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Huguenot Soldiers in the Netherlands

Introduction

The Huguenots of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been the subject of considerable study. Historians, hagiographers and family history researchers have all added to our knowledge of the reception and spread of Calvinism in France, the French Wars of Religion, the period of Huguenot obedience to the French crown under Henry IV, and most significantly, the period of exile following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. However, while a great deal has been written on all of these subjects, it is only recently that serious historical analysis has been brought to bear on the Huguenots as real historical figures rather than as caricatures of Calvinist fanaticism or as religious martyrs. The story of their reception and settlement in the Netherlands is only now receiving vigorous scholarly attention. This article takes as its subject those Huguenots who served as soldiers under William III of Orange, especially in the 1680s and 1690s, who helped to establish Huguenot communities in the Netherlands. Specifically, military connections between French Huguenots, the Dutch Republic and Britain had a long history. They began with Huguenot and British assistance to the nascent Dutch Republic during its struggle against Spain in the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648). The interplay between the traditions of contact which resulted from these connections and the mutable position of the Huguenots in their native France during the seventeenth century, is of great importance to any understanding of the actions of the Huguenots. These connections help explain the binational, Anglo-Huguenot character attributed to the ultra-Protestant activity of British and Huguenot military undertakings in Britain and the Netherlands.

Background

Huguenots existed at all social levels in seventeenth-century France, so that the Protestant confession encompassed the beliefs and practices of no single

social group.¹ Admittedly the “community” nature of Calvinism, with its need for strict control of group morality and financial demands for the up-keep of ministers tended to galvanise group identity.² Constituting something in the realm of ten or eleven per cent of the population, France’s Protestants were unusually prominent in trade, the army and at court. Furthermore, the Huguenots enjoyed a strong position in France through the existence of Protestant towns, which formed centres of Protestant settlement, education and society across France.³ Protestantism was especially strong in the country’s south-west and among the oldest of the martial aristocracy. Both in France and abroad Huguenots searched for secure places where they could live in peace and worship according to the religious formula of their choice.⁴

Many Huguenots served with foreign armies throughout the Wars of Religion (1562-1629), a period in French history in which a civil war took place between Protestant and Catholic Frenchmen.⁵ In particular, they developed a very close relationship with the nascent Dutch Republic and its leader, William “the Silent”, Prince of Orange, continuing long after his death in 1584. Throughout the seventeenth century, a large French (and mostly Protestant) contingent formed an important part of the army of the Republic, playing a key role in Dutch campaigns.⁶ This reflected the influence of the nobility on the Calvinist movement and the fact that Huguenots were a heavily militarised group within France. This was due in part to the constant threat of armed violence in France but, as David Parrott points out, the Netherlands was not the sole venue where military experience could be gained – Dutch service was a deliberate choice, bound up with family and ideology.⁷ The Huguenots abroad always included veterans of the French royal army, around whom other recruits could be formed into effective fighting units.⁸ The confessional zeal of the Huguenots added to their fervour on the field of battle, aided by the fact they generally served non but Protestant powers and often marched into battle singing psalms based on the early French psalter by Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze of which Psalm 68 – “Let God arise” – was the Huguenot “battle song”.⁹

Elisabeth Labrousse has pointed out that, in France, the relationship between tolerance and the personal policies of Henry IV meant “civil tolerance could proceed only from the sovereign pleasure of the king”.¹⁰ Meanwhile the monarch’s position was enhanced and French Protestants began to break away from their reticence in order to emphasize “predestination in the sphere of the state” which confirmed the sacred character of kingship, while preachers of all persuasions stressed the divine right of kings.¹¹ These

movements helped create a theological and philosophical basis for loyalism, but Bernard Cottret highlights the fact that the experience of “blood and tears” during the Wars of Religion also acted as a powerful inducement to loyalist passivity.¹² The dukes of Rohan and Soubise, from the oldest and most powerful family in Brittany and firm adherents of the Dutch Republic, had learnt the art of war in the Netherlands and were atypical of their generation of Huguenot nobles in that they maintained a desire for the aggressive assertion of Huguenot rights at a time in France when Louis XIII and his chief minister, Richelieu, were pursuing a campaign to remove Huguenot privileges throughout the kingdom.¹³

