

# Lambeth Palace Library Research Guide

## Huguenots and other French Language Churches







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This guide includes material relating to galleys and galériens and descriptions of persecution and suffering. The Library acknowledges that its historic collections and legacy catalogue data contain some discriminatory language and content which is not in current usage and which readers may find upsetting or offensive.

*Cover illustration:* Huguenot refugee and Librarian Andrew Coltée Ducarel (1713-1785).  
Prints LIB6



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## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Who were the Huguenots?

The name “Huguenot” was first given in the 16th century to French Reformed Protestants. In official documents including royal edicts the usual term was “Religion Prétendue Réformée”, or R.P.R. The Huguenots’ doctrines were based on those of the French-born theologian and pastor Jean Calvin (1509–64), whose ideas spread from Geneva to France in the mid-16th century. The tensions between Catholics and Protestants in France escalated into a prolonged period of civil war between 1562 and 1598 – the Wars of Religion. The religious conflict reached its nadir in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew’s Day in 1572, during which several thousand Huguenots were killed. The first refuge of French Reformed Protestants followed. In 1598 King Henri IV issued the Edict of Nantes, which recognised Huguenots as a minority religion, with considerable privileges and freedom to practise their religious beliefs. During the initial years of the reign (1643–1715) of Louis XIV, Huguenots continued to enjoy relative freedom of religious practice. Persecution of Reformed Protestants in France increased dramatically in 1681, when Louis XIV banned emigration and began quartering soldiers – dragoons – in Protestant homes in some areas.

The final intensification of persecution came on 15 October 1685, when Louis XIV issued the Edict of Fontainebleau, revoking the Edict of Nantes. [An edict of the French King : prohibiting all publick exercise of the pretended reformed religion in his kingdom. Wherein he annuls the edict of King Henry the IV given at Nantes.](#) Worship of the “alleged Reformed Church” was banned, as were Protestant schools, and those Protestant churches which were still standing were to be destroyed. Any pastors who did not convert had to leave the country within two weeks, or be condemned to the galleys – forced labour rowing ships from the French fleet - chained and in penal conditions. Those members of the laity who refused to convert to Catholicism were forbidden from emigrating, or condemned to the galleys if they were men or to prison if they were women. Whilst many Huguenots responded by signifying their formal conversion to Catholicism, thousands of others fled to Protestant majority countries in the “Grand Refuge”.

### 1.2 The Huguenots and other French-speaking Protestants in England

The two countries which received the largest number of Huguenot refugees were the Netherlands (possibly around 35,000) and England (possibly as many as 50,000, with a further 10,000 moving on to Ireland). For the most part, these refugees were welcomed in England.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A summary of recent research on the estimated numbers of refugees is provided by Robin Gwynn, “Conformity, Non-conformity and Huguenot settlement in England in the later Seventeenth Century”, Anne Dunan-Page ed., *The Religious Culture of the Huguenots, 1660–1750* (Ashgate Publishing, 2018).



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The first French Protestant church in London was founded in Threadneedle Street by a royal grant of Edward VI in 1550. In the period before 1686 most of the church's members came from the Netherlands or Wallonia, a French-speaking province in what is now Belgium, with a minority coming from northern France. There were also Walloon or French-speaking communities in other parts of England, including Norwich, Canterbury (where from 1576 they were granted use of the Western Crypt of the cathedral) and Thorney Abbey, in Cambridgeshire. The increased persecution of French Reformed Protestants in the period surrounding the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes led to the establishment of many more French-language churches in London and elsewhere in England. The Threadneedle Street church, towards the east end of London, did not conform to the Church of England and observed Reformed church discipline and practice. The conformist Savoy church in central London, which used a French translation of the Church of England *Book of Common Prayer*, was close not only to the royal court but also to the centre of government and the local printers and French bookshops. Although both these churches and their offshoots owed their continued existence to royal permission, in practice they enjoyed considerable autonomy. By 1700 there were more French-language churches which did not conform to the Church of England than those which did. Initially many of the refugees continued to speak French, but during the first half of the 18th century the Huguenot community became increasingly assimilated, including into the Church of England.

### 1.3 Collections of Huguenot Literature in the United Kingdom

#### 1.3.1 The main collections held in other libraries

Lambeth Palace Library (LPL) does not house the main collection of Huguenot literature in the United Kingdom. That is held by the **Huguenot Library**, which contains the print and manuscript collections of the Huguenot Society and the French Hospital libraries. It holds many administrative, consistorial and financial records from the French Protestant churches and is the most complete body of Huguenot literature in England. It is currently housed with University College London (UCL) Special Collections at The National Archives, Kew.

The **Library of the French Protestant Church of London**, in Soho Square London SW1, contains more than 300 volumes of archives, mainly concerning the church of Threadneedle Street in London and the churches or chapels which were incorporated to it. The collection also includes some 1,400 books, mostly from the 17th and 19th centuries.

The manuscript records of the **French Church in Canterbury Cathedral** are held by Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Library. Lambeth Palace Library holds a small number of letters and papers concerning that church, mostly from the archiepiscopates of Archibald Tait (archbishop 1868–82) and Edward Benson (archbishop 1883–96). These records include the correspondence of both Archbishops with Joseph Auguste Martin, Pastor of the church from 1870–89 [Tait 216 ff. 127–28, 136–41](#) [Tait 228 ff. 273–76](#) and [Benson 12 ff. 175–82 passim](#)



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### 1.3.2 Huguenot and related material in Lambeth Palace Library

The scholar Paul Colomiès, or Paulus Colomesius (1638–92), was amongst the Huguenot refugees who decided to leave France in 1681. Having been appointed Librarian of Lambeth Palace Library, in 1684 he compiled a shelf list ([LR/F/10](#)) of its historic core, the collections of Archbishops Bancroft and Abbot, as well as Archbishop Sheldon's folio volumes, which came to the Library in 1683. Colomiès did not, however, record the quartos and smaller books, and his shelf list is therefore not a complete record of the Library's books shortly before the Revocation.

There are relatively few references to the term **Huguenot** in the Library [archive](#) and printed [books](#) catalogues. Documents relating to French Reformed Protestants may be found in many different parts of the collections. The catalogues, which are progressively updated and expanded, should always be consulted. This guide is intended to assist researchers, and is not a full record of all the Library's material relating to Huguenots. It focusses mostly on material relating to the second half of the 17th century and the 18th century.

The term Huguenot is used in cataloguing several of the cases which came before the **Court of Arches**, the court of appeal of the Archbishop of Canterbury. These include detailed records relating to some matrimonial and testamentary cases, for example [Arches A 26](#), documents dating from 1713–15 in *Rivall v Beauchamp de la Combe*, the latter being the wife of Jean de la Combe who fled from Paris to England c. 1701 (See V. Larminie ed., *Huguenot networks 1560–1780* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018) pp. 127–28). A handful of Court of Arches records relate to the French conformist church in Jewin Street, founded in 1686.

Contemporary reports of the treatment of Huguenots in France during the Thirty Years War from 1618–48 are included in [MS 666](#), [MS 667](#), and [MS 669](#), the correspondence and papers of Thomas Murray, Secretary to Charles, Prince of Wales from 1617–21. These manuscripts were recorded in Archbishop Tenison's collection about 100 years later.

