“POST TENEBRAS LUX”
THE HUGUENOT DIASPORA IN EARLY MODERN LONDON AND
ITS REFLECTIONS IN REFUGEE WILLS

A Master’s Thesis

by

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August 2021

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Bilkent University 2021

To my brother

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The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

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AUGUST 2021

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of History.

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ABSTRACT

"POST TENEBRAS LUX"
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August 2021

Starting from the mid 16th century, Huguenots, namely French Protestants took refuge in countries that offered them toleration, due to persecution and suppression they were exposed to in France. Until the late 18th century, the Huguenot diaspora continued to flourish in many places, especially in Swiss Cantons, Holland, Germany, and England with consecutive migration waves. So far, most research has focused on exile, the features of the Huguenot refugee communities, and the contribution of the Huguenots to their host societies. However, the dynamics and process of assimilation have been generally neglected. This thesis aims to provide an insight into the Huguenot condition in London between the 17th century and early 19th century and present inference about the integration process of the refugees throughout the years and generations by analysing the data compiled from sample refugee wills.

Keywords: Diaspora, Early Modern Europe, French Protestants, Huguenot, Refuge.

ÖZET

“POST TENEBRAS LUX”
ERKEN MODERN DÖNEM LONDRASI’NDA HUGUENOT DİASPORASI VE MÜLTECİ VASİYETNAMELERİNE YANSIMALARI

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Ağustos 2021

Huguenot adı verilen Fransız Protestanlar 16. yüzyıl ortaları itibariyle Fransa’da maruz kaldıkları zulüm ve baskılar sebebiyle, kendilerine hoşgörü gösteren ülkelere iltica etmişlerdir. Birbirini izleyen göç dalgalarıyla Huguenot diasporası, geç 19. yüzyıla dek özellikle İsveç kantonları, Hollanda, Almanya ve İngiltere’de gelişmeyi sürdürmüştür. Şimdiye dek akademik çalışmaların çoğu sürgüne, Huguenot mülteci topluluklarının özelliklerine ve mültecilerin ev sahibi toplumlara olan katkılarına odaklanmıştır. Ancak, asimilasyon süreci ve dinamikleri genellikle göz ardı edilmiştir. Bu tez, 17-19. yüzyıllar arasında Londra’daki Huguenotların durumuna yönelik bir kavrayış sağlamayı ve mülteci vasiyetname örneklerinden elde edilen veriler aracılığıyla mültecilerin yıllar içinde ve nesiller boyuncaki entegrasyon sürecine dair bir çıkarım sunmayı hedeflemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Diaspora, Erken Modern Avrupa, Fransız Protestanlar, Huguenot, İltica.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT……………………..……………………………………………..…..iii
ÖZET………………………………...………………………………….....…iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS………………………………………………...….v
TABLE OF CONTENTS……………………..…………………………...…vii
LIST OF FIGURES……………………………...…………………….....…..ix
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION...……………………….………………………1
1.1. Brief Overview of the Reformation in Europe……………………….………..…2
1.2. Reformation in France and the French Wars of Religion…………….………..4
1.3. Huguenot Refuge in England.…………………………………………....…….8
1.4. Literature Review……………………………………………………..……...14
1.5. Sources……………………………………………………………...…….....16
1.6. Thesis Plan………………………………………………………………...…17
CHAPTER II: HUGUENOTS IN THE 17TH CENTURY AND THE EVIDENCE OF HUGUENOT WILLS OF LONDON……………….....………………….....19
2.1. The Condition of Huguenots in France in the 17th Century….…………………21
2.2. The Huguenots in England in the 17th Century………………………………...27
2.3. Huguenot Wills of London: 1632-1720…………………………………………31
2.3.1. Language…………………………………………………………..…………32
2.3.2. Bequests……………………………………………………………..…..33
2.3.3. Charitable Bequests……………………………………………….……….37
2.3.4. Executors………………………………………………………….…….39
2.4. Conclusion…………………………………………………………..….…41
CHAPTER III: HUGUENOTS OF LONDON IN THE POST-REVOCATION PERIOD AND THEIR WILLS…………………………………………...….42
3.1. Huguenots and Their Occupations……………………………………...…43
3.2. Huguenot Churches and Charities…………………………….....…………48

3.3. Huguenot Wills of London: 1720-1787……….....……………………………….50

3.3.1. Language……………………………………………………………...51

3.3.2. Bequests……………………………………………………………52

3.3.3. Charitable Bequests………………………………………….………..57

3.3.4. Executors……………………………………………………………...59

3.4. Conclusion…………………………………………………………….....60

CHAPTER IV: PEACE RE-ESTABLISHED: HUGUENOTS IN FRANCE AND LONDON IN THE ERA OF TOLERATION……………………………....62

4.1. Historical Background of the Huguenots of France and England in the Era of Toleration …………………………………………………………...…63

4.2. Huguenot Wills of London: 1787-1815…...…………………………...…..70

4.2.1. Language…………………....……………………………………..…72

4.2.2. Bequests……………………………………………………...........73

4.2.3. Charitable Bequests…………………………………………………...75

4.2.4. Executors……………………………………………………………...77

4.3. Conclusion……………………………………………………………79

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION……………………………………………………80

BIBLIOGRAPHY………………………………………………………….84

APPENDIX……………………………………………………………….....92

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 - Gender distribution of the wills: 1632-1720……………………………..32

Figure 2 - Percentage of translated wills: 1632-1720……………………………….33

Figure 3 - Percentage of wills with bequests in England: 1632-1720………………34

Figure 4 - Percentage of wills with bequests abroad: 1632-1720…………………...34

Figure 5 - Percentage of wills with charitable bequests: 1632-1720………………..37

Figure 6 - Percentage of wills with charity bequests to an English institution:

1632-1720……………………………………………………………………...39

Figure 7 - Percentage of wills with charity bequests to a foreign institution:

1632-1720...……………………………………………………………………39

Figure 8 - Executors according to their names: 1632-1720…………………………40

Figure 9 - Gender distribution of the wills: 1720-1787……………………………..50

Figure 10 - Percentage of translated wills: 1720-1787……………………………...52

Figure 11 - Percentage of wills with bequests in England: 1720-1787……………..53

Figure 12 - Percentage of wills with bequests abroad: 1720-1787………………….53

Figure 13 - Percentage of wills with charitable bequests: 1720-1787………………57

Figure 14 - Percentage of wills with charity bequests to French institutions:

1720-1787……………………………………………………………………...58

Figure 15 – Percentage of wills with French named executors: 1720-1787………..60

Figure 16 – Percentage of wills with English named executors: 1720-1787……….60

Figure 17 - Gender distribution of the wills: 1787-1815……………………………71

Figure 18 - Percentage of translated wills: 1787-1815……………………………...72

Figure 19 - Percentage of wills with bequests in England: 1787-1815……………..73

Figure 20 - Percentage of wills with bequests abroad: 1787-1815………………….74

Figure 21 - Percentage of wills with charitable bequests: 1787-1815………………76

Figure 22 - Percentage of wills with charity bequests to French and English institutions: 1787-1815………………………………………………………...77

Figure 23 - Percentage of executors according to their names: 1787-1815…………78

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The history of the Huguenots[1] in the British Isles has been widely studied since the 19th century. Especially during the tercentenary of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1985, the studies concerning the Huguenot heritage in England have been multiplied. Various studies, mostly concentrated on the Wars of Religion and the persecution that the French Protestants[2] faced in their homeland in the following century, have proved fruitful in shedding light on one of the darkest periods in the history of France. However, as some scholars have claimed, their fate in England after

[1] The origins of the word "Huguenot" have been largely discussed by historians and linguists. The most generally accepted etymological origin is the German word "eidgenossen" which signifies confederates, leaguers. Other suggestions have been made as well, such as that of "hausgenossen", meaning brethren. For further etymological information, see Robin Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain.* (Cornwall: Sussex Academic Press, 2011), 3.
[2] In this thesis, the terms Huguenot, French Protestant, and French Calvinist have been used interchangeably.

1700 is mainly unknown.[3] Their congregations and contribution to the English economy through the crafts and professions they offered have been greatly examined, thus their presence as a separate entity has been demonstrated, yet little has been revealed about their integration into the English society.

In this thesis, I am willing to provide an insight into the Huguenot community in London and how these refugees integrated into their host society by humbly analysing their wills. I will attempt to show their status in Early Modern France and England, how they were received by the natives of London, and how their immigrant identity was reflected in their last wills. I believe that this brief introductory chapter will be useful for understanding the Huguenot condition both in the homeland and refuge.

1.1. Brief Overview of the Reformation in Europe

The zeitgeist of the Renaissance was not merely secular but also had a spiritual flavour, making an impact on religion by questioning the existing structure of the Roman Catholic Church and its practices. "Christian humanists" such as Erasmus and Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples were among those who formed the atmosphere in pre-reform Europe. Erasmus's *Greek New Testament,* for example, and the translations of gospels in vernacular languages and reading of scripture in masses by some preachers mark important steps consolidating this atmosphere.[4]

Although the term "reform" was not unfamiliar to Early Modern Europeans who were familiar with the reformist ideas of the previous centuries promoting biblicism

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[3] Abraham D. Lavender. *French Huguenots, From Mediterranean Catholics to White Anglo-Saxon Protestants*. (New York: Peter Lang, 1990), 140.
[4] Mack P. Holt. *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 15.

against papal authority and opposing ritualism[5], Luther's teachings and those who followed his path on challenging the well-established Catholic doctrines were undoubtedly ground-breaking. It would not be unfit to say there was dissatisfaction with the church in 16th century Europe, however, there was not any general consensus on a needed ecclesiastical reform. Until a theology professor from Wittenberg named Martin Luther voiced it, the discontent against the Catholic Church lied mostly dormant. Luther's main arguments in his cause against the Catholic structure of Christianity were reflected in his Ninety-Five Theses and the beginning of the Reformation is generally accepted to be with the Latin publication of this document in 1517. The document is significant not only because it demonstrated Luther's general principles but also because it reflected his and his contemporaries' general dissent against corruption, abuses, and extravagance of Rome.[6]

The basis of the Theses was Luther's objection to the doctrine of indulgence; he defended justification by faith alone, which simply meant God's grace in forgiveness thus opposed papal authority over purgatory. Another core element was the emphasis he put on the Bible, as the only written doctrine, "sola scriptura". Although excommunicated and condemned as heretical by the Pope in 1521, the die was already cast and Luther's teachings had already reached out. The fact that he was keen on writing and publishing made it possible for him to spread his word throughout the continent. His one hundred folio volumes of writings explain how his doctrines reached and transformed early modern Europeans' mentality and perception of religion. More importantly, he influenced other thinkers who led to the

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[5] Robert Kolb, "Martin Luther and the German Nation" in *A Companion to The Reformation World,* ed. R. Po-Chia Hsia (Padstow: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 48.
[6] Hans Hillerbrand. ed. *The Protestant Reformation*. (New York: Harper Perennial, 1968), xiii.

localisation of his principles. Huldrych Zwingli in the Swiss Confederation and Jean Calvin in France were among the prominent figures adopting and developing Luther's teachings, with Anabaptists constituting the radical branch of the Reform. The Reformation reached England as well and led to the formation of the Anglican Church. It took a rather political form under the rule of King Henry VIII and resulted in the collapse of papal authority in the country.

1.2. Reformation in France and the French Wars of Religion

The history of the Reformation in France did not follow the same route as in England. Rather than being embraced by the Crown in a relatively peaceful manner, it led to even more conflict in an already conflict-torn kingdom and resulted in what we know today as The French Wars of Religion. To understand why the French monarchs did not become reformers themselves, one must look at the relationship they had with the Church.

In the Medieval and Early Modern period, French kings bore the title of "The Most Christian King", a traditional term dating back to the sacred coronation of Charlemagne in 800. Making them a *primum inter pares* among all other Christian kings, the title also offered partial autonomy to the French kings. This particular relationship between the Church and the Crown allowed French kings to ordain their own men, usually from the nobility of sword or blood, in powerful ecclesiastical positions. Therefore, the service to the palace and the church was seen as intertwined and inseparable. Unlike in England, the monarch did not feel the need to confiscate the wealth of the Catholic Church because he already had an influence over the body religious through the control of appointment, etc. Thus, when the principles of Reformation reached France, which was then under the rule of Francis I, the Gallican

Church was already in a steady position siding with Rome which was serving his interests.[7]

Yet, the king's attitude towards Reformists, or Lutherans as the contemporaries would say, was not overtly hostile until a significant event in the autumn of 1534. The Affair of The Placards in October 1534 where Zwinglian Protestants overtly distributed broadsheets in Paris, Blois, Orléans, Tours, and Rouen attacking Catholic practices marks the beginning of a change in the monarchy's position towards reformists. Organised and provocative in nature, the Affair of the Placards took place on a Sunday and the people who were on their way to the church for the mass saw the placards attacking their sacred ritual with a headline written in capital and bold letters: "True Articles on the Horrible, Gross and Insufferable Abuses of the Papal Mass". From this time onwards and certainly after the Edict of Fontainebleau of 1540 declaring Protestantism to be "high treason against God and mankind" [8], monarchy provided the parlements across the country with an absolute authority to control and prosecute heresy cases.[9]

Among those who were affected by the prosecution of "heretics" was Jean Calvin, a 25-year-old law student from the University of Orléans. He fled to the Swiss cantons where he published his well-known *Institutes of the Christian Religion* in 1536. Translated from Latin into French in 1541, *Institutes* had a great impact on the organising of the dispersed and disordered principles of the evangelical doctrine.[10] Similar to Luther, his main doctrinal principle laid upon the fact that faith could only

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[7] Holt. *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629,* 14.
[8] Nikki Shepardson. *Burning Zeal: The Rhetoric of Martyrdom and the Protestant community in Reformation France, 1520-1570* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2007).
[9] R.J. Knecht. *The French Wars of Religion, 1559-1598.* (New York: Longman, 1996), 23.
[10] Pierre Miquel. *Les guerres de religion. (*Paris: Fayard, 1980), 29, 106-110.

be learned directly from the Holy Bible and there was no intermediary between man and God except for Jesus Christ. In Switzerland, he regularly preached sermons and led to the foundation of the Genevan Academy. He maintained his ties with France from the exile he had to endure, therefore various churches adopting his principles were founded in his homeland. In 1559, the first Synod of the Reformed Church was held in Paris.[11] Although the exact number of Calvinist churches in France during the mid-16th century is unknown, the estimated numbers are between 1,200 to 1,250.[12]

Calvinism in France mostly appeared in urban sites and formed something we call today "the Huguenot crescent" stretching from La Rochelle in the west to the Dauphiné in the east. During its initial proliferation, lower classes, mainly from bourgeois and artisan backgrounds, embraced this new faith. The Venetian ambassador wrote about Huguenots in 1561 as follows: "Until now, because of the severity of the persecutions, one has seen only people of the lower orders, who, apart from life has little to lose."[13] However, this began to change by the mid-16th century and The Reformation caused disintegration within the French nobility, by some members of it converting to Protestantism. The rivalry between different noble groups was most apparent between the Catholic House of Guise and the House of Condé, a cadet branch of the House of Bourbon that was sympathetic to Calvinism.

While civic disturbances between the Catholics and Protestants continued without slowing down in the lower ranks of society and Iconoclastic movements spread out in various towns from Rouen to Lyon in the early 1560s with Catholics retaliating with attacks on Protestants, rival noble groups engaged in open war against each

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[11] Ibid., 29.
[12] M. Greengrass. *The French Reformation.* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 42.
[13] Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion, 1559-1598,* 11.

other. The hostility among these groups did not solely result from religious sectarian disputes but also had a political background. Both sides were taking advantage of the opportunity of ascending the throne which was seen vacant during the queen regency of Catherine de Medici.

The climax of events was the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572. A failed assassination attempt of the Huguenot leader Admiral Gaspard de Coligny is often shown to be the principal incident that led to the massacres across the Hexagon. [14] The general massacre began on Sunday morning, 24 August in Paris and spread to various towns like Angers, Bordeaux, Rouen, and Orléans and continued even months later. The total number of slaughtered Huguenots is estimated to be 5,000 in total.[15]

The war continued with uneven intensity through the years until Henry of Navarre, who later became Henry IV of France when ascended the throne in 1589. Henry was raised as a Protestant but later converted to Catholicism in order to be crowned, therefore he was sympathetic towards his Calvinist subjects. By the Edict of Nantes in 1598, he granted French Protestants relative religious and social freedom, thus ending the devastating French Wars of Religion. The edict's main target was to put an end to the misery the country was exposed to by the clash between religious groups. The Edict was projected to be "perpetual and irrevocable"; however, this was not the case. On 22 October 1685, by the Edict of Fontainebleau, the Edict of Nantes was annulled by Louis XIV.

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[14] Holt. *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629,* 82.
[15] Ibid., 90-94.

1.3. Huguenot Refuge in England

England was one of the Protestant countries primarily targeted by French Calvinists who sought refuge abroad due to persecution in homeland. Despite differences with the Anglican Church, especially in terms of liturgy, French Calvinists were inclined to see England as an ally along with Geneve, Swiss cantons, and the United Provinces, mainly based on the support of Queen Elizabeth I to Henry IV.[16] More importantly, they had a common enemy. "Popery", in Protestant terms, constituted a greater threat than some disparities in the liturgy. Also, some of the Huguenots already had ties with England before they arrived to the island. Protestant merchants of Bordeaux and Normandy had correspondents in England and they would exchange their young children so that the latter could grow up bilingual.[17] Some of them had encountered English refugees who came to France during the Interregnum era of 1649-1660 and of course had met travellers from the British Isles.[18]

Huguenot immigration to England was not a single stage phenomenon, restricted to one single wave of hundreds of thousands of immigrants arriving at the English shores overnight. In fact, there were many waves of expatriation on different scales starting from the mid-16th century, following the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, the first significant and organised act of hostility towards French Calvinists.[19] During the reign of Elizabeth I in the 16th century, England hosted some French-speaking immigrants, which resulted in the formation of settlements and quasi-independent

[16] Elizabeth Labrousse, "Great Britain as Envisaged by the Huguenots of the Seventeenth Century" in *Huguenots in Britain and Their French Background, 1550-1800,* ed. Irene Scouloudi (New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1987)*,* 144.
[17] Ibid.; Robin Gwynn, "Patterns in the Study of Huguenot Refugees in Britain" in *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800,* ed. Irene Scouloudi (New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1987)*,* 223.
[18] Labrousse*, Great Britain as Envisaged by the Huguenots of the Seventeenth Century*, 150.
[19] Philippe Joutard, "La diaspora des Huguenots." *Diasporas. Histoire et sociétés*, no. 1 Terres promises, terres rêvées. (2002): 115.

minority institutions at London, Canterbury, Norwich, and Southampton.[20] The immigration continued until it decelerated after the declaration of the Edict of Nantes in 1598.