The Rohan-Soubise uprisings were the last major actions of the Wars of Religion in France.¹⁴ Some of the most important Huguenot nobles turned out to support the rebellion, but many did not.¹⁵ As a sign of things to come, some Huguenot nobles refused outright to live under Louis XIII's regime, preferring instead to quit the kingdom. This was the choice of the enthusiastically Protestant Philippe, Marquis de La Force, who entered Dutch service.¹⁶ La Force left France with the permission of the king, but Louis XIII was far from happy about him offering his services to the Dutch Republic. Cognisant of this, the marquis stated his case plainly to the king:

When God gives me that happiness to be employed in his service, I hope to discharge my duties with more affection and fidelity than have my calumniators here. However, my lord, since I recognize myself to be under some suspicion, I beg your majesty most humbly to allow me to go and be useful in Holland.¹⁷

This secured him a passport guaranteeing safe conduct on 4 August 1628.¹⁸ By this action La Force helped reinforce a tradition of Huguenot aid to the Netherlands in its struggle against Catholic Spain and later against Catholic France. He was joined in the Low Countries in 1628 by his wife and two of his brothers: Pierre Nompar de Caumont, Baron d'Eymet and Henri Nompar de Caumont, Comte de Castelnou.¹⁹ The La Force family therefore commanded respect in the Netherlands as supporters of the Protestant religion and of Dutch independence.

The Dutch connection

Like many European states in the seventeenth century, the Netherlands relied heavily on paid regiments from abroad to fill its army. These units

and their personnel came predominantly from states lying close by the Netherlands, including the electorate of Brandenburg and the duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg. It also included larger states, like France and Denmark. A number of French regiments existed in Dutch service into the 1650s and 1660s. However, the Dutch Republic lost most of these when the Triple Alliance of England, the United Provinces, and Sweden declared war against France in 1668. Louis XIV's hostility towards Spanish Flanders brought him into direct conflict with the Dutch Republic and helped galvanize the loyalty of those Frenchmen and French regiments which remained in the Netherlands throughout the 1670s. A number of Catholic French officers pursuing professional military careers can be counted among the Frenchmen who remained in the Netherlands at this time. The vast majority of French officers in Dutch service after 1670 were, however, Protestant. John Stoye says that France's war with the Dutch Republic deprived the Huguenots of "an important safeguard of their position inside France" as the conflict pitted an obviously Catholic power against a traditional defender of Protestant freedom-of-conscience.²⁰ By the beginning of the Franco-Dutch war in 1672, Louis XIV had whittled away a significant number of the Huguenots' privileges and safeguards in France, so that little of the largesse of the Edict of Nantes remained. This was a major inducement for some Huguenot (gentlemen and their families particularly) to leave France for the Dutch Republic.

Many Huguenots were commissioned into the Dutch army in the 1660s and 1670s. Indeed, Huguenots enjoyed a prominent position in the Dutch army throughout the 1600s, and links between William of Orange's closest friends and the Huguenot soldiers who served the Dutch Republic were strong; for example, the prince's friend, William Bentinck, established himself in the Huguenot regiment of Paul de La Baye du Theil. First raised in 1672, this unit contained both Dutch and French officers. Bentinck was appointed lieutenant-colonel in 1677.²¹ The regiment of Georges Le Vasseur de Huilles, Marquis de Thouars, was in Dutch service as early as 1664, and continued there until his career ended in the early 1680s.²²

As well as Dutchmen serving in predominantly French regiments, there were many French officers scattered throughout the Dutch regiments of the United Provinces. Some of these men were Catholic, but the majority of them were Huguenots. French Huguenots could be found in the most prestigious regiments of the Dutch army. Ferdinand de La Verne de Rhodes was major of the Life Guards in 1672, was commissioned colonel of a Dutch

infantry regiment in 1674, and was Governor of Deventer and Zwolle until 1676.²³ In 1673 Georges de Toureville was lieutenant-colonel of Johan Karel, Prince von Birkenfeld's regiment. Two years later he found himself under the command of Frederick Lewis of Nassau, Count of Ottweiler, reinforcing the proximity of many Huguenots to members of the ruling family of Nassau.²⁴ Another example is that of Gustaf Charles d'Aulnoy who was major of the Life Guards in 1678 when the regiment was commanded by the Prince of Orange's kinsman, Major-General Hendrick Trajectus van Solms.²⁵ Louis Marie de La Feuillade, called "de La Guette", succeeded George Frederick of Nassau, Prince of Siegen, as colonel of the Groningen regiment in 1674; he was killed fighting the French at the siege of Maastricht two years later. In 1677 another Huguenot, Philippe Guerrier, was appointed to the regiment's majority.²⁶