The term **Foreign Protestants** occurs more frequently in the catalogues. When Thomas Secker became Archbishop of Canterbury (1758–68) he instructed Librarian Andrew Coltée Ducarel to arrange the archiepiscopal papers where possible in chronological order according to subject. He also tripled Ducarel's salary in 1759 to enable him to complete a revised indexing of the papers. It is thus Secker and Ducarel who should be thanked for the ordering of the four volumes of papers relating to "Foreign Protestants" ([MS 1122/I-IV](#)), with a number of stray papers on the same subject bound with Archbishop Secker's papers ([SECKER 7, ff. 208–66](#)). These stray papers include notes in Secker's handwriting concerning the Royal Bounty for French Protestants (ff. 222–26) and of French Reformed pastors instituted to livings in the Church of England (ff. 231–32).

Ducarel's approach to chronology was often idiosyncratic, and the collection includes copies of earlier documents, often catalogued according to the date when they were copied rather than the information they contain. They are thus a richer source of information than might immediately be apparent from the catalogue entries. The thematic arrangement of these volumes of papers used by Secker, including his



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handwritten notes, also illustrates the range of issues with which the Archbishops were faced in relation to Protestants from France and elsewhere. These included the persecuted Waldenses or Vaudois in the Piedmont valleys, the financial cost of catechising in the colonies in America, and ensuring a degree of theological orthodoxy.

Secker's frequent correspondents included **John James Majendie** (1709–83), the Anglican-ordained son of a refugee Huguenot minister. John James Majendie served as Minister at the conformist French chapel in the Savoy and later as tutor to Queen Charlotte and her sons, as well as a prebend of Windsor. In 1748 he wrote a long "Memorial relating to the French Church in the Savoy, and the Chapels annexed to the same". This was bound with Secker's papers ([MS 1122/1](#), no 13), and has formed the basis of subsequent histories of the Savoy French Church. (The text was printed in full in the *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* (Vol. II, 1887–88, pp. 505–08). Among Secker's other correspondents were **Jacob Bourdillon (1704–86)**, the Minister of the non-conformist Artillery Church, and **James (Jacques) Serces**, Minister of the French Chapel Royal at St. James until Serces' death in 1762.

Other productive search terms for locating items in the Library catalogues include: **French prisoners; galeriens or galley slaves; Royal bounty for French Protestants; Walloon**. For marriage attestations and other legal proceedings, including some wills, variations on the "**French church or chapel of the Savoy**" is productive.

## 2 French Language Churches

### 2.1 French language churches outside London in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

The Walloon churches in England operated almost entirely independently of the Church of England. The Library houses only a handful of related documents relating to Walloon churches outside London, all concerning specific individual circumstances. After flourishing in the period immediately following the Massacre of St Bartholomew, after which many Huguenots emigrated to Protestant countries, for much of the seventeenth century the **Walloon church in Norwich** struggled to be self-sufficient. This situation was not helped by major internal disputes within the church. The accounts of the Trustees for the maintenance of preaching ministers record their agreement in 1650 of two payments of £24 each to Peter (Pierre) D'Assigny, described as being a preacher there ([MS 1104](#) ff. 264r–264v). The Augmentation Order Books record that the payments were duly made in 1650 ([COMM VIa/1 p.289](#)) and 1651 ([COMM VIa/3 p.275](#)).

The account books contain little background detail, and do not include the full circumstances which had led to a Walloon refugee preacher needing support, nor why the Trustees agreed to make these exceptional payments to a preacher who was not associated with the Church of England. D'Assigny's previous ministry in Jersey had ended abruptly in 1645, when he was condemned to be hanged for supporting the parliamentarian side in the civil war. He fled to Norwich, where a relative by marriage was minister of the Walloon church, and for the next four years engaged in a high profile and contentious power struggle with him, involving a



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succession of lengthy hearings of the colloquy of French churches meeting in London. The situation was finally settled in June 1650, and D'Assigny was left without a formal ministry in Norwich, and thus in need of funds to support his family. A lengthy account of the bitter D'Assigny dispute, printed in London in 1657, is given as background to another internal dispute in the French Church in London between 1646 and 1657: [A true, and exact relation of the difference between Mr. Christopher Cisner, one of the pastors of the French Church in London, and others of the Consistory thereof, and John Jurin senior ...](#) One of the London pastors, Christopher Cisner, originally from Heidelberg and with limited proficiency in either French or English, had supported D'Assigny, and the ripple effect of the dispute continued, re-kindled by a dispute about whether or not the French churches in England should observe holy days.

At the **Walloon church at Thorney Abbey**, 75 miles away from Norwich, a serious dispute between the minister and congregation failed to be resolved by the Consistory of the Threadneedle Street Walloon Church in London. Unusually, the parties sought arbitration by the Bishop of Peterborough. His supposedly binding determination on 7 April 1684, and Thorney Abbey Pastor Michael David's response to it, are in the papers of William Lloyd (a close friend of Archbishop of Canterbury William Sancroft) when he was Bishop of Peterborough ([MS 3897](#) Nos 7 (Lloyd) and 8 (David)).

French-speaking Protestants needed permission to establish churches where they could worship in their own language. Whilst the majority of these churches were in London, others, mostly of shorter duration, were set up elsewhere. [CM 45/11](#) is an example of a successful petition from Peter Azire, of Oare, Kent, a French Protestant refugee and gunpowder manufacturer, to John Tillotson (Archbishop of Canterbury 1691–94), for a chapel and a French Protestant minister. The petition is undated but was endorsed on 3 July 1691 with Archbishop Tillotson's permission for a French minister to hold services at Oare, or in Davington parish church. [CM 45/12](#) records the nomination on 7 August 1691 of the Rev. James Gely as minister to the **French congregation at Davington**, by Peter Azire, to be licensed by Archbishop Tillotson.

### 2.2 French Churches in London

Most of the Library's records relating to the French churches in London concern the conformist churches. Apart from Archbishop Secker's collection of papers relating to foreign Protestants already mentioned, they are chiefly found in the papers of successive Bishops of London, as opposed to those of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with a few miscellaneous exceptions. For example, in [MS 929 no 53](#) a group of French Ministers officiating in "four french churches united one to another, & wholly conform[ing] to the Church of England" pleaded hardship in a 1694 petition. They claimed that the non-conformist French churches, "raised up & increased lately by the help and money of the Nonconformist English Party take away many of the people". Two documents from November 1711 give an indication of the large numbers of French refugees in London at the time. [MS 2715 ff. 1–2](#), dated 2 November 1711, is a petition by the minister, churchwardens, and vestry of St Giles-in-the-Fields, stating that the parish contained 269 gentlemen, 1,923 tradesmen, and 807 poor housekeepers; there were about seven occupants to each house and a population of 21,000, of whom many were French Protestants. [MS 2712](#) f. 46, dated





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3 November 1711, is a memorial by the rector, churchwardens and vestry of St Anne Soho stating the results of a local census which recorded the numbers of English and French inhabitants, of children under ten, or servants, and of lodgers. There were four French chapels in the area at that time.

In correspondence in 1767 ([MS Secker 7, ff. 227–30](#)) Archbishop Secker was asked for his advice as to whether a lecturer in the Anglican church should preach an anniversary sermon on the anniversary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes at the French non-conformist Artillery Church. This then led to the wider proposal by Jacob Bourdillon, the Artillery Church's very active minister, that ministers ordained in the Anglican church should be allowed to conduct services in French non-conformist churches. There Secker drew the line, but the detailed correspondence, which includes examples of supposed precedents and a list of foreign ministers ordained by the Bishop of London between 1737 and 1763, illustrates the arguments for and against the proposal.