Yet, even before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Huguenots were constantly at threat. There were waves of immigration in the 1660s. As an account from 1673 tells us, "the Huguenot Church at Calais was overburdened by the number of Protestants heading across the Channel."[21] The price the French Protestants had to pay for being the subjects of a Catholic king was being exposed to the *dragonnades* that began in 1681, forced conversions, nicodemism, destruction of temples, limitations on worships and burials, prohibition on synods[22] increased taxation of pastors, and restrictions on professions[23].

The climax of immigration was reached after the Revocation of Edict of Nantes in October 1685, although the Edict of Fontainebleau restricted Protestant mobility except for the pastors.[24] However, incidents like the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, the annexation of the Principality of Orange in 1703, and the failed revolt of the Camisards in the Massif Central in southern France in 1704-1705 encouraged further migration. In fact, emigration did not cease even after the death of Louis XIV in 1715. There are registers of arrivals from Languedoc in 1752 and the west in 1763.[25]

The number of immigrants varies according to sources. To begin with, the total number of members of the Reformed Church of France is estimated to be around

[20] Robin Gwynn, "Huguenots in English Sea Port Towns in the Late Seventeenth Century". *Kobe University Faculty of Letters Departmental Bulletin,* no. 3 (2008), 17.
[21] Ibid., 17.
[22] Labrousse, *Great Britain as Envisaged by the Huguenots of the Seventeenth Century,* 143.
[23] Gwynn, "Huguenots in English Sea Port Towns in the Late Seventeenth Century", 16.
[24] Susanne Lachenicht, "Huguenot Immigrants and the Formation of National Identities, 1548-1787." *The Historical Journal* 50, no. 2 (2007): 310.
[25] Joutard, "La diaspora des huguenots", 115.

900,000. Some sources indicate that the most likely number of emigrants is 200,000 approximately, whereas the others give hyper-inflated figures like 800,000 which basically means France was deprived of nearly the whole of its Protestant population.[26] Concerning those who chose England as their destination, the number is approximated to be between 40,000 to 50,000.[27]

The regions they emigrated from were fairly diverse. According to the statistics given by Joutard, Île de France lost more than half its reformed inhabitants whereas for Normandy and Dauphiné the figures were around 40% overall. Calvinists from territories further away from borders –compared to La Rochelle in the west, or Caen in the northwest- such as Cévennes and Vivarais, were effectively less fortunate as it was more troublesome for them to have both the financial and logistic means to reach the frontiers. Therefore, the rate of migration is estimated to be nearly 10% in the south-southeast.[28]

Some of the *exilés* chose to settle in the coastal areas they landed, such as Bristol, Cowes, Hastings, and St. Ives, however most of them moved further as it is reflected by the concentration of the Huguenot population and their congregations. As abovementioned, Canterbury, Norwich, and Southampton –along with coastal sites of Rye, Plymouth, Devon, and Bristol- were among popular destinations favoured by the French refugees, yet none of these towns attracted those who fled persecution as much as London did.[29] The capital was alluring for those who had left their estates and wealth in France and were forced to make a fresh start in a country they barely knew. The city's *population* was around 575,000 in 1700 with a growing economy

[26] Ibid., 116.
[27] Gwynn, "Huguenots in English Sea Port Towns in the Late Seventeenth Century", 17.
[28] Joutard, "La diaspora des huguenots", 117.
[29] In this research, London has not been considered as the city within the walls but includes the entire area of today's Greater London.

nourished by finance, mercantile activity, manufacturing, and artisanship.[30] Furthermore, through the lenses of a Huguenot refugee, it was a safe haven with a well-established community and variety of French churches among which the most prominent were the churches of Threadneedle Street and the Savoy. Moreover, the Capital offered them a culturally nourishing environment where they could access *gazettes* and journals with news from their homeland, which most of them hoped to return soon. More importantly, those who were lucky and prosperous enough to bring some capital with them while emigrating could set up their own business and become involved in trade and finance. A striking example of people who succeeded well is the foundation of the Bank of England. 104,000 pounds of the initial 1,200,000 pounds was funded by 123 newly arrived Huguenots in 1694.[31] The increasingly cosmopolitan trade milieu of the city encouraged Huguenots to have a good share in export trade.[32] In fact, in the early periods of immigration economic interests could even take precedence over religious reasons. An inquiry made in 1573 shows that some refugees' "coming hither was onlie to seeke woorke for their living."[33] However, concerning the post-Revocation period financial pursuits were naturally subsidiary.

The fact that the Huguenots were remarkably industrious and that they contributed largely to the economic development of the city did not necessarily mean their integration process was always smooth. First of all, there were restrictions and extra

[30] Roger Finlay. *Population and Metropolis: The Demography of London 1580-1650.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 66.
[31] Gwynn, "Huguenots in English Sea Port Towns in the Late Seventeenth Century", 25.
[32] Ibid., 26.
[33] Irene Scouloudi. "The Stranger Community in the Metropolis", in *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800,* ed. Irene Scouloudi (New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1987), 44; Gwynn, "Patterns in the Study of Huguenot Refugees in Britain", in *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800,* ed. Irene Scouloudi (New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1987), 223.

dues imposed upon strangers –mainly first-generation refugees.[34] Also, conflicts between citizens of London and these French refugees were inevitable due to competition in commerce and trade. Above all, Huguenots had distinctive features as a group and they seemed to be quite conservative about protecting them. First of all, some scholars suggest that they were inclined to believe they were culturally and even linguistically superior to the indigenous people of the British Isles or anywhere else they migrated to. They mostly preferred to remain in their own social circle and were reluctant to identify themselves with the culture of their hosts.[35] Reciprocally, the hosts were inclined to see the French refugees as a distant entity and tease them for their "French mannerism."[36]

As a whole, the arrival of French settlers brought about new challenges and many transformations to English society. Interestingly, the change resulting from the interaction was not limited to French-English relations but also transformed the French community from within. The idea of diaspora contributed to the formation of a new collective identity among French immigrants. Although they had many differences within–those who emigrated from urban areas of Northern France basically had very little in common with those who came from the *campagnes* of meridional France both in terms of socioeconomic and social background- the fact that they were all victims of persecution in their homelands and that they were perceived by their hosts as one single community nudged them towards creating alliances. Refugees who formed subgroups based on social and economic profiles – such as the northerner/southerner dichotomy or the income gap- came together under the religious cause, and thus created networks, formed charities, and supported each

[34] Ibid., 49.
[35] Lachenicht, "Huguenot Immigrants and the Formation of National Identities, 1548-1787.", 310.
[36] Myriam Yardeni**.** *Le refuge huguenot: assimilation et culture.* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002), 34.

other during the hardships their refuge posed. Although Huguenots who were associated with wealth and success are more visible to us today at first sight, and a popular saying in the 18th century went "a drop of Huguenot blood in the veins is worth £1000 a year", not all refugees were equally fortunate. As Robin Gwynn eloquently wrote:

Opportunities sparkled brightest in London, although many Englishmen and Huguenots alike found that the glitter concealed a tawdry reality of poverty and ill-health. For the refugees, the appeal of the capital was enhanced not only by its unique nature but by hopes of accessing poor relief, and by the availability of French news, provincial contacts, and companionship.[37]

The clubs and organizations such as La Providence, the Société de la Saintonge et de l'Angoumois, the Société de Poitou et du Loudunois, and many others in London, founded by Huguenots to help destitute refugees from these provinces constitute good examples of charity and solidarity among the French exiles.[38]

1.4. Literature Review

The history of the Reformation in France and the Wars of Religion in the 16th century has been at the centre of interest of many historians. As for the French scholars interested in the subject, Pierre Miquel and Janine Garrisson whom I have also referred to in this thesis, appear to be two of the most distinct. With a remarkable stylistic eloquence, Miquel portrays the period of persecution of Huguenots starting from the first French Protestant martyr in 1523 until the last in

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[37] Gwynn, "Huguenots in English Sea Port Towns in the Late Seventeenth Century", 29.
[38] Natalia Muchnik, "La terre d'origine dans les diasporas des XVIe-XVIIIe siècles.", *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, vol. 66e année, no. 2 (2011): 494-5.

1771. He also provides the reader with a useful genealogy of the families involved in the conflict. Garrisson, on the other hand, a specialist in the political and religious history of 16th century France, has produced widely on the Wars of Religion, and notably the Edict of Nantes. In her *Guerre civile et compromis*, she presents a framework of the social and political background of the wars between the Protestants and Catholics, without being constraint to the condition of the nobility, but also reflecting the habitants of the *campagnes* and their uprisings. Among the Anglophone writers on the topic, I should mention Mack P. Holt whose *The French Wars of Religion* has been very useful for me as he provides a good insight on the major events of the Wars in addition to reflecting the economic and social aspect of the period.

As for the persecution of the Huguenots during the reign of Louis XIV and their worldwide dispersion, Natalia Muchnik's *Les diasporas soumises aux persecutions* and *La terre d'origine dans les diasporas des XVIe-XVIII siècles* have remarkable originality. The author presents the concept of diaspora and the Huguenot exodus in a comparative framework, ranging from the Judeo-Iberian diaspora to the dispersion of the British Catholics. Susanne Lachenicht's work on the Huguenot immigration, which is mostly concentrated on the refuge in Prussia, is also very informative about the identity construction in the Huguenot diaspora and the integration process of the refugees. Similarly, Philippe Joutard also sheds light on the characteristics of the diaspora from a perspective that does not limit itself to the religious identity of the Huguenots but also discusses their cultural and economic networks.

The comprehensive works of Samuel Smiles and David C. A. Agnew mark the beginning of the studies in Huguenot refuge in England and Ireland. These works

have been quite of use for scholars since they contain abundant information about the early and later foreign churches in London and the attitude of the English towards French Protestant refugees. Smiles's *The Huguenots: Their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland* offers a comprehensive background to the Reformation and the persecution of Huguenots before embarking on the international dynamics of the conflict and the formation of Huguenot communities in the British Isles. His work is also rich in demonstrating the occupational organisations of the refugees. Agnew's *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV,* on the other hand, contains not only an extensive historical background of the Huguenot immigration but also gripping pieces of biographies of the prominent Huguenot refugees such as that of de Ruvigny, Earl of Galway, and a list of names of those who were naturalised in the late 17th century after Charles II's grant of naturalisation.

As for the contemporary studies on Huguenot migration in England, Robin Gwynn is undoubtedly one of the most prominent scholars. His extensive research, which I have frequently referred to in this thesis, is clear and substantial and has proved useful in elucidating the assimilation process of the Huguenot refugees. I have also benefitted from the *Strangers, Aliens, and Asians* of Anne Kershen in order to have a comparative perspective on the Huguenots of London.

Finally, I should mention Randolph Vigne who has inspired me to work on refugee wills. His *Testaments Of Faith: Wills Of Huguenot Refugees In England As A Window On Their Past* which appears as a book chapter in *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context* has encouraged me very much to trace the Huguenot migration through refugee wills. His work has also been helpful for me in organising the structure of the analysis of wills. However, though systematic and

original it is, his work does not include any data demonstrating the immigration process and this thesis aims to add to Vigne in this sense.

1.5. Sources

First of all, based on the availability and diversity of sources London is chosen as the center of the research. As Gwynn states, many records from areas like Devon and Southampton are lost, which might leave gaps in the study.[39] Also, as aforementioned, the majority of the immigrants chose London as their destination and this provides us with the opportunity of dealing with refugees from various backgrounds.

The main body of primary sources that are chosen as the core of this study is wills. Wills, probate, and death duty records are among useful sources for ecclesiastical and family historians. These documents enable us to acquire some insight into the details of the life of the testator, such as his/her occupation, properties, and personal estate. They are also highly promising sources as they reflect the relations and interactions within communities, the French Protestant circle in our case. The wills that are selected in this study provide us with good material on donations made to charity organisations, poor reliefs, French hospitals, etc. They are also important as they demonstrate how the French diaspora maintained its ties with their family members abroad, both with those who chose to remain in France and others who were dispersed all over the world.

The refugee wills I have used in this thesis are accessible through the National Archives database (PROB 11, Prerogative Court of Canterbury). The study contains

[39] Gwynn, "Patterns in the Study of Huguenot Refugees in Britain", 222.

136 wills, ranging from those that were probated in the ante-Revocation period to those that were probated in the early 18th century. Of 136 wills, 44 (36%) belong to women and 91 (64%) to men. The occupational backgrounds of testators vary greatly; ranging from weavers to ecclesiastics and military officers. All of the wills were either written in English or translated into English from French. I will demonstrate how the testators behaved in terms of their bequests, both personal and charitable, how they were concerned with their relatives and friends abroad, their usage of their native language in drawing their last wills, and their choice of executors. I will present the information I have gathered from these wills with pie charts as well.

1.6. Thesis Plan

This thesis consists of five chapters where I intend to demonstrate through the wills of French immigrants, although separated from their homeland, how this persecuted minority endeavored to keep their social autonomy while they integrated slowly into the English society.

In this first chapter, I have presented a piece of brief background information for readers who have little to no knowledge about Protestantism in France and the Huguenot refuge in England. I have also shown how the issue is approached in current literature.

In the second chapter, I will analyse wills that were probated after the Edict of Nantes, which granted liberties to French Calvinists. The purpose of this chapter is to show how the Huguenots in London kept ties with their co-religionists both within their congregation in the city of refuge and France during this period of relevant toleration. Further and detailed background information about the events that took

place in France and England and the relation of Huguenots with these events will be given. I will then cover the period of intense persecution of French Protestants in France. The chapter will focus on the aftermath of the Toleration and how tables then turned during the *dragonnades* that took place during the reign of Louis XIV and his infamous Edict of Fontainebleau, which caused mass immigration from France to England. This chapter will cover the period under Henry IV, Louis XIII, and Louis XV during whose reign persecution reached its climax. Lastly, I will show how immigration in England was reflected in wills.

In the third chapter, I will try demonstrating the character of the Huguenot settlers of London through their churches, charities, and occupations. Again, I will present a series of wills corresponding to the period between 1720 and 1787, and attempt to analyse the Huguenot condition then.

In the fourth chapter, I will analyse wills that were probated during the reign of Louis XVI, who by the Edict of Versailles in 1787 granted civil and legal status to Protestants, and after the Revolution of 1789. The wills I will deal with in this chapter will cover the period between 1787 and 1815. The main purpose of this chapter is to understand at which point of integration French refugees stood during this period of toleration towards Protestantism in their homeland and see whether they still kept close ties with family members and friends in France.

The fifth and last chapter of this research is designed to present concluding remarks on the history of Huguenot refuge in England and summarise the information collected in each chapter.

CHAPTER II

HUGUENOTS IN THE 17TH AND EARLY 18TH CENTURIES AND THE EVIDENCE OF WILLS

In this chapter, we will briefly take a look at the political and religious atmosphere on the French side of the Manche during the 17th and the early 18th centuries following the proclamation of the Edict of Nantes that granted some tolerance to the Huguenots in France. We will then see how the tension escalated again during the reign of Louis XIII and finally under The Sun King Louis XIV. We will examine the condition of Huguenots in England during this period and how they fitted into their refugee milieu and analyse their community in London through a form of evidence they left, that is to say through their wills.

Amidst the political and religious turmoil in France during the Wars of Religion, French Calvinists sought refuge in the British Isles. Although England had been through a reformation process herself, the island was not yet a secure refuge

destination for French-speaking Protestants until the reign of Edward VI. However, this reign was too short-lived to attract a large influx of immigrants and was later followed by Catholic Mary's ascension to the throne. It was not until the reign of Elizabeth I that Huguenots could feel relatively safe and form stable congregations across the island. During the 1560s and 1570s, especially after the Massacre of St Bartholomew in 1572 and the outbreak of the revolt in the Netherlands, England became a popular destination for the persecuted minority. Sources indicate that the foreign Protestant churches in England had more than 10,000 members by 1573 and they included Dutch, Walloon, and French refugees.[40] One of the reasons for this on behalf of the English, apart from giving a friendly hand to the co-religionists in chancery, was that the royal government was in search of qualified workers from the continent who would provide England with their crafts and goods.[41]

During the Wars of Religion in France, Huguenot migration remained at more or less stable levels. However, by the proclamation of the Edict of Nantes at the end of the century and the relatively tolerant ambiance it created, continental Protestants needed less to abandon their hometowns due to reduced persecution and discrimination. Yet, the Huguenot community in London grew at a steady pace in conjunction with the political events that occurred in France to finally reach a large influx by the end of the 17th century following the dragonnades and the Edict of Fontainebleau.

[40] Gwynn. *Huguenot Heritage*, 39.

[41] Elizabeth Randall, "A Special Case? London's French Protestants" in *A History of the French in London: Liberty, Equality, Opportunity*, eds. Debra Kelly, and Martyn Cornick (London: University of London Press, 2013), 17.