It is important to remember that both Catholic Frenchmen and Englishmen also held commissions in the Dutch army. A prominent (if rare) example of a Huguenot who was induced to convert to Catholicism while in Dutch service is that of Henri Charles de La Trémouille, Duc de Thours, Prince de Talmont et de Tarente. He possessed an impressive Huguenot pedigree, and his career included three separate terms of service in the United Provinces under the tutelage of his great-uncle, Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange. However, in 1667 his own father forced him to abjure his faith, anticipating that of their cousin, Turenne.²⁷ As *grands* of the French court, the Tarentes were in many ways a law unto themselves, and therefore unrepresentative of most Huguenots. Their story is important, however, in that it demonstrates the residual nature of Dutch service by Huguenots, most of whom remained steadfast in their faith and deserved the implicit trust of William of Orange in terms of their religious fidelity.

Refuge

In France, the drain on military talent and manpower which followed Louis XIV's Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (rescinding the freedom of conscience extended to Huguenots in France since 1598) attracted comment from the eminent engineer, Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban. He believed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes meant that "France had lost a hundred thousand inhabitants, sixty millions of money, nine thousand sailors, twelve thousand tried soldiers, six hundred officers, and its most flourishing manufactures."²⁸ In truth the number of officers alone that

joined “enemy armies” was likely to have been far closer to 3,000 (a figure supported by later estimates of the number of officers and men in William’s forces in Ireland and on the continent).²⁹ But this number would only leave 2,300 ordinary soldiers, once the officers were removed from the whole. When Vauban addressed Louvois, Minister of State for War, on the matter, he talked of the “quantities of fine feathers [in our caps] which deserted the kingdom ... [and now] are cruelly unchained against France and the person of the king”.³⁰ Indeed, by 1694 the officer *corps* of the army in France was something in the region of 20,000 men, suggesting as much as 15 per cent of its personnel had departed after the Revocation.³¹ Guy Rowlands speculates that the loss of Huguenot officers in the mid-1680s prompted the crown to allow non-noble officers to swell the ranks of the army.³²

Geneva, the cradle of French Calvinism, drew many of the early refugees, and Switzerland’s major towns and cities were similarly attractive to the desperate exiles: Basle, Zürich, Berne and Lausanne all provided refuge to the Huguenots.³³ Louis XIV’s ambassador in Switzerland reported “The fugitives continue to crowd to Zürich; I met a number of them on the road from Basle to Soleure” and cartloads of French people passed through the streets of Basle almost daily on their way to the great refugee clearing houses of Frankfurt-am-Main and Schaffhausen.³⁴ The value of the assistance rendered to these refugees by Geneva has been estimated at as much as 5,143,266 florins, and the cantons of Berne and Vaud contributed more than 4,000,000 florins to Huguenot assistance.³⁵ Thanks largely to this assistance some 15,591 refugees were able to travel on to Germany and the Netherlands where they established themselves in settled Huguenot communities.³⁶

The Huguenots were strongly encouraged to settle in the Netherlands by its *stadhouder*, William III, Prince of Orange, who was eager to host a group of talented veteran soldiers to aid him in the ongoing struggle with the aggressively assertive Louis XIV. The *stadhouder* was a kind of elective governor-general or prime minister. The Prince offered to cover the expenses of Huguenot refugees when the ruling body of the Netherlands, the States General of the United Provinces, objected to the costs of maintaining Huguenot communities in the Dutch Republic.³⁷ William induced the States General to grant pensions to certain prominent Huguenot nobles, army officers and pastors. These were received by a small number of key Huguenot figures; seventy pastors, out of a total of 230, received grants.³⁸ In early November 1685, a general fast was observed, to thank God for preserving peace in the Netherlands, and “that He would render the heart

of the French king favourable to the Protestants in his dominions and avert the storm that seems to threaten their total ruin".³⁹ On 21 November 1685, following the news of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands declared a day of supplication and fasting.⁴⁰ It was reported in England that "most of the towns in Holland strive to outdo one another in kindness towards the French Protestants and offering [for] them to be free of any corporation and exempt them some years from taxes".⁴¹