### 2.3 The Fulham Papers of the Bishops of London

The Fulham Papers (FP) are the archive of the bishops of London transferred to the Library in the 1950s and 1960s. Most of the collection dates from the 18th and 19th centuries. Although the Bishop of London most closely associated with supporting Huguenot refugees was Henry Compton (Bishop of London 1675–1713), the Library houses few records relating to this aspect of his activity. Compton was responsible for spearheading the substantial fundraising efforts needed to support the refugees, but it is one of Ducarel's miscellaneous volumes of papers, [MS 953](#) (no 23), which contains the letter from John Tillotson as Archbishop of Canterbury to Compton of 5 April 1694 acquainting him of the Letters Patent authorising a general collection for the "distressed Protestants of France, fled hither for refuge".

The FP papers are, however, particularly helpful in shedding light on the later history of some of the French Protestant churches where documentation elsewhere is patchy, in particular the conformist church of the Savoy and its associated chapels. The papers of Compton's successor, **John Robinson (Bishop of London 1714–23)**, include regulations he approved in 1721 for the consistory of the conformist French church of the Savoy [FP Robinson 1](#) (ff. 44–52v) and a document setting out the history of another conformist French church, St Martins Orgars in Cannon Street in the City of London (ff. 138–39v).

One of the richest sources of information in the Library about the Savoy church, and French Protestant churches in London more generally, is [FP Gibson 2](#), the papers of **Edmund Gibson (Bishop of London 1723–48)**. These include correspondence on the maintenance and ministers of the French chapels at the Savoy and St. James's Palace 1722–30 (ff. 140–59) and correspondence concerning French Protestant churches in London 1723–48, including the French Chapel at Wapping and the French Chapels of Castle Street and Berwick Street (ff. 162–204) and a proposal to set up a Swiss national church (ff. 205–08v). The papers include copies of earlier documents such as the order of Charles II establishing the French chapel of the Savoy in 1661. It is also worth noting that the Sion College Pamphlets Collection now in Library includes a significant number of Gibson's printed books (for example, searching the printed books catalogue for "French church" + "Gibson").





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The focus on the Savoy French church or chapel and that at Wapping continues in the papers of Thomas Sherlock (Bishop of London 1748–61). [FP Sherlock 3](#) includes papers relating to the funding and appointment of officials at the French chapel at the Savoy, 1748–58 (ff. 91–104), extracts from registers of the chapels royal about their administration, c. 1749 (ff. 60–78); and appointments to the French chapel royal at St. James's palace, 1749–50 (ff. 85–89). It also contains correspondence on the French Protestant churches in London, 1750–56 (ff. 105–20), including an appeal of the French chapel in St. Marylebone for royal bounty, 1750 (ff. 105–06); regulations of the French church in Wapping and a petition from the Jersey and Guernsey congregation there recommending appointment of James Garnier, 1751 (ff. 107–14); and proceedings of the French church of St. John, Spitalfields against the Rev. Descolas, 1756 (ff. 115–20).

From the short episcopate of **Richard Osbaldeston (Bishop of London 1762–64)** papers [FP Osbaldeston 1](#) have survived relating to the appointment of the chaplain at the French chapel royal at St. James's palace on the death of the Rev. James (Jacques) Serces in 1762 (ff. 188–94), and a petition of Johannes Fevot for appointment to the French church in Soho commonly known as Les Grecs [ie the Savoy], also in 1762 (ff. 195–96).

The papers of **Richard Terrick (Bishop of London 1764–77)** [FP Terrick 2](#) include a request for communion plate at the French chapel, St. James's palace, 1760s, as the few vessels there were in poor condition (ff. 68–69); documents relating to the Savoy French and German Lutheran Chapels (ff. 70–77); an important "List of the French refugees chappels, and Meetings, in London 1764" (ff. 78–79); a recommendation (with many signatures) from natives of Guernsey and Jersey of the appointment of John Charles Bernel to officiate in the French chapel in Wapping, 1773 (ff. 83–84); and a request from the Wardens and Overseers (with 9 signatures) for the ordination and licensing of John Roget to the French chapel of the Carre [Le Quarré], Milk Street, Soho, 26 October 1775 (f. 85).

The papers of **Bishop Lowth (Bishop of London 1778–87)** [FP Lowth 2](#) refer to two congregations in different areas of London. The first group of papers relate to the election and appointment of Pierre Francois Prevost as minister to the French chapel of Le Carré [Le Quarré, Soho], 1781, in place of Revd. Roget (ff. 235–38). The second relates to issues concerning the conformity to the Church of England of the French chapel in Hoxton, Spitalfields, in 1785 (ff. 239–49). It includes a petition to the Bishop of London, struck through and with corrections in another hand, from Jacob Bourdillon, Minister of two French Churches in Spitalfields, concerning arrangements related to his recommendation for the re-ordination as a minister in the Church of England of Mr Peter Lescure, minister to the French congregation at Hoxton worshipping at Haberdasher's Hospital. This long document includes the names of resident families as well as the historical background to the request, which was later rescinded (ff. 244–47v).

Thereafter the content of the FP papers of the Bishops of London is mostly limited to the appointment of ministers to the conformist French chapels or churches, for example the papers of **Beilby Porteus (Bishop of London 1787–1809)** [FP Porteus 7](#) ff. 210–11, a letter dated 1 May 1790 to the Bishop of London from Charles de Guiffardiere, Minister of His Majesty's French Chapel of St James, indemnifying the Bishop from any claims following his ordination in the Church of England of Peter



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Lescure, a Preacher of the French Chapel in Milk Alley of the Parish of St. Ann [ie **Le Quarré**, Soho] and Marc Theophile Coutau Abauzit, and several documents relating to the proposed ordination as Deacon of John Lewis Chirol in 1800 (ff. 216–30). These include a testimonial from the Elders (with multiple signatures) of the French Protestant Church at Saint John Street, Bethnal Green, of which Chirol had been minister for some years.

### 2.4 Jersey and Guernsey

Jersey and Guernsey were formally annexed to the Diocese of Winchester in 1568, having previously been under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Coutances, in Normandy. People in both islands were early adopters of Calvinist beliefs, and the islands' proximity to France made them a natural choice for Huguenot refugees. The Discipline (the book setting out the Calvinist structures and administration of the Church in Jersey and Guernsey) was agreed in 1576 and revised in 1597. In 1603 the continuation of the islands' Church settlement was agreed by James I, but it soon came into question. [MS 744](#) addressed to James I, presented a new revision of the Discipline for the King's consideration and approval. [MS 470](#), written in the same hand, appears to represent a further revision.

[MS 929](#) is one of several volumes of miscellaneous papers, most of which previously belonged to Archbishop Tenison (Archbishop 1694–1715). It was amongst the papers "methodized" in 1758 by Librarian Ducarel at the request of the newly appointed Archbishop Secker. As with Secker's other volumes, Ducarel's method often neglected chronology, and the papers, which include endorsed copies of earlier formal documents, are helpful in shedding light on the history of the French-speaking churches in Guernsey and Jersey and the extent to which the Archbishops of Canterbury were involved. In addition to the Discipline, Jersey and Guernsey both had their own Canons of Ecclesiastical Law, based on those of the Church of England but adapted for their use. In 1698 it was proposed that the 1623 Jersey Canons should be applied to Guernsey. The period surrounding the States meeting of 17 October 1700, at which the Jersey Canons were accepted in principle, saw strong opposition to the proposal, as papers MS 929 Nos 19, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 31, 32, 33 and 34 illustrate.

