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Vivienne Larminie, ed., *Huguenot Networks, 1560-1780: The Interactions and Impact of a Protestant Minority in Europe*. New York and London: Routledge, 2017. 233 pp. £88.00/\$124.00 U.S. (hb). ISBN 978-1-138-63606-4.

Review by Silke Muylaert, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam.

This book is the result of a conference on the topic of early modern Huguenot networks organized by the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland in 2015, the fruits of which Vivienne Larminie brought to publication. It offers a variety of angles for studying networks as it explores the meaning of the phrase “Huguenot networks” and the impact of these networks on exile experiences. Unsurprisingly, networks were vital for the maintenance of migrants in the Refuge during the early modern period. The conference on which this book was based demonstrates the continuing importance of networks for the Huguenot Society in modern times. The Society has historically been a leading body in a network of Huguenot and Dutch heritage organizations spanning across Great Britain and Ireland next to similar organizations on the continent and has thus represented the beating heart of Huguenot scholarship. I wonder whether any book could form a more fitting tribute to the Society. No wonder then that scholars in this book have concentrated on the importance of networks for Huguenots and have come together to write an impressive tribute to Huguenot networking.

The book includes an introduction and thirteen contributions, all describing networks involving Huguenots in the early modern period. That Huguenots formed international networks of note is common knowledge. The merit of this book is to explore the substantial depth and breadth of types of networks involving Huguenots, some of which might surprise the reader. Most chapters meticulously (and sometimes tediously) detail who was connected to whom and show how the Huguenots played leading and defining roles in British and continental society and politics. Read together, these individual narratives tell us something about the bigger picture of Huguenot mobility within Europe, in a way that perhaps larger histories of Huguenot mobility in the early modern period do not. The book fulfills its main goal of bringing to life networks of Huguenots and demonstrating just how large an impact the Huguenot diaspora had on European society by pointing out the ways in which Huguenot networks spanned the continent, creating an international society.

The introduction by Vivienne Larminie frames the book by exploring definitions of Huguenot networks. She notes that criticisms of earlier studies concentrated on difficulties of definition. As chapter one points out, a Huguenot network was not necessarily exclusively Huguenot, but could run along, for instance, economic or intellectual lines. The introduction does not avoid

the problematic nature of the term “network” but points out that the book provides an exploration of the formation of networks. The chapters also demonstrate the co-operation between Huguenot and other networks in various types of circles, such as diplomatic, ecclesiastical, and journalistic ones. The first chapter, by Mark Greengrass, contemplates the notion of Huguenot networks and the phrasing of international Calvinism from a methodological perspective, while most following chapters bring forward various examples of intersecting networks. The first chapter also provides the first theme of a number of chapters in the book, that of the Huguenots in connection with international diplomacy. Greengrass demonstrates how different networks and motives could intersect with Calvinist or Huguenot ones. Focusing on the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-centuries, he discusses the “Venetian Affair” (1608-1610), the efforts undertaken by Calvinist networks to win Venice to the Reformed cause. In the process, he provides an intricate overview of the viewpoints from which a network can be studied and described. In chapter two, Hugues Daussy continues the theme of international Calvinist networks in the later sixteenth century by emphasizing the importance of London as a lynchpin for the organization of Huguenot diplomatic networks. This is not particularly surprising, but Daussy goes further by describing London as the locus of diplomacy between Huguenot, English, and Dutch Reformed diplomatic contacts that would shape international politics.[1] French, Dutch, and English nobles and secular authorities with Reformed evangelical sympathies met each other in London, thus making England the center of politics for the Reformed parties in the wars of religion in France and the Dutch Revolt. Vivienne Larminie also shows the intricate connections between Huguenots and the English nobility on a smaller scale, that of Westminster, in chapter three. She points out the mid-seventeenth century Parliamentary connection with two Huguenot ministers who set up private conventicles to the detriment of the foreign churches in London. One of those Huguenot ministers was John Despagne. He found a patron in Philip Herbert, fourth earl of Pembroke. His congregation thus formed a nearly competing church at Westminster where connections between Huguenots and Parliamentarians were vital.