William of Orange further personalized his connection with the Huguenots by taking them into his household where they exercised a high level of influence as prominent members of the French refugee community in the Netherlands.⁴² The vast majority of refugee gentlemen who would form the officer *corps* of William's armies, arrived penniless. William found the means to pension the best of these officers in Holland; they were few enough in number for the Polish ambassador to The Hague, Antoine Moreau, to name each of them in his correspondence to John III Sobieski, King of Poland: the 193 Huguenot officers maintained from 7 February 1686 included two colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, eight cavalry captains, eleven *reformé* cavalry captains, eight cavalry lieutenants, sixteen *reformé* cavalry lieutenants, three cornets, twenty-nine infantry captains, thirty infantry lieutenants, forty *reformé* infantry lieutenants, and forty-two reserve infantry lieutenants.⁴³ Few of the Huguenots that fled to Holland after 1685 found their way into Dutch regiments or garrisons due to them already being full and there being little ready funding available to maintain them. Some were maintained in a small number of elite regiments where William had been able to squeeze them in due his personal influence, thus all owed their livelihoods to William directly.

Besides the lucky few assisted by William, hundreds more refugee soldiers were forced to cool their heels in the Netherlands, without military employment, until the eve of William's invasion of England in 1688 (171 of them petitioned against this state). Two companies of French cadets, or volunteers, were created in 1686, each containing fifty Frenchmen. The first company of cadets was commanded by Charles de Cosne de Chauvernay, while the second was commanded by Daniel de Rapin.⁴⁴ Daniel was the cousin of the Huguenot historian, Paul Rapin de Thoyras, who joined him in this regiment of cadets about 1687. The first two companies of cadets were supported by the *repartitie* (pay district) of Holland, and a third company was raised on the *repartitie* of Groningen. This additional company was commanded by Antoine de Houx d'Espinoles. Jean Guichard, Marquis de

Peray, was appointed as Commander-in-Chief of all three companies.⁴⁵

The Prince of Orange saw that 302 Huguenot refugee officers were retained on pensions in 1687 and 1688. Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet is typical of this elite group among the refugees; when he arrived in Holland, he immediately received favour due to his family connection to Daniel Tassin de Torsay, who introduced the refugee to William III and arranged for him to apply for a commission as captain in a Dutch cavalry regiment. Dianne Ressinger highlights the disorder of Dumont's papers – including proof of his service to the Duc de Longueville in 1652/3 which had burned in a fire at his château at La Fontelaye.⁴⁶ Dumont says that “a few days after my arrival there was a third promotion of officers for which many had waited a long time”, but he was accepted, in spite of his lack of proof of experience, as a *réformé*, or half-pay, cavalry captain:

We all took an oath of loyalty to the Council of State, which I did with all my heart, after which we were given our commissions. Captains who came directly from actual service had a pension of 700 *livres* and the others, as *réformé*, 520 *livres*. They reduced all the officers of the preceding two promotions to almost the same wages in order to find the necessary funds for us. We were not received until the month of July, although we were paid from 19 June [1687]. Orders were distributed for garrisons and we all separated.⁴⁷

Significantly, they took an oath of loyalty to the States General of the United Provinces and Prince William.⁴⁸ Several days after this Dumont insisted that “it would be difficult to describe the fineness of all the officers which I was discovering at each moment”.⁴⁹ Soon after Dumont received his commission he completed his *reconnaissance*, a public return to the Calvinist faith following forced abjuration in France, at the Walloon Church in The Hague on 29 June 1687. Dumont's experiences confirm, in part, the enthusiastic report by Samuel Smiles who said that “The principle fortresses at Breda, Maastricht, Bergen-op-Zoom, Bois-le-Duc [’s-Hertogenbosch], Zutphen, Nijmegen, Arnheim, and Utrecht, were used as so many depots for such officers and soldiers as continued to take refuge in Holland”. This is true in so far as some Huguenot gentlemen could be found in each.⁵⁰

Of those Huguenots pensioned in the Netherlands, it has been said they: “formed a body ready drilled, either to fight the cause of freedom on the battlefield, but one reason for not employing them all immediately might have been the fact that French drill differed from Dutch”.⁵¹ Huguenots seeking military employment would have first had to serve as volunteers in

order to learn Dutch drill, before they could accept commissions in Dutch regiments.⁵² But the real problem was William's ability to fund them from among his own limited finances and the few who were lucky enough to be offered commissions in various Dutch regiments joined other French Huguenots who had been in Dutch service for decades.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688

