1. A special case? London's French Protestants

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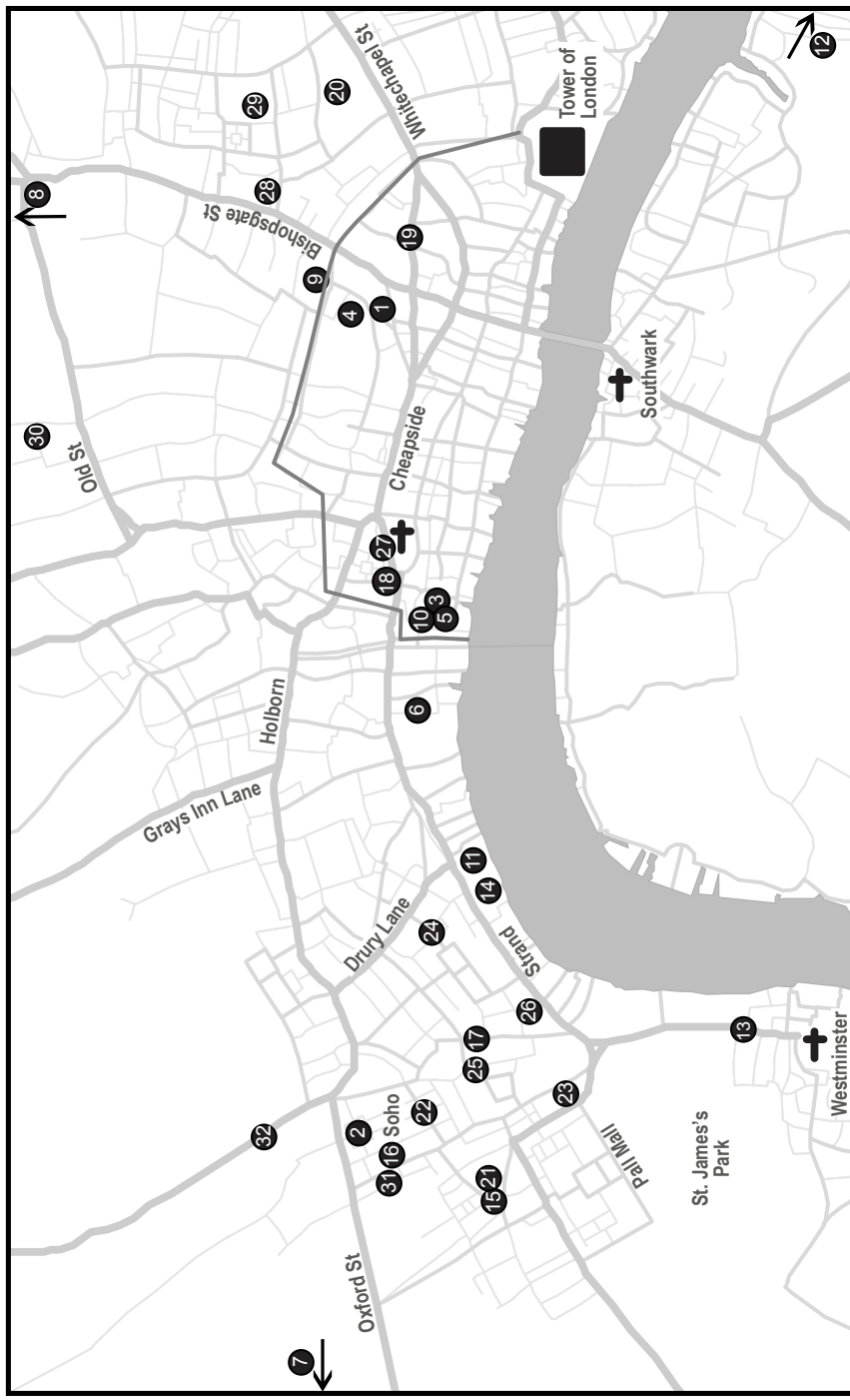
Between 1550, when a French Reformed church was first established in London, and the beginning of the 1789 Revolution in France, an estimated 65,000 French-speaking Europeans moved into England, bringing with them their skills and knowledge, and over half of them settled in what is now the Greater London area.[1] The principal reason for this migration, which lasted for over 200 years, was the search by French Protestants for the freedom to practise their religion without intimidation and persecution by Roman Catholic rulers who regarded the Reformation as heretical. In Protestant England, it was understood, where papal authority had been replaced by that of a Protestant monarch, liberty of conscience was available to those French citizens who had chosen to follow the Reformed faith.

The movement reached its peak in the last two decades of the seventeenth century, when, following Louis XIV's decision that France should become an exclusively Catholic kingdom, approximately 25,000 French Protestant refugees arrived in London. The English capital was still relatively small at that time, its population being about 400,000 in 1650,[2] and it barely extended beyond the twin heartlands of the City, centre of trade and industry, and Westminster, the seat of government. Its suburbs were little more than hamlets or villages and, until as late as 1750, there was only one bridge across the River Thames. However, its position as an international seaport had always made London particularly attractive to overseas 'strangers', and there had been a French presence there since the middle ages. Men and women of all social backgrounds had traditionally crossed the Channel in search of patronage and employment, and London was well adjusted to receiving them.[3] Before the Reformation, a good deal of business had been carried out on behalf of the universal Catholic Church, and certain French religious houses had acquired land in the English capital, an example being

[1] R. D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: the History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (2nd edn., Brighton, 2001), pp. 37–9, 44–7.

[2] D. C. Coleman, *The Economy of England, 1450–1750* (Oxford, 1977), p. 97.

[3] I. Scouloudi, 'The stranger community in the metropolis, 1558–1640', in *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background*, ed. I. Scouloudi (1987), p. 42.



Map 1.1. Places mentioned in the text (Base map: London *c.*1700)

Key to Map 1.1

1. The French church, Threadneedle Street (formerly St. Anthony's Hospital)
2. French Protestant church of London, Soho Square
3. Blackfriars
4. The Dutch church, Austin Friars
5. Vautrollier, Blackfriars
6. Bouverie Street
7. Bouverie Place (W2, off map *c.*1.5 miles)
8. Bouverie Road (N16, off map *c.*3 miles)
9. Petty Fraunce
10. Apothecaries' Hall
11. Somerset House
12. Croom's Hill, Greenwich (off map *c.*3.5 miles)
13. King Street, Westminster
14. Palace of the Savoy
15. Foubert's 'royal' Academy
16. St. Anne's church, Wardour Street
17. Old Slaughter's coffee-house, St. Martin's Lane
18. Black Boy coffee-house, Ave Maria Lane
19. Motteux, Leadenhall Street
20. La Patente church, Spitalfields
21. Paul de Lamerie, Windmill Street
22. Paul Crespin, Old Compton Street
23. Paul Daniel Chenevix, Suffolk Street
24. David Grignion, Russell Street
25. Nicholas Massy, Cranbourn Street
26. David Lestourgeon, Church Lane, St. Martin in the Fields
27. Patemoster Row
28. Artillery Lane
29. Christ Church Spitalfields
30. La Providence hospital, Bath Street
31. Joseph Duffour, Berwick Street
32. Pierre Langlois, Tottenham Court Road

the congregation of St. Antoine de Vienne from the Dauphiné, to whom Henry III (reigned 1216–72) granted a plot on Threadneedle Street in the City. Henry's son Edward I invited French Dominicans to establish a large priory in Blackfriars where, under royal protection, they provided alien craftsmen and merchants with shelter from the jurisdiction of the City and its guilds.[4] Although the religious character of this precinct disappeared in the sixteenth century, Blackfriars would remain an important location for immigrants from France.

The Tudor monarchy encourages French settlement

Henry VIII's ambitions to establish his kingdom as a power in Europe, and to rival the prestige of the court of France's François I, led him to call on the services of an increasing number of artisans from overseas.[5] During Henry's reign (1509–47), the majority of these were Flemish or German-speaking, but there was a significant Norman contribution to glass and iron production, and the king, who employed a Norman printer, favoured French culture, the French language, and French clothes and food.[6] Yet, in spite of his break with Rome in 1534, Henry continued to regard Protestants as heretics, and gave orders for them to be severely punished, so that few French migrants would claim to be entering England for sanctuary until after the accession of Edward VI.[7]

Henry's 'Great Pillage' of the medieval monasteries, in which twenty-three Catholic foundations in London were destroyed, had beneficial results for the stranger communities who adopted Protestantism under his son Edward. Although most Church property fell into lay hands, some surviving chapels were made available for Protestant services, which were held in the vernacular after 1549. It was soon appreciated that both 'Dutch' and French strangers would need churches of their own, where they could follow their Reformed liturgy in their own language, and Edward granted leases to each of them under royal charter. Initially, both groups were accommodated in the same Augustinian priory close to Bishopsgate,[8] but the francophone contingent was later moved to the Threadneedle Street premises that had once belonged to the hospital of St. Antoine de Vienne.