MS 929 also contains two documents which provide insight into the church in Jersey. No. 25 is a petition to "his grace" by the Dean and "the whole clergy" in the island of Jersey in which they complain of the poverty of the clergy, and ask that the clergy rent their tithes from the crown at the rents stated in the extent last revised in 1666. The date '1692' has been added in the margin, and the petition refers to Her Majesty, presumably Queen Anne. No. 35 is a memorial by Philip Falle, minister in Jersey and a Deputy of the States of Jersey, to Archbishop Tenison, giving an account of his life from 1656 to 1696, including his services to the government, and seeking preferment. He includes as a demonstration of his loyalty to the Crown a two-page transcript of part of a sermon he preached (in French) at St Saviour's Jersey on 5 August 1694. Copies of several of Falle's published writings and sermons, some referred to in his memorial, are in the printed books collection.

The first volume of Archbishop Secker's own papers [MS 1122/1](#) include several documents which illustrate the involvement of his predecessor but one, Thomas Herring (Archbishop 1747–57) in seeking relief in 1750 for the some of the many



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French Huguenot refugees in Jersey (items 38–40, 45 and 46, ff. 111–16, 124–27). These include a list (ff. 124–25) of 184 French Protestant refugees (with their ages and occupations) there in 1750, with an endorsement by Herring: This given to me ... May 23 1750".

In 1702 a French chapel was established in **Wapping** to support a community of French speaking seafarers originating in Jersey and Guernsey as well as a number of Huguenot refugees from France. The poverty of the Wapping congregation led it to accept conformity in 1705 as a condition of receiving an allowance from Queen Anne's Bounty. This in turn required the occasional involvement of the Bishops of London, as noted above.

### 3 Practical Help and Campaigning

#### 3.1 Financial Aid for French Protestants

Collections in aid of French Protestants were made in many parishes in the Canterbury archdiocese from 1681 onwards. [VH 36/2](#) records "Protestant Briefs", or collections, mostly for French Protestants between 1681 and 1688, with a smaller number of later collections for Irish Protestants and the Vaudois. These records typically give the names of the donors, together with the amounts raised, sometimes only a few pence. F.65v gives the results of a house to house collection in Wrotham, Kent.

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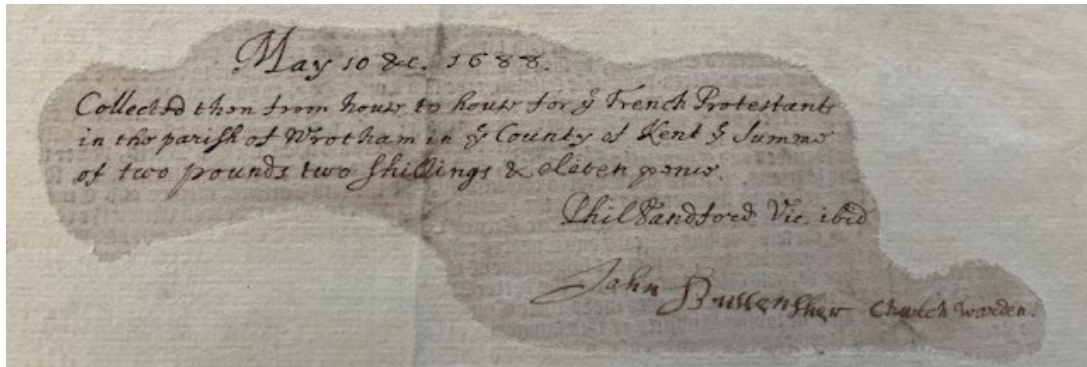
Rich. Lawrence Clarke	8-6
with Randall Gent	2-6
John Malloy yeoman	0-6
Tho: Brown husbandman	0-6
John Eales husbandman	1-6
Abraham Joyson yeoman	0-6
Rowland Greene husbandman	0-6
George Sebell husbandman	0-8
Tho: Ward millner	0-6
John Hancock blacksmith	0-4
John Gaist	0-6
Tho: Rogers	0-6
Richard Wocle	0-6
John Felling	0-6
John Sebell	0-6
Joseph Walford	0-6
Richard Lawrence Clarke	0-13-0
Robert Randall	

VH 36/2 f. 20, showing the occupations of donors to a small collection, probably from 1681-82.





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VH 36/2 f. 65v

As many of the French Protestants who fled to England had had to leave all their belongings behind in France, it became apparent as early as 5 March 1686 that a more systematic financial support system was needed. King James II ordered collections to be made in Anglican churches between 1686 and 1688. In May 1689 the new monarchs William and Mary created a more structured support system, known as the Royal Bounty. The Commissioners for the Royal Bounty had overall oversight, whilst a “French Committee” of Huguenots determined its recipients and distributed the money. From 1705 a separate “English Committee” audited the accounts. The extensive records of the “French Committee” are maintained by the Huguenot Society in the Huguenot Library; formerly also available on microfiche, these were converted in 2020 to a digital format, and are accessible on the Members’ area of the website <http://www.huguenotsociety.org.uk/members>. LPL [MSS 2525–38](#) are the annual accounts of the Royal Bounty for 1727–68. They are duplicates from these Huguenot Society records, and were given to LPL by the Huguenot Society in 1971.

The original manuscripts in the Library include numerous requests for aid, in many cases with the response. The papers of Archbishop Secker (archbishop 1758–68) in particular set out his approach to the requests, and the conflict between his personal willingness to help (which he sometimes did out of his own pocket) and desire to maintain church orthodoxy. His correspondence in [MSS 1122/1-III](#) is summarised in Robert G. Ingram, [Religion, Reform and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century: Thomas Secker and the Church of England \(Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2007\)](#), 266–80. As well as generalised requests to support Huguenot refugees in England and its islands, the papers include petitions by or on behalf of individuals. These typically include the reasons for their poverty. The papers of Archbishop Tenison (archbishop 1694–1715) [MS 2218 ff. 34–62](#) include several examples. The circumstances of the individuals concerned varies from two French refugee mathematics students (f. 34) to widow Shalet (f. 53).



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### 3.2 Galleys and galériens (galley-slaves)

Around 60,000 men were recorded in the Toulon galley registers as having entered the French galleys in captivity between 1680 and 1748. Of these, 1,551 were sentenced “pour la foi”, for a variety of reasons related to their Protestant faith. Around 50 more men were condemned to the galleys for their faith after 1748. Recent research has identified a further 300 Protestant galley-slaves (see Pierre Rolland, “Les galériens protestants (et condamnés pour aide aux protestants) 1680–1775”, *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* (Vol. 158, Janvier-Février-Mars 2012), pp. 45–92.) The galériens, or galley-slaves, were kept in terrible conditions, from which death was the most common form of release. Successive Archbishops of Canterbury and congregations of the French Protestant churches were engaged in the efforts to support the galériens. This support, which included campaigning for their release, involved international collaboration and diplomacy. The Library archives are amongst the most extensive records in England for this aspect of Huguenot history, particularly for the period after 1748. By their nature, some of these records need to be read in conjunction with those held elsewhere. A few examples follow.