William of Orange led a combined invasion force to Britain in 1688 to help oust the Catholic King James II and thereby secure a Protestant succession. He insisted that his presence in Britain was aimed at maintaining the Protestant religion, and to some of William's strongest supporters – and, especially, the Huguenots and Scots – he was truly “King William, our liberator”.⁵³ This justifies some of William's own rhetoric regarding the protection of the Protestant religion in Britain. It cannot, however, disguise his need for English money and men to finance his continental war against Louis XIV in Flanders. William did not act alone in 1688. The conglomerate nature of his army, and the international political support he enjoyed, were the fruits of the prearranged backing by the States General of the United Provinces and the burghers of Amsterdam. These wealthy and virtually independent gentlemen were, traditionally, hostile to the ambitions and pretensions of the princes of Orange. The French had certainly made great use of this antipathy in the past, by dealing with Amsterdam, to the detriment of Orange's plans.⁵⁴ However, many *Amsterdammers* were swayed against King James by reports of the suffering of French Huguenots under Louis XIV. Their trust was not misplaced, and the Dutch gained access to great sums of money from the invasion, and William himself was obsessed with diverting British money and men to assist his war in Flanders.⁵⁵

The vanguard of William's invasion force included the large number of Huguenot soldiers dispersed throughout the army in companies attached to Dutch regiments, the three elite regiments of Blue and Red Dragoons and Life Guards. William's force was considerably strengthened by the many Huguenots who held senior positions in the various branches of the army. Marshal Schomberg was second-in-command and under him was Frédéric Henri de Suzannet, Marquis de La Forest, seconded from the King of Denmark's service to command William's cavalry.⁵⁶ The prince's General of Artillery was Charles La Goulon, a former pupil of Vauban – his loss to the French service was a source of great regret to Marshal Vauban.⁵⁷ François

du Puy du Cambon was appointed Chief Engineer and Director General of Fortifications in the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands on 21 August 1688 and stayed close to William throughout the invasion.

Consequences

William's successful actions in 1688 led to an era of struggle stretching into the early 1700s. Huguenot soldiers featured prominently in his armies and the Netherlands in consequence hosted an increasing number of these refugees. Some he managed to establish in a settlement in Ireland, where William attempted to fund a colony peopled by retired Huguenot officers at Portarlington. Others, who could not be accommodated anywhere else, found themselves shipped back to the Dutch Republic to end their days in largely French-speaking Huguenot refugee communities. Huguenots did not disappear into obscurity in either the Netherlands or Britain as a result of the disappearance of their old regiments, and they continued to play a significant part in military history. Well into the eighteenth century an extraordinarily high number of Huguenots could be found in regiments of the Dutch, English and Irish armies. The British army list for 1740, for example, shows that 49 out of a total of 57 English regiments (28 per cent) possessed one or more officers of Huguenot descent.⁵⁸ In Ireland, eleven out of a total of twenty regiments (55 per cent) contained one or more Huguenot officers. Moreover, where a Huguenot name appears on the army list it can be directly connected to a father or grandfather who arrived in the van of William of Orange's army in 1688.

In the longer term, the character and background of the Huguenot soldiers is typified by the descendants of Samuel de Pechels de La Boissonade, who came from Montauban in the Protestant heartland of southern France. In 1686 he refused to abjure his faith and was imprisoned at Cahors and later at Marseilles before being transported to Sainte-Domingue, whence he escaped to Britain. Having attained refuge and safety in England, he then ventured to the Netherlands to take service under William of Orange and, in 1689 became a *reformé* lieutenant in Schomberg's French Horse when that regiment was formed. By 1691, he was a captain in the regiment and in 1692 was wounded in Ireland and received a pension.⁵⁹ Samuel's son, Jacob Pechels, escaped from France and went to Geneva, whence he joined his mother in London, but was too young to experience his father's part in

the Glorious Revolution and William III's Irish campaign. In 1707, Jacob received a captain's commission in Stanhope's English regiment, becoming a major in Handsyde's regiment in 1737, lieutenant-colonel in 1739, and colonel in 1740. He married Jeanne Elisabeth Boyd, daughter of the Scottish merchant Jean Boyd, of Bordeaux.⁶⁰ Their son, Sir Paul, was a lieutenant-colonel and his son in turn was Major-General Sir Thomas Brooke Pechel, who sired Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel and Admiral Sir George Richard Brooke Pechel.⁶¹ The Pechel family's unbroken connection with martial service is demonstrative of their perpetuation of a style of life that was commensurate with their status as members of France's *petite noblesse*.