[4] Citizens of London did not always welcome the presence of strangers or their industries (see N. G. Brett-James, *The Growth of Stuart London* (1935), pp. 48–9).

[5] C. Giry-Deloison, 'A diplomatic revolution? Anglo-French relations and the treaties of 1527', in *Henry VIII: a European Court in England*, ed. D. Starkey (1991), p. 77.

[6] S. Thurley, *Whitehall Palace* (2008), p. 25.

[7] See Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, p. 37.

[8] The Dutch church in Austin Friars was destroyed in the Second World War but has been reconstructed.

The church on Threadneedle Street was to become the English headquarters of French Reformed worship for the next 300 years, apart from a brief interruption in Mary Tudor's reign (1553–8).[9] When Elizabeth replaced Mary on the throne, London's stranger congregations would discover that their Calvinist discipline and doctrine was not the same as that of the re-established Anglican Church, but they were nevertheless allowed to keep the religious liberties that they had been given under Edward, and, in spite of the Act of Uniformity of 1559, they retained their own system of government by a consistory of elders, and their own liturgy. Although a new requirement since Edward's time was that both Dutch and French churches should submit to the overall control of the bishop of London, it seems that, in the case of Edmund Grindal, bishop from 1559 to 1570, there was 'a fraternal rather than a political connexion'.[10]

This favourable treatment could be explained by the difficulties of enforcing uniformity on worshippers who spoke another language, and by the primary importance the English administration attached to the care and supervision that the churches gave to alien communities. As the church bodies depended on the crown for their legal privileges, they could be expected to show it their loyalty, both by acting as useful agents and by keeping a watch for undesirable influences. The Threadneedle Street congregation therefore continued to keep its confessional independence and to enjoy the direct personal protection of successive English monarchs, even when, as sometimes happened, this was given grudgingly.

There was, in fact, another good reason for treating the London stranger churches as a special case. England was still economically and technically backward in the late sixteenth century and looked towards her nearest neighbours for more sophisticated methods of production.[11] William Cecil, Elizabeth's secretary of state, wanted to attract a limited number of workers from the continent to teach crafts to the native English, who could then supply the domestic market with the luxury goods that were currently imported, such as hats, gloves, white paper, the lighter 'new draperies' and the fine silk material woven at Lille.[12] However, whereas these potential settlers would almost certainly have been Roman Catholic in the past, it was now essential, in view of the turbulent events of the Reformation, that

[9] During Mary's unsuccessful attempt to restore Roman Catholicism in England, strangers who had been previously granted denization were not required to leave the country.

[10] P. Collinson, *Archbishop Grindal, 1519–83: the Struggle for a Reformed Church* (1978), p. 128.

[11] J. R. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth 1558–1603* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1959), p. 236.

[12] Lille, formerly within the duchy of Burgundy, had become part of the Habsburg Empire through inheritance. After 1555 it was ruled from Madrid.

they should be Protestants. If hard-working Calvinists from France and the Netherlands were offered the opportunity to worship under their own rite, it was thought, they might be expected to choose England as their destination and the country could benefit from their skills. A comparison of a London 'return of aliens' of 1593 with the records of the 1630s suggests that this theory was probably correct, for the 352 French-speaking residents recorded at the earlier date had risen to well over 1,000 during the later period.[13]

Not all Protestant migrants were refugees 'for religion', and intermittent inquiries revealed that many claimed to have come to seek their living. Yet better opportunities to practise a profession were often associated with greater freedom of thought and ideas. This applied to the production of books, for, in its efforts to prevent the spread of the new religion, the Sorbonne in Paris had imposed a restrictive censorship on the publication of what it regarded as subversive material.[14] Robert Estienne, the Parisian scholar-printer, was obliged to move his press to Geneva as early as 1552 and, ten years later, Thomas Vautrollier, a Protestant from Troyes in Champagne, transferred his printing equipment from France to the more favourable climate of London. Soon after his arrival, Vautrollier was naturalized and became a brother of the Stationers' Company, opening a business in Blackfriars where he acted as an agent for the Antwerp printer Christopher Plantin.[15] He imported advanced typefaces, some made in the French Protestant citadel of La Rochelle, and undertook the entire book production process from manuscript to binding and selling, examples being the first edition of Sir Thomas North's *Plutarch* and the English text of Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, as well as music. Enterprise on such a scale had not previously been seen in England and set a new high standard of craftsmanship.[16]

Among those with whom Vautrollier worked in London were fellow French Protestants Jean de Beauchesne, whose book on calligraphy was, in itself, an innovation, and Claudius Hollyband or Holyband, a refugee teacher from Moulins in the Bourbonnais. Holyband, who had anglicized his name from Claude de Saintliens, supplied schoolbooks to King James I. He seems to have ignored Threadneedle Street's admonitions against taking English wives, having married two in succession, and this may have helped him in the successful composition of *The French Littleton*; 'an apt and easy

[13] Scouloudi, 'The stranger community', p. 44.

[14] The Sorbonne was the faculty of religion at Paris University.

[15] Blackfriars retained its privileges, in spite of the City's objections (see J. Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (2 vols., 1720), i, bk. 3, pp. 177–80).

[16] W. R. LeFanu, 'Thomas Vautrollier, printer and bookseller', *HSP*, xx (1958–64), 12–25.

way to learn an understanding of French language', which was an advance in modern-language teaching. Holyband also pioneered the first bilingual French-English dictionaries.[17]

Had Holyband not made his escape to London, he might have suffered a less pleasant fate. By 1562, Protestants in France were being described by their enemies as 'Huguenots', and violent civil disturbances were taking place.[18] The French Wars of Religion, fuelled by the findings of the Council of Trent (1545–63), lasted until the end of the century and caused widespread suffering and displacement. Meanwhile, in the neighbouring Netherlands, the Spanish Habsburg king, Philip II, had declared war on his Calvinist subjects, many of whom took flight for England. These included a number of French-speaking, or 'Walloon', master weavers from Lille like the des Bouveries, a family whose resources enabled them to set up their own silk-weaving business in London. Proof of the prosperity and respect acquired by the des Bouveries is shown in the presence of their name among several London addresses – Bouverie Street, EC4, Bouverie Place, W2, and Bouverie Road, N16 – and by the eventual ennoblement of their family as earls of Radnor. Other successful refugees from Lille were the de la Forteries, whose descendant Samuel Fortrey designed Kew Palace, and the Houblons, ancestors of Sir John Houblon, first governor of the Bank of England.[19] These Walloon settlers joined the French Reformed church in Threadneedle Street and placed themselves at the centre of the infant London silk industry, supplying, by 1600, the taffetas, velvets, satins and silk mixtures that were then coming into fashion, and providing the industrial base on which seventeenth-century Huguenot master weavers would found their Spitalfields businesses.[20]

The 1571 return of aliens shows that weavers were also arriving from France and, indeed, the part of east London lying beyond St. Botolph's without Bishopsgate became known as 'Petty Fraunce' soon after this date.[21] As in the case of Blackfriars, it was an area outside the control of the

[17] M. C. Cormier and A. Francoeur, 'Claudius Holyband: pioneer Huguenot lexicographer in England', *HSP*, xviii (2003–7), 160–75.

[18] The Revd. Francis Tallents, visiting France in 1671, asserted that the name 'Huguenot' came from the Hugon gate at Tours, where local Protestants met at the beginning of the Reformation (see *The Travels of Francis Tallents in France and Switzerland, 1671–3*, ed. J. V. Cox (2011), p. 68).

[19] Samuel Fortrey published a treatise recommending further immigration to enrich the kingdom (see S. Fortrey, *England's Interest and Improvement* (1663), p. 1). Of the first 24 governors of the Bank of England (1694), seven were of Walloon or Huguenot descent.

[20] L. B. Luu, 'French-speaking refugees and the foundation of the London silk industry in the 16th century', *HSP*, xxvi (1994–7), 564–75.

[21] Brett-James, *Growth of Stuart London*, p. 490.

City guilds, although the Weavers' Company agreed to admit trained and experienced foreign weavers, provided they employed English journeymen.[22] More French immigrants were now claiming to be religious refugees, and stories of exceptional horror began to reach London of the events of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, which, starting in Paris, had led to the murder of some 10,000 Huguenots country-wide. In Rouen, where the Protestant population had been as high as 16,500, it suddenly shrank to 3,000, partly because those who were unable to leave the city agreed to become Catholics out of fear for their lives.[23] The limited confessional and legal rights which Henri IV eventually gave to his Huguenot subjects under the Edict of Nantes of 1598 did have the effect of guaranteeing them some protection, but the spectre of the St. Bartholomew's massacre was not easily erased from the collective memory of Protestants in either France or England. When Henri was himself assassinated in 1610, a new era of insecurity set in and London was once again viewed as a potential place of exile.