#### *The rules for the conduct of Huguenots in the galleys, 1699*

[MS 688](#), formerly belonging to Archbishop Tenison, includes ff. 453r–457v. ‘Reglements faits par les Confesseurs de la Verité, qui sont detenus pour ce sujet sur les galeres de France, pour etre envoyez à l’Eglise Française de Londres’. This document is dated Marseille, 20 March 1699, and is bound with two unsigned letters (ff. 458–60v) to the French Church in London from ‘les fidelles qui souffrent dans les chaines’ dated Marseille 5 Nov. 1699 and n.d. Copies of the rules drawn up by a leading group of Huguenots for their conduct in the galleys were sent to supporters abroad as part of the campaign to encourage them to continue in their efforts. A slightly earlier version, sent to the church in Geneva, was first printed as “Les Forçats de Louis XIV ...” *Bulletin historique et littéraire (Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français)*, Vol. 17 (1868), pp. 20–29 and 65–73. The LPL version provides further evidence of the coordinated efforts of the Huguenot galérien leaders and their supporters. Unlike the version for the church in Geneva, the LPL version of the rules refers to individual galériens only by their initials, and it is not signed. The 5 November 1699 letter thanks the generous Consistory of the Walloon Church in London for its support, including 750 livres. The final letter in the series, which is a copy, as are the previous two documents, is more reflective in its nature, and thanks the pastors, elders and deacons of the French Church in London for their letter, which had reached them despite the vigilance of the prison overseers.

#### *Élie (Elias) Neu*

The exceptional circumstances of one of the most famous of all galériens had led to his release in 1698 following the intercession of William III. Huguenot **Élie, or Elias, Neu** had fled to Boston New England, later moving to New York and applying to become a British subject. Captured at sea whilst working as a merchant sailor, he endured nearly six years in captivity. Following his release accounts of his



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experiences in the galleys were published, including a short English account in 1699: [An account of the sufferings of the French Protestants : slaves on board the French King's galleys / by Elias Neau, one of their fellow sufferers. Together with a list of those who are still on board the said galleys](#). Neau drew on his own experiences having been appointed by the new Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) as catechist to the “children, Indians, negroes, and other persons” in New York. The SPG papers in the Library are one of the richest sources of information about Neau’s pioneering teaching activity. They contain numerous letters from him, as well as references to him in SPG minutes and letters from other correspondents. In addition, volume 6 of the Fulham Papers Colonial [FP VI](#), ff. 181–82 is a letter in French from Neau to Bishop Robinson from 1718, describing his problems in getting pupils, because of lukewarm support by the local clergy, and the difficulties encountered by his converts in trying to live Christian lives under the conditions of slavery.

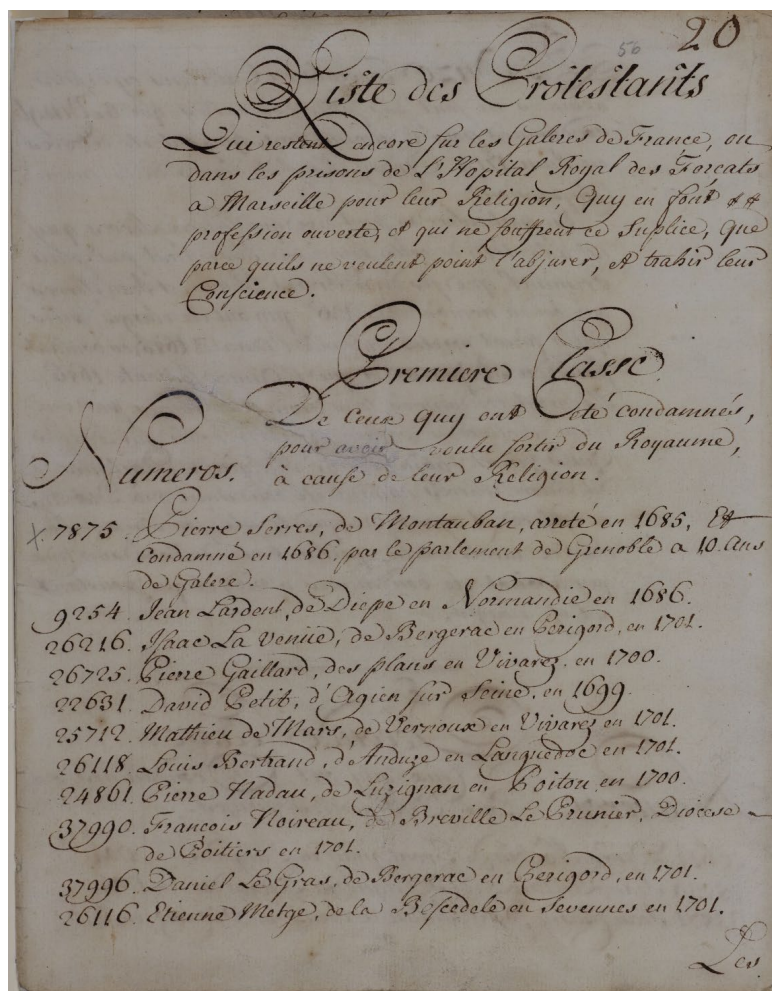
### *The Serres brothers and lists of galériens*

[MS 935](#) No.18 is a memorial dated 1704 by Minister John Dubourgdiou, by order of his congregation at the French church of the Savoy, to Sir Robert Harley, Principal Secretary of State, requesting steps be taken to exchange French Protestants in the galleys for French priests recently captured at sea. That suggestion was unsuccessful, but in 1713, following the Treaty of Utrecht and diplomatic intervention by Queen Anne, 136 galériens were released without having converted to Catholicism. Those released included brothers Jean and David Serres, who had endured 27 years’ imprisonment. Their eldest brother Pierre remained incarcerated in the early months of 1714, when he headed the list of Protestants still in the French galleys or the associated prisons which Jean and David signed whilst campaigning for his release in London. The Cambridge University Library copy of this list was reproduced by [Fonbrune-Berlineau](#) in 1889. The LPL copy, [MS 1122/1](#) ff.56–62v, is similar but with fewer signatures, including those of Jean and David. An associated letter (ff. 52–53) to Archbishop Herring from Israel Antoine Aufrere, Minister of the French church at the Savoy, explained that he had received it from “Mr John Serres one of ’em still living ... from Winchester”. Aufrere’s letter includes a new list of “those who actually suffer on the Gallies”, received from The Hague in October 1748.





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MS 1122/1 f. 56. "List of Protestant Galley Slaves at the Peace of Utrecht, put into Abp Herring's Hands in 1748". David and Jean Serres certified this list as correct on f. 62v.

### Diplomatic efforts to release prisoners after 1748

The date is significant. On 27 November 1748 Louis XV signed the order formally disbanding the galley fleet. Most of the surviving convicts were moved elsewhere, and the details of the remaining prisoners of conscience in the galleys are harder to trace after 1748. Despite the formal order, the last two Protestant galley slaves were not liberated until 1775, and it is to this period which the papers in Archbishop Secker's collection chiefly relate. Those in MS 1122/1 include letters (ff. 89–91) to his predecessor, Archbishop Herring, in autumn 1749. A series of letters, mostly to and from Archbishop Secker, dated between 1761 and 1764, illustrate his close personal involvement in attempts to secure the release of the remaining galériens imprisoned for their faith, together with their female counterparts in the tower of Constance at Aigues-Mortes. Most of these letters enclose lists of those who were still detained, or names of particular individuals, and they also illustrate the networks involved in the ongoing efforts to secure their release, involving Minister John James Majendie, Sir Philip Yorke, diplomat at The Hague and Jean Royer, Minister of the Walloon



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reformed Church at the Hague and chaplain to the Prince of Orange. See [MS 1122/2](#) (f. 13 and ff. 42–43) and [MS 1122/3](#) (ff. 13, 23–24, 27–29, 30–31, 39, 42–43, 44–45, 66–67, 79–80, 114–15, 116, 117–18, 119–22, 124–26, 226–27, 247–48).