2.1. The Condition of Huguenots in France in the 17th Century

The Edict of Nantes, a milestone in the history of Protestantism in France was a document composed of 148 articles, 92 general and 56 "secret" concerning specific towns which were exempt from the general articles, and two royal brevets. The general articles were in fact more tending to restore social and political unity for the benefit of Catholics according to the "one king, one law, one faith" mentality that the French monarchs had embraced for centuries. Although full civil rights were granted to Protestant subjects, such as holding royal or public offices or admission to schools and universities, they were still deprived of unrestricted liberty of worship. The edict also meant a relative gain for the Catholics, since they could now enjoy worship in the Huguenot dominant towns and areas that they previously had limited access to.[42] Yet, the parlements were reluctant to the document, such as the parlements of Paris, Toulouse, and Rouen which resisted registering the document until 1599, 1600, and 1609 respectively.[43] The *pax civilis* in France brought a sense of pacification and a purge of the follies of the Civil War, which obviously did not end since the root causes remained and both Henry and the succeeding Bourbon kings were to tackle more noble revolts and bigot conspiracies.[44] However, at least, the Edict provided a basis on which King Henry IV, the chief architect of the Edict and the both Protestant and royalist Catholic notables who surrounded him could work towards restoring the state that was torn by the constant wars.

After the assassination of Henry IV on 14 May 1610, France was ruled by regency for seven years until Louis XIII had reached his majority and taken over the power

[42] Holt. *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629,* 165.
[43] Janine Garrisson. *Guerre civile et compromis, 1559-1598*. (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1991), 226.
[44] Ibid., 229.

from his mother Marie de Médici, a devout Catholic from Italy who strove to maintain Henry's policies. During Louis's reign, the Protestant aristocrats were not as favoured as they used to be in the reign of Henry IV. Therefore many, including the duke of Lesdiguières and Marshal Châtillon, abjured their faith and sided with "the most Catholic king", or remained neutral, meaning they no longer enthusiastically held the Protestant cause, such as in the case of the dukes of Bouillon and La Force.[45] Meanwhile, Louis conquered the towns that were previously controlled by Huguenots and banned all Protestant political assemblies. This period also saw the rise of cardinals who were heavily involved in state affairs. Armand-Jean du Plessis, commonly known as the Cardinal de Richelieu, being appointed to the king's privy council in 1624, was not quite amicable towards the Huguenots either. Yet, he managed to settle the ongoing conflicts, such as that of La Rochelle, which was a Huguenot stronghold and an important maritime city for the defence of France.[46] His main justification behind the truce was to render France strong against foreign enemies by not waging a war within its borders.[47] Richelieu's efforts resulted in the king's favour by the peace of Alès in 1629 and left Huguenots with much less political impact than they had had for the last thirty years. Although they did not assimilate into the Catholic culture as the devout Catholics would have wished for, they were no longer a major threat to the State.[48] On the contrary, they

[45] Holt, 181.
[46] N. M. Sutherland, "The Huguenots and the Edict of Nantes 1598-1629, in *Huguenots in Britain and Their French Background, 1550-1800,* ed. Irene Scouloudi (New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1987), 166.
[47] The cardinal's words in a memorandum he wrote to the king reflects his perspective quite clearly: "As for the Huguenots, they are accustomed to advance their cause at the expense of the State, and to seize their opportunity when they see us occupied against those who are our declared enemies… As long as the Huguenots have a foothold in France, the King will never be master at home and will never be able to undertake any glorious action abroad… His Majesty may give some temporary satisfaction to the Huguenots. He will thus be able to create unity fort he war against the Spaniards." in Holt, 184.
[48] Holt, 188.

appeared as one of the most loyal supporters of the royal government in the Fronde, the series of civil wars between 1648-1653 that occurred during the Franco-Spanish War. Apart from a few noble families, the Protestant population of France was now mainly of the bourgeois and artisans. During the reign of Louis XIII and the first ministry of Cardinal de Richelieu they remained enjoying the primal liberties such as freedom of conscience and public worship. Even Louis XIV, in the initial years of his reign, promised that they (the Protestants) would "be maintained and kept… in the full enjoyment of the Edict of Nantes".[49] However, these words do not reflect the virtual policy adopted by the French court from the 1660s onwards. Between 1661 (the year Louis's personal reign began) and 1679, there were huge sanctions on the Huguenot synods and the churches were demolished. By 1685, the number of Protestant temples had been reduced to 243 from 813.[50] Singing psalms was forbidden except during service, and even that was not allowed if there was a Catholic procession passing by. Intermarriage between Catholics and Protestants was dependent on a unanimous agreement and if someone objected, the marriage would be cancelled. Huguenots were more and more excluded from practising their profession since they were not allowed in the craft guilds anymore.[51] They were ejected from medicine and law as well. Some converted in order to practice their profession.[52] In 1665, the clergy openly declared its willingness to exterminate heresy[53], which was a compatible theological ground to Louis's lay policies to bring an absolute unity among his subjects. In his *mémoires* of 1666 he described his era as

[49] Robin Gwynn. *Huguenot Heritage, The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain.* (Cornwall: Sussex Academic Press, 2011), 24.
[50] Ibid., 26.
[51] G.R.R. Treasure**.** *The Huguenots.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 323.
[52] Horton and Marie-Hélène Davies. *The French Huguenots in English Speaking Lands*. (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2000), 21.
[53] Sutherland, *The Huguenots and the Edict of Nantes 1598-1629*, 159.

"le désordre règne partout" and he, as the sovereign of the State was responsible of resolving the internal tensions. Although he then resisted violent means against the Huguenots and favoured proselytising rather than forced conversions[54] the events of the 1680s show a deflection in the policy. This was the decade when the oppression reached its climax by coerced conversions to Catholicism. In 1681, in Poitou, the rate of troop lodgments and the tax burden were increased for wealthy Protestants, and later on these were expanded to the provinces. At first, tax relief was a bait to promote conversion and it was quite successful according to the estimates of the Poitevin *intendant* who claimed to have reached 38,000 conversions in a couple of weeks.[55] Although Louis publicly condemned the forced conversions in that same year, it would be too naïve to claim that he had no idea of what was happening in the provinces.[56] In 1683, following the popular uprisings in the Vivarais, the king adopted a more hardened strategy towards his Protestant subjects. A new wave of dragoons took place, with more and more conversions especially in Poitou, Béarn, Montauban, Bordeaux, Limoges, Rouen, and Guyenne. By November 1685, the majority of the Huguenot community of France were converted with questionable sincerity.[57] The aim was to diminish the number of Protestants in their strongholds so that the Catholic population would outnumber them by two or three to one.[58]

As "le roi très chrétien" Louis was in fact in an endeavour to prove himself to the continent and especially to Pope Innocent XI with whom he had a long-running

[54] Roger Mettam, "Louis XIV and the Persecution of the Huguenots: The Role of the Ministers and Royal Officials" in *Huguenots in Britain and Their French Background, 1550-1800,* ed. Irene Scouloudi (New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books, 1987), 200.
[55] Ray McCullough. *Coercion, Conversion and Counterinsurgency in Louis XIV's France. (*Leiden: Brill, 2007),128.
[56] Louis XIV and Absolutism, 166.
[57] McCullough. *Coercion, Conversion and Counterinsurgency in Louis XIV's France,* 151.
[58] Ibid., 146.

dispute.[59] Not having been in help to the Habsburg emperor during the struggle against the Turks was another reason behind this effort.[60] Besides, as Louis viewed it, the parameters in international affairs showed that Catholicism outweighed Protestantism. England now had a Catholic king, William of Orange was Louis's arch-nemesis, and alliance with the Protestant states against the Habsburgs was not beneficial anymore.[61] Out of fear of schism, Louis acted upon the Huguenot issue, this time in a manner much more radical than that of his antecessors. He chose to revoke the vestiges of the "irrevocable" and "perpetual" Edict of Nantes in 1685 by his Edict of Fontainebleau. The new edict demanded all Protestant pastors convert or else leave the kingdom within a fortnight, banned all sorts of Protestant education in private schools, ordered baptisms of the children of Protestant subjects, confiscated the properties and estates of those who had already fled the country and did not return in four months, and ordered imprisonment for attempting to escape from France. The day the new edict was registered, destruction of the remaining Protestant churches began. Within a few weeks, 800 temples were demolished.[62]

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes was surely a blow to the Protestants in France, but it also demonstrated an adversity to the royal government that it had not anticipated. Indeed, it did revive the Protestant church that had weakened over the previous decades, by banishing it to the underground.[63] The foundations of the Church of the Desert were laid in reaction to the anti-Protestant moves of the Sun King. The term "The Church of the Desert" was coined to define the Protestants who

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[59] Ibid., 125.
[60] J. Orcibal "Louis XIV and the Edict of Nantes" in *Louis XIV and Absolutism*, ed. Ragnhild Hatton (London: The MacMillan Press, 1976), 158.
[61] Ibid., 160.
[62] Samuel Smiles. *The Huguenots: Their Settlements, Churches, And Industries in England and Ireland*. (London: John Murray, 1876), 184.
[63] Robin Briggs. *Early Modern France, 1560-1715.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 153.

remained in France and faced forced conversions, yet continued to adhere to their religion at the expense of severe punishment in the prisons, galleys, and noose. As might be expected, it was a metaphorical allusion to the sufferings of the Israelites in exile.[64] The essence of the Desert was filled with prophesyings of the *illuminés*, spiritualism, and defiance. Those persecuted Protestants met in secret at night, conducted their services without their priests, and strove to pass their faith onto their offspring. In 1702, this essence manifested itself at Cévennes, a small region in the south of the Massif Central in the Languedoc region where the Protestant population was highly concentrated. The region was considered by the Huguenots of the Desert as the centre for guerrilla warfare due to its suitable geographical structure. The Cévennes War, also known as the War of the Camisards[65] was fought by around 2,000 young men and women.[66] Due to their apparent small size over the forces of the Versailles, and their exhaustible resources, the Cévenols were in search of foreign support, especially from England. However, their prospects were not met with more than two ships sans men and supplies.[67] The war gradually faded into sporadic fighting after the leaders' submission, yet it echoed in the form of millenarianism in England. "The French Prophets", who joined their co-religionists in exile, contributed to the millenarian life that flourished in England in the second half of the 17th and the first half of the 18th centuries.[68] In London, however, they did not receive a friendly welcome by the main French churches like that of the Savoy

[64] Philippe Joutard, "Réseaux huguenots et espace européen (XVIe-XXIe siècle)". *Revue de synthèse,* no.123 (2002): 116.
[65] The term "camisard" refers to the guerillas during the Cévennes War who wore smocks over their clothes.
[66] Treasure. *The Huguenots*, 381.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Richard M. Golden, "The French Prophets: The History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth-Century England." *Journal of Church and State* 23, no. 2 (1981): 351.

and the Threadneedle Street, since they were "suspect, both as foreigners as subversive of church."[69]

Another impact of the Revocation was the increase in emigration. Those who did not settle for nicodemism or could not afford imprisonment or galleys for the sake of holding on to their lands chose to flee the kingdom. Though strictly controlled and forbidden, emigration continued for three to four decades and then became sporadic.[70] Switzerland and England were the preferred destinations for the Huguenots of southeast France, and those in the southwest usually aimed at the Dutch provinces.[71] England had a special role in this refuge since it was the major transit spot for the Huguenots who wished to settle elsewhere -usually the American colonies.[72]

2.2. The Huguenots in England in the 17th Century

While the Huguenot condition in France was all turbulent and on thin ice, their co-religionists in England followed their own path, sometimes separate sometimes concurrent. First of all, we should begin with how the Edict of Nantes was received across the Channel. Despite its restrictions and shortcomings in implementation, the Edict was looked up to in England. Because it allowed freedom of worship in specific towns and some noble estates, the English parliament discussed whether it would be appropriate to adopt a similar model of toleration in England. Under Oliver Cromwell, the French were favoured as allies because of the freedom that the

[69] Treasure, *The Huguenots*, 440.
[70] Shelby T. McCloy, "Persecution of the Huguenots in the 18th Century." *Church History* 20, no. 3 (1951): 56.
[71] Ibid., 58.
[72] Lavender. *French Huguenots,* 131.

Huguenots enjoyed. Moreover, those who supported toleration for Dissenters in the late 1600s, for instance, brought up the Edict as a good example.[73]

Meanwhile, the Huguenots in England, now well aware that the peace was under the initiative of the sovereign as the example of the Edict of Nantes demonstrated, favoured James I as a suitable ruler for their benefits. 74 For instance, it is interesting to note here that one of the testators in our database, Gilbert Primerose, the minister of the French congregation at Threadneedle Street was one of the Huguenot supporters of James and praised him in one of his sermons as "good, wise and pacific".[75] In return, James was also quite welcoming to his refugee subjects whom he regarded to have "enriched this kingdom with several crafts, manufactures and politic arts" and promised to avenge them if anyone molested them in their churches.[76]

Up to the 1630s, namely until the reign of Charles I, the Huguenots of England were mostly loyal to their government. Under the archbishopric of William Laud, however, foreign churches began to be considered as a disturbance against the unity of the Anglican Church and conformism was more and more imposed. Moreover, the ongoing conflict within England and the Civil War also echoed in the French congregations. Rival factions appeared between parliamentarian and royalist Huguenots. During the Civil War and Interregnum, many Huguenots sided with the parliament. In Norwich, for instance, between 1643 and 1650 the Huguenot

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[73] John Miller, "Pluralism, Persecution and Toleration in France and Britain in the Seventeenth Century" in *Toleration and Religious Identity: The Edict of Nantes and its Implications in France, Britain and Ireland,* eds. Ruth Whelan, and Carol Baxter (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 167-169.
[74] Cottret. *The Huguenots in England: Immigration and Settlement, c. 1550-1700*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 86.
[75] Ibid., 97.
[76] Ibid., 85.

community was overwhelmingly supportive of the revolutionary cause.[77] While it can be said that the existing Huguenot community was trying to preserve their interests by siding with the domineering power, the tumult in England had an impact on the coming of new immigrants. According to the marriage statistics of the Threadneedle Street Church between 1630 and 1650, the rate of newcomers among spouses dropped radically from 75% to 32%.[78]

After the restoration in 1660, the government adopted a policy that allowed new foreign congregations to be formed only if they conformed to the Anglican liturgy.[79] The first officially conforming French church was established at Savoy during this period and the Act of Uniformity of 1662 made it further clear that in order to get benefices from the royal government French ministers had to be re-ordained.[80]

In the summer of 1681, amidst the terrorising dragoons of the French towns and provinces, Charles II of England offered official refuge to the Huguenots persecuted under Louis XIV. Moreover, he was willing to grant free denisations to the French *émigrés.* According to the statistics given by Gwynn, the year 1681 was when the immigration to England increased dramatically and the English language was familiarised with the word "refugee" adopted from the French "réfugié".[81] The stream that has commenced as early as 1673 when the Calais representatives of the Synod of Charenton were alarmed by the decrease in the number of their congregation because the migration to England was by far at its peak.[82] Favourable

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[77] Ibid., 133.
[78] Ibid., 147.
[79] Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, 70.
[80] Anne Dunan-Page. *The Religious Culture of the Huguenots, 1660–1750.* (Aldershot: Ashgate. 2006), 45.
[81] Ibid., 25.
[82] Ibid., 24.

Huguenot policy continued under the rule of the Catholic James II between 1685 and 1688. James promised non- Conformist Huguenots the "liberty of conscience and the free exercise of religion" by a Declaration of Indulgence.[83] However, the support of a Catholic king created negative repercussions among sceptical English Protestants who feared a Popish plot. Some of those who claimed that the Huguenots were actually undercover Catholics sent by Louis XIV could therefore underpin their arguments.[84]

The accession of the Calvinist William III of Orange to the English throne in 1688 helped Huguenots under the pressure of conformity to finally heave a sigh of relief. William was highly popular among Huguenots, not only because of his amicable approach towards the persecuted minority but also because his antecessor William I's fourth wife Anne was the daughter of Admiral Coligny, a prominent Huguenot leader. Under William, the Act of Toleration of 1689 helped the dissenting Huguenots to enjoy having their own preachers and ministers along with a substantial allocation of 39,000 pounds from the Royal Bounty.[85] Huguenots both in France and England relied on William on the issue of toleration to Protestants in France during the peace talks in the Nine Years War. They hoped that William could persuade Louis XIV during the Ryswick Treaty in 1697 to grant toleration to his Protestant subjects and restitution of the liberties and estates of those who were in exile.[86] Their hopes were shattered and Louis made clear that toleration was not on his agenda. This diplomatic defeat on behalf of the French Calvinists was another

[83] Anne Kershen. *Strangers, Aliens and Asians: Huguenots, Jews and Bangladeshis in Spitalfields 1660-2000.* (London: Routledge, 2012), 68.
[84] Lavender, *French Huguenots*, 121.
[85] Dunan-Page. *The Religious Culture of the Huguenots*, 24.
[86] David C.A. Agnew. *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV or The Huguenot Refugees and Their Descendants in Great Britain and Ireland.* (London: Reeves & Turner, 1871), 29.

element that drove them to seek refuge abroad. By 1700, there were 28 Huguenot churches in the London area, equally distributed in Soho and Westminster as well as in Spitalfields where they were most concentrated.[87] Though different in nature from the previous efforts of conformity, the royal government kept promoting merging Huguenots into the Church of England through refugee aid funds and training of new Huguenot ministers.[88] Finally, in 1709, French Protestants were granted naturalisation provided that they took the oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance.

2.3. Huguenot Wills of London: 1632-1720

During the time period between 1598, the year that the Edict of Nantes was proclaimed, and 1685, the year it was revoked, the first considerable wave of Huguenot immigrants arrived in England. In order to take a glimpse into the daily lives and intercommunal relations of those early comers, a total of 40 wills from the Prerogative Court of Canterbury are examined, all belonging to Huguenot refugees in London. The earliest will here in this chapter dates back to 1632 (Peter le Maire) and the latest is John Dubourdieu's from 1720. There is a scarcity of evidence from this period since Wagner's compilation, the most reliable source for Huguenot wills is mostly 18th century oriented. The reason that I did not limit the wills in this chapter to the period between 1598-1685 is because I think it would be acceptable to assume that the refugees of the influx made their wills roughly until the end of the first quarter of the 18th century and the immigration continued well after the Revocation.