The protection and patronage of the early Stuarts

James VI of Scotland, who became James I of England in 1603, was the grandson of Mary of Guise and his mother had been briefly married to Francis II of France. Although baptized as a Catholic, he was educated as a Protestant, and his favourite poet was the Huguenot Guillaume de Sallust du Bartas. James disliked the Calvinism of the London Reformed church, but he preserved the English crown's special understanding with the Threadneedle Street consistory and he hoped to involve them in his schemes for a united Protestant Europe. One of James's early actions was to engage the services of Maximilien Colt, a Protestant sculptor from Arras who had married the daughter of Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder. James gave Colt the prestigious commission of creating a monument for Elizabeth I in Westminster Abbey and, later, of adding memorials to the king's daughters Mary and Sophia, who had died in infancy. Having completed his task in good time, Colt was named master sculptor to the king in 1608, the first in a series of Huguenot artists who would serve the Stuart dynasty in London. He went on to carry out decorative work in the royal palaces, producing carvings in wood, as well as in marble and stone, and made heavily ornate chimney-pieces for James and for his secretary of state Robert Cecil.[24]

[22] D. Statt, *Foreigners and Englishmen: the Controversy over Immigration and Population, 1660–1760* (Newark, Del., 1995), p. 182.

[23] H. H. Leonard, 'The Huguenots and the St Bartholomew's massacre', in *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transitional Context*, ed. D. J. B. Trim (Leiden, 2011), p. 58.

[24] A. White, 'Maximilien Colt: master sculptor to James I', *HSP*, xxvii (1998–2002), 36–47.

Two important Huguenots who had worked for Henri IV were invited to England by James after the French king's death: Isaac Casaubon had been Henri's librarian, and Theodore Turquet de Mayerne one of his three physicians. Casaubon, reputed to have one of the most brilliant minds in Europe, was the son of a pastor at Crest in the Dauphiné, and had been sent to study in Geneva, where he met and married the sister of the refugee Protestant printer Robert Estienne. James granted Casaubon an annual pension of £300 in return for his advice, which included the opinion that the Anglican Church followed the doctrine most closely in accordance with early Christianity. Casaubon's tomb can be found in Westminster Abbey, but neither he nor his wife enjoyed London and it was left to their son Meric to become anglicized, after winning a scholarship to Eton.[25]

Theodore Mayerne's family were silk manufacturers from Lyons, and had taken refuge in Geneva following the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre. Theodore was sent to Montpellier to study at the large international medical school where most French physicians were trained, and where the majority of teachers and students were Protestants. Although the smaller Paris faculty followed the ancient classical teachings of Galen, Montpellier believed in more 'up-to-date' treatments and a practical approach.[26] Mayerne was condemned as a quack by the Paris faculty, but in London he became immensely popular and was made a fellow of the College of Physicians. Some of his cures sound curious by modern standards and he was unable to save the life of the heir to the throne, Prince Henry, yet his work did much to further the good name of French Protestant medicine. He was useful to the English sovereign in other ways, serving as James's confidential agent on the continent, and bringing to London the Huguenot miniaturist Jean Petitot and the medallist and engraver Nicholas Briot, as well as carrying out research into silk dyes and leather gilding.[27]

The first Huguenot surgeons to appear in London were the Chamberlen brothers, whose father had arrived in England in 1569. Like Mayerne, Peter Chamberlen the elder was patronized by the Stuart court, and he attended James's wife Anne in 1605 and 1606, and was present at Charles II's birth in 1630. The Chamberlens were greatly interested in obstetrics, and Peter's brother (also named Peter) is thought to have been the pioneer of delivery by forceps, a closely guarded secret of the family.[28] He married Sarah, sister

[25] E. J. Lefroy, 'Isaac Casaubon, 1559–1614', *HSP*, xx (1958–64), 586–603.

[26] L. Brockliss, 'The rise and fall of the Huguenot physician in early modern France', *HSP*, xxviii (1958–64), 36–55.

[27] H. Trevor-Roper, *Europe's Physician: the Various Life of Sir Theodore de Mayerne* (New Haven, Conn., 2006), pp. 63–4, 331–48.

[28] W. H. Prioleau, 'The Chamberlen family and the introduction of obstetrical

Figure 1.1. Gideon Delaune (1564/5–1659), attrib. Cornelius Jansen, 1640.
By kind permission of The Worshipful Society of Apothecaries of London.
This portrait now hangs in the Apothecaries' Hall, Blackfriars.

of the Huguenot apothecary Gideon Delaune, and their eldest son (yet another Peter), born in Blackfriars and baptized at the French church in Threadneedle Street, was physician-in-ordinary to Charles I. Of the third Peter's own fourteen sons, four went into medicine and the eldest, Hugh, treated the sick during the London plague of 1665 and survived to become physician-in-ordinary to Charles II from 1673 to 1682.

Gideon Delaune's father, a Norman physician and Protestant minister, brought him to London soon after the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre. Like Thomas Vautrollier, the Delaunes settled in Blackfriars, and Gideon was a successful apothecary by 1590. He was given a royal appointment, granted a coat-of-arms and made a freeman of the City of London, assimilating early

instruments', *HSP*, xxvii (1998–2002), 705–14.

into English society by marrying his daughter to a Yorkshire baronet and his son to the daughter of Sir Edwin Sandys. Delaune made an important contribution to English medicine by helping to compile the *Pharmacopoeia Londinensis*, an early attempt to prescribe the ingredients sold for medicinal purposes, and by taking a lead in the creation of an Apothecaries' Hall. Although the first hall, like the Threadneedle Street church, was destroyed by fire in 1666, it was rapidly replaced and is now one of the oldest buildings in the capital.

Charles I's relationship with the London Huguenots suffered through the actions of his archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, who attempted to ride rough-shod over the 'special case' understanding of eighty years by forcing the Threadneedle Street congregation to accept full government by the Anglican Church.[29] This threatened breaking of trust by the crown may have persuaded the Walloon and Huguenot elders to support parliamentary opposition to the king during the English civil wars. Charles also appeared to have permitted some resurgence of Roman Catholicism following his marriage with the French princess Henrietta Maria, god-daughter of Pope Urban VIII. Henrietta Maria's marriage contract had granted her the same liberty that the Huguenots had been given in England, namely the free practice of her religion, but this was not appreciated in a country still unwilling to tolerate Catholicism.[30] When it was observed that the new queen, who arrived in 1625 and was lodged at the palace of Somerset House, was accompanied by twelve priests of the Oratory, a Parisian congregation founded by Pierre Bérulle to fight Protestant heresy, and that her confessor was Father Bérulle himself, there were fears of a French plot to reintroduce 'popery'. On this occasion Charles acted firmly, and the priests and a large section of Henrietta's household were sent back to France, including her friend and first lady of the bedchamber 'Mamie' St. George, but the Oratorians were soon replaced by an equal number of Capuchin observant friars, destined to staff the personal chapel that Henrietta had been promised. Designed by Inigo Jones and opened in 1636, this chapel would become a magnet for English Catholics.[31]

Somerset House, between the Strand and the river, was the royal court's centre of fashion, and it was here that Henrietta Maria introduced the painted ceilings and panelling of French decorative and furnishing taste, as well as a new style in dress.[32] During Charles's personal rule in the 1630s,

[29] I. Scouloudi, *Returns of Strangers in the Metropolis, 1593, 1627, 1635, 1639* (HSQS, lvii, 1985), p. 85.

[30] J. Miller, *Popery and Politics in England, 1660–88* (Cambridge, 1973), p. 55.

[31] S. Thurley, *Somerset House 1551–1692* (2009), p. 53.

[32] A. Strickland, *The Queens of England* (6 vols., 1888), iv. 333.

the queen helped to arouse an English interest in French art and design, and in this she was assisted by Inigo Jones, who had travelled and studied in continental Europe, and who collaborated with her in the production of court masques, recalling the theatrical activities of the French court during her childhood.[33] Like her mother Marie de Médicis, Henrietta Maria showed no aversion to employing the talents of French Protestants. The Huguenot Laniers, musicians to the English court since Elizabeth's day, lived on Crooms Hill near the Queen's House in Greenwich and enjoyed Henrietta's patronage, with all six sons holding salaried posts as musicians in the queen's service.[34] Nicholas Lanier was an art expert who advised Charles on the purchase of some of the paintings for his collection; others were chosen by another Huguenot immigrant, Balthazar Gerbier, who negotiated directly with Peter Paul Rubens.

Although Elizabeth and James had both tried to prevent further building in the capital, restrictions were relaxed under Charles, and London began to spread westwards, partly due to the ambitious development plans of Francis, fourth earl of Bedford. He engaged Inigo Jones to lay out the Covent Garden piazza, north of the Strand, with the assistance of the Huguenot architect Isaac de Caus. De Caus, who specialized in garden design, worked with the Huguenot sculptor Hubert Le Sueur on Henrietta Maria's garden at Somerset House.[35] 'Praxiteles Le Sueur', as he liked to be known, had helped to erect Henri IV's statue on the Pont Neuf in Paris and came to London in 1625. He and his family were members of the Threadneedle Street congregation, and in 1634 he cast the bronze equestrian statue of Charles I which now faces down Whitehall from Trafalgar Square. More of Le Sueur's work can be seen in Westminster Abbey, where he was responsible for the effigies of the duke of Buckingham and the duke of Richmond and Lennox in Henry VII's chapel.