Part of this involved the construction of a new identity in which religion and escape narratives comforted them in exile and justified their retention of foreign habits, beliefs and even language at variance to the local population. David van der Linden's nuanced use of well-known evidence adds profitably to our appreciation of the psychology of the refugees, including the 'ordinary' exile as much as the well-known (e.g. Pierre Bayle and the Basnage brothers).⁶² Nevertheless, most French refugees enjoyed the rights and freedoms of citizenship in the Dutch Republic long before they were formally granted that status in 1715.⁶³

Conclusion

By the late 1690s, it was clear to most Huguenots that they had to live beyond the borders of France forever if they hoped to persist in the practice of their faith free from persecution. They and their powerful patrons internationally had failed to alter their fate. Thus they were compromised into considering a rapprochement with their host nations. This is the context in which the exiles in the Netherlands (as elsewhere) started to deal with the complex realities of living as guest-strangers in foreign countries. By the time the Huguenots were formally granted the rights and freedoms of citizenship in 1715, the refugees formed a distinct group, but one that had little objection to intermarriage and cultural interaction with the Dutch people around them. Consequently, Huguenot descendants in the Netherlands (just like in Britain) gradually became distinct only in the evidence of their French surnames and in the inherited memories of family tradition which itself grew to take on a reality all of its own.

Notes

1. See L. Ricaut, "Religious polemic and Huguenot self-perception and identity, 1554-1619", in *Society and culture in the Huguenot world, 1559-1685*, eds. R. A. Mentzer and A. Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 29-43.
2. See, e.g., the group demand for local municipal support for the pastor's salary in Dieulefit in Dauphiné: R. A. Mentzer, "The Edict of Nantes and its institutions", in *Society and culture in the Huguenot world*, eds. Mentzer and Spicer, 105-6.
3. Huguenots held 150 towns across France, of which 64 were fortified garrison towns or villes de sûreté: N. M. Sutherland, "The Huguenots and the Edict of Nantes, 1598-1629", in *Huguenots in Britain and their French background, 1550-1800*, ed. I. Scouloudi (London: Macmillan, 1987), 161.
4. W. J. Eccles, *France in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 9. See also R. L. Dauber, *A knight of Malta in Brazil: ambassador and admiral, Comm. Frà François de Villegagnon (1510-1571)* (Said International, 1995).
5. See M. P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion 1562-1629* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).
6. See examination of the Huguenot adoption of Orangist military rhetoric and its alternatives in D. Parrott, *Richelieu's army: war, government and society in France, 1624-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 28-31, 82.
7. Parrott, *Richelieu's army*, 28-9.
8. D. J. B. Trim, "Huguenot soldiering, c.1560-1685: the origins of a tradition", in *War, religion and service: Huguenot soldiering, 1685-1713*, eds. M. R. Glozier and D. M. L. Onnekink, *Politics and Culture in North-West Europe 1650-1720 1* (Aldershot: Ashgate Academic Publishers, 2006), 10-11.
9. W. S. Pratt, "The importance of the early French psalter", *The Musical Quarterly* (1935), 25-32.
10. E. Labrousse, *Pierre Bayle, hétérodoxie et rigorisme*, Archives International d'Histoire des Idées 6 (2 vols, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1963-4), i, 495; S. Deyon, *Du loyalisme au refus* (Lille: Presses Universitaires de III, 1976); B. Cottret, *The Huguenots in England: immigration and settlement, c.1550-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 80-95.
11. D. Richet, *La France moderne: l'esprit des institutions* (Paris: Flammarion, 1973), 56.
12. L. Simonutti, "Between political loyalty and religious liberty: political theory and toleration in Huguenot thought in the epoch of Bayle", *History of Political Thought*, 17/4 (1996), 523-54; S. Deyon, *Du loyalisme au refus* (Lille: Presses Universitaires de III, 1976).
13. See his *Le parfait capitaine, autrement l'abrégé des guerres de Gaule des Commentaires de César* (Paris: I. Houzé, 1636); A. Laugel, *Henri de Rohan. Son rôle politique et militaire sous Louis XIII (1579-1638)* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1889), 37-8; Parrott, *Richelieu's army*, 28, 290.
14. See analysis of the uprising in Parrot, *Richelieu's army*, 88-90; Holt, *Wars of Religion*, ch. 7.
15. BL Stowe MS 151, f. 136; Cottret, *Huguenots in England*, 98.