The gender distribution of the wills from this period seems quite unbalanced with 32 wills belonging to men while only 8 female testators appear. Because married

[87] Lavender. *French Huguenots*, 138.
[88] Ibid., 137.

women's property in Early Modern England was considered her husband's by the common law, one can deduce the rationale behind the fewness of wills made by women. All of the testatrices in this chapter are widows who had the legal capacity to make wills similar to their spinster contemporaries.

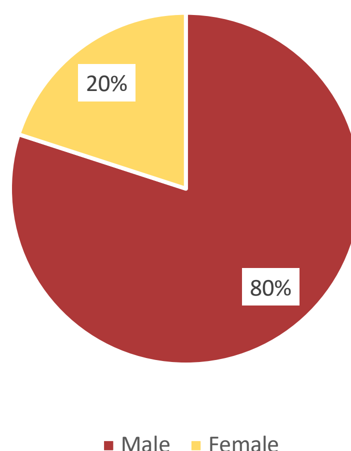

Figure 1 - Gender distribution of the wills: 1632-1720

2.3.1. Language

A main distinguishing mark of the Huguenot wills is the language that the document was redacted in. Among 40 wills on the database, 13 were translated from French. We should note here that only three of these 13 testators[89] with French testaments made their wills prior to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. This is highly interesting because it indicates that the foreign testators at play were somewhat familiar with the English language at the early stages of the migration process. The other ten were all testators who made their wills after the Revocation. Seven testators

[89] Although it is sometimes impossible to identify who wrote the wills, whether it was the testator/testatrix himself/herself or a relative, a friend, etc., we will here assume the writer was the testator/testatrix himself/herself in order to avoid confusion and disarrangement.

out of these 13 appear to have made bequests in France, which suggests they kept strong ties with their homeland estates and kinsmen at this stage of the migration.

If the will was translated from French, the scribe would usually indicate it above the will as “Translated out of French”. This is a general theme as we will see in the following periods as well.

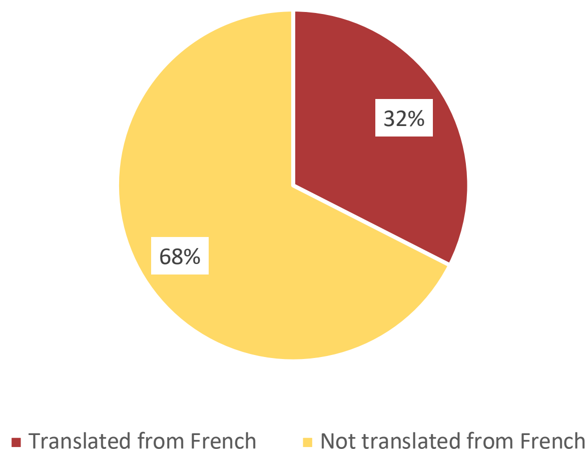

Figure 2 - Percentage of translated wills: 1632-1720

2.3.2. Bequests

The overwhelming majority of the wills from the said period includes bequests in England. 16 testators have bequests in both England and abroad, and only one testator, Jeremiah de Marolles (1657) did not bequeath anything concerning his property or belongings in England. He demanded that his lands in France be sold while all of the executors mentioned in his testament were living in France. Other testators with bequests concerning countries other than England are Peter Le Maire (1632), Robert Desormeaux (1638), Théodore Mayerne (1654), John D’Espaigne (1659), Louis Baillehache (1677), Marc Anthony Benoist (1685), Mary de Duroy (1695), John de Baillehache (1704), Petri Amyott (1709), Jacob Chabott (1711),

Théodore Colladon (1712), Perside de l'Escure (1717), James Mission (1719), Marie Lesterlin (1720), James Campredon (1720), and John Dubourdieu (1720).

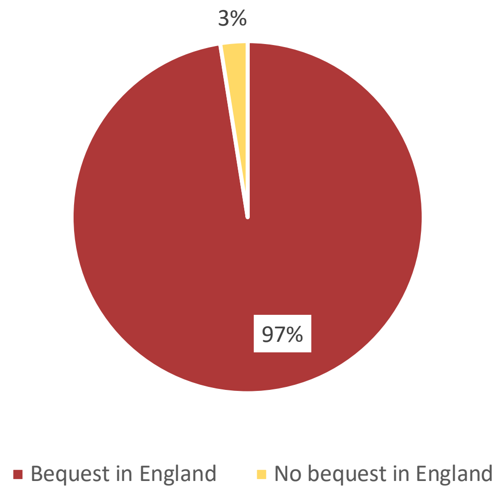

Figure 3 - Percentage of wills with bequests in England: 1632-1720

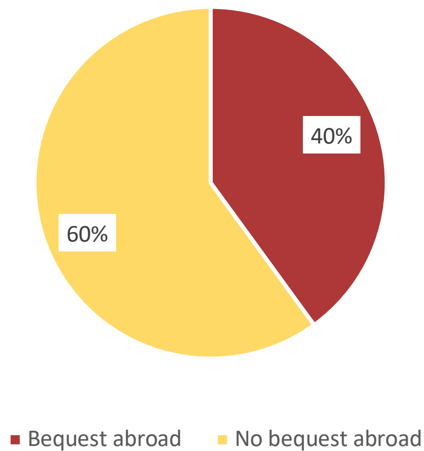

Figure 4 - Percentage of wills with bequests abroad: 1632-1720

A relative, John Le Maire, who lived as a preacher in Amsterdam was mentioned in Peter Le Maire's will whereas Desormeaux named his father at Rouen as an

overseer. Mayerne bequeathed his house in "Aubon"[90] to his sister Marie. The elder Baillehache, who made his will before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes included many bequests concerning his estate and properties in France and named two Parisian merchants to be his overseers. Marc Anthony Benoist, a testator originally from Montauban bequeathed "fifty pounds to be equally distributed to those of Montauban" and one hundred pounds to the daughters of his niece, both living in Montauban. Mary de Duroy, on the other hand, put a condition on her bequests to her kin living in France. She stated clearly in her will that her niece Antonietta du Roy could enjoy her interest provided that she left France in four years following her death.

A similar motive can be seen in the will of Jacob (James) Chabott. He demanded that one of his sons in Paris, John, who was "taken by the French at sea" to return, otherwise he would be precluded from his legal rights stated in the testament. His other son, James was apparently also in Paris against his father's wishes and "retained his late mother's jewels & married secretly". We also understand from Chabott's will that London was his second destination of refuge and he was in Holland before he emigrated to England. His testament included another heir, his grandson who then lived in Rotterdam. Whereas the younger Baillehache charged her mother at Caen to preserve his estate, James Campredon's will includes an heir living in Dublin. One of the testatrices of our database, Marie Lesterlin bequeathed her rose of diamonds to his Brother David Renou who then lived in High Normandy. Her will also included a term similar to her counterparts' De Duroy and Chabott, and

[90] Aubon can either be Aubin in France or Aubonne in Switzerland. There is no indication about that in Mayerne's will, however based on the information we have about Mayerne's background in Geneva (see below), we can assume that he was referring to Aubonne here.

she donated a hundred pounds to her brother and to any of his children on the condition that they came to England.

Bequests that were made within England were mostly in the monetary form. Surely, there were examples such as that of John Bave (1653) who bequeathed a diamond ring to his cousin Jane, however the most preferred type of bequest was cash or annuities as in the case of Peter Le Maire who bequeathed five pounds each to Charles Harbord and John Beauchamp "to buy a seal of arms or a death's head in a ring to wear in remembrance" of him. Richard Travers's (1677) maidservant Elizabeth Taylor was bequeathed 50 pounds by his master. An interesting bequest worthy of 10 shillings was made by the widow Mary Denew (1691) to each of the "poor women" who "shall accompany my corpse to the grave". She also wished to be buried "in linen in my wedding shift". Thomas de La Tombe (1637) bequeathed 20 pounds to his nephew's daughters and 1600 pounds to her daughter for marriage portion. Widow Jane Maurois's (1638) brother-in-law Jacob de Leau, who was one of the beneficiaries mentioned in her will received 10 pounds whereas Laurence Martel's wife was bequeathed 4000 pounds and his eldest son John 2000. Merchant Peter Fortry's (1639) cousins all received 5 pounds as their portion.

Relating to monetary bequests to family members, the aforesaid minister Gilbert Primerose's (1642) will is quite interesting in terms of the information it provides us about his family dynamics. While praising his elder sons James and David, Primerose showed great resentment towards his third son Stephen whom he described as follows: "(He) hath always rejected my counsel and would never follow any calling & is become a presumptuous (and) vainglorious person though is very ignorant & precipitated himself into diverse damnable heresies…late abused me at my own table in the presence of his elder brother, of his wife, and of my servant

called James…" Stephen paid the consequences of offending his father and received only sixpence as his portion.

2.3.3. Charitable Bequests

Only less than half of the wills in this period include charitable bequests. Of the 40 wills in this section, only 16 wills include one or more charitable bequests. We can assume that the reason for the scantness of charitable bequests is that the refugee churches were still rudimentary and poorly institutionalised at the epoch[91] and that the early testators were still more interested in their former hometown and they donated money and estate to their churches and kinsmen there rather than being occupied with English institutions.

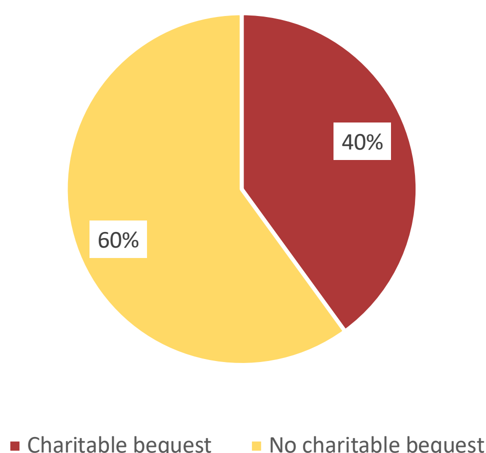

Figure 5 - Percentage of wills with charitable bequests: 1632-1720

Only one testament in our inventory has a bequest to a non-Huguenot institution. Gideon Delaune (1659), the apothecary to the wife of James I and a leading figure who was involved in the separation of Apothecaries Company in Black Friars from

[91] For information about the French churches and charities see next chapter.

the Grocer's Company, donated his "silver bason" to the former institution. All the other testaments with charitable bequests refer to French organisations in London.

Merchant John Bave (1653) donated three pounds to the "poor of the French congregacon" while other examples such as Theodore Mayerne (1654) from Chelsea were more generous and specific. Mayerne, who was a well-reputed physician of his time and served Cardinal de Richelieu and later Oliver Cromwell[92], donated 100 pounds to the French Church of London and 50 pounds to the "Chelsy poor" and bequeathed the construction of a pest house. Laurence Martel, in his will redacted in 1676, gave a total amount of 50 pounds to the French Church and another 50 to the "silenced" (nonconformist) ministers. Anne Allenet (1716), one of the few testatrices in this period of our database, who migrated to England in 1703 "fearing the convent" and was the widow of a merchant from La Rochelle, donated a "summe of forty pounds sterling" to the Tabarnacle Church in order to be distributed to the poor. A generous testator, John Chardin on the other hand bequeathed 500 pounds for the refugees of the French Church of Savoy and 50 pounds to the poor of Chiswick. Paul Girardot, a member of the large Girardot family in London and according to whose will had come to London "on account of the persecution in the month of August 1699", donated 350 pounds to Crispin St Charity House and 300 pounds to the Walloon Church, which might indicate that he had some sort of affiliation with the Walloons of London.

[92] Mayerne's family was involved in silk manufacturing in Lyon prior to the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre after which they took refuge in Geneva. Théodore was trained in the international medical school at Montpellier before he finally arrived in London, see Randall. *A Special Case?,* 21.

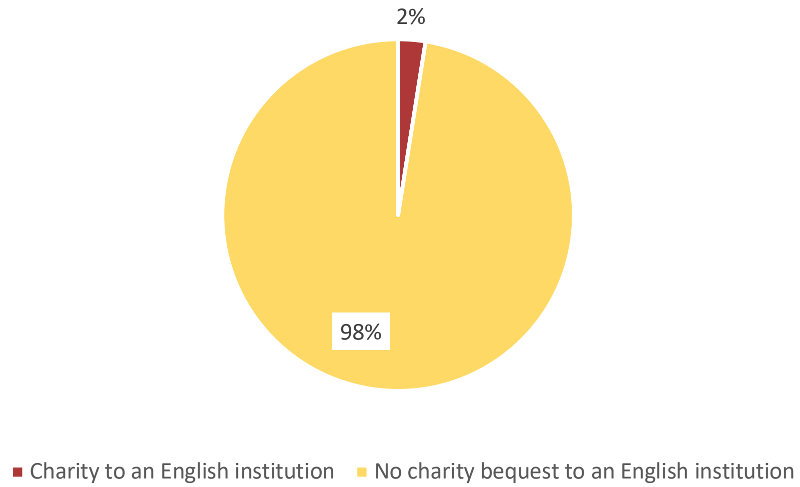

Figure 6 - Percentage of wills with charity bequests to an English institution: 1632-1720

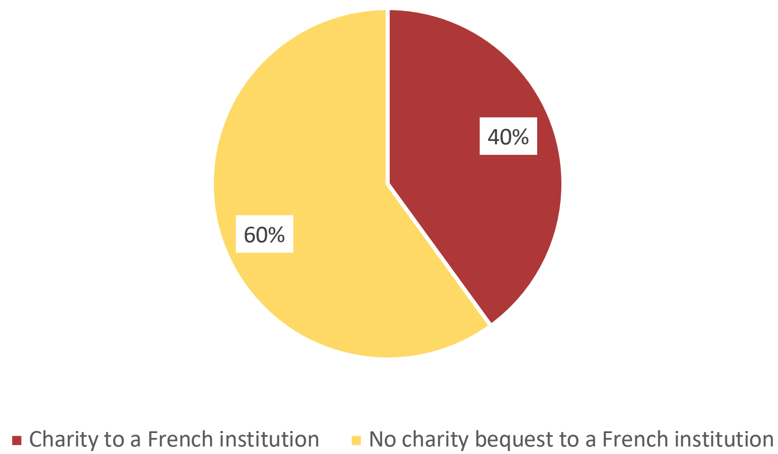

Figure 7 - Percentage of wills with charity bequests to a foreign institution: 1632-1720

2.3.4. Executors

Huguenot wills differ from their English counterparts with their executor profile. The vast majority of the wills we refer to in this chapter have French named executors/executrices as might be expected. 36 testators out of 40 have chosen their

fellow countrymen to be their executors. Only three testators have designated English sounding named executors whereas one testator, Gilbert Primerose appears to have chosen an executor with a Dutch name, which brings to mind the question of whether Primerose had established an affiliation with the Walloon community. The three testators whose executors have English names are Daniel Votier (1647), John d'Espaigne, and Peter le Noble (1663). Votier appointed goldsmith John Yates as the executor of his last will and bequeathed him whichever book he would like to have from his library. D'Espaigne's executor is Henry Browne, esquire, who also received six pounds from the testator. The name "Browne" might have been transformed from the surname "Brun" which is not uncommon in the Provence and Alpes-Rhône region in France, however, considering the fact that name anglicisation was a rare phenomenon, though not non-existant in the early stages of the exile, it seems unlikely. Lastly, one of the executors of merchant Peter le Noble is Abraham Beckner, who was his brother-in-law. This surname appears to have Old English origins, therefore might signal some exogamy before the Revocation period.

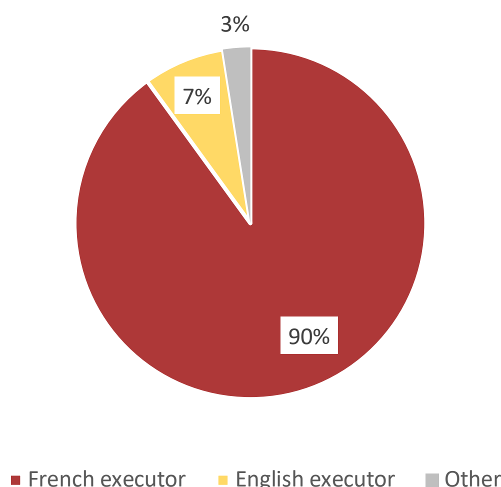

Figure 8 - Executors according to their names: 1632-1720

2.4. Conclusion

"Le long 17e siècle" of France and the turning of events for her Huguenot minority was highly chaotic and on a knife-edge. The settlement after the Civil Wars of the 16th century gave them a sense of security and liberty of conscience but it was too short-lived to create a nation with religious plurality. Whether it was rooted in The Sun King's absolutist ambitions or stemmed from French Calvinism's inadequacy against Gallicanism in attracting followers, the Huguenots of France fell into a decline during this century only to come to revival after Louis's death in 1715 with the first synod of the Church of the Desert. Yet, it is important to bear in mind that it was not only the French Protestants who incurred losses due to persecution. Though a minority, Huguenots had provided France with various skills and crafts. As we will analyse in the following chapter, their absence in the French social and economic life meant a loss to the kingdom and a gain to the destinations of refuge.

The wills of the period between the early 17th century and 1720 put a different complexion on the lives of Huguenot immigrants of London. We understand from these wills that they appeared still as a distinct community within the English society regarding the usage of French in drawing their wills, their concern with estates and relatives in France, and their choice of beneficiaries and executors who were dominantly from the Huguenot community in England. In the next chapters, we will see to what extent they kept these characteristics and how their integration process was reverberated in their wills.

CHAPTER III

HUGUENOTS OF LONDON IN THE POST-REVOCATION PERIOD AND THEIR WILLS

By 1700, London had a French Protestant population of 20,000 to 25,000.[93] The city that had no more than 70,000 habitants in 1550 was growing steadily and had reached 575,000 by 1700.[94] It was attractive to many Huguenots since there were established refugee congregations and magnetic economic opportunities. Fleeing persecution, these refugees were provided with a window of opportunity to prosper, practising their professions that they were deprived of in their homeland after the Revocation and participate freely in their religious communities. Since Calvinism was "a discipline of life" that encouraged industriousness and frugality, French

[93] Tessa Murdoch. *The Quiet Conquest, The Huguenots 1685-1985.* (London: Museum of London, 1985), 111.
[94] Finlay. *Population and Metropolis,* 51.