The French Protestant church in Westminster

As England's capital spread west, so too did its Huguenot population, and a privy council census of London, made between 1638 and 1639, shows 641 French residents of Westminster, as opposed to a French-speaking population of 558 in or near the City, which included 330 Walloons. Most of these City-dwellers were occupied in the weaving industry, but the French in Westminster had more varied kinds of work, being described as painters,

[33] Thurley, *Somerset House*, p. 45.

[34] L. Cust, 'Foreign artists of the Reformed religion working in London from about 1560 to 1660', *HSP*, vii (1901–4), 79.

[35] D. Duggan, 'Isaac de Caus, Nicholas Stone and the Woburn Abbey grotto', *Apollo* (Aug. 2003), p. 55.

picture drawers, limners, engravers, musicians and silverworkers.[36] Twenty-three out of the twenty-seven tailors listed for Westminster were French, and there are details of French servants who waited on the court and the nobility, and of individuals such as Henrietta Maria's French surgeon, Maurice Aubert, who lived in King Street and was unfortunate enough to have his house wrecked by an anti-Catholic mob in 1641.[37]

An unwelcome visitor for Charles in 1638, just as his financial difficulties were leading him towards a clash with Parliament, was his mother-in-law Marie de Médicis, homeless and penniless since the death of her cousin the Archduchess Isabella Clara in Brussels.[38] Accompanied by a host of Catholic followers, Marie was housed in St. James's Palace, at the cost to the crown, it was said, of £100 per day. She stayed in England for almost three years, attempting to negotiate her return to France, and is recorded as having forty-five French employees, presumably Catholic. Other prominent French malcontents in London were the duchesse de Chevreuse and the duc de Valette, not forgetting the duc de Soubise, the brother of Charles's godfather Henri de Rohan and a French Huguenot exile of long standing.[39] Soubise lived in some style in the parish of St. Clement Danes, and employed as his chaplain a certain Jean d'Espagne, whose presence would ultimately lead to the opening of a second French Protestant church in the capital. D'Espagne had applied for an appointment at Threadneedle Street but had not been accepted, although his sermons evidently attracted members of the English aristocracy because, when Soubise died in 1642, Philip, fourth earl of Pembroke, arranged for d'Espagne to hold services in the chapel of Durham House.

With the outbreak of the English civil wars, Charles and Henrietta Maria left London and the Capuchin missionaries were expelled from Somerset House. Under the Cromwellian Protectorate, Jean d'Espagne was permitted to use their former chapel for preaching, sometimes to audiences as large as 600,[40] but the arrangement presented a problem when Henrietta wished to reclaim her property after the Stuart Restoration for, although d'Espagne was already in his grave, the numerous Huguenots of the Strand and Charing Cross areas argued that they had no other convenient place of worship. It

[36] Brett-James, *Growth of Stuart London*, p. 141.

[37] E. L. Furdell, *The Royal Doctors, 1485–1714: Medical Personnel at the Tudor and Stuart Courts* (Rochester, NY, 2001), p.124.

[38] Scouloudi, *Returns of Strangers*, pp. 104–5.

[39] Soubise was a living reproach to England's failure to relieve the Huguenot citadel of La Rochelle in 1628.

[40] R. Vareilles, 'A controversial Calvinist minister: from Dauphiné to Somerset House', *HSP*, xxix (2008–12), 220–6.

was in answer to their pleas, and over the heads of the Threadneedle Street consistory, that Charles II decided to offer them alternative accommodation in a chapel in the grounds of the neighbouring palace of the Savoy.[41] However, although Threadneedle Street was allowed to keep its historic privileges and – in spite of its fleeting disloyalty to the Stuarts – its special position stayed unchanged, the French church of the Savoy was required to adopt the English Book of Common Prayer, translated into French, and to accept a royalist minister, John Durel, who had been ordained as an Anglican. This obvious move to draw the Huguenot community closer to established English Protestantism did not please all of the Savoy church's members, but was acceptable to the majority because a place of worship so close to the court at Whitehall was seen to have certain advantages.[42]

The ending of Interregnum austerity brought rising demand for the kind of goods that Huguenot artisans and craftsmen habitually made and sold. A market soon appeared for the lace, gloves, embroidery, periwigs, perfumery and elegant shoes then fashionable in Paris, and French tailoring and silk patterns once again became popular. Huguenot master weavers were responsible for much of the organization of the silk industry, and new workshops were set up in 'Petty Fraunce' and beyond, with retail outlets appearing in the Charing Cross area. Among the successful Huguenot City merchants was Thomas Papillon, whose father David had come from Dijon as a child refugee and had designed the fortifications of Gloucester during the first English civil war. With the return of peace, Thomas, a keen investor in the East India Company, was made master of the Mercers' Company on no fewer than four occasions.

When Henrietta Maria resumed possession of Somerset House, her costly programme of renovation did much to reawaken English interest in French decorative arts. After spending sixteen years in exile in *la région parisienne*, Henrietta wanted her dowager court to mirror the splendour of the French capital and its surrounding palaces. Her innovations, which included parquetry flooring, were much admired by the diarist Samuel Pepys, who acknowledged that she had quite eclipsed her daughter-in-law Catherine of Braganza.[43] Unfortunately, Henrietta and her spiritual adviser, the Abbé 'Wat' Montagu, were determined to obtain greater toleration for Catholics in England, and their activities, together with the reappearance of the Capuchin missionaries, drew attention to the fact that, since the

[41] Not to be confused with the modern Savoy Chapel. It was too small from the first, and in a state of bad repair, and had to be closed in 1730. Its remains lie hidden under the approach road to Waterloo Bridge.

[42] Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, pp. 122–3.

[43] *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. R. Latham and W. Matthews (1970), iii. 299.

queen's return, 'popery' was once again on the increase.[44] In 1665 the queen mother left for France, allegedly on a visit, and never returned, although she left behind her a growing suspicion that the French community in London included Catholic spies.[45]

Charles II would have recognized the folly of inviting too many French Roman Catholics into a country still prone to spells of anti-papal hysteria, but the years he had spent in continental Europe had given him a taste for French culture and a wish to rival his cousin, Louis XIV. In 1665 he sent Christopher Wren to Paris to see the Louvre and meet François Mansart and Gianlorenzo Bernini;[46] he also brought in French upholsterers and ordered state beds, aiming to improve the comforts of living and to organize his court along sophisticated French lines. Anxious to introduce new ideas, Charles appointed the Huguenot Nicaise Le Fèvre, demonstrator of chemical experiments at the Paris 'Jardin du Roi', as royal apothecary and professor of chemistry, and Le Fèvre became one of the first French members of the Royal Society.[47] Another early member was Denis Papin from Blois, who had studied at the Protestant Academy of Saumur and qualified as a physician at Angers, but whose interests had taken him in the direction of mechanical science. In 1675 Papin gave a demonstration to the Royal Society of his 'New Digester of Bones', a prototype for the modern pressure-cooker, and went on to develop an early version of the steam engine. He was assistant to Robert Boyle, whose works he translated into French, and a herald of the fresh talent that would soon arrive in England from France.

French religious policies provoke le grand refuge

Louis XIV took over the reins of French government on the death of Jules Mazarin (1602–61) and almost immediately began to pursue policies that would make life difficult for his Protestant subjects. A total of 2,200 Huguenots were ordered to leave La Rochelle because they had been living there 'illegally' since 1628. In 1669, a decree banning Protestants from membership of artisanal corporations effectively excluded Huguenot surgeons and apothecaries from practising in French towns.[48] When Francis

[44] Miller, *Popery and Politics*, pp. 40–1.

[45] This seemed to be confirmed when a deranged watchmaker from Rouen claimed to have started the Great Fire of 1666 (see Cox, *Travels of Francis Tallents*, p. 19).

[46] P. Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland* (1978), p. 25.

[47] The 'Jardin du Roi' was established in 1635 by Gui de la Brosse, Louis XIII's physician, a converted Huguenot.

[48] Brockliss, 'Rise and fall of the Huguenot physician', p. 43.

Figure 1.2. Denis Papin, after a painting at Marburg University. Papin is holding a diagram of his 1689 invention of a steam engine with piston. Wellcome Library, London.

Tallents visited France in 1671, he found much evidence of Huguenot temples destroyed, or threatened with destruction, indicating that Protestant ministers were losing their jobs.[49] Although Henri IV's Edict of Nantes had granted eight learned academies to the Huguenots, funding for these had been withdrawn by Cardinal Richelieu in 1632, and Louis was now presiding over the steady closure of all Protestant colleges and

[49] Cox, *Travels of Francis Tallents*, pp. 23, 64, 73, 85, 88.

academies.[50] It would have been surprising if the Huguenot intelligentsia were not already looking for opportunities abroad.

