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David E. Lambert, *The Protestant International and the Huguenot Migration to Virginia*. New York: Peter Lang, Studies in Church History, 2010. Ix + 222 pp. Notes, bibliography and index. \$74.95 U.S. (hb) ISBN 978-1-4331-0759-7.

Review by John McGrath, Boston University.

*The Protestant International and the Huguenot Migration to Virginia* examines the circumstances surrounding the Huguenot emigration project in 1700 that established a settlement in inland Virginia known as Manakin Town. The intent of author David E. Lambert's "case study," as he refers to it, is to more fully explain the background of what he feels is an important yet largely neglected chapter in Huguenot history.

A central theme in the book is the key role played by the "Protestant International," a loosely connected network of wealthy and influential Calvinists who played a critical role in resettling their coreligionists during the era following the 1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The bulk of Lambert's attention is directed at the European background, placing this effort in the context of the religiously influenced struggle between William III of Orange and Louis XIV, as well as the complexities facing William and his supporters after his accession to the English throne.

The Revocation had both disrupted numerous continental Calvinist communities and encouraged many to take up arms on behalf of William's coalition of mostly Protestant countries. Various French Huguenots provided assistance to William's military efforts, including Henri de Massue de Ruvigny, who became Earl of Galway and a central figure in William's efforts to promote the interests of French and other Protestant refugees during the 1690s. In particular, hundreds of Vaudois (Waldensian) families from southeastern France and the Kingdom of Savoy had been persecuted and/or driven out of their home regions by the early 1690s. Many of these settled in Ireland through the assistance of William, Galway, and Charles de Sailly, a Huguenot leader of somewhat obscure origin.

However, the permanent resettlement of these refugees was problematic. There was limited available Irish land for resettlement and so it became necessary for William and Galway to consider other alternatives in the midst of various political, diplomatic, and religious uncertainties. After the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697, which ended the Nine Years' War, the situation became urgent. The disbanding of William's army had created the problem of what was to become of the many French Calvinist troops who had supported the Protestant side. Galway, de Sailly, and the English royal government considered a number of possible new destinations.

By the mid-1690s, influential European Calvinists collaborating as the "Protestant International" had been supporting ventures of resettlement in Cape Town, Germany, Switzerland, and even the Indian Ocean. Lambert argues that an area on the Virginia frontier had emerged in 1698 as a "worst-case" destination while other possibilities were being considered. Ultimately, the planners settled upon a location known as Manakin, far up the James River, in an area recently abandoned by local Native Americans. The precise reasons for this final selection remain uncertain, though Lambert presents some interesting possible explanations on this based on a number of provocative clues in the historical record. Prior to the dispatch of the first ship in 1700, other possible locations for settlement, including Florida

and the Mississippi Valley, were also considered, however during this period planners in Ireland and England expressed significant disagreement, ambiguity, and even confusion concerning the ultimate destination of the emigrants.

Starting in the summer of 1700, a sequence of five ships carried these colonists to the Crown Colony of Virginia, with King William providing financial and logistical support. Many of the new arrivals, but not all of them, settled in Manakin Town under de Saily's leadership. Evidently, their presence was intended to bolster the English frontier by providing a buffer zone to protect established English settlements closer the coast from French incursions. While Virginia colonial officials assisted their initial arrival and establishment according to royal orders, William's death in 1702 seems to have resulted in much of their support being withdrawn. Henceforth, the settlers experienced legal difficulties and leadership disputes, while many of the original colonists, including many leaders, died or departed back to Europe. Only the last twenty pages of the book focus in any detail on the trials of the colonists, and this for the most part is based upon references in original records to specific legal and political problems that emerged.

The historical evidence pertaining to this emigration is riddled with gaps and omissions, making a thorough and precise narrative of this effort difficult to achieve. The various records and memoirs employed suggest possibilities more often than definite conclusions, which leads the author towards frequent speculation. The result is less a thorough historical narrative than an examination of certain key aspects of this project, primarily concerning its planning, that have been unrecognized or misunderstood. While questions of both what happened and why remain less than conclusive, Lambert succeeds in explaining many of the complexities involved that have been unappreciated. Yet the answers to many key questions remain vague.

One is the important question of these emigrants' identities. Government and church records, both European and Virginian, feature among Lambert's primary sources, along with firsthand accounts of various descriptions provided by participants and planners. Although these seem to be resources that might reveal more than is presented in this study, Lambert does not tell us much about who these emigrants were. For example, while early parts of the book indicate that many Huguenots wound up in Ireland after serving in William's army, and that many of the Huguenots in Ireland came from the Vaudois, we never find out whether any, some, or all of the emigrants to Virginia were in fact former soldiers from the Vaudois, or whether they were accompanied to Virginia by non-soldiers or by other Huguenot settlers.

Moreover, even though Lambert asserts early on that this was "the largest of the Huguenot migrations to North America" (p. 3), he provides scant evidence to back this up this claim. In fact, although he frequently refers to ships' passenger lists, he never gives even a rough estimate of the total numbers of emigrants who either crossed the Atlantic or settled in Manakin Town; the reader instead must infer, largely from footnote references, that the number of settlers who established Manakin Town in the twelve months after the summer of 1700 was most likely in the hundreds, but not the thousands.

The circumstances of the settlers in Europe that necessitated this effort remain equally imprecise. The author does not go much beyond simply accepting that different groups of Calvinists sought a "refuge" from the war-torn Europe of Louis XIV, without much attention to what the concept of "refuge" may have meant to them. It is never very clear who was being persecuted, how, where, or by whom, and what this had to do with their decisions to leave their homelands in the Vaudois and perhaps elsewhere. As to the "Protestant International" that played such a central role, the reader learns little about who its leaders were, how it operated, or from where its resources came.

Nor do we find out much about what the planners and the emigrants themselves had hoped to accomplish in the New World. While the author's secondary sources include all of the standard

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Huguenot histories, there is little attention to recent works of cultural history on the Huguenots that might have filled in some of the gaps. In particular, Neil Kamen's recent work, *Fortress of the Soul*, which chronicles the origins and development of the perspectives that shaped the Huguenot diaspora, might have been very useful and its absence seems a serious omission. Due to the author's focus upon the mechanics involved in planning and carrying out such a mission, this emigration project emerges more as an abstract concept than as a real-life experience.

One likely reason for this is because the publisher evidently converted the author's doctoral dissertation into a book verbatim, without even minimal editorial adaptation. One might think that it should not have been difficult to remove the annoying references to "this dissertation" that pop up frequently in the book version. More importantly, the period between the completion of the dissertation and its publication as a book should have allowed the author to include material that would make this more complete, especially concerning the experiences of the participants: who they were, what they were hoping to accomplish, or what life in Virginia was like for them. Most of these questions remain unanswered except in a general way.

As a dissertation, this undoubtedly succeeds in bringing together diverse sources to shed light on this particular episode, and it likely establishes that Manakin Town was more historically significant than has been recognized. However, as a book that contributes to a broader understanding of Huguenot history, *The Protestant International and the Huguenot Migration to Virginia* seems less successful.

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