Calvinists adopted their faith into their daily practises.[95] And they were perceived by their host society as loyal subjects to the crown of England, hardworking labourers, and honourable Protestants.[96] They were involved in various industries, ranging from commerce to weaving, from sculpturing to jewellery. According to the relief records of the French Church in London between 1681-1687, 952 of 1,164 who received relief were artisans or day labourers, whereas 68 were of architectural background, 62 practised medicine, 39 were merchants, 25 were in education, and 6 were attorneys.[97] London offered these zealous refugees the possibility to start over from scratch.

In the previous chapter we have briefly reviewed the political and religious circumstances of the 17th century in France and England on behalf of the Huguenot question, and we have analysed the wills of the refugees from that period. In this chapter, we will see the occupational background, churches, and charities of Huguenot refugees of London in the 18th century and trace their community's reflection in wills.

3.1. Huguenots and Their Occupations

Huguenot immigrants brought England some novelties concerning occupations. A variety of silk-making, glass-making, and needle-making techniques was introduced by these strangers.[98] Their industriousness and continental methods drew great interest from the English society. The features of the Huguenot settlements varied

[95] Kershen. *Strangers, Aliens and Asians,* 28.
[96] John M. Hintermaier. "The First Modern Refugees? Charity, Entitlement, and Persuasion in the Huguenot Immigration of the 1680s." *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 32, no. 3 (2000): 431.
[97] Ibid., 434.
[98] Scouloudi. "The Stranger Community in the Metropolis", 48.

from area to area in London, and reflected the occupational backgrounds of the refugees. For example, Huguenots of the centre and the east were mainly involved in commerce and industry whereas the suburbs of Westminster and its adjoining parishes were rather characterised by the atmosphere of the court, art, and luxury.[99] While those in the city bounds were employed in cloth making, leatherworking, metalworking, and food production, the periphery was associated with tailoring, perfumery, embroidery, etc.

One of the factors we should take into account when examining the Huguenot condition of the 18th century is commerce. Huguenots, dispersed worldwide, established trade colonies in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and London as well as in the transatlantic world, especially after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Many examples like that of D'Hariettes', Faneuils', and of Stuckeys' can be traced through individual case histories.[100] Even before the Revocation, Huguenot merchant families were active especially in wine and silk trade, forming commerce networks from Bordeaux to India, from La Rochelle to Québec, and New York. We can assume that this ability to move freely allowed them to find refuge more easily than a simple artisan or a peasant. Many influential figures among these merchants can be found in England. For instance, Huguenot merchant John Houblon subscribed 10,000 pounds to the Bank of England that was -and still is- located in Threadneedle Street and became one of the twenty-four founding governors between 1694-1697.[101] Thomas Bureau, a Huguenot merchant in London originally from Niort, who made an investment of 500 pounds in the Bank of England in 1694 was also one of the

[99] Ibid.
[100] J.T. Bosher, "Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century." *The William and Mary Quarterly,* vol. 52, no. 1. (1995): 80.
[101] Murdoch. *The Quiet Conquest,* 275.

founders of the institution.[102] The contribution of Huguenot refugees was remarkable since it assisted the restructuring of the English finance and the wars the kingdom waged against France between 1689-1713.[103]

The merchant identity of Huguenots is reflected in the wills on our database as well. Of 91 male testators, 18 were merchants and there is a good chance that there might be others among those whose occupation was not indicated in the will or who were simply identified as "esquire" or "gent". Merchant David Bosanquet (1732), whose assets were around 100,000 pounds at the time of his death and whose will has been analysed in the present section, was from the wealthy Bosanquet family who acted as the directors of the Royal Exchange Assurance for generations.[104] Another merchant testator of this study, Gidéon Leglize's (1756) executor and son-in-law Matthieu Clarmont was also one of the Huguenot directors of the Bank of England and the French Hospital.[105]

Another profession that was identified with Huguenot immigrants during the 18th century was weaving. Concentrated in the Spitalfields area of London, Huguenot weavers were around 2,000 men by the mid-18th century.[106] Even by 1683, two years before the proclamation of the Edict of Fontainebleau French refugees in Spitalfields were considered to be "sufficiently numerous."[107] In fact, their overpopulation, competitiveness, and dominance over the industry drew reaction from the native English weavers and the Weavers' Company of London received many petitions against their Huguenot counterparts.[108] They served both the domestic market and

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[102] Bosher, "Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century", 90.
[103] Robin Gwynn. *The Huguenots of London.* (Eastbourne: The Alpha Press, 2018), 33.
[104] Murdoch. *The Quiet Conquest,* 275.
[105] Agnew. *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV,* 73.
[106] Gwynn. *The Huguenots of London,* 37.
[107] Kershen, *Strangers, Aliens and Asians,* 51.
[108] Lavender. *French Huguenots,* 121.

the export trade to America. By 1706, four fifths of the names registered in the French Church of London were in textile industry.[109] One of the factors that contributed to attracting Huguenots to Spitalfields was that these Huguenot weavers could also enjoy worshipping in their congregation at the district. All of the churches were non-conformists in this area.[110] However, by the Spitalfields Acts in 1770s they were displaced from Spitalfields and most of them headed to Bethnal Green.[111]

In our database, seven testators are identified as weavers based on the information gathered from their wills. Again, we should bear in mind that some testators in this research did not mention their crafts and professions in their wills. 112 Therefore, there might be others in addition to these seven who were engaged in weaving but did not mention their occupation in their wills.

Along with the majority of merchants and weavers, Huguenots in London were involved in other trades as well. There was an evident difference between the western part of the city and the eastern suburbs such as the aforementioned Spitalfields area. Those dwelling in the west were involved in clockmaking, gunmaking, jewellery, sculpturing, perfumery, goldsmithing, and silversmithing, serving the upper-class English. French style tailoring and the Parisian fashion were closely followed and demanded in the neighbourhoods surrounding the court at Whitehall. Although goldsmithing and silversmithing were among crafts that the foreign settlers had adopted since the Middle Ages in this area[113], a legislation that passed under Louis XIV in 1689 further compelled Huguenot silversmiths into

[109] Gwynn. *Huguenot Heritage*, 87.
[110] Davies. *The French Huguenots in English Speaking Lands*, 77.
[111] Kershen, *Strangers, Aliens and Asians,* 51.
[112] Thirteen testators do not have any information concerning their occupation and fifteen are only identified as “esquire” or “gent”.
[113] Gwynn. *Huguenot Heritage*, 91.

refuge. The decree of 1689 ordered the melting of silver for coin in order to assist the French economy against the financial burden of wars, therefore forbade silversmiths from producing new works.[114]

In our database, there are two goldsmiths, Lewis Mettayer (1740) and Abraham Pantin (1733), both from Westminster. Solomon Julliot (1756), a watchmaker from the parish of St Giles in the Fields also appears as a testator in our database. As for tailors from Westminster, we see Henry Jeanneret (1783) whose will is used for analysis in the following chapter.

Another element that is worth mentioning among Huguenot occupations is ministry. As we have seen in the previous chapter, under Louis XIV Protestant ministers were either compelled to abjure their faith or exiled within fifteen days after the Revocation. They were welcome in the British Isles, though faced the condition of conformity to the Anglican liturgy after 1660, and were allowed to use their native language in service. Those who accepted conformity used the French translation of the Book of Common Prayer.[115] According to the estimations, by 1702 the number of conformists had tripled the nonconformist congregations and the role of the Huguenot divines in this transformation cannot be ignored.[116]

On our database, there are eleven Huguenot ministers and seven of them made their wills after the Edict of Fontainebleau. Pierre (Peter) Allix (1717) was one of the most prominent among these divines. He arrived at London following the Revocation in 1685 and was granted naturalisation in 1688.[117] He was a fellow member of Oxford

[114] Randall. *A Special Case*, 36.
[115] Davies. *The French Huguenots in English Speaking Lands*, 77.
[116] Ibid., 78.
[117] Agnew. *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV,* 46.

and Cambridge, and was made the treasurer of the Salisbury Cathedral.[118] Another testator John Dubourdieu (1720) appears among the Protestant chaplains serving in William's regiments of exiled Huguenot soldiers.[119] Jean (John) d'Espaigne (1659) was also an important figure, whose preachings laid the foundations of the French Church of the Savoy by drawing people to worshipping at Westminster.[120]

3.2. Huguenot Churches and Charities

The French Church of London dates back to 1550s when it started meeting in Threadneedle Street and shared church buildings with the Dutch congregation of Austin Friars. Their existence was authorised with letters patent that gave them autonomy from the Bishop of London. Until 1640s, it was the only French congregation in London. When Louis XIV's personal reign began in 1660, it had become the largest French congregation of England.[121] The same years saw the formation of the Westminster congregation and by 1700, churches were mostly concentrated in Spitalfields and Westminster whereas there were others distributed in Wandsworth, Greenwich, and Chelsea.[122] Some notable churches of the Spitalfields area were Threadneedle Street, Christ Church, St. Jean, L'Eglise de l'Artillerie, Crispin Street, and L'Eglise de l'Hopital. In the western part of the city, there were the Savoy, La Patente, Leicester Fields, St. Anne, Swallow Street, Les Grecs, and La Charanton.[123]

The Huguenot image in England was mainly constructed as "poor destitute Protestants" in the pamphlets and *gazettes.* The French churches also embraced this

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[118] Davies. *The French Huguenots in English Speaking Lands*, 79.
[119] Agnew. *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV,* 109.
[120] Gwynn. *The Huguenots of London*, 13.
[121] Ibid., 11.
[122] Murdoch. *The Quiet Conquest,* 57.
[123] Smiles. *The Huguenots*, 218-220.

image in order to obtain funds from the government.[124] Indeed, there were numerous poor and desperate refugees who needed a helping hand from the government through poor relief. Apart from the parliamentary grant to conformist Huguenot churches, refugees and descendants, individual and collective efforts played an important part in charity raising. As we can see in the "charitable bequests" sections in each chapter, many Huguenot testators attached importance to alleviating the misery of their co-religionists. The establishment of Friendly Societies was an important step, both for Huguenots in need and as a model for later English Benefit Societies.[125] The Society of Parisians, The Norman Society, The Society of Lintot, the Société des Enfants de Nîmes, and the Society of Protestant Refugees from High and Low Normandy, all established around 1690s except for the latter which was founded in 1764, were the most significant ones that show the efforts of maintaining regional ties within the refugee community.[126] In addition to these, there were Society of Poitou and the Loudonois and the Society of Saintonge and Angoumois that helped aged and unemployed refugees.

With the influx of immigrants in 1680s, the friendly societies and church charities failed to satisfy the needs of thousands of distressed refugees. Thus, in 1718, the French Hospital, La Providence, the most institutionalised and reputable charity organisation was founded by a letter patent by King George I.[127] The Hospital was the successor of the Peste House and served the poor and the sick. The importance attached to the Hospital can easily be seen in the charitable bequests in the wills of our database from 1720 onwards.

[124] Hintermaier. "The First Modern Refugees?", 447.
[125] Murdoch. *The Quiet Conquest,* 77.
[126] Gwynn. *Huguenot Heritage*, 215.
[127] Ibid., 82.

3.3. Huguenot Wills of London: 1720-1787

This chapter contains wills corresponding to the period between 1720 and 1787. The earliest will we have from this period is Maximillian Misson's (1722) and the most recent one is from 1785 being the last will of Nicholas Jourdain. In between these two, we have 59 other randomly chosen wills, equally distributed throughout the period.

In this chapter, the gender distribution is more balanced due to the relative abundance of material and there are 19 female testators, constituting 31% of the entire wills from the said period.

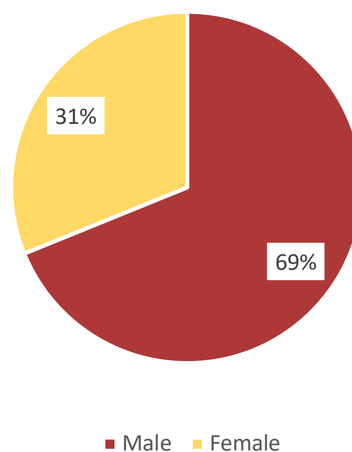

Figure 9 - Gender distribution of the wills: 1720-1787

10 of these testatrices are widows whereas six of them are spinsters. There is no indication of the marital status of the remaining three. We usually get the information of the marital status of the testatrices in the very first phrases of the will. For example, in the last will of Magdalen Olympa (Bauchamp) Amyot (1743), the testatrix introduces herself as follows: "…widow of the late Peter Amyot doctor in Physick living at present in the parish of Saint James in the Liberty of

Westminster…” On the other hand, the opening of the will of Anne Viard (1762) is “I Ann Viard spinster dwelling in the parish of Christ Church in the County of Middlesex being by the grant of God…” However, in some wills, there is no usage of the word “widow” and we understand that the testatrix is a widow somewhere in the will as in the case of Jane Louet (1756): “…whereas my late husband Peter Louet deceased by his will devised to me his whole estate…”

Other female testators on our database are: Martha Magdalen Le Rouille (1762), Anne Bouyer (1765), Martha Nicholas (1733), Jane Louet (1756), Anne Pictet (1785), Susanna Robethan (1770), Mary Justamond (1747), Jane Elizabeth Villebois (1779), Henrietta Darassus (1780), Elizabeth Cottiby (1784), Esther Allaire (1771), Elizabeth Baudemont (1733), Lewise Berchère (1730), Marianne Gaultier (1767), Ann Nollet (1783), Elizabeth Ogier (1771), and Magdalen Roussy (1783).

3.3.1. Language

In this section, 15 wills out of 61 are translated from French. In this period as well, the indication that the will is translated appears right above the document as a statement that usually is: “Translated out of French” or “Translated from the French”. Translated wills from this period are more or less equally distributed, although no translated will appears on our database after 1779. All of the wills that were originally redacted in French are available in English.

Testators who had their testaments translated are: Anne Bouyer (1765), Anne Viard, Elizabeth Baudemont, Esther Allaire, Jane Elizabeth Villebois, Magdalen Olympa Amyot, Marianne Gaultier, Martha Nicholas, David Bosanquet (1732), Isaac Auriol (1741), Isaac Berthon (1747), James Baudoin (1738), Moses Bernege (1749), Daniel Alavoine (1728), and Peter Gallot (1778).

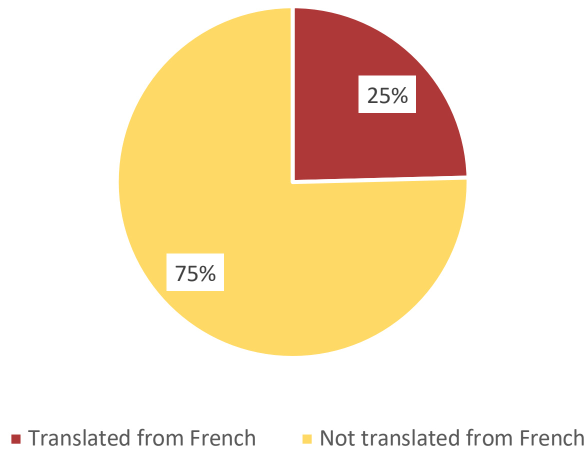

Figure 10 - Percentage of translated wills: 1720-1787

3.3.2. Bequests

Unlike the exceptional case of the previous period, the period between 1720 and 1787 does not include any will that does not have a bequest in England. All of the wills, including those that have bequests concerning other countries, contain at least one bequest in England. 21 testators out of 61 demand operations appertaining to their relatives or properties abroad, making them 34% of the totality of the wills from the said period.

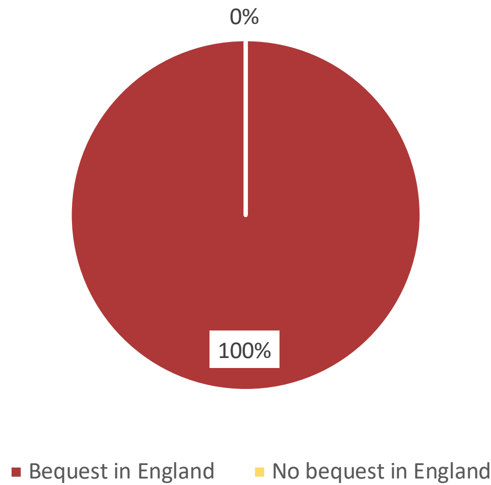

Figure 11 - Percentage of wills with bequests in England: 1720-1787

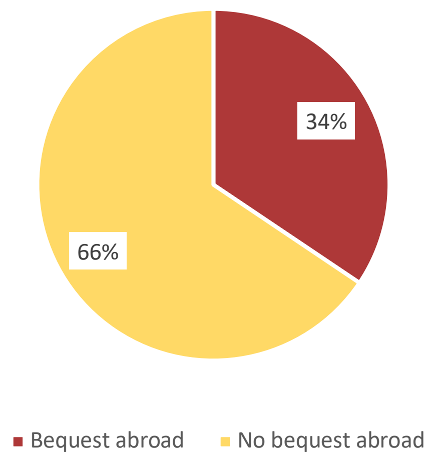

Figure 12 - Percentage of wills with bequests abroad: 1720-1787

Although the vast majority of wills with bequests abroad mention France, we have exceptions like Stephen Fouace who bequeathed 20 pounds to his nephew Stephen Fouace in Ireland, and Anne Bouyer (1765) mentioning a sister who were then living in Surinam but now in Emerick.[128] In this period, conditional wills appear to be more frequent among those that concern bequests abroad. The condition in the case of

[128] "Emerick" is probably a different spelling of Emmerich am Rhein in northwest Germany.

these Huguenots is often, if not always, that the beneficiary mentioned in the will should leave France and -preferably- come to England. James Baudoin (1738) asked his sister to make to his brother "a pension for life of two hundred pounds a year during his life." But it was upon condition that his said brother "shall come out of France and come and pass the remainder of his days in England among those of his family with freedom of body and mind and his pension shall commence from the day he shall be arrived here…" Another example similar to but more specific and anti-nicodemist than Baudoin's is John Poumies's will (1769) in which he called onto his nephew's daughter Marie Thérèse to leave France and practise Protestantism to get her portion from the testament: "…she shall come and reside in England and renounce the Roman Catholik Religion and conform to the Protestant Religion…" Similarly, a female testatrix, Martha Magdalen Le Rouille (1762) asked her nephew, John Le Rouille, to come to England within the spare of five years from the day of her death and spend a full year there as a Protestant in order to be eligible for his aunt's funds in South Sea Company. Likewise, Martha Nicholas (1733) bequeathed twenty shillings to her brothers "if they retire from France."