In 1679 French academies of equitation were brought under central control and Protestants forbidden to teach in them, causing Solomon Foubert to move his famous Paris academy to London.[51] Here he was made supernumerary equerry to the king and opened a 'royal' academy near the modern Foubert's Place off Regent Street, where young English gentlemen were taught modern languages, drawing, fencing and dancing. Under 'Major Foubert', his son, this enterprise became a manège and dressage school where aspiring British army officers were given instruction in military science and manoeuvres.[52]

The French king's next move was the suppression of Henri IV's special Huguenot legal courts, making it plain that Louis had no respect for his grandfather's promises, and Henry Savile, Charles II's envoy extraordinary in Paris, urged Charles to invite as many Huguenots as possible to England.[53] Savile had been unsuccessful in getting a naturalization bill through the English Parliament in 1676, and he was concerned that there would be a brain drain to countries offering more attractive terms. But it was not until 1681 that Charles agreed to act, after news began to arrive of the French government's use of *dragonnades*, or aggressive billeting, in its attempts to force Protestant households to convert to Catholicism. Faced with the prospect of large numbers of Huguenots leaving their French homes, the two London French Protestant churches appealed to the English crown for help, and Charles, motivated by 'honour and conscience', issued an order in council which offered free letters of denization to Huguenot refugees and guaranteed them privileges and immunities, as well as the unimpeded exercise of trades and handicrafts.[54] By the time the Edict of Fontainebleau of 1685 had finally annulled Henri IV's Edict of Nantes, together with its original guarantee of Huguenot rights and liberties, the English crown had remembered its special relationship with French Protestants and was raising funds for the refugees' relief.

Charles II died in the spring of 1685 and his Catholic brother James was left to deal with the 13,500 immigrants who arrived in the Greater London area that year.[55] Although he did not like the Huguenots, and attempted

[50] K. Maag, 'The Huguenot academies: an uncertain future', in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, ed. R. A. Mentzer and A. Spicer (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 151–2.

[51] Cox, *Travels of Francis Tallents*, p. 175.

[52] W. H. Manchee, 'The Fouberts and their royal academy', *HSP*, xvi (1937–41), 77–97.

[53] *Savile Correspondence*, ed. W. D. Cooper (Camden Society, 1858), pp. 209–11.

[54] Brett-James, *Growth of Stuart London*, p. 487.

[55] Brett-James, *Growth of Stuart London*, p. 488.

to deny the extent of their persecution, James had little choice but to continue the policy of public collections and 'royal bounty' state support. His Declaration of Indulgence of 1687, designed to give more freedom to English Roman Catholics, actually encouraged Huguenot refugees to make their way to England.

It was to be expected that the arrival of a wave of foreign refugees would bring about a protest from certain Londoners, and especially from members of the guilds attempting to control economic enterprise. Some of these organizations dated from a much earlier period, but the comparatively recent formation of the Worshipful Company of Clockmakers (1631) was proof that local anxieties about competition were never far away. The plague of 1665 and the fire that followed it, in which 1,300 houses and eighty-one churches were destroyed, had disrupted trade and caused hardship, for which the presence of foreigners was frequently blamed. In 1675 London weavers had rioted, declaring that their livelihoods were threatened, and contemporary petitions from other industries alleged that French craftsmen were failing to observe such regulations as the length of apprenticeships.

The Goldsmiths' Company, which wanted skilled work to be reserved for native-born subjects, had already complained to the king that numerous migrants without qualifications were being given equal rights, something that became a particularly sensitive issue after Peter Harache obtained favourable terms of entry to the London market in 1681.[56] Yet, in spite of this evident hostility to new arrivals, the crown continued to give its support to Huguenot settlement during the *grand refuge* and, together with the bishop of London, assisted the French churches in providing help.

In spite of the concerns about employment, and others about housing and the potential burden on the poor rate, most Londoners appear to have had sympathy for the sufferings of the Huguenot refugees and, writing a generation later, John Strype gave his opinion that the latter's arrival had set a good example to the neighbourhoods, brought God's blessing on the parishes, and was of 'great advantage to the whole nation'.[57] But that was not the way it was regarded by the House of Commons of the time, which continued to throw out naturalization bills until well past the end of the century, and to encourage the circulation of hostile pamphlets.[58] The *Rights and Liberties of Englishmen Asserted* (1701) condemned the admission of French immigrants, who, it was maintained, would pay no taxes and would undersell English goods. Far from being of benefit to the country, they were

[56] H. Tait, 'London Huguenot silver', in Scouloudi, *Huguenots in Britain*, pp. 98–9.

[57] Strype, *Survey*, ii, bk. 4, p. 48.

[58] 'The mercantile jealousy of the trading companies and London authorities was the principal reason' (Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, p. 153).

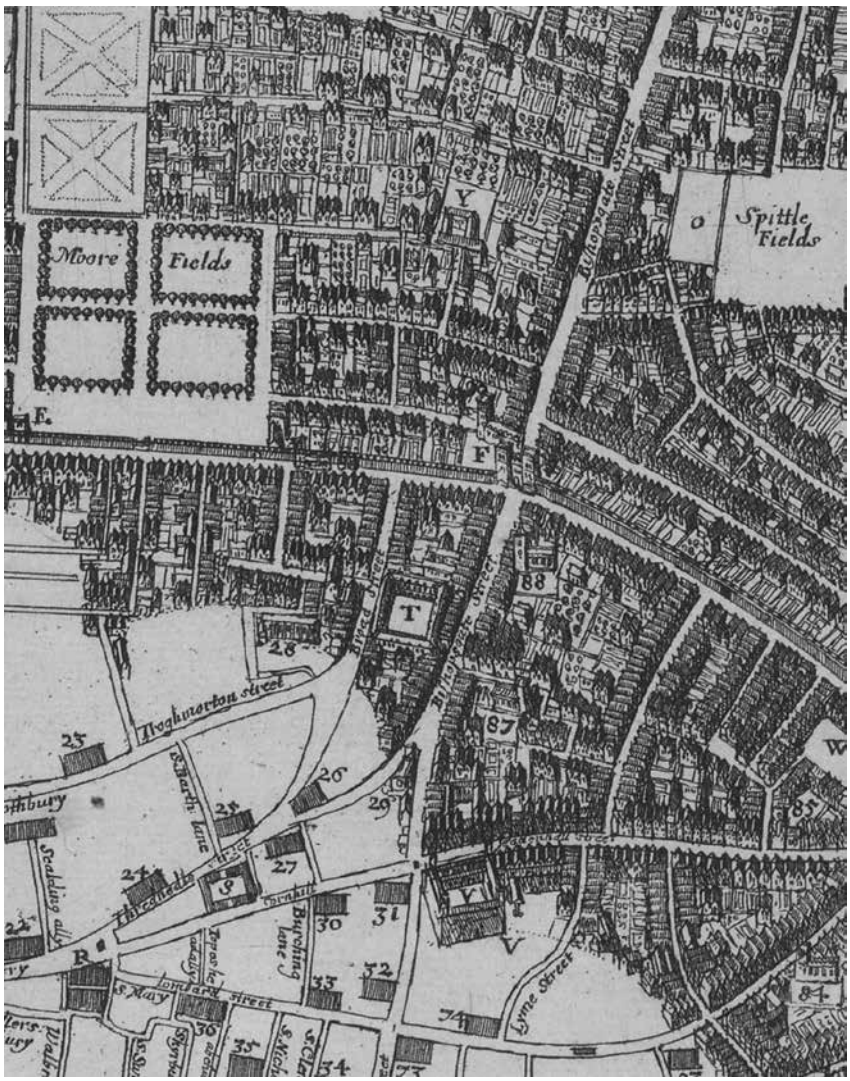


Figure 1.3. The north-east of the City after the Great Fire, from Wenceslas Hollar's 'map or groundplot' of 1666. Reproduced by permission of the British Library, Maps Crace Port. II.54. Spitalfields lies beyond Bishopsgate, and the French church (26) just inside the walls and the area of destruction.