## 4 Literature

### 4.1 Service-books in the French language

French language service books were needed for public worship. French translations of Church of England service books were amongst the earliest printed books to be held at the Library. Archbishop Abbot owned a 1616 edition of [La Liturgie angloise : ou, Le Livre des Prières Publique ... nouvellement traduit en françois](#), an authorised translation into French of the Book of Common Prayer, printed in London. The Library houses several other versions, including [Le livre des Prières Communes, de l'administration des sacramens & autres ceremonies en l'Eglise d'Angleterre / traduti en Françoys par Françoys Philippe](#), published in 1553.

Jersey-born Jean Durel (1625–83) was one of the leading conformist French Protestant ministers who sought to reconcile the Church of England with Huguenot and reformed practice. In 1661 he helped set up the recognised French Church in the grounds of the Savoy Hospital, close to the King's main residence at the Palace of Whitehall. Royal permission was granted subject to the right to appoint the Minister and the use of the Book of Common Prayer. On 14 July 1661 the liturgy of the Church of England was used for the first time there, and Durel preached his first sermon to his new congregation, published that year as [Sermon prononcé en l'eglise françoise](#).

Huguenot congregations made substantial use of Biblical Psalms in their worship. This became a key aspect of their religious identity, and the practice of singing psalms in the street was a cause of friction in France before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Printed editions of French psalters, or books of psalms (psaumes) often included other key texts such as the liturgy and catechism. The Library copy of [Les psaumes en vers, avec la prose, et la liturgie, le catéchisme, & la confession de foi des Eglises Reformées](#), published in Amsterdam in 1698, includes a manuscript note at the end summarising some of the articles from the Walloon Synod held at Rotterdam on 9 September 1700.

[Les Psaumes de David retouchez sur la version de Marot & de Beze: approuvez par les pasteurs de l'Eglise de Paris. ... avec la liturgie, le catechisme, & la confession de foi](#) was printed in London for Jean Cailloué and Jaques Levi, French booksellers trading near the Savoy church, in 1701. The Library copy is inscribed on the flyleaf "From the Author Mr. De la Bastide. Aug. 20th. 1701." Marc Antoine de la Bastide (c. 1624–1704), who completed the work of revising the psalter in French which had been started by Valentin Conrart (1603–75) had settled in London a few years after the Revocation.

The development in Neuchatel, Switzerland, of an ecumenical protestant liturgy, drawing, amongst other sources, on the English Book of Common Prayer, was in large part the work of Jean Frederic Ostervald, or Osterwald (1663–1747). An

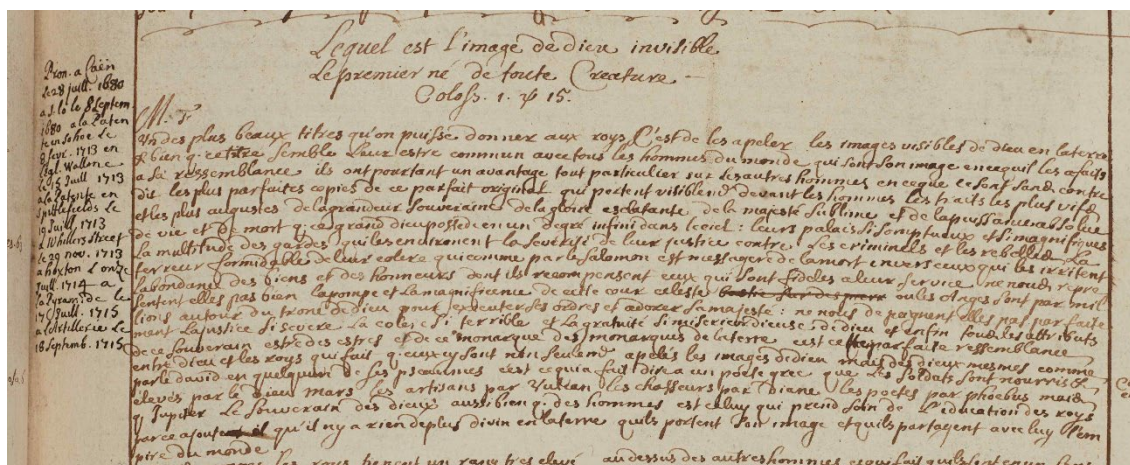


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English version of the liturgy was published in London in 1712 as [The liturgy used in the churches of the principality of Neufchatel](#). A French version, was published in Basle the following year as [La liturgie ou la manière de célébrer le service divin : qui est établie dans les Eglises de la Principauté de Neufchatel & Vallangin](#). The Library copy was presented by Ostervald to Archbishop Tenison. [MS 740](#) appears to be a preliminary version of the French version of this liturgy, containing much of the published text, but in a different order, and lacking the Sunday services. It is probably the draft of the liturgy sent by Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, to Archbishop Tenison on 15 August 1702: 'I send you with this a letter from Mr. Ostervald with the draught of the new liturgy preparing in Switzerland and already in use in Neufchatel ...' [MS 930](#) item 31. Another copy of the liturgy was sent by Ostervald to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) on 23 Aug 1705, with a letter seeking intervention on behalf of a man who had served 19 years in the galleys for a religious offence ([SPG IX](#) 63–64).

### 4.2 Sermons

Preaching was one of the main features of Huguenot worship, and thus of the responsibilities of Huguenot Ministers. Only a few volumes of manuscript sermons delivered in France by Huguenot ministers in the period leading up to the Revocation are known to have survived, of which one is in the Library. In [MS 3976](#) Huguenot pastor Jean Jembelin noted the place and date on which he delivered 146 sermons between 1676 and 1727, spanning his ministry in Normandy before 1685 and his French-speaking Protestant congregations at Thorney Abbey in Cambridgeshire and the Spitalfields church of La Patente after it.



MS 3976 p.117 showing dates and places where Jembelin preached this sermon

Copies of several of the printed books written by ministers at the French churches in London are held in the Library. These include nine sermons preached by Gilbert Primerose (1580?–1641), a Scottish Calvinist Minister who became a Minister first in France and then, after the expulsion of Foreign Ministers from France in 1623, in the French Church in London. [The righteous mans euils, and the Lords deliuerances](#), printed in London in 1625, includes graphic accounts of the suffering of Protestants in France and elsewhere (pp. 44–45, 186–87). As a Huguenot minister who was appointed chaplain to the King, he enjoined loyalty to the Monarch (pp. 66–67).