Other testators whose wills include bequests abroad were Anne Viard, Jane Louet, Anne Pictet (1785), David Bosanquet, Daniel Dupuy (1761), Charles St Maurice (1746), Guy Viçouse (1753), Isaac Berthon (1747), Charles Le Bas (1724), Isaac Auriol (1741), James Barbut (1782), Peter Bonovrier (1739), Philip Bouquet (1748), Stephen Fouace (1737), Peter Gallot (1778), and James Niort (1741).

Conditional bequests do not only appear in wills with bequests abroad. An interesting condition that hints about the usage of French among immigrants in London during this period can be found in the will of John Jemblyn (1727), a clerk originally from Caen, residing in Stepney at the time of his death. In his will,

Jemblyn, alongside wishing that his funeral to not be “a ceremony of triumph” bequeathed his whole library to John Jemblyn “provided he learn the French Language”.

The bequests of the testators were usually in the form of money in this period as well. Henrietta Darassus bequeathed thirty pounds to each child of her niece Henrietta, whom we learn from the will to be the late wife of the late Dr. Drummond, Archbishop of York.[129] Henry L’Apostre (1750), a wealthy esquire born at Rouen bequeaths quite generously as he gives 6000 pounds to his niece and 20,000 pounds to her children. More modest amounts of money are bequeathed in the wills of middle-class testators. Widow Mary Justamond (1747) bequeaths an annuity of three pounds to her granddaughter Mary Dubois. A watchmaker of St Giles in the Fields, Solomon Julliot (1756) bequeaths a sum of 100 pounds to his sister Louisa, and apothecary Apsley Pellatt (1740) of St Martin in Fields leaves an annuity of 25 pounds to his wife Mary.

In some cases, the testators decide to give very little money, not out of obligation but as a punishment to their beneficiaries, such as in the case of Daniel Dupuy (1761) a gent from the parish of Lambeth: “I give and bequeath to my unnatural wife Ann Dupuy who hath absented herself from me and is become a papist abroad one shilling only.” Another testator who is just as upset as Dupuy is Charles St Maurice (1746), a soldier from Westminster: “I give and leave to all and each of my relations pretending a right to my Estate the sum of one shilling…that they have nothing further of my estate.”

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[129] Dr. Drummond was probably Robert Hay Drummond, Archbishop of York from 1761 to 1776. In this case Henrietta was the daughter of Peter Auriol, therefore a relative of Isaac Auriol, another testator on our database.

Some wealthy testators, on the other hand, bequeathed lands and estates along with large sums of money. Claudius Amyand (1740), who is "Principal & Sergeant Surgeon to HM" and whose one of the overseers is James Gaultier then director of the Bank of England, bequeathed 2000 pounds to his nephew Thomas Amyand, whereas he gave the use of his lands in Sidlesham to his other nephew Sir George Cornwall.

The content of wills is naturally not only limited to money and land, but it often includes bequests like clothes and jewellery as in the case of Anne Bouyer (1749) or a silver porringer as John Jemblyn's (1727) "true friend" Mary inherited. Isaac Auriol's (1741) executors Peter Soulegre and Isaac Reynous both received rings worth 50 pounds, whereas Isaac Berthon (1747) bequeathed his sword to his friend's son who allegedly "resembles Henry the VIII King of England." In his modest will, John Peltrau (1770) demanded that all of his utensils and goods be converted to money and put in the Bank of England. Henry Jonquier's (1747) will is quite rich in terms of the materials listed. He bequeathed to his nephew "Isaac Combet the sum of one thousand pounds and my cloth and watch" as well as rings, "à la mode scarves", gloves, and hatbands to three other beneficiaries. Maximillian Misson (1727), writer and traveller, bequeathed his 11 volumes of Bayle's Republic of Letters to Jas La Touche, presumably a friend. Moses Bernege (1749), Director of La Providence, bequeathed a ring worthy of 20 pounds to the daughter of the aforementioned Claudius Amyand and his Latin and Greek books to the son of the latter. One of the most interesting items that can be found in a will is of a testator who was well known to the English intellectual milieu of his epoch. Matthieu Maty (1776), founder of the *Journal Brittanique* and under-librarian at the then newly formed British Museum, bequeathed his achromatic telescope to Anthony Layard along with an interesting

bequest concerning his body: “I wish my body so long troublesome to me in my lifetime may be treated with as little respect as it deserves and that after having been opened if that be thought likely to afford any information to the living.” Another bequest concerning the body is of Susanna Robethan (1770) who wished to be “buried with all the simplicity possible after due care taken of me not to be buried alive as was the case of one my relations.”

3.3.3. Charitable Bequests

Out of 61 wills, 31 include charitable bequests. One of the reasons behind the increase of this rate is presumably the consolidation of solidarity groups with the flux of immigrants in the late 17th century and the continuation of migration in the early 18th century. As more Huguenots settled in London and formed their charity networks and communities of interest, more of them invested in these establishments and included them in their last wills.

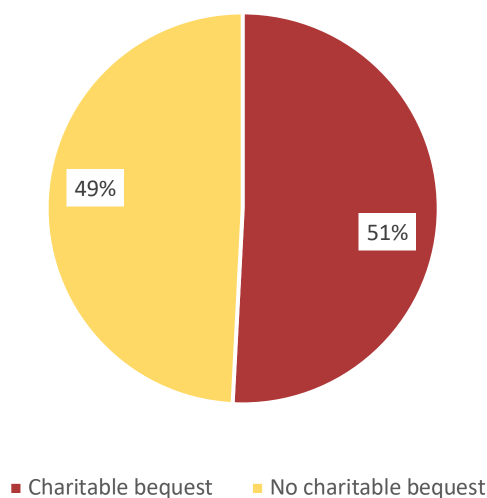

Figure 13 - Percentage of wills with charitable bequests: 1720-1787

29 testators out of 30 made bequests to French institutions, whereas one testator only included an English institution in his will. One testator in these 29 had both French and English institutions mentioned.

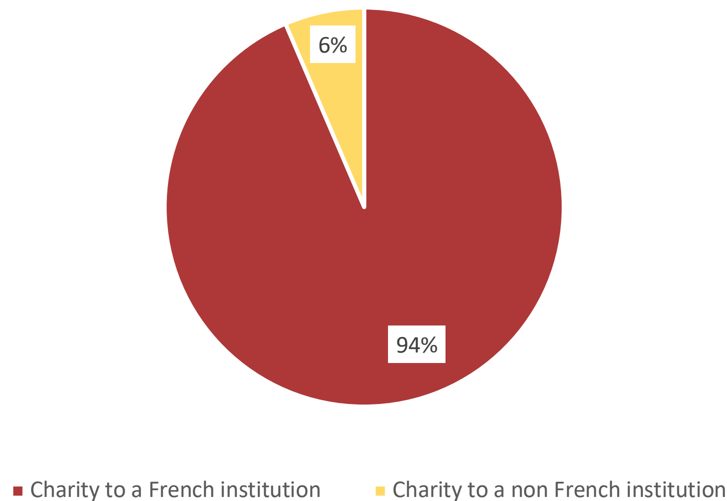

Figure 14 - Percentage of wills with charity bequests to French institutions: 1720-1787

The only testator who exclusively bequeathed to an English institution is David Garrick (1779), one of the most influential actors and theatre managers of the epoch. Garrick, in his will, donated his statue of Shakespeare and his collection of old English plays to the British Museum.

One of the most mentioned French institutions in the wills is *La Providence* (The French Hospital). Peter Bataille (1776) the abovementioned unique testator with bequests to both English and French institutions bequeathed 200 pounds to La Providence and another 200 to The Society for the Propagation of The Gospel (SPG), an Anglican missionary organisation which was active overseas in the British Atlantic world during the 18th and 19th centuries. Silk merchant Benjamin Baronneau

(1731) and Elizabeth Baudemont (1733) also donated to La Providence, 50 pounds and 30 pounds respectively. Abraham Delamare (1762) on the other hand was more generous and bequeathed 300 pounds to the said institution.

Charitable bequests sometimes give us a hint about the origin of the testator. It is not inappropriate to assume that the testators would have preferred donating money to the local institutions that assisted their fellow townsmen. Esther Allaire (1771) donated a sum of 50 pounds to La Providence along with other charities including La Patente and a local community for refugees from La Rochelle: "…I give and bequeath to the Consistory of the French Church of La Patente in Soho two hundred pounds sterling for the maintenance of the Ministry in the said church, besides fifty pounds sterling for the use of the poor belonging to the said church…" Peter Gallot (1778), whose will is quite abundant in terms of charitable bequests donated a sum of 20 pounds to the Society of Poitou. Marianne Gaultier (1767) bequeathed 50 pounds to the "charitable society for children of Nimes" and another 50 to the Society of the Genevois, which might signal that Geneve was one of her destinations before she arrived in England as in the case of many other Huguenots.

3.3.4. Executors

58 testators out of 61 have French named executors and executrices, whereas three have only English named executors and executrices. Three out of the abovementioned 58 have executors with both English and French names. One of these is Elizabeth Cottiby (1784) with an executor named John Thornton. Cottiby's will includes the Thornton family, with Catherine Thornton and Thomas Thornton as beneficiaries. The other example for dual executors is Charles Le Bas whose executors were his wife Mary, Sir William Joliffe, and William Northey. Peter

Bataille, whom we mentioned as the sole testator with charitable bequests to both French and English institutions, had both French and English executors, John Robert Le Cointe and John Cantley.

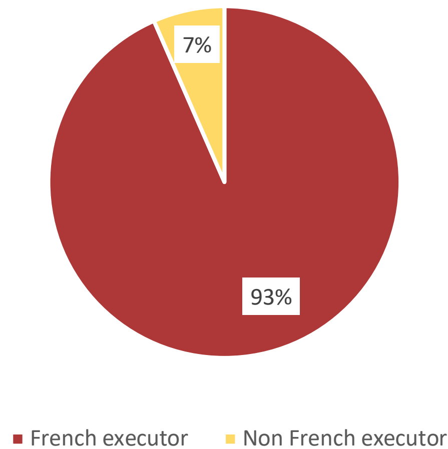

Figure 15 – Percentage of wills with French named executors: 1720-1787

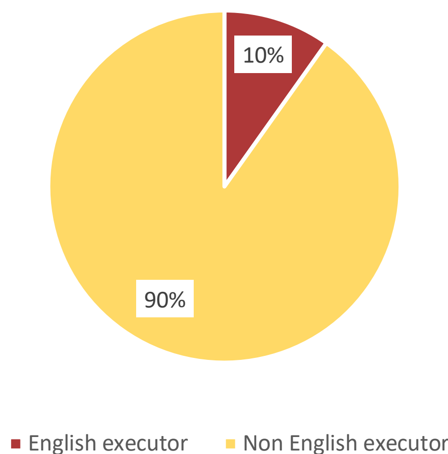

Figure 16 – Percentage of wills with English named executors: 1720-1787

3.4. Conclusion

The 18th century was a period of maturation of the Huguenot refuge in England. Those who arrived at the influx between 1681-88 found already established

communities in London and further extended the congregations, friendly societies, trade networks, and communal bonds. The increasing number of churches and charities were all reflected in the wills and it is evident in these documents that they were warming up to their host society. However, they still appeared as a distinct community as can be seen in the use of French in making of wills, their noncommitment to English organisations, and their executor profile. The integration process was far from complete in this period.

In the next chapter, we will briefly examine the Huguenot condition of the end of the 18th century in France and England, and analyse the refugee wills from that period in order to trace the changes and tendencies in the Huguenot community of London.

CHAPTER IV

PEACE RE-ESTABLISHED: HUGUENOTS IN FRANCE AND LONDON IN THE ERA OF TOLERATION

The late 18th century was an era where the question of Protestantism reached a solution to a large extent in France. It was also a period that the French Protestants in the diaspora in the English lands were almost completely blended into their host society. While the intellectual debates, political reforms, and the Revolution of 1789 served as catalysts for the betterment of the situation for the persecuted minority, the internal dynamics of the Huguenot community in England, specifically in London, played a major part in the integration process.

In this chapter, we will go through the main approaches of the *philosophes* who provided an intellectual basis for discussions around the Huguenot question earlier in the century, as well as the political and social changes in France regarding the

Huguenot question and see how reforms contributed to the resolution of the conflict. Afterward, we will take a brief look at the aforementioned internal dynamics of the Huguenot community in London in order to further understand their situation during the said period. Lastly, we will analyse the wills of randomly selected individuals to examine their integration process.

4.1. Historical Background of the Huguenots of France and England in the Era of Toleration

Debates on the question of Protestantism during the 18th century were mostly led by Enlightenment figures. The *grands philosophes* of the epoch often raised the question of toleration, mainly due to their firm stance against the Catholic Church, its powers and dogmas which they perceived as the main elements that curbed the progress in science and liberties in the French society.[130] As a prominent figure of Enlightenment, Voltaire viably brought forward the question of intolerance. Although a deist himself, he wrote a number of works related to the Huguenot condition, most notably *La Henriade*, *Sermon des cinquante*, *Traité du métaphysique*, and the *Lettres philosophiques.*[131] Enter Montesquieu, yet another figure who formulated an approach to the Huguenot question. After his travels to England, he wrote about his encounters with Huguenot refugees and his observations on the role of Protestantism, as well as Huguenots in particular, in the economic and commercial vitality of England. Although he linked the Protestant values to Republicanism and did not quite contribute to the resolution of the Huguenot conflict

[130] Pascal Balmand. *Histoire de la France*. (Torino: Hatier, 1992), 143.
[131] George Adams. *The Huguenots and French Opinion, 1685-1787: The Enlightenment Debate on Toleration.* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991), 50.

in France, he opposed the persecution of the previous centuries as well as the ongoing discrimination under Louis XV.[132]

The debates around the Huguenots were not limited to moral values, they also had an economic nature. Controller General of Finances, Jean Baptiste Machault's proposal in 1751 to invite Huguenots in exile to help France recover from the financial crisis she suffered from, is a significant example of the motives that prompted the governments to adopt the toleration policy. Machault's favourable stance for Huguenots provoked a long-term debate between parlementaires, intellectuals, lawyers, and liberal members of the First Estate.[133]

The debates of the *philosophes* and the vox populi set some political outcomes in a relatively short span of time. In 1769, Calvinist prisoners of the Tower of Constance, one of the monumental prisons reserved for female "heretics" in Occitanie, were released, and 1771 was the last year that a Protestant died in the galleys.[134] In 1787, Louis XVI appeared in person in a royal session and after promising the regathering of the *états-généraux*, which had not been summoned since 1615, promulgated his pathbreaking plan to provide the non-Catholics the "natural rights, and what the state of society permits."[135] The plan was designed with the assistance of Malesherbes, La Fayette, Rabaut Saint-Etienne, and Breteuil. Although faced with opposition by ex-Jesuits and followed by long discussions, the project came into being under the name of the Edict of Versailles, also commonly known as the Edict of Tolerance. By the edict, Protestants, along with other non-Catholics, received a guarantee of civil status partially equivalent to their Catholic compatriots. However, it was very much modest

[132] Ibid., 66-71.
[133] Ibid., 87.
[134] Miquel. *Les guerres de religion,* 515.
[135] Adams. *The Huguenots and French Opinion,* 295.

compared to the Edict of Nantes, which was enacted nearly two hundred years prior. For instance, it did not grant the Protestants the right to re-establish their own churches and was limited to provide them with natural rights, such as practicing their religion, commerce, crafts, and professions. Since Catholicism was acclaimed as the official religion of France, Non-Catholics were still deprived of serving in the army or civil services.[136]

On the other hand, the document itself was recognition in behalf of the state that the persecution of Huguenots in the previous century yielded no result. Louis was admitting that the efforts of forced conversion were groundless and infertile:

Une assez longue expérience a démontré que ces épreuves rigoureuses étaient insuffisantes pour les convertir: nous ne devons donc plus souffrir que nos Lois les punissent inutilement du malheur de leur naissance, en les privant des droits que la nature ne cesse de réclamer en leur faveur.[137]

We should also note here that the Edict of Toleration was mentioned in *Appel à la nation,* one of the last official statements of Louis XVI to his subjects in 1792 as he was facing trial before the Convention:

I suffered at the injustice which had been exercised for so many years against the Protestants and thought that it was my duty to make reparation for the edict of 1685 by giving them a civil status.[138]

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[136] Eckart Birnstiel, "Le retour des Huguenots du Refuge: De la Révocation à la Révolution". *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, vol. 135 (1989): 783.
[137] "Edit du roi concernant ceux qui ne font pas profession de la religion catholique", Musée Virtuel du Protestantisme Français, accessed May 20, 2021, http://museeprotestant.org.
[138] Adams. *The Huguenots and French Opinion,* 307.