These networks did not only connect several nations to each other in England. They also proved useful for the dissemination of news from England. Exploring that topic, the following two chapters take up the journalistic side of diplomacy in which Huguenots were involved. Charles G. D. Littleton shows the importance of Huguenots and their networks for the history of Parliament in chapter four. He mainly recounts the story of Abel Boyer and a few others and their reporting on discussions in the British Parliament in the first decades of the eighteenth century. Littleton argues that their reporting provides modern scholars with the most detailed accounts of the workings of Parliament, representing all sides of argument in that body. Noteworthy is that in this way, the history of Parliament and the accounts that modern scholars often use were products of foreign hands. On a similar theme, Michael Schaich’s fifth chapter follows neatly after Littleton’s. Schaich contemplates the broader phenomenon of diplomatic contacts in a thirty-year period from 1680 onwards in which Huguenots were often hired by foreign courts. He describes these Huguenot reporters as information providers, rather than diplomats. Many Calvinist migrants were highly mobile because of their experiences with displacement due to the Wars of Religion, were often highly educated or skilled, formed part of international Calvinist networks, and had a sense of how diplomacy worked. Courts in Europe, especially smaller German ones, could use Huguenots as a cheap way to receive the latest news from London.

In chapter six by Robin Gwynn, we move on to networks formed in the ecclesiastical sphere.

This was of course an important strand of networks for Huguenots, as Protestant connections formed religious and political alliances. Gwynn recounts the extraordinary rapprochement between conformists and non-conformists among Huguenot refugee ministers and their connections with the Church of England in London. They formed General Assemblies of ministers there. Bishop Henry Compton of London played an important role in uniting refugees with differing theological or ecclesiastical views with each other and with the Church of England. His remarkable flexibility in the 1690s concerning the ordination of Huguenot ministers in the Church of England, despite their serving French Churches, helped to bridge gaps, and thereby preserve the Refuge communities by demonstrating the Huguenots' respect for the Church of England, especially in the face of English dissenters. Gwynn also offers examples of the French Church's emphasis on order and control over the French foreigners in the city as it was concerned about its reputation, especially in the 1690s.

In chapter seven, Yves Krumenacker takes a small step back in time as he examines the reasons why refugees chose certain destinations above others in the wave of emigration from France following Louis XIV's persecutions in the 1680s. He points out that choices of destinations were not always simply relegated to geographical proximity but were often due to the existence of several kinds of networks. These networks could also take refugees through several countries. Especially trade networks, intellectual networks, and kinship networks often determined a person's destination. Sometimes, intricate rescue missions were organized from the countries of destination, such as the Dutch Republic or England, by families who had moved there already, as well as by escaped ministers and nobles. These networks were laid out via commercial, seigneurial, kinship, or ecclesiastical routes, or a combination of them, to get people or groups out of France. In his efforts to show the influence of networks on the choice of destination, however, Krumenacker underplays the factor of geographical proximity in network formation.<sup>[2]</sup> Barbara Julien, on the other hand, shows, in chapter eight the importance of enduring networks among people from the same area of origin in exile by focusing on Alexandre Sasserie, a Huguenot who originated from Loudun. Sasserie was not your ordinary refugee. Unable to continue his practice as a lawyer in England, he took advantage of mercantile networks he had used in France that enabled him to become a prominent member of the consistories of several churches in London and Thorpe-le-Soken, the latter of which he helped develop. Julien's chapter perfectly shows the endurance of and reliance in exile on kinship and networks previously formed in France. These networks helped Sasserie not only to choose England as his place of exile but also to thrive and, in turn, to assist other refugees.