16. *Mémoires ... de Caumont*, i, lxxi.
17. *Mémoires ... de Caumont*, iii, 288-9.
18. *Ibidem*, 288-9.
19. "Mémoires de Comte de Castelnou, 1621-22", printed in *Mémoires ... de Caumont*, iv, 84, 97.
20. J. Stoye, *Europe unfolding, 1648-1688* (London: Fontana, 1976), 272; P. Sonnino, *Louis XIV and the origins of the Dutch war* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
21. *Het Staatsche Leger*, vi, 244.
22. ARA 1.01.19, 1264 and 1.01.19, 1265, *state van Oorloge 1664 and 1668 (Fransschen)*.
23. *Het Staatsche Leger*, vi, 190, 297, 300.
24. *Ibidem*, vi, 233.
25. Another Huguenot, Benjamin de Boham, held a majority in the Life Guards in 1690: *Het Staatsche Leger*, vi, 230-1.
26. ARA *commisjboek* 1681-91, f. 315.
27. *Het Staatsche Leger*, vii, 448.
28. Vauban quoted in S. Smiles, *The Huguenots: their settlement, churches and industries in England and Ireland* (London: Routledge, 1895), 175-6; M. Yardeni, "Naissance et essur d'un mythe: la révocation de l'édit de Nantes et le declin economic de la France", *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du protestantisme française*, 139/1 (1993), 79-96.
29. BN F fr 7044, ff. 298 *et seq*; W. C. Scoville, *The persecution of Huguenots and French economic development, 1680-1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 314-15; N. W., "Requête: adressee aux états généraux des Pays-Bas, par cent soixante et onze officiers français (14 juillet 1688)", *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de protestantisme français*, 36 (1887), 197; T. A. Boeree (ed.), "Les officiers français en service hollandaise après la revocation pendant la periode 1686-1689", *Bulletin*, Commission de l'histoire des églises wallonnes IV, 1 (Leiden: Bibliothèque Wallonne, 1928), 18; G. Rowlands, *The dynastic state and the army under Louis XIV: royal service and private interest, 1661 to 1701* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Lart, "Huguenot regiments", 480.
30. S. Le Prestre de Vauban, *Mémoire pour le rappel des Huguenots* (Paris, October 1689), quoted in H. P. H. Nusteling, "The Netherlands and the Huguenot émigrés", in *La révocation de l'édit de Nantes et les Provinces-Unies*, eds. J. A. H. Bots and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (Amsterdam, Maarssen: APA-Holland University Press, 1986), 30n; C. Read (ed.), "Le mémoire présenté en 1689 par le maréchal de Vauban, et ses efforts réitérés en faveur des Huguenots", *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*, 38 (1889), 195.
31. This figure comes from Rowlands, *Dynastic state*, 154, citing "estimates", 1 July 1694: AG A11454, f. 15.
32. Rowlands, *Dynastic state*, 155.
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35. Smiles, *Huguenots*, 181, 182 n2.
36. C. von Noorden, *Europäische Geschichte im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (3 vols, Düsseldorf: Julius Buddeus, 1870-2), i, 30.
37. S. Smiles, *The Huguenots in France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes* (London: Routledge, 1873), 324.
38. M. Nathan, *The Huguenots in South Africa* (South Africa: Central News Agency, 1939), 28.
39. CSPDom. Feb. - Dec. 1685, 375, 3 November 1685.
40. Nathan, *Huguenots in South Africa*, 28.
41. CSPDom. Feb. - Dec. 1685, 378, 5 November 1685.
42. Rousset, *Louvois*, iv, 97.
43. BL Add MS 38494, ff. 13-18, "Letter Book of Moreau – Polish Ambassador at The Hague, 1687-1688"; in *Townsend Papers*, iii. Moreau was a fellow refugee who later asked Abel Tassin d'Alonne to recommend him to the Earl of Portland as tutor to his son, Lord Woodstock, on his grand tour: University of Nottingham MS Pw A 317/1-2, Abel Tassin d'Alonne to Hans Willem Bentinck, Earl of Portland, The Hague, 8 May 1703; *Correspondentie van Willem III en van Hans Willem Bentinck, eersten graaf van Portland*, ed. N. Japikse (5 vols, RGP, 1927-33), ii, no. 24, 542-5.
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