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Although the ministers of the centrally located French church of the Savoy tended to enjoy greater access to printers and booksellers, the Library includes some printed sermons by Huguenot ministers in other French-speaking churches. The publication in 1706 of a sermon dedicated to the Queen by her “très-humble, très-obeissant, très-fidele, & très-obligé serviteur Louis de la Prade”, Minister of the French chapel at Wapping followed the conformity of that church the previous year. This was [Sermon prononcé dans la chapelle françoise de Wapping : le jeudy 27 Juin, 1706, jour d'action de graces ordonné par sa Majesté, pour les heureux succez de ses armes e de celles de ses allies, tant en Flandres qu'en Espagne ...](#)

### 4.3 Descriptions of persecution and suffering

Descriptions of the persecution and suffering of Huguenots and other Protestants were part of the campaign to secure support, both for those in captivity and those seeking refuge in England and elsewhere. [MS 5214](#) is a manuscript book dating from between 1681 and 1699 entitled *Apologie Des Protestants De France refugiez en Angleterre*. It describes the experiences of French Protestants in France in the 16th and 17th centuries, and the reception of those seeking refuge in England in the late 17th century.

French Protestant leader Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713) was particularly active in collecting and publicising accounts of the sufferings of French Protestants. On going into exile from France he became pastor of the Walloon church in Rotterdam. After the Treaty of Ryswick of 1697 he wrote a long letter to Archbishop Tenison enclosing some of these memoirs. [MS 953](#) No 111 states “Lors qu'on travailloit au dernier Traité de Paix dans ces Provinces, nous travaillames à ramasser des memoires pour prouver que les Rois d'Angleterre sont garants de la liberte des Eglises Protestants de France” [When we were working on the last Treaty of Peace in these Provinces, we worked to collect memoirs to prove that the Kings of England are guarantors of the freedom of the Protestant Churches of France]. It is not known which memoirs were included with this letter, but the Library has an earlier example of Jurieu's efforts. [The last efforts of afflicted innocence : being an account of the persecution of the Protestants of France](#) is an English translation of a French work by Jurieu (1637–1713). Published in London in 1682, it takes the form of a dialogue between a Parisian and a “Hugonot lawyer” and a “Hugonot gentleman”.

The Library houses other printed narratives of or about the suffering of individuals as well as many generalised accounts of the experiences of Huguenots in France. In [French cruelty : or a relation of the death and martyrdom of Mr. Homel](#), Anne Homel presented her father's execution on the wheel as a martyr for the faith, with his badly bruised body remaining undecayed. She also described her upbringing and the effect of his persecution on her family. The Library has a rare copy of the English translation of her account published in 1689, the year after the French version was published in Amsterdam (the British Library has two copies of the French version).

### 4.4 Printed books and controversies

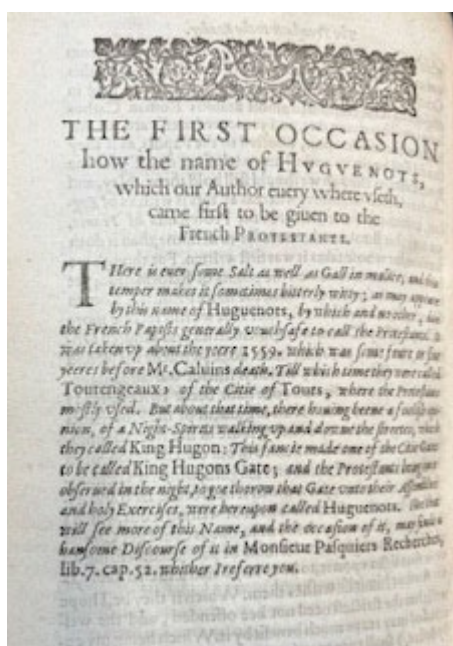
The two centuries during which Reformed Protestants were unable to worship freely in France coincided with a period of upheaval in England and elsewhere in Europe. There was intense interest in the religious allegiance of the monarchs during this



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time, and after the execution of King Charles I in 1649 the kingship of England was abolished and replaced in a succession of forms by the Commonwealth until May 1660. Continuing anxiety about the likelihood for further political and religious change influenced the spate of writings on both sides of the religious divide.

As already noted, most of the works relating to Huguenots in the Library collections do not use that term. In September 1589 the courtier Henry Constable (1562–1613) produced a book purporting to be authored by a French gentleman and to have been published in Paris rather than its actual production in London. King James VI of Scotland (the future James I of England) had married in August and Constable was keen to demonstrate his loyalty to the future King, as well as urging his Catholic French readers to support the Huguenot King Henri IV, who succeeded to the French throne on 2 August. Henry Constable's book, [The catholike moderator](#), was one of the first to use the term Huguenot. English translations were produced in 1623 and 1624, and both these editions are in the Library collections. These editions included an introductory note on the use of "the name of Huguenots".



Henry Constable, *The catholike moderator*, ¶12 v.

Two polemical early 17th century books, one opposing and the other defending the religion of Huguenots, are also unusual for the period in including the word Huguenot in their title. Louis Richeome (1544–1625) was a Jesuit polemicist and author of several books, including *L'idolatrie huguenote* (1608), which was responded to point by point a year later by Jean Bansion. Richeome then counter-attacked with [Le pantheon huguenot decouvert et ruyné](#), published c. 1610 and dedicated to King Henri IV. (The book was translated into Latin in 1613). In it Richeome argued that Protestantism was the heretical work of Satan and linked to worship of pagan deities including the moon, Venus and Saturn. Jean Bansion (1575–1637), a Protestant minister from the south of France, responded with a second book, [Le pantheon de la nouvelle Rome opposé au pantheon huguenot de Louis Richeome Jesuite provençal](#)



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..., published in 1611. The Library copy was previously owned by George Abbot (Archbishop 1611–33).

A few years later the controversy was renewed between Jacques Duperron, who was appointed Bishop of Evreux by King Henri IV and in 1604 became a Cardinal. [MS 652, f. 49](#) is a French copy of a letter from Duperron to King Henri IV. In one of his books Duperron argued against the claim of James I of England that he belonged to the Catholic Church on the grounds that he believed all the articles considered necessary by the first Christians. Normandy-born Huguenot minister and prolific controversialist Pierre Du Moulin (1568–1658) replied to Duperron's work in 1627 with his [Nouueauté du Papisme, opposee a l'antiquité du vray Christianisme](#). Du Moulin was one of the most active defendants of the French Reformed Church as well as a staunch defender of monarchical rights on behalf of King James I of England. Du Moulin's printed books are well represented in the Library, which also houses [MS 3352](#), his lengthy commentary on the book of Genesis, written c. 1625.

Another work which used the term Huguenot was Roger L'Estrange's translation, published in London in 1683, of a French work, as [An apology for the Protestants of France : in reference to the persecutions they are under at this day ...](#)

### 4.5 Examples of theological concerns

#### *Protestant Unification*

The period of intense religious and political conflict in Europe also saw detailed **proposals for unification of Protestant churches**. [MS 932](#) contains several documents relating to this subject, including Nos 70–76, 80–83. No. 73 is a detailed commentary on one set of proposals concerning “la reunion des Protestants d'Angleterre” by D. Des Marets, pastor of the Walloon church at The Hague and pastor of the reformed church at Castres in Languedoc, written in 1689. MS 932 No. 67 is a letter from Lortie to Tenison dated 1707, in which he advocates the union of Protestant Churches, and submits a tract which he hopes the Queen will pay to be published.

#### *Socinianism*

Whilst the Huguenot churches enjoyed considerable religious freedom, particularly compared to the English Dissenters, concerns remained about the spread of beliefs considered heretical by the Church of England. There were reports of some Huguenots, including ministers, supporting **Socinianism**, whose tenets included denying the divinity of Jesus Christ. The Library houses many printed books from the late 17th and early 18th centuries refuting Socinian doctrines, as well as significant numbers in support of their beliefs, particularly within the Sion College collection.