In chapter nine, Philippa Woodcock's chapter on Huguenot minister Philippe Dupont blends many of the networks discussed in the previous few chapters, such as regional ties during flight and ecclesiastical networks among conformist and non-conformist clergy. She attempts a biographical reconstruction of the life of Dupont, who, having taken up a post in the countryside and being ordained in the Church of England, moved among both conformist and nonconformist networks: Anglican, Presbyterian, and Huguenot. This personal account forms a micro-history of a minister who felt at ease in several circles and chose to live a quiet life in his parish of Assington. Ruth Whelan's chapter examines another exile, Élie Bouhéreau, who had formed networks during his life in France which would eventually help him move to England and Ireland and establish himself in exile. The life and networks of Bouhéreau are of particular interest to scholars because he would become the first librarian of Marsh's library in Dublin, the first public library in Ireland. The library still contains a remarkable collection of early modern books, with many unique pieces. The article recounts Bouhéreau's connections and

kinship ties in France, while also portraying his ever-expanding circle of connections obtained through his studies and travels. The following chapter, by Marie Léoutre, continues the story on Bouhéreau, this time exploring his financial networks. The chapter recounts how a former Huguenot soldier, Cornet La Basogne, received a military pension and which networks Bouhéreau used to get this pension to him from Dublin to the town of Gouda, in the Dutch Republic. This chapter focuses on a third important type of connection that scholars identify with Huguenots, mercantile networks. Their dispersion also made banking networks necessary, and Léoutre claims that trust based on a common Huguenot identity underlay such financial networks. Continuing the focus on Huguenots in Ireland prevalent in the previous chapter, chapter twelve by Jane McKee investigates the marriage and mobility patterns visible in the Huguenot communities in Dublin. Huguenots still tended to marry partners with a similar social status, but they started to intermarry with people from differing geographical origins, rather than people from the same places of origin, and so families became more mixed in that way. While many Huguenot soldiers as well as skilled craftsmen moved to Ireland, many also moved on from there to different places as Ireland was still Catholic, despite its Anglican rulers.

The final chapter discusses a very different type of network, relief networks along Protestant lines from the perspective of England. This rather short essay stands alone in studying this final type of network, and it is a shame that this last type of network does not receive more attention in the volume. The author finds that relief and support for afflicted continental Protestant communities from England's Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a group that helped encourage international Protestant solidarity, diminished during the eighteenth century. Yet, she argues that, far from indicating that support for such Protestant causes declined generally in England during the eighteenth century, it appears that other, alternative networks took up the slack in helping afflicted peoples on the continent.

Members of the Huguenot Society's committee have understood the importance of keeping Huguenot, Walloon, and Dutch heritage and history alive. In the public memory, however, the religiously-inspired migration to England during the sixteenth century has been overshadowed by decades of religious migration from France, the so-called Huguenot diaspora. Considering the influence of the later diasporas on the preservation of Huguenot heritage in history, it is no surprise that this book focuses on the period from 1670 to 1730, rather than 1560 to 1780. Scholars of the sixteenth century will still find the first two chapters informative, especially for the methodological and short historiographical overview in the first one, but also because the other chapters form useful examples for similar work to be done on networks in, and even comparison with, earlier periods of Huguenot and Dutch religious migration, which I hope this volume will inspire. The thirteen authors demonstrate a variety of approaches to networks among Huguenots and as such present a very full picture of what these networks looked like and how they functioned. The persistent reader will feel satisfied with the breadth of network analysis in this book.

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## NOTES

[1] A number of scholars have pointed out the importance of London as a place of Huguenot diplomacy, but from the angle of the French Church for the second half of the sixteenth century see Charles G. D. Littleton, "Geneva on Threadneedle street: The French Church of London and its Congregation, 1560-1625" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1996).

[2] A good example of such geographical connections can be found in Andrew Spicer, *The French-speaking Reformed Community and their Church in Southampton, 1567-c. 1620*, (London: Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1998).

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