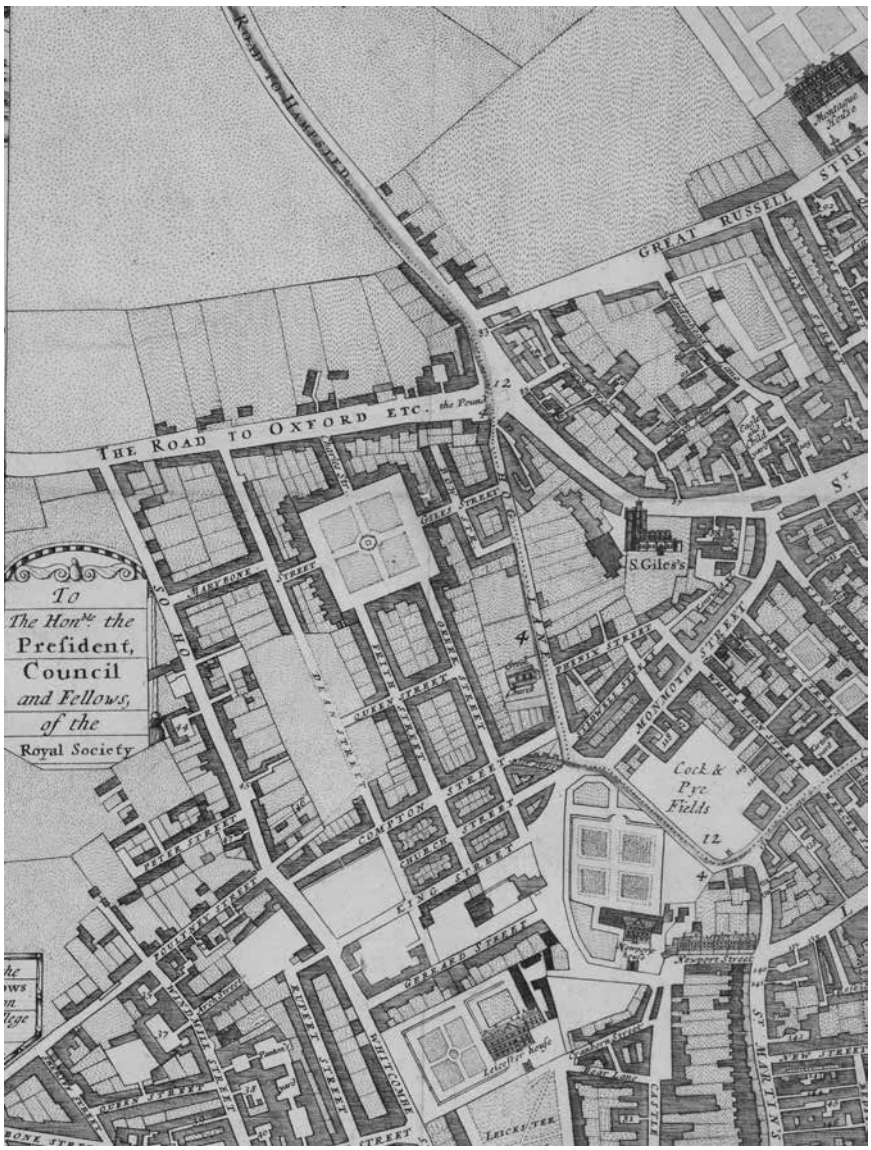


Figure 1.4. Soho in the 1680s, from Wm. Morgan's map of Westminster. Reproduced by permission of the British Library, Maps Crace Port. 11.58. It shows open country north of Oxford 'Road' and west of the future Wardour Street, and modern Charing Cross Road as 'Hog Lane'.

coming to exchange their poverty for English prosperity.[59]

However, Samuel Fortrey's opposite argument, published in his *England's Interest and Improvement* (1663), had been that an increase in population would actually enrich the kingdom, and these recommendations had influenced the prevailing government policy. In any case, London's French Protestants soon demonstrated that they were prepared to do a great deal to help themselves. They opened twenty-six new churches, organized their own poor relief and schooling, and took advantage of the opportunities offered through existing Huguenot networks. Some who had not previously woven silk moved into the Spitalfields area, where the contemporary boom had induced firms like the Walloon Lekeux to move up from Canterbury. Other recent events were also in their favour. The rapid housing development that followed the Great Fire of 1666 had resulted in an over-expansion of building and, particularly in the Soho area, property was standing empty. The 1711 vestry records of St. Anne's church in Wardour Street, first consecrated in 1686, show that 40 per cent of contemporary parish residents were Huguenots.[60]

William III came to the throne in 1688 with the support of three French Protestant regiments, and had strong sympathies with the Huguenots. He and his wife Mary Stuart demonstrated these feelings between 1689 and 1693, when they made personal gifts to the refugees amounting to £39,000 from the Civil List.[61] Some Huguenots who accompanied William to London were French army officers who had migrated to the Dutch Republic, but others were Protestant artists like Daniel Marot (1661–1732), the Parisian designer whose father was engraver and architect to the French court. In the course of his work at Het Loo Palace, Marot introduced William and Mary to the Louis XIV court style, and the ideas that he took to England through his own engravings included novel concepts on the decoration of interiors. His great versatility in being able to turn his capabilities to garden design, as well as to silver, fabric and porcelain, would influence the work of William Kent and others. The state coach created by Marot for William III is still used today by the speaker of the House of Commons.[62]

London's Huguenots and the spread of international knowledge

Nearly all European capitals were eager at that time to reflect the prestige of Paris and Versailles, but London was particularly well placed to do so

[59] Statt, *Foreigners and Englishmen*, p. 117.

[60] *Survey of London*, xxxiii: *the Parish of St Anne's Soho*, ed. F. H. W. Sheppard (1966), p. 7.

[61] Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, pp. 71–2.

[62] *The Quiet Conquest: the Huguenots 1685–1985*, comp. T. Murdoch (Museum of London catalogue, 1985), pp. 183–6.

because of its stock of Huguenot craftsmen and artists and the number of recently arrived French Protestant intellectuals. Graham Gibbs has calculated that, between 1680 and 1720, no fewer than sixteen Huguenot immigrants were elected fellows of the Royal Society, and has shown how Huguenot writers helped England to share in the contemporary international exchange of ideas.[63] Old Slaughter's coffee-house in St. Martin's Lane was frequented by Westminster's French Protestant community, and was renowned as a place where persons of all languages and nations were free to meet 'gentry, artists, and others'. Journalism naturally benefited and, operating from the Black Boy coffee-house off Ludgate Hill, Pierre Motteux, a Huguenot from Rouen, founded a monthly magazine called the *Gentleman's Journal*. Modelled on the *Mercure Galant*, this publication anticipated *The Spectator* in its attempts to woo women readers. In a remarkable display of French (or perhaps Norman) immigrant energy and resourcefulness, Motteux established a second and less precarious source of income by apprenticing himself to the Huguenot apothecary Paul Franjoux and setting up a business selling East India goods in Leadenhall Street.[64] Another influential literary figure was Abel Boyer from Castres, who followed in Claudius Holyband's sixteenth-century footsteps by writing *The Compleat French Master for Ladies and Gentlemen* (1694); he also wrote a history of William III and Queen Anne and published a periodical with reports of parliamentary debates. Boyer had arrived as a penniless refugee in 1685 and received assistance to train as a Protestant minister, yet succeeded in living by his pen alone and died in comfort in fashionable Chelsea.

Matthieu Maty (1718–76) came to London with his father, who had first left the Dauphiné for Utrecht but then moved to England. In the tradition of European erudite journalism, Maty started the *Journal Britannique* from London, helping to familiarize French readers with English literature. His abilities were acknowledged when he was elected to the Royal Society and was made under-librarian at the newly formed British Museum. Yet energetic Huguenot intellectuals like Maty and Boyer were often regarded with prejudice by the English literary establishment, as seems clear from Samuel Johnson's alleged description of Maty as a 'little black dog', whom he would have liked to throw in the Thames, and from Jonathan Swift's similarly insulting references to Boyer.[65]

[63] G. C. Gibbs, 'Huguenot contributors to intellectual life', in Scouloudi, *Huguenots in Britain*, p. 27.

[64] E. Grist, 'Pierre Motteux (1663–1718): writer, translator, entrepreneur', *HSP*, xxviii (2003–7), 377–87.

[65] See G. C. Gibbs's series of articles in *HSP*, xxviii–xxix.

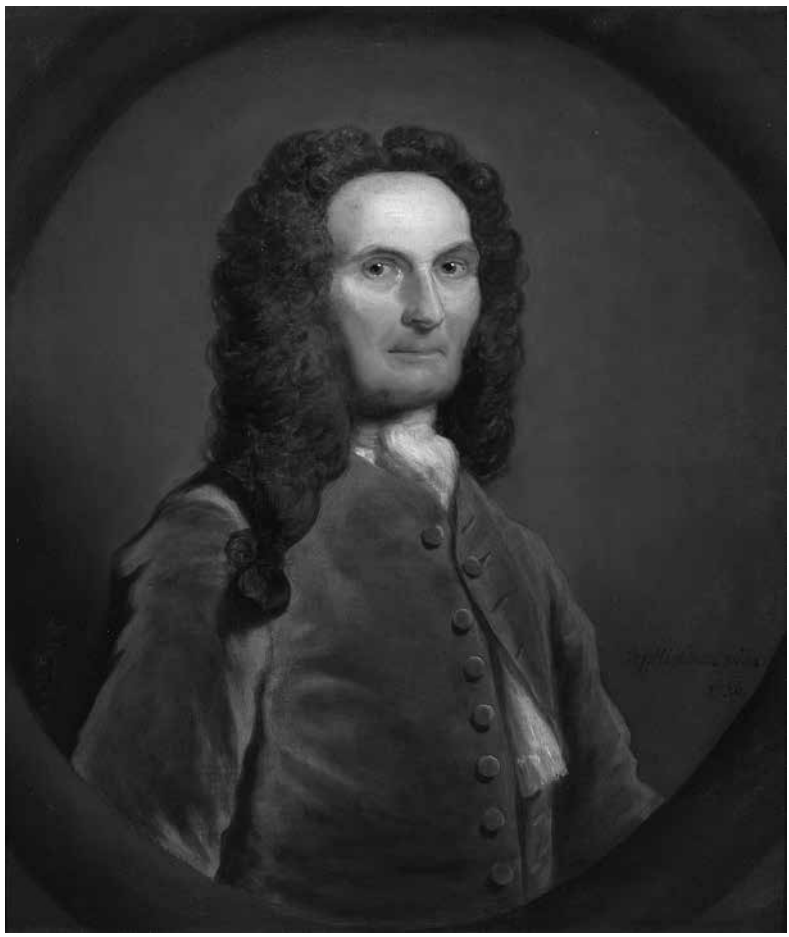


Figure 1.5. Abraham de Moivre (1667–1754), by Joseph Highmore, 1736. © The Royal Society. De Moivre was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1697.