The manuscripts of Archbishop Tenison (Archbishop 1694–1715) include several reports of Socinianism. He endorsed [MS 934](#) No. 53, a copy in French of proceedings at the Savoy of commissaries appointed by the French refugee ministers to inquire into charges of Socinianism against the late Daniel Dutens, formerly minister at Angers, 1693. [MS 1029](#) No. 65 is an example in his papers of a





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letter dated 8 June 1697 containing allegations of Socinianism in the Walloon Church of Canterbury. It includes notes on an incriminating letter from Canterbury Minister Jacques Rondeau to Mr. Souverain, a French minister in London. Tenison also endorsed [MS 929](#) No.54, "Arguments between M. Testas and M. de Lortie, a Socinian, on the question, 'Si J.C. est le fils de Dieu de toute eternite'" and [MS 932](#) No. 1, the Defence of André Lortie against charges of Socinianism

### *Apocalyptic prophecies*

[MS 932](#) No 10 is a précis of apocalyptic prophecies by Durand Fage of Aubaye and Jean Cavalier of Sauve, 'prononcé sous l'opération de l'Esprit' at London, 30 August 1706, endorsed by Archbishop Tenison. [MS 934](#) No. 52 is a precis of prophesying by the pair on 3 September 1706. Both those documents predate the arrival in London in mid-September of the third of the so-called "Camisard prophets", whose activities were quickly clamped down on by the Consistory of the French Church of the Savoy, which excommunicated them in March 1707. The interest in the Camisard prophets is reflected in several contemporary printed books in the Library collection. These include French and English versions of Marion's prophecies published in 1707, [Prophetical warnings of Elias Marion : heretofore one of the commanders of the Protestants, that had taken arms in the Cevennes: or, Discourses uttered by him in London, under the operation of the Spirit](#). In 1708 an account of the consistory proceedings was published: [An account of the lives and behaviour of the three French Prophets lately come out of the Cevennes and Languedoc : and of the proceedings of the consistory of the Savoy](#)

## 4.6 An example of scholastic collaboration – Peter (Pierre) Allix

Minister and scholar Peter Allix (1641–1717) was baptised Pierre. The Library's printed books catalogue records 29 titles under his baptismal name, whilst the archive catalogue uses his adopted name. Allix's ministry in France from 1670–85 was at the main Huguenot church of Charenton, near Paris. Amongst the books he sent from France ahead of fleeing to London in 1685 was [MS 860](#), an incomplete printed copy of the *Exposition de la doctrine de L'Eglise Catholique* (Paris, 1671) by Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux. This is a copy of the first printing of the *Exposition*, said to have been suppressed at the instigation of the doctors of the Sorbonne on the grounds that it misrepresented Catholic faith in an attempt to conciliate Protestant opinion. The Library document combines the incomplete printed copy with manuscript text. Allix borrowed another copy of the "suppressed" version from Marshal Turenne, and this is presumably the source of the supplied text. On 19 March 1686 Allix added his written testimony that the text in MS 860 corresponded exactly to the "suppressed" version in Turenne's copy. William Wake, later Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom Allix gave the book, added: "This attestation of the fidelitie of this copie Monsr. Allix at my entreaty wrote the day & place therein mentioned. Will. Wake". MS 860 had a lasting influence, and was used by Wake in his attack on Bossuet: [An exposition of the doctrine of the Church of England, in the ... articles : proposed by Monsieur de Meaux](#)



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Allix was one of the most renowned Biblical scholars of his generation, and his arrival in England was warmly welcomed by senior figures in the Church of England. He was the first refugee minister to be reordained in the Church of England, and on 10 July 1686 received a royal patent granting him permission to establish a new French church conforming to the Anglican rite. Four years later he was collated as Treasurer of Salisbury Cathedral. Whilst at Salisbury he received a letter from G. Melchior from Amsterdam about his own writings, [MS 935](#) No. 36. It was from Salisbury that he wrote a letter to Archbishop Tenison in January 1693, [MS 933](#) No. 106, about his planned major work on the Councils of the Gallican Church. King William III believed the publication – which never materialised – to be imminent in 1697.

Allix produced many smaller works, including [The judgment of the ancient Jewish church, against the Unitarians](#), in the preparation of which he worked closely with William Lloyd, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. A letter from Lloyd to Allix, [MS 953](#) No. 54, reveals the strength and depth of their collaboration. [MS 930](#) No 43 is a letter dated 7 August 1697 from Lloyd to Archbishop Tenison which recommends a book by Chandler on Philo the Jew, which was designed to make way for a work by Allix on Jewish tradition and interpretation of Scripture. Bishop Lloyd wished Chandler had written in Latin “for it is a peece onely for learned men”. Allix himself spoke and wrote Latin fluently, and it was in Latin that he wrote to Tenison, including on 11 September 1692 ([MS 953](#) No. 9).

Allix continued to receive the support of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was one of the select number of people permitted to borrow books from LPL – notes in his hand record those he borrowed between August and October 1708 [LR/D/5](#). It seems likely that he used two 12th century manuscripts in LPL, [MS 363](#) and [MS 539](#) as the source for publishing extracts of the texts concerned in 1686. His scholarship outlived him.

## 5 Select Bibliography

The Library has copies of the publications of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland (formerly the Huguenot Society of London) since its founding in 1885. LPL Librarian from 1868 to 1910, Samuel Wayland Kershaw, was one of the founding fellows of the Society. The Library also has copies of the first (Nov. 1861) and second (Jan. 1862) editions of a periodical published in London entitled *Le Huguenot: revue religieuse trimestrielle*.

Bibliothèque du Protestantisme Français, MS 149 contains analysis and transcriptions of extracts from LPL manuscripts relating to French Protestants, including from MS 688, made by H.-L. Bordier in 1872.

Catherine S. Arnold, “Affairs of Humanity: Arguments for Humanitarian Intervention in England and Europe, 1698–1715”, *English Historical Review* Vol. CXXXIII No. 563 (2018), pp. 835–65.

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Vivienne Larminie, *Peter [Pierre] Allix*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (2008).

Anthony Milton ed., *The Oxford History of Anglicanism. Vol. I Reformation and Identity, c.1520–1662* (Oxford University Press, 2017).

D. M. Ogier, *Reformation and society in Guernsey* (Woodbridge, 1996).

Pierre Rolland, *Dictionnaire du Désert Huguenot: La reconquête protestante 1715–1765* (Les Éditions de Paris, 2017).

Pierre Rolland, "Les galériens protestants (et condamnés pour aide aux protestants) 1680–1775", *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* (Vol. 158, Janvier-Février-Mars 2012), pp. 45–92.

Ruth Whelan, "The extraordinary voyage of Élie Neau (1662–c. 1722), naturalized Englishman and French Protestant galley slave", *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* (XXIX (4) 2011), pp. 499–527.

Ruth Whelan, "In the Dungeons of the Château d'If: French Protestant Galley Slaves under the Reign of Louis XIV", *Irish Journal of French Studies* (Vol. 23, 2023), pp. 32–62.

David van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile. Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic, 1680–1700* (Farnham, 2015).

André Zysberg, *Les Galériens: Vies et destins de 60000 forçats sur les galères de France 1680–1748* (Seuil, Paris, 1987).

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