The edict was welcomed with mixed feelings by the Calvinists due to its limited liberties. Yet, the enlightened milieu of the nation was quite enthusiastic by its proclamation. The *Académie française* annunciated a poetry contest to celebrate this progressivist political move of Louis XVI and granted the prize to a descendant of a persecuted Calvinist, and the honourable mention to an *abbé,* who by his letter in verse addressed the Huguenot diaspora in Germany.[139]

Despite its vulnerabilities, the Edict was regarded as a preliminary basis for more expanded and comprehensive future rights to come. Two years after its proclamation, by 1789, France was in an institutional, economic, and social crisis that signalled a more radical structural change that the Protestants could benefit from.[140] In fact, the spirit of 1789 was often seen by extremist Catholic figures as a *complot protestant* hand in hand with the Enlightenment figures of the epoch that aimed at destroying the Catholic faith in France.[141] This theme of conspiracy could be grounded with the gains of the Revolution on behalf of the Calvinists besides the fact that Protestants were usually among the most radical defenders of the liberal and humanitarian ideologies in the Jacobin clubs as well as nine pastors of the Desert serving in the National Assembly.[142] The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, proclaimed by the National Assembly on 26 August 1789, granted substantial liberation to the French Protestants by its 10th Article. This also meant that those in the diaspora could then return to their homeland, though the question of restitution of properties was still pending and was to arrive at a solution by the decree of 10 July

[139] Ibid., 303.
[140] Burdette Crawford Poland. *French Protestantism and the French Revolution.* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957), 82.
[141] Ibid., 143.
[142] Jack Alden Clarke, “The Pastors of the Desert on the Eve of the French Revolution.” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 18, no. 1 (1957): 113.

1790 and the code of 15 December 1790, the *Décret concernant les biens des religionnaires fugitifs* and the *Loi relative à la restitution des biens des religonnaires fugitifs* respectively. The decree ordered the restitution of the estates of the persecuted Calvinists to be returned to their inheritors, successors or others who held right on the said "fugitives", and the code invited those inheritors back to France to reclaim the confiscated properties of their predecessors and pledge on the civic oath.[143]

Another breakthrough of the year 1790 for French Calvinists was the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Citizens gained the right to elect their metropolitans, bishops, and priests just in the same way as they were expected to vote for other public offices. Since the state no longer preserved its purely Catholic identity, the right to vote included Protestants, Jews, and even atheists. It is not difficult to estimate the reaction of the Pope vis-à-vis this radical transmutation. In March 1791, the Holy See officially condemned the Civil Constitution.[144] By the efforts of the Convention, France was gradually becoming a secure place for Huguenots in the diaspora.

Working closely on the question of French Protestants, the parliamentarians of the period had optimistic estimates for the number of Huguenot immigrants whom they assumed to be wishing to return to France. However, the result was definitely not comparable to the number of Huguenots who sought refuge abroad in the previous century. Although we clearly do not possess any solid figure that represents the number of remigrants, apart from well-known families such as the Labouchères, the

[143] Birnstiel, "Le retour des Huguenots du Refuge", 784.
[144] Pierre Miquel, *Histoire de la France.* (Paris: Fayard, 1976), 272.

Odiers, and the Pourtales, or prominent figures such as Benjamin Constant and James Pradier, it is obvious that there was no influx of returning Huguenots, similar to the case of 1687 when French Calvinists were heaped upon the coasts of the British Isles.[145]

While the French public was preoccupied with the question of the re-establishment of the Protestant rights in the country, those in refuge in England had their own agenda going. They had long abandoned their desire to reunite in the country of their ancestors and they were no longer striving to sustain their original identity.[146] As abovementioned, the number of returning Huguenots was quite limited and the assimilation process into the British society was in continual phase. As also reflected in the evidence of the wills below, Huguenots were socially and culturally more and more adapted to their host community. This process can be evaluated regarding their congregations, the situation of endogamy and exogamy, and the usage of the French language.

The French churches that were widespread and well-frequented in the early 18th century were in apparent decline by the end of the century and the distinct religious character of the Huguenots had begun to disappear.[147] The figures of baptismal records of the French congregation at Threadneedle Street demonstrate a significant decrease in the number of adherents by the end of the 18th century. The congregation was the largest at the climax of immigration, during the 1680s, with a number of over 7,000 members. However, by the end of the 18th century, the number shrank to 900, and a few hundred by the early 19th century.[148] The number of refugee churches

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[145] Birnstiel, "Le retour des Huguenots du Refuge", 764.
[146] Smiles. *The Huguenots*, 428.
[147] Ibid., 426.
[148] Gwynn. *Huguenot Heritage*, 207.

also diminished in years. While there were twenty churches in the first half of the 18th century, by 1800 there were only eight left. Today, all the conformist congregations of London vanished and only the one non-conformist French church is still standing.

The attitude of the conformist church members also played a significant role in the process of assimilation. The reverends at these conformist churches often promoted full integration of their congregation and abandon of the distinct French character. Jean Armand Dubourdieu who was serving as a minister at the Church of Savoy delivered a discourse in which he criticised his congregation of having "les fleurs de lis gravées dans le coeur".[149]

Endogamy within the community, on the other hand, was a general phenomenon for Huguenots, although there were a few exceptions to it as early as the late 17th century. This phenomenon started to fade out by further generations of immigrants. French Calvinists were then more inclined to marry members of the native English society, thus contributing to their full integration into their host country.[150]

As we have seen in the previous chapters, language was an important element in French Calvinists' lives, both at home and abroad. In southern France, they aimed to spread the French language in their religious practices in order to remove the influence of Latin, which was used by Roman Catholics. While in exile, their language, along with their unique manners and *mode de vie*, served another role that helped them maintain their identity. For this purpose, French was promoted by church officials at the peak of immigration. However, even the most fanatic ones had

[149] Gwynn. *The Huguenots of London*, 49.
[150] Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, 204.

to conform to the circumstantial requirements. Most significantly, in commerce, one had to master English as well in order to succeed in the field. By the late 18th century, the registers of the French Church of London and La Patente were filled with English words, such as "weaver" instead of "ouvrier en soye" or "church" instead of "temple".[151]

4.2. Huguenot Wills of London: 1787-1815

From the chosen period, our database consists of a total of 35 wills. As Wagner's compilation is more prone to include wills from the earlier period, the said period is somewhat barren in terms of the number of London wills. Interestingly, wills from other regions like Southampton and Bath are relatively abundant in this period.

The earliest will in this chapter belongs to James L'Homme (1789), a weaver from the Christ Church Spitalfields, and the latest is of John Peter Roberdeau (1815) whose occupation is unknown to us.

The gender distribution is quite striking in this period. In the totality of randomly chosen 35 wills, 18 are of female testators whereas 17 are of men. Unlike previous periods, women are prevailing and they dominate their male counterparts.

[151] Ibid., 212.

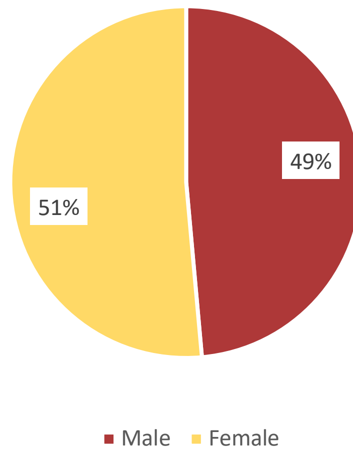

Figure 17 - Gender distribution of the wills: 1787-1815

Five of these 18 are spinsters while the remaining 13 are widows. In this period as well, the marital status of women is often indicated in the first opening phrases of the will. For example, Benigna Mary de Bruse's (1790) last will begins with: "Benigna Mary de Bruse of the parish of St James within the liberty of Westminster and county of Middlesex spinster being of sound body and mind memory and understanding…" Another example is the introduction of the testament of Mary Charlotte David (1798), who begins her words as "I Mary Charlotte David was residing in Elysium Soho in the parish of Fulham in the county of Middlesex widow being by the grace of God in healthy and sound mind memory and understanding…" However, Elizabeth Godin's (1798) will is an exception. Her will does not include the term "widow" in its beginning and we understand her marital status through the part where she makes mention of the request made by her "late husband".

Among the female testators of the period, an interesting detail appears in the will of Sarah Gosset (1796). Gosset is the only testatrix in our entire database whose occupation is mentioned. She was a weaver and haberdasher from Norton Folgate. One of her sons-in-law was also a weaver and the other was a shoemaker. This is

highly interesting because out of 44 female testators in the entire database, Gosset is the only female from whose will we can deduce a piece of information about her occupational background: "I Sarah Gosset of the liberty of Norton Folgate in the county of Middlesex weaver and haberdasher widow being sick and weak in body but of sound and disposing mind memory and understanding…"

4.2.1. Language

Unlike the previous period, which contains French wills constituting 25% of the whole period, the period between 1787 and 1815 has only two wills originally redacted in French. These two wills belong to John Carle (1790), a reverend of Hoxton, and spinster Magdalen Cazalet (1793) of Christ Church. Therefore, our database in which there are no translated wills from the 19th century somewhat indicates that the ratio of the usage of French by Huguenots in legal documents diminished as the integration process advanced. This data is compatible with the abovementioned integration process of the French Calvinists of England.

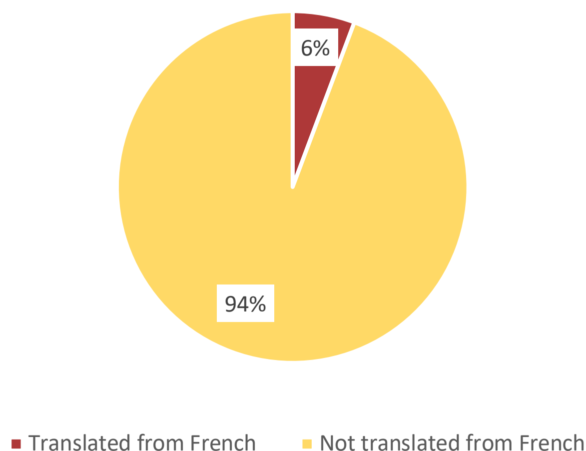

Figure 18 - Percentage of translated wills: 1787-1815

4.2.2. Bequests

During this period, there is not a single London will that does not concern any bequests in England. All of the testators made bequests related to their estates, properties, or investments in England, including charitable bequests.

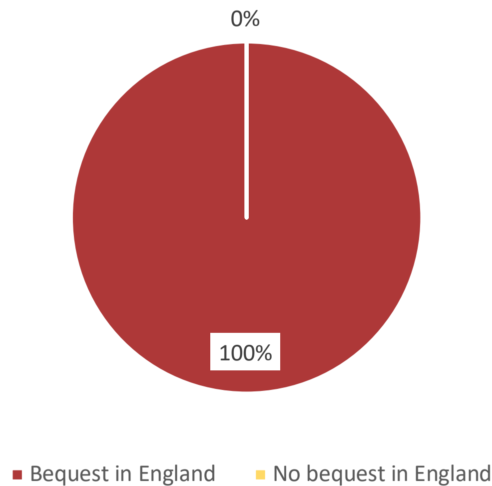

Figure 19 - Percentage of wills with bequests in England: 1787-1815

Similar to the previous period, the late 18th century and the early 19th century wills contain bequests in the form of money, equities, goods, personal belongings, and jewellery. David Lauzun (1803) of Chelsea, alongside wishing his funeral to not cost above 20 pounds, bequeathed 50 pounds to his son John and divided the rest of his money among his six unmarried daughters. Another gent, Francis Roselloty (1805)'s wife, and daughter were to enjoy the former's bank annuities worthy of 700 pounds. Benigna Mary de Bruse, whom we have seen above, bequeathed her South Sea annuities and other public funds to her brother, Alex de Bruse.

Personal belongings, on the other hand, varied greatly in this period. They could be clothes as in the case of weaver Abraham Caillou (1794) or medals and pictures as musician Thomas Sanders Dupuis's (1796) will shows. Jane Bourdillon (1792)'s

testament is abundant in terms of personal belongings; sheets, spoons, blankets, and teapots, which she bequeathed to her sons Thomas and William Benedict Bourdillon, her grand-daughter and her servant. Widow Ann Caron (1794) bequeathed to her son some furniture and a loom, which might signal the occupation of the latter. Jewelry was also popular in bequests: Magdalen Cazalet, Ann Galabin (1795), John Carle, and Thomas Sanders Dupuis all bequeathed an object in the form of jewellery, either a ring or earrings.

Regarding the bequests that concern abroad, we see that nine out of thirty-five include some sort of such content, thus constituting 26% of the total of wills from the said period.

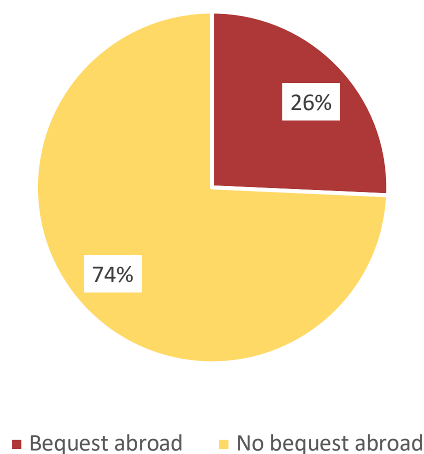

Figure 20 - Percentage of wills with bequests abroad: 1787-1815

We also see a dramatic decline in the wills that make mention of France. Of these nine, only one includes a bequest concerning a beneficiary in France. Esquire Paul Griffon (1803) was the only testator who kept ties with relatives in France. His sister, nephew, niece, great-niece and great-nephews in Bordeaux inherited some amounts of money.

The remaining eight testators had beneficiaries dispersed over the Americas, South Asia, and Europe. Susanna Fruschard (1795) bequeathed a third of her bank annuities to her daughter Ann who was then in America with her husband. Merchant Honorius Combauld (1803)'s brother Richard Combauld, who was in Nova Scotia in Canada received a sum of 50 pounds. Another merchant, Abraham Favenc (1798)'s son George who was then in Teneriffe, Canary Islands inherited a "life sum of three thousand pounds sterling". On the other hand, we read in John Peter Roberdeau's (1815) will that some of his beneficiaries were in India. His two sons were "in the lucrative service of the HEIC", and his grandson was "now living in Bengal and named Henry Richard Roberdeau being the surviving offspring of my late son Isaac Henry Townley Roberdeau." Lastly, Gabriel Clarmont (1800)'s 1000 pounds were inherited by Mafalda Peyroutet and her children who were then residing in the Kingdom of Spain.

4.2.3. Charitable Bequests

The charitable bequests in this period appear in less than half of the wills, constituting 29% of the totality. The testators who bequeathed charity to institutions are John Carle (1790), Magdalen Cazalet, Peter Henry Alexander Laprimaudaye (1793), Mary Charlotte David (1798), Elizabeth Godin (1798), Gabriel Clarmont, Sarah Albert (1802), Paul Griffon (1803), Margaret Palairet (1804), and Jeanne Comte (1804).

In this period, except that of Elizabeth Godin and Jeanne Comte, all of the charitable bequests are made to a French institution. Godin's charitable bequest worthy of 500 pounds was made to the Foundling Hospital of London, which served as an establishment for orphans' education and health, whereas Jeanne Comte donated 20

pounds to be distributed to the poor of the Helvetie Chapel, a Swiss establishment. As one can expect, bequests to La Providence were still popular. Unsurprisingly, Reverend John Carle donated 10 pounds to La Providence, and Cazalet bequeathed 300 pounds to La Providence and 400 pounds to the Threadneedle Church. Sarah Albert's will also consists of a charitable bequest to La Providence, worthy of 200 pounds, and 50 pounds to the French Charity School in Windmill Street at Westminster. Charlotte David also bequeathed a sum of 100 pounds to La Providence along with another 100 pounds to the construction of a new church at Spitalfields, and to St John's Church in John St. Gabriel Clarmont's testament included legacies to the French Church while Paul Griffon's consisted of very generous donations to various French institutions: 600 pounds to the French Hospital in St Luke's (one of the earliest voluntary hospitals of Huguenot refugees), 300 pounds to the French Church of Threadneedle Street, and 100 pounds to Westminster French School. Peter Henry Alexandre Laprimaudaye's will also include legacies to Westminster French School along with charity to La Peste. Another testator whose will makes mention of the Westminster French School is Margaret Palairet who bequeathed 20 pounds to the said institution.

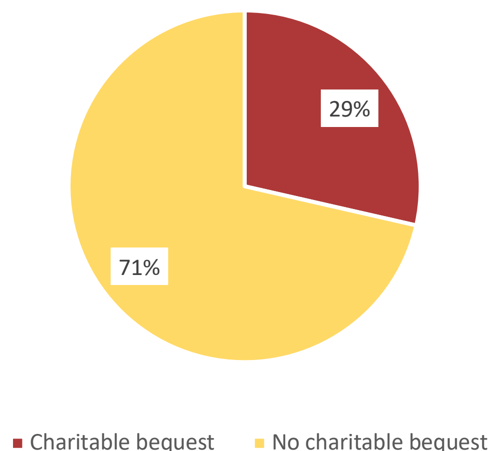

Figure 21 - Percentage of wills with charitable bequests: 1787-1815

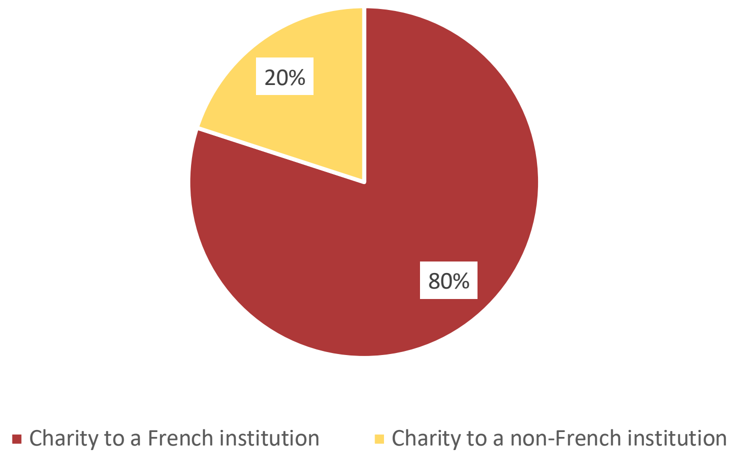

Figure 22 - Percentage of wills with charity bequests to French and English institutions: 1787-1815

4.2.4. Executors

During this period as well, French immigrants tended to choose their compatriots and co-religionists as their executors. For instance, an interesting detail is that Magdalen Cazalet's executor, Peter Alexandre Laprimaudaye appears as a testator in our database. However, there are various English-sounding names among the executors and executrices, and we should not dismiss the fact that it is more prevalent than ever before. Yet, it does not necessarily indicate that the executors were English-born. It might also signal that the executors were third or fourth-generation Huguenots, whose parents had given them English names or even anglicized their surnames to better fit in the society as some of the Jews in that period also did.[152] In fact, anglicising names by French immigrants was a rare, but not so uncommon phenomenon even in earlier centuries. Claude de Saintliens, a Huguenot tutor to King James I in the late 16 century later came to be known as Claudius Hollyband.[153]

[152] Kershen. *Strangers, Aliens and Asians,* 32.
[153] Randall. *A Special Case?*, 18.