Three other Huguenots who helped to spread knowledge from London were Pierre Coste, Abraham de Moivre and Jean-Theophile Desaguliers. Pierre Coste, one of several immigrant writers obliged to work as tutor in an English family, translated Newton's *Optics* into French and contributed to France's 'enlightenment' by translating the philosophy of John Locke. De Moivre and Desaguliers were other translators of Sir Isaac Newton's work, and de Moivre, a gifted mathematician, helped to launch the insurance business in London by introducing probability theory. Apart from his scientific researches, Desaguliers, born in La Rochelle, was an important figure in English freemasonry, and Desaguliers' Huguenot assistant Charles

Labelye, another freemason, drew plans for a bridge across the Thames at Westminster. Labelye's bridge, the second in the capital, was eventually completed in 1750, the Huguenot watchmaker James Valoué having designed the pile-driver that enabled the construction of its supporting piers.[66] This was the first London bridge to be built according to scientific calculation, and looked forward to the nineteenth-century achievements of other French engineers: the Brunels, whose Rotherhithe tunnel was the first to be built under a river, and Joseph Bazalgette, grandson of an immigrant tailor, whose extensive improvements to London's sewers made the city fit for modern living.

The influence of French design and craftsmanship

Some of the valuable effects of 1680s French Protestant settlement did not begin to become apparent until the next century was well on its way and businesses were occupying the newly developed areas between the Tottenham Court Road and St. James's Palace. Following Louis XIV's Edict of Fontainebleau, a second piece of legislation pushing Huguenots towards London had been the French king's 1689 decree that silver plate must be melted down for coin in order to assist the financing of France's war effort. The king set a good example by ordering the destruction of silver furniture at his palace at Versailles,[67] but after a ban was placed on all new work many craftsmen faced ruin, and looked towards other European opportunities. Some French Protestant goldsmiths had already begun to serve their apprenticeships in London, and marriage into one of the growing Huguenot craft dynasties could often help in setting up a successful business, as the career of Louis Mettayer, son of the minister of La Patente church in Spitalfields, demonstrates.[68]

The Mettayers had originated in the Ile de Ré, close to La Rochelle, and became English denizens in 1687. Thus they were already in London when the French ban on goldsmiths was announced, and young Louis (or Lewis) was in a favourable position to start his career. He became apprenticed to the successful immigrant goldsmith and banker David Willaume I in 1693, and entered his first mark in 1700 from an address in Pall Mall. One of Lewis's sisters married David Willaume and another married the silver engraver Simon Gribelin; Mettayer himself married the sister-in-law of Pierre Harache II, who had premises in Suffolk Street, close to the Haymarket.

[66] A. T. Carpenter, *John Theophilus Desaguliers* (2011), pp. 133, 146, 147.

[67] R. Pillorget and S. Pillorget, *France baroque, France classique, 1589–1715* (Paris, 1995), p. 1080.

[68] I. Hutchinson, 'Two studies in Huguenot silver, ii: a Louis Mettayer sideboard dish', *HSP*, xxix (2008–12), 489–98.

The leading Huguenot goldsmith Paul de la Merie, or de Lamerie, was brought to England as a child in 1691 and apprenticed to Pierre Platel, who had learned his craft in France. During the first half of the eighteenth century, de Lamerie ran a workshop in Windmill Street, where he employed thirteen apprentices and became the acknowledged leader in silver in the English rococo style, elaborately French in concept but with modifications to suit the more subdued English taste. He supplied the English aristocracy, the French regency and the Czarina Anna. The Crespin family had also moved to London, where their son Paul was brought up. He opened a workshop in Old Compton Street, Soho, in 1720, from which he kept in close touch with the latest fashions in France and supplied silverware to wealthy clients in England. He also supplied a silver bath to the king of Portugal, and part of a dinner service to Catherine the Great. From 1700 onwards, Huguenot imagination and skill played an essential role in introducing new forms and new techniques to English silver: Pierre Harache II's cut-cardwork is one example and piercework is another.[69]

Not all London Huguenots chose to stay within their traditional craft, as the history of the Courtauld family illustrates. Although Augustin Courtauld was a successful goldsmith, his son Samuel married into the Ogier family of weavers and his grandson invested in textiles, leading to the family becoming the foremost manufacturers of mourning crape in the world.[70] Similarly, Peter Dollond, who began his career as a master weaver, developed an interest in optics and set up in business with his son 'At the Spectacles and Sea Quadrant in the Strand' in 1752. The superior telescopes that their achromatic lens made possible were an advantage to British commanders during the Napoleonic wars. Nicholas Sprimont was

[69] P. Mincio, 'Fantastic piercework by the unknown "stencil master"', *Apollo* (Jan. 2003), p. 23.

[70] R. W. Dixon, 'Some account of the French refugee family of Courtauld', *HSP*, xi (1915–17), 138–48. The money for the Courtauld Gallery's collection of French late 19th-century paintings (housed at Somerset House, Strand, London, WC2), and for the French Impressionist and Post-Impressionist works acquired for the nation by the National Gallery with the Courtauld Fund, came from Courtaulds Ltd., the highly successful Courtauld family textiles firm, as arranged by Samuel Courtauld IV (1876–1947), who was determined that French Impressionist art should be amply represented in collections in England. The Courtauld Gallery has paintings, sculptures, drawings and prints by Pierre Bonnard, Rodolphe-Théophile Bosshard, Eugène Boudin, Paul Cézanne, Honoré Daumier, Edgar Degas, Raoul Dufy, Jean-Louis Forain, Emile Othon Friesz, Paul Gauguin, Vincent Van Gogh, Constantin Guys, Edouard Manet, Jean Hippolyte Marchand, Amedeo Modigliani, Claude Monet, Pablo Picasso, Camille Pissarro, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Auguste Rodin, Henri Rousseau, Pierre Roy, Georges Seurat, Paul Signac, Alfred Sisley, Paul Tchelitchew, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Maurice Utrillo, Edouard Vuillard, and more. It is thus a major international source for the study of French art and artists.

another versatile character; having been apprenticed to his uncle in Liège, he started to work as a goldsmith from Compton Street, then set up a factory in Chelsea where he made fine hard-paste porcelain in the Meissen style, which he later sold in St. James's Street, Westminster.[71]

Artists with a Huguenot background were particularly skilled in the fine detail associated with engraving, or the ivory carvings produced in Dieppe. An immigrant carver of note, Jean Cavalier, who trained in Paris under Michael Mollet, created a relief of Charles II in 1684, and one of Samuel Pepys in 1688. His striking ivory medallion portrait of William III is on show at the Victoria and Albert Museum, and work by David le Marchand, another Huguenot ivory carver, can be seen both there and at the British Museum. Small articles made from ivory or tortoiseshell, together with gold and silver items and clocks and watches, were on sale at French Huguenot 'toyshops' in the Charing Cross and Soho areas, an example being Paul Daniel Chenevix's Suffolk Street premises, first recorded in 1731. His family was from Picardy and his father, killed at the Battle of Blenheim, had been a major in the Carabiniers. David Grignion, who came to London from Poitou at the age of four, was connected to the Harache family of goldsmiths and had a shop in Russell Street, on the Bedford Estate, where he cleaned and mended watches from 1730 until his death in 1763.[72]

French clock-making skills had been valued since the days of Henry VIII, and the early Protestant watchmakers settled in Blackfriars, followed by a movement towards Holborn and Covent Garden in the 1630s. Nicholas Massy, from Blois, had a business in Cranbourn Street until his death in 1698. A member of an extensive clock-making fraternity from Rouen, David Lestourgeon, a freeman of the London guild of clockmakers in 1698, is thought to have had a goldsmith's business in Church Lane, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, in the early eighteenth century. Another family of Norman clockmakers, the Jourdains from Dieppe, arrived in 1686 and settled in Spitalfields, where they were also involved in the silk industry. The clock business was run from an address in Paternoster Row for the next 100 years, and at the same time the family traded as mercers at No. 58 Artillery Lane. They appear to have been prominent members of the local Huguenot community, which they presented with a clock for the tower of Christ Church Spitalfields. Nicholas Jourdain was governor of the Spitalfields workhouse in 1754, and a director of the French hospital known as 'La Providence'.[73]

[71] *Victoria History of Middlesex*, xii. 158–9.
[72] Murdoch, *Quiet Conquest*, p. 250.
[73] B. de Save, 'The Jourdain family of Spitalfields', *HSP*, xxix (2008–12), 105–6.

