles off the very Huguenot regiments that had helped him against the Jacobites and their French allies. Parliaments at Westminster and Dublin feared William of Orange's standing army and his troops in Ireland, the power of »strangers in the realm«, and attempted to force William III to move the »foreign regiments« from the Isles. However, pressure to move French Protestants from the Isles and from the Swiss cantons to Ireland – and then further to the English colonies in North America – was increased due to the fact that Calvinist Protestant states such as the Netherlands, Brandenburg and Hesse-Kassel – some already from 1694 – were no longer willing to accept French Calvinist refugees into their territories⁴. Some of the continental European members of the »Protestant

³ To name but a few more recent publications: Katharina Middell, Hugenotten in Kursachsen. Einwanderung und Integration, in: Guido Braun, Susanne Lachenicht (ed.), *Les États allemands et les huguenots. Politique d'immigration et processus d'intégration*, Munich 2007, p. 51–70; Ulrich Niggemann, Die Hugenotten in Brandenburg-Bayreuth. Immigrationspolitik als »kommunikativer Prozeß«, in: Guido Braun, Susanne Lachenicht (ed.), *Hugenotten und deutsche Territorialstaaten. Immigrationspolitik und Integrationsprozesse*, München 2007, p. 107–124; id., *Immigrationspolitik zwischen Konflikt und Konsens. Die Hugenottenansiedlung in Deutschland und England 1681–1697*, Cologne, Weimar, Vienna 2008.

⁴ Lachenicht, *Hugenotten in Europa*, p. 79–80, 172–173, 193, and Susanne Lachenicht, *Die Freiheitskonzession*

International« – which Lambert fails to include into his picture – had closed their borders to French refugees and thus increased pressure on the Swiss cantons, Ireland and the English government. In the later 1690s, the »Protestant International«, which had in the late 1680s been competing for the »best« Huguenot refugees, had lost its coherence in its efforts to help the Protestant refugees to find new settlements. Ignoring the relevant primary and secondary sources, Lambert states instead that by 1698 »several German Protestant states (Hesse, Württemberg, and Brandenburg) appeared to be willing to accommodate the refugees [...], by 1699, however, all traces of the French Protestant resettlement committees' [...] diplomatic activity disappeared from the local registers« (p. 83–84).

With Chapter 5 Lambert moves »west«. It unfolds the plans for the »Carolana« settlement project of 1698/99; Lambert interprets this failing project as the direct »forerunner« of the Huguenot settlement at Manakin Town. In Chapters 6 and 7 the author provides a detailed narrative of the planning and funding of the settlement of Huguenots in Virginia. However, he does not fully explain why the settlement, originally intended for Norfolk County, was then transferred to Manakin Town.

Chapters 7 to 9 narrate the beginnings of the Manakin Town Huguenot settlement. Moved to an Anglican colony, the Calvinist refugees were put under the ecclesiastical control of the Bishop of London, Henry Compton. Lambert interprets the conflicts between the early settlers as a personal feud between the Vaudois pastor Benjamin de Joux and the official founder of the Manakin Town colony, its seigneur Charles de Sailly. Looking at other Huguenot settlements – not only in the North American but also in the English and Irish contexts – it becomes evident that these conflicts centred on the degree of Anglican conformity and the Huguenot community's self-government structures. A comparative approach would have helped to explain the early problems of this Huguenot settlement.

It is true that Manakin Town as a place of the Huguenot refuge has been under-researched compared to studies on Huguenots in South Carolina and New York. Lambert offers some new insights on de Sailly and the Manakin Town settlement. However, analysing this Huguenot settlement within the framework of the »Protestant International« would have required a thorough analysis of the »Protestant International« itself. Here, Lambert's work is anything but satisfying.

des Landgrafen von Hessen-Kassel, das Edikt von Potsdam und die Ansiedlung von Hugenotten in Brandenburg-Preußen und Hessen-Kassel, in: Braun, Lachenicht (ed.), *Les États allemands et les huguenots* (as n. 3), p. 71–83.