On the other hand, executrices might be of Huguenot origin but have married men outside of their community, therefore carrying English-sounding surnames. Joan Amyand de Grave (1790) appointed John Sewell, a bookseller at Cornhill to be her executor and his name appears to have Old English origins. Jeanne Comte's executrix is Susan Dwerrihouse whose surname is probably of Yorkshire/Lancashire origin. One of the three executors of Ann De Visme is called Henry Smith whose name is typical among the English and Irish descendants. Her other executor, on the other hand, has a Dutch-sounding name: Jos Lancaster.

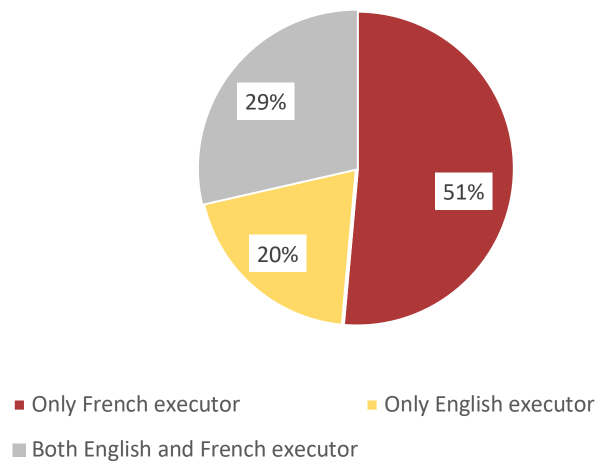

Figure 23 - Percentage of executors according to their names: 1787-1815

Another important element concerning the executors is their status as beneficiaries. Reverend John Carle's executors also appear as beneficiaries in his last will and they receive 20 pounds each. Rebecca Cabrier, whose executrix's name also sounds English, appointed her "faithful friend and companion" Elizabeth Holt as her residuary legatee. Sarah Albert's executor George Sandilands is mentioned as the residuary legatee in the former's will as well. John Vatas, one of the executors of Benigna De Bruse, benefited from her South Sea annuities and also received a case

of silver-handed knives and forks. Francis Roselloty's executor, Peter Paul Grellier of Peckham, was bequeathed 20 pounds.

4.3. Conclusion

The spirit of the Enlightenment and the governmental reforms led to the resolution of the Huguenot conflict. Persecution and intolerance appeared anachronistic to many contemporaries, thus opened up the debates around the question. The debates and reforms did not remain limited to the Calvinists in France but involved those in the diaspora as well. However, Huguenots had been mostly integrated into their host societies by then and though they were generally bearing their Huguenot heritage, they were practically more English than French.

In the light of the general atmosphere of the period and the evidence we gather from the London wills, we can conclude that the integration process of the Huguenots of the British society was to a large extent complete by the beginning of the 19th century. Despite exceptions as we have witnessed above, like John Carle and Magdalen Cazalet, the usage of the French language was in obvious decline. The condition of Huguenots' affiliation with their churches was not very flourishing either, as the decline in the charitable bequests demonstrates. On the other hand, we can also deduce that the ties which the Huguenots of London once strove to preserve with their relatives in France were not as strong as before either. Therefore, we can assume that the rupture of relations between the French Protestants of London and their relatives in France also signified a shattering of hopes to return to the homeland of their ancestors.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Due to persecution in France, 200,000 Huguenots left their kingdom and took refuge in England, Netherlands, Geneva, and various other countries in Europe, America, and Africa. These refugees were merchants, peasants, intellectuals, artisans, ministers, and nobles. Although the number would seem insignificant considering the overall population of around 20 million in France in the late 17th century, it would be unwise to claim France did not lose anything by disposing of her "heretics." In fact, it has been suggested by scholars that France suffered at least short-term economic losses due to mass migration which undermined its agricultural production, textile production, and the trade networks formed by Huguenot merchants.[154] As Chambru puts it, "the aggregate effect of disruption may materialise in higher crop prices,

[154] Cédric Chambru. "Was Louis XIV Wrong? Socio-Economic Consequences of Protestantism in Early Modern France". *CEPR/CAGE Workshop on the Economics of Religion* (2019), 18.

higher level of industrial unemployment and overall lower real wages, leaving the local population worse off."[155] On the other hand, the Huguenot diaspora in England, and elsewhere, offered its host society many novelties from the continent. Both as the promoters of the cosmopolitan culture and loyal subjects of the English government, Huguenots brought about changes in mentality, trades, arts, finance, and crafts.

We know from accounts that though far from home they were as French as they could be in the 17th century, identifying themselves as originated from "the first, the most beautiful, the most illustrious and the oldest Christian kingdom."[156] By the end of the 19th century, however, they were as English as possible, with little to no family bonds with relatives in France, the decline in Huguenot charity, decrease of congregations, and dissolution of Huguenot ghettos. Though some individuals strove to preserve their identity in the 19th century, Huguenots were finally fully assimilated. The immigration became the history of ancestors rather than a vivid experience and preservation of the Huguenot heritage depended on the conscious efforts of individuals and organisations. Some of these efforts still continue today in England, with La Providence serving Huguenot descendants in Rochester since 1959, and the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, publishing annual proceedings and holding quarterly meetings.

In this study, I have attempted to trace the Huguenot immigration in London through the testaments of refugees. My main concern was to understand the integration process of these destitute Protestants. In the first chapter, we have obtained a

[155] Ibid.
[156] Lachenicht, "Huguenot Immigrants and the Formation of National Identities, 1548-1787.", 320.

necessary background information about the Reformation and persecution of French Calvinists and their dispersion. In the second chapter, we have briefly examined their condition in France and England in the 17th century, leading up to and following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In the same chapter, we have analysed the wills of the early comers and seen their position as a distinct refugee community in London through their bequests, usage of language, and executors. Based on the information we have gathered from their wills, we have come to the conclusion that they were then far from being fully integrated into the English culture, since they still preserved their native language and favoured the members of their micro community, probably as a survival response on a foreign soil. The same pattern of will analysis has been followed in the following chapter in which we have presented the features of the Huguenot community in the 18th century through their occupations, churches and charities. The analysis of the wills from this period has demonstrated that the first and second generation refugees fleeing the persecution in the reign of Louis XIV joined the already established Huguenot community in London and mostly remained French rather than becoming English although most of them were denizened. In the final chapter, which covers the period of toleration in France, we have seen the condition of Huguenots in France and England in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and tried to assess the integration of the refugees into the English society through an analysis of their wills. Their wills have shown us that by the end of the 18th century, most of them had given up on using French and started to be less solicitous about regional friendly societies and intermingle with the native English.

Although the history of Huguenots during the persecution in France and their settlements in England around that period have been widely studied, I believe there is still a lot more to discover about their integration process into host societies. Wills

and testaments, mémoires, and correspondences across the diaspora are all valuable sources that can offer further understanding of the position of French Protestant refugees in the emerging nation-states of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. The history of the Huguenot exodus, especially the refuge in England, is a charmel for immigration studies since there still remains many more unstudied wills from London, along with Dover, Essex, Southampton, Surrey, and Norwich that could not be included within the limitations of this dissertation. Wagner's collection of Huguenot wills and administrations is promising for scholars who are willing to embark on a journey into the lives of a persecuted minority.

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APPENDIX

The table below includes all of the testators whose wills have been used in this research. Full names and surnames have been provided from Wagner's *Complete Index of Names* and written in the form they were mentioned in this source. Genders of the testators and the probate date of their wills with reference to the PROB 11 series have been given as well.

SURNAME	NAME	GENDER	PROBATE DATE	REFERENCE
Alavoine	Daniel	M	1722/10/23	PROB 11/621/159
Albert	Sarah	F	1802/07/08	PROB 11/1377/172
Allaire	Esther	F	1771/01/11	PROB 11/963/126
Allenet	Anne	F	1716/05/09	PROB 11/552/90
Allix	Pierre (Peter)	M	1717/02/27	PROB 11/556/381
Amyand	Claudius	M	1740/07/09	PROB 11/703/356
Amyand de Grave	Joan	F	1790/06/18	PROB 11/1193/64

Amyot	Magdalen Olympa	F	1744/01/10	PROB 11/731/54
Amyott	Peter	M	1709/12/15	PROB 11/512/320
Auriol	Isaac	M	1741/11/03	PROB 11/713/190
Baillehache	Louis	M	1677/04/12	PROB 11/353/423
Barbut	James	M	1782/05/07	PROB 11/1090/223
Baronneau	Benjamin	M	1732/01/14	PROB 11/649/90
Basire	John	M	1804/07/11	PROB 11/1411/126
Bataille	Peter	M	1776/07/20	PROB 11/1021/251
Baudemont	Elizabeth	F	1734/02/05	PROB 11/663/255
Baudoin	James	M	1738/03/20	PROB 11/695
Bave	John	M	1653/03/29	PROB 11/227/443
Benoist	Marc Anthony	M	1688/10/19	PROB 11/390/93
Benoist	Joseph	M	1726/12/16	PROB 11/612/350
Beraud	Peter	M	1642/09/19	PROB 11/190/270
Berchere	Lewise	F	1730/06/09	PROB 11/638/91
Bernege	Moses	M	1749/10/04	PROB 11/773/410
Berthon	Isaac	M	1747/05/02	PROB 11/754/173
Bonovrier	Peter	M	1739/12/15	PROB 11/699/378
Bosanquet	David	M	1732/09/05	PROB 11/652/364
Bouquet	Philip	M	1748/11/10	PROB 11/765/428

Bourdillon	Jane	F	1792/01/04	PROB 11/1213/24
Bouyer	Anne	F	1765/11/15	PROB 11/913/325
Cabrier	Rebecca	F	1802/05/31	PROB 11/1374/278
Caillou	Abraham	M	1794/03/08	PROB 11/1242/166
Calandrini	César	M	1665/10/06	PROB 11/318/79
Campredon	James	M	1720/07/07	PROB 11/575/56
Carle	John	M	1790/04/09	PROB 11/1190/181
Caron	Ann	F	1794/06/06	PROB 11/1246/113
Cazalet	Magdalen	F	1793/01/05	PROB 11/1227/30
Chabot	Jacob	M	1711/02/11	PROB 11/525/284
Chamier	Daniel	M	1741/12/01	PROB 11/714/37
Chardin	John	M	1712/12/29	PROB 11/530/328
Charpentier	Ann	F	1805/05/29	PROB 11/1425/211
Clarmont	Gabriel	M	1800/01/14	PROB 11/1335/126
Colladon	Théodore	M	1712/11/11	PROB 11/529/320
Combauld	Honorius	M	1803/09/30	PROB 11/1398/328
Comte	Jeanne	F	1804/04/30	PROB 11/1407/327

Cottiby	Elizabeth	F	1784/03/26	PROB 11/1114/378
D'Assigny	Philip	M	1693/11/13	PROB 11/429
D'Espaigne	John	M	1659/04/13	PROB 11/291/191
Dallain	Abraham	M	1803/07/14	PROB 11/1396/138
Darassus	Henrietta	F	1780/04/12	PROB 11/1063/279
David	Mary Charlotte	W	1798/04/12	PROB 11/1305/72
De Baillehache	John	M	1704/11/15	PROB 11/479/176
De Bruse	Benigna	F	1790/05/21	PROB 11/1191/243
De Duroy (Barbat)	Mary	F	1695/10/18	PROB 11/427/363
de Gennes	Grace	F	1694/03/02	PROB 11/419/19
De Haze	Elizabeth	F	1667/03/06	PROB 11/323/370
De l'Escure	Perside	F	1717/03/08	PROB 11/563/63
De La Porte	Peter	M	1804/02/18	PROB 11/1404/274
De La Tombe	Thomas	M	1637/08/02	PROB 11/174/582
De Marolles	Jeremiah	M	1661/06/27	PROB 11/304/537
De Visme	Ann	F	1804/03/05	PROB 11/1406/46
Delamare	Abraham	M	1762/03/18	PROB 11/874/210
Delannoy	Peter	M	1675/11/22	PROB 11/349

Delaune	Gideon	M	1659/06/20	PROB 11/293/271
Denew	Mary	F	1691/11/09	PROB 11/406/535
Desailly	Lewis Matthew	M	1805/08/14	PROB 11/1429/209
Desormeaux	Robert	M	1638/10/24	PROB 11/178/171
Dubourdieu	John	M	1720/08/03	PROB 11/575/244
Dupuis	Thomas Sanders	M	1796/07/26	PROB 11/1277/224
Favenc	Abraham	M	1798/03/02	PROB 11/1303
Fenoulhet	Martha	F	1805/01/10	PROB 11/1419/104
Fortry	Peter	M	1639/11/29	PROB 11/181/589
Fouace	Stephen	M	1737/10/06	PROB 11/685
Fruschard	Susanna	F	1795/03/24	PROB 11/1259/275
Galabin	Ann	F	1795/02/07	PROB 11/1255/132
Gallot	Peter	M	1778/03/24	PROB 11/1040/287
Garrick	David	M	1779/02/05	PROB 11/1050/70
Gaultier	Marianne	F	1767/10/09	PROB 11/932/337
Girardot	Paul	M	1712/12/19	PROB 11/530/262
Godin	Stephen	M	1729/12/06	PROB 11/634/83
Godin	Elizabeth	F	1798/11/10	PROB 11/1316/109

Gosset	Sarah	F	1796/05/31	PROB 11/1275/271
Griffon	Paul	M	1803/04/22	PROB 11/1390/220
Jeanneret	Henry	M	1783/11/14	PROB 11/1110/197
Jemblyn	John	M	1727/12/20	PROB 11/618
Jonquier	Henry	M	1747/09/16	PROB 11/756/419
Jourdain	Nicholas	M	1785/07/18	PROB 11/1132/145
Jousselin	William	M	1782/10/10	PROB 11/1096/97
Julliot	Solomon	M	1756/10/29	PROB 11/825/347
Justamond	Mary	F	1747/09/28	PROB 11/756/498
L'Apostre	Henry	M	1750/02/05	PROB 11/777/37
L'Homme	James	M	1789/11/25	PROB 11/1185/220
Laprimaudaye	Peter Henry Alexander	M	1793/01/31	PROB 11/1227/262
Lauzun	David	M	1803/03/22	PROB 11/1388/191
Le Bas	Charles	M	1724/04/16	PROB 11/596/333
Le Maire	Peter	M	1632/01/16	PROB 11/161/35
Le Noble	Peter	M	1663/10/07	PROB 11/312/208
Le Noble	David	M	1665/11/04	PROB 11/318/382
Le Rouille	Martha Magdalen	F	1762/07/06	PROB 11/878/85

Leglize	Gideon	M	1756/12/01	PROB 11/826/166
Lesterlin	Mary	F	1720/01/02	PROB 11/578/4
Louet	Jane	F	1756/12/01	PROB 11/826/167
Marissal	Hannah	F	1798/05/05	PROB 11/1307/39
Martel	Laurence	M	1677/03/05	PROB 11/355/34
Maty	Matthieu	M	1776/08/17	PROB 11/1023/71
Maurois	Jane	F	1638/09/25	PROB 11/178/52
Mayerne	Théodore	M	1655/04/20	PROB 11/245/12
Mettayer	Lewis	M	1740/09/30	PROB 11/705/128
Misson	James	M	1719/10/23	PROB 11/570/465
Misson	Maximillian	M	1722/04/05	PROB 11/584/231
Nicholas	Martha	F	1733/04/13	PROB 11/658
Niort	James	M	1741/06/30	PROB 11/710/257
Nollet	Ann	F	1783/06/03	PROB 11/1105/22
Ogier	Elizabeth	F	1771/08/06	PROB 11/970/100
Paillet	Daniel	M	1715/10/20	PROB 11/548/317
Pain	James	M	1740/09/18	PROB 11/705/74
Palairet	Margaret	F	1804/03/23	PROB 11/1406/276
Pantin	Abraham	M	1733/03/03	PROB 11/658/19
Paris	Stephen	M	1766/12/22	PROB 11/924/320
Paroissien	Jesse	M	1803/07/02	PROB 11/1396/26
Pellat	Apsley	M	1740/03/26	PROB 11/708/2
Peltrau	John	M	1770/03/30	PROB 11/956/210

Pictet	Anne	F	1785/01/28	PROB 11/1125/327
Poumies	John	M	1769/02/13	PROB 11/946/89
Primerose	Gilbert	M	1642/12/12	PROB 11/190/454
Roberdeau	John Peter	M	1815/01/28	PROB 11/1564
Robethan	Susanna	F	1770/09/27	PROB 11/960/327
Rondeau	John (Jean)	M	1740/06/14	PROB 11/703/170
Rosselloty	Francis	M	1805/11/11	PROB 11/1434/31
Roussy	Magdalen	F	1783/06/17	PROB 11/1105/134
St Maurice	Charles	M	1746/12/01	PROB 11/751/180
Travers	Richard	M	1678/01/04	PROB 11/356/18
Viard	Anne	F	1762/04/02	PROB 11/875/50
Viçouse	Guy	M	1753/03/02	PROB 11/801
Villebois	Jane Elizabeth	F	1779/11/12	PROB 11/1059/22
Votier	Daniel	M	1647/09/18	PROB 11/201/638