Figure 1.6. Jacques de Gastigny (d. 1708), circle of Pierre Mignard, by permission of the French Hospital. Gastigny's bequest led to the founding of a hospital for poor French Protestants. FHR 419646. © The French Hospital, Rochester, Kent / The Bridgeman Art Library.

'La Providence' is an early eighteenth-century institution that is still with us today. It began as one man's charitable wish to help sick Huguenots too poor to afford treatment at home, and the example it set helped to inspire English philanthropy. Jacques de Gastigny came to England with William III and, having fought for him at the Battle of the Boyne, served him as master of the royal buckhounds. When Gastigny died in 1708 he left in his will the sum of £1,000 towards the establishment of a hospital, and this

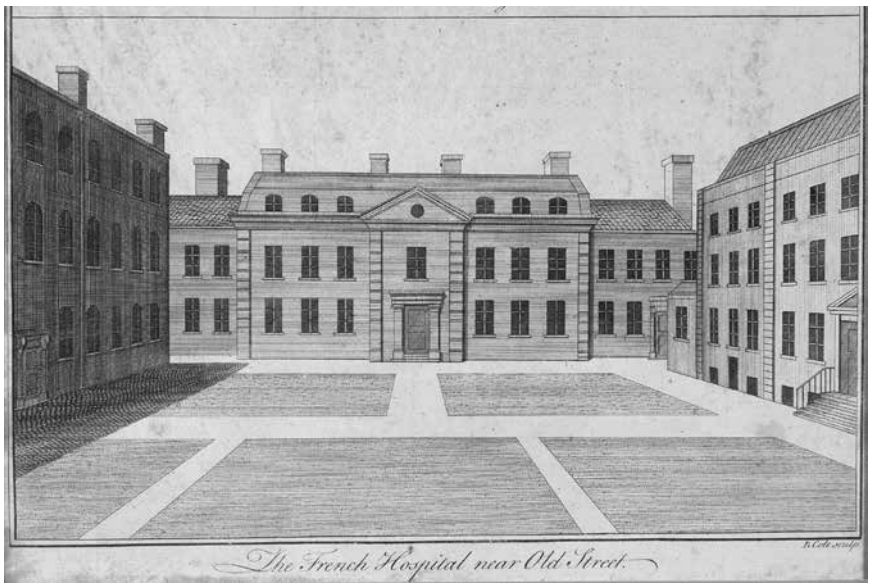


Figure 1.7. The French Hospital, Old Street, Finsbury, artist unknown, by permission of the French Hospital. The hospital, which opened in 1718, became known as 'La Providence'. FHR 419645. © The French Hospital, Rochester, Kent / The Bridgeman Art Library.

finally opened its doors ten years later.[74] A new building designed for it in 1865 by Robert Louis Roumieu, an architect of Huguenot descent, was expropriated after the Second World War and, since then, 'La Providence' has moved out of London to Rochester, in Kent, where it now provides sheltered accommodation to those of Huguenot ancestry.

London's Huguenot legacy

As confessional passions began to cool in the years following William III's 'glorious revolution', it became less important that the French craftsmen, artists and writers who lived and worked in England should hold Protestant beliefs. Although Ralph, first duke of Montagu, was noted for his patronage of Huguenots, and had brought the Protestant painter Louis Chéron to London, he also employed Catholic talent in his decorative schemes. A fashionable demand for French furniture caused the Catholic carver and gilder Joseph Duffour to open a shop in Berwick Street, and Pierre Langlois, probably a co-religionist, ran a very successful business in the

[74] T. Murdoch and R. Vigne, *The French Hospital in England* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 9–12.

Tottenham Court Road. Hubert Gravelot, the renowned Catholic engraver and illustrator from Paris, stayed in London from 1732 to 1745 and taught drawing in the rococo style to pupils who included Thomas Gainsborough. He was friendly with the London Huguenot sculptor Louis François Roubiliac, who taught at the St. Martin's Lane Academy, and with William Hogarth. In the world of theatre, too, there was a move towards greater toleration.

Thomas Betterton had travelled to France soon after the Restoration to study the French stage; in 1698 he invited Anthony L'Abbé and other French Catholic dancers to perform at his Lincoln's Inn theatre. L'Abbé stayed in England for another thirty years, and became dancing-master to George I's grand-daughter.[75] David Garrick (1717–79), whose Huguenot grandfather came from Bordeaux, employed the composer François Hippolyte Barthélémon, also from Bordeaux, to write music for his productions at the Theatre Royal and Barthélémon eventually settled in England. Garrick's management at Drury Lane is legendary, and he died a rich man; his personal life may be glimpsed through the pair of paintings he commissioned from Johann Zoffany in 1762, recently sold at auction for almost £7,000,000, which are now hanging, appropriately, at the Garrick Club.

The Treaty of Ryswick of 1697 and the 1713 Peace of Utrecht both failed to extract concessions from Louis XIV over the treatment of his Protestant minority, whose full rights were ignored until 1789, when the Declaration of the Rights of Man finally recognized the fundamental importance of liberty of conscience. London French Protestants, meanwhile, had become resigned to their surroundings and, by the second half of the eighteenth century, most of them had ceased to speak French. The special position of the French church in Threadneedle Street became less significant as the capital's Huguenot population began to assimilate into its host society and to desert the churches opened during the height of the *grand refuge*. Once their members had shown a preference for Anglicanism, or English Nonconformism, all these smaller churches closed down. Threadneedle Street itself was forced by building development to give up the ancient site of St. Antoine and to move to its present position in Soho Square.

Did the original Huguenot migrants find the life they sought in London? On the whole, the answer is probably 'yes'. The greater confessional freedom that England offered suited their needs and, apart from bouts of civil war, plague, fire and riot, they had the opportunity to follow their occupations undisturbed. Complete equality with all their fellow citizens they would not

[75] J. Thorp, 'L'Abbé, Anthony (b. 1666/7, d. in or after 1753)', *ODNB*.

have expected, living as they did when society was still ordered by status and degree, and when gender equality was not foreseen. Voltaire, in his *Lettres sur les anglais* (1734), found equality to be present in the English tax system and because the same laws applied to everyone, in contrast to France's *taille* and the sovereign's powers of arbitrary arrest and imprisonment.

Huguenots' sentiments about their land of adoption are frequently expressed in their wills, as in that of the Reverend Peter Allix, who, in his preface, 'full of gratitude for the kindness of that good king', declared his loyalty to George I and offered his prayers to God that the monarch might have a long and happy reign. Magdalen Amyot's will of 1743, written at St. James's, Westminster, gave simple thanks to God for causing her to be received 'into this country of liberty'.[76] Her testimony echoes, to some extent, that of Voltaire, who praised the liberty of Englishmen to think what they pleased and publish what they thought. It also anticipates that of Jean Deschamps, whose 1756 letter to his friend Jean Henri Samuel Formey in Berlin stated his satisfaction with London and described its atmosphere of liberty and peace.[77]

This sense of comparative liberty may still be attractive to the French who come to London today. In a secular and ecumenical age disagreement over religious confessions has lost its significance, but even at a sub-conscious level French visitors will be aware that the Huguenots, despite sometimes modest beginnings, found opportunities in the British capital denied to them in their land of origin, and were 'unusually well-received' there in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[78] In City circles, there is a continuing recognition of the part played by successful French Protestants in the setting up of Great Britain's financial services, and of the contribution that their loyalty made to national stability. Huguenots are also well remembered in Spitalfields, both for the industriousness of their lives and for their perceived virtues of honesty and compassion. However, it is to their many descendants, a large number of whom are now scattered across the globe, that we must look for a true appreciation of London's French Protestants. The consciousness of their origins, and the extraordinary interest that this arouses, has not only encouraged them to research their own genealogy; it has also led to the exchange and publication of the extensive knowledge that has been gained through the study of a rich and varied fund of historical records.

[76] R. Vigne, 'Testaments of faith: wills of Huguenot refugees in England as a window on their past', in Trim, *The Huguenots*, pp. 280–1.

[77] *Lettres de l'Angleterre à Jean Henri Samuel Formey à Berlin*, ed. U. Janssens and J. Schillings (Paris, 2006), pp. 59–60.

[78] Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, p. 141.