

- 15 *Ibid.*, fols 232r–05, 256v–16, 257r–07, 240v–02.
 16 *Ibid.*, Register no. 107 p. 064 01.
 17 *Ibid.*, p. 096 02.
 18 *Ibid.*, p. 101 02.
 19 *Ibid.*, register no.108 p. 086 02.
 20 *Ibid.*, register no. 107 p. 020 01. Hanau was the capital of Hanau-Münzenberg. Count Philipp-Ludwig II had founded a new town in 1597 to house the persecuted Walloons, south of Hanau. Homburg was the capital of Hesse-Homburg. Landgrave Frederick II welcomed many Huguenots and Waldensians into his domain and founded Friedrichsdorf and Dornholzhausen for them.
 21 Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Französische reformierte Gemeinde, register no. 107 p. 380 06.
 22 *Ibid.*, p. 408 05.
 23 In reality she was from Saint-Laurent-du-Cros, near Gap, but she lived most of her life in Lyon. See the sources cited below.
 24 Geneva, Archives d'État, Arch hosp kg42 98v 23.
 25 Geneva, Archives d'État, BF KG42 234 21, 24 April 1688 and Schaffhausen, Archives d'État, exul 26-14 096 16, 28, 18 August 1688.
 26 Frankfurt, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Französische reformierte Gemeinde, no. 108 p. 079 16. The father's name is spelt variously Lanfranc, L'Enfret or Lanfray. According to a document conserved in the Bibliothèque de l'Histoire du Protestantisme in Paris (Fichier Lyon 0555) the eldest, Anne-Marie, was born in 1672, the second, Jean, in 1673, Daniel in 1675 and Jacques in 1678.
 27 *Ibid.*, no.108 p. 245 14.
 28 Darmstadt, Archiv von evangelischen Kirche Süd Hessen und Hanau, BMS Neu-Isenburg 463.
 29 I am indebted to Monsieur Jean-Louis Calbat for this information.
 30 This word was borrowed by French soldiers from the German "*Schnapphahn*" (highwayman) during the wars of the seventeenth century (Centre National des Ressources Textuelles et Lexicales).
 31 Frankfurt, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Französische reformierte Gemeinde, No. 110 p. 479 06 P.
 32 See Rudolf von Thadden, "Du réfugié pour la foi au patriote prussien" and Étienne François, "Du patriote prussien au meilleur des allemands", in Michelle Magdelaine and Rudolf von Thadden, *Le Refuge Huguenot* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1985), pp. 213–27 and pp. 229–44.

10

The Economy of Exile: Huguenot Migration from Dieppe to Rotterdam, 1685–1700

David van der Linden

In the eyes of Jean Claude, the famous Huguenot minister of Charenton who had taken refuge in The Hague, explaining the mass exodus of Protestants from France was straightforward enough. Huguenots went into exile for the sake of religion, because they could not bear to renounce their Protestant beliefs and embrace popery at sword point. In his 1686 indictment of French religious policy, *Les Plaintes des Protestans, cruellement opprimez dans le Royaume de France*, Claude argued that "the fear of the Dragoons, the horror of seeing their consciences forced, their children abducted, and of having to live henceforth in a land where there will neither be justice nor compassion for them, obliged everyone to think of an escape, and to abandon all in order to save themselves".¹

Many of Claude's colleagues in exile shared his view that the Huguenot exodus was a religious migration. For refugee ministers were not just talented preachers, they also proved to be prolific writers of Huguenot history: besides Jean Claude, ministers such as Philippe Le Gendre and Jacques Pineton de Chambrun published histories that catalogued the plight of their communities in France, and celebrated the Refuge as the ultimate solution to religious persecution.² Similarly, Elie Benoist achieved widespread fame with the publication of his multi-volume *Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes*, which catalogued all the injustices that French Protestants had suffered, and which cast them as religious victims longing for the re-establishment of the Edict of Nantes.³

Yet tales of religious hardship told only half the story. They reduced the refugees to zealous Protestants, while in truth moving abroad was far more complicated. As this article will argue, in the decision-making process leading up to migration, it was not just religion that the Huguenots took into account: to a large extent, socio-economic factors also determined who would move, and who stayed behind in France. In other words, the Revocation was not a neat religious caesura, separating the devout refugees from the faint-hearted who converted to Catholicism and chose to remain in France.

This insight is not new. Already in the decades following the Revocation local officials perceived that skilled and affluent Protestants were more likely to emigrate, warning Versailles that the Refuge was draining the French economy of its brightest minds and vast amounts of capital — an assertion Huguenot refugees were happy to

propagate, too. Yet in reality this was greatly exaggerated; the economic losses incurred by the Revocation were limited, because Catholics quickly took over the trades hitherto dominated by Protestants, while the costly wars waged by Louis XIV put a far more serious drain on economic development.⁴

Most historians of the Refuge would nowadays agree that in the decision-making process leading up to migration, the socio-economic status of Huguenots did play a major role. Social networks, geographic proximity and professional status could seriously hamper or facilitate emigration. In her classic 1985 study of the Revocation, Elisabeth Labrousse even went as far as to argue that “the choice to remain in France or to go into exile had very little or nothing to do with the religious fervour of those who made it”.⁵ After all, a large group of zealous Protestants decided to stay in France — most notably in the Cévennes, where they rebelled in 1702 — while inversely many insincere Huguenots chose to go into exile, as they hoped to benefit from the privileges Protestant authorities all over Europe were granting to French refugees. Labrousse instead suggested age, profession, geographical location, and foreign contacts as the most plausible socio-economic factors explaining migration, although she admitted that these were only “fragile conjectures”.⁶

For the trouble is that historians of the Refuge often lack the serial data to support the hypothesis that socio-economic opportunities impacted on the decision to leave France. Yves Krumenacker for example, in his study of Protestants in Poitou, laments that his sources were “too incomplete to draw serious conclusions” about the professions of those who left.⁷ Michelle Magdelaine has been more fortunate. Searching the registers of Huguenot refugees passing through Frankfurt, she was able to conclude that the vast majority of refugees arriving in that city came from the Midi, and that most of them were drawn from the ranks of artisans, merchants, medical practitioners, the army, and even peasants. Yet she does not explain these patterns in socio-economic terms, arguing that the sole reason why Huguenots departed was their refusal to submit to Catholicism.⁸

To enhance our understanding of the reasons why Huguenots left France or decided to remain, this article will therefore scrutinize new source material from the towns of Dieppe and Rotterdam, which allows us to trace in far more detail the migration patterns of Huguenot refugees, and to discern the factors that explain their movements. As will become clear, some Protestants were indeed more likely to depart than others, while the decision to leave was hardly ever taken in a fit of religious enthusiasm; rather, leaving France was a carefully considered move, in which socio-economic constraints or possibilities played a crucial role. Leaving and settling abroad was thus as much a story of socio-economic migration, as it was a tale of Protestant perseverance.

The Revocation in Dieppe

One of the main migration routes taken by Huguenot refugees after the Revocation carried them from the province of Normandy to the bustling port town of Rotterdam in the United Provinces. This pattern is brilliantly revealed in the so-called “*Reconnaissance Register*” of the French-speaking Walloon church of Rotterdam. In the spring of 1686 the Walloon consistory decided to start a separate register listing all the names, signatures and geographic origins of Huguenots who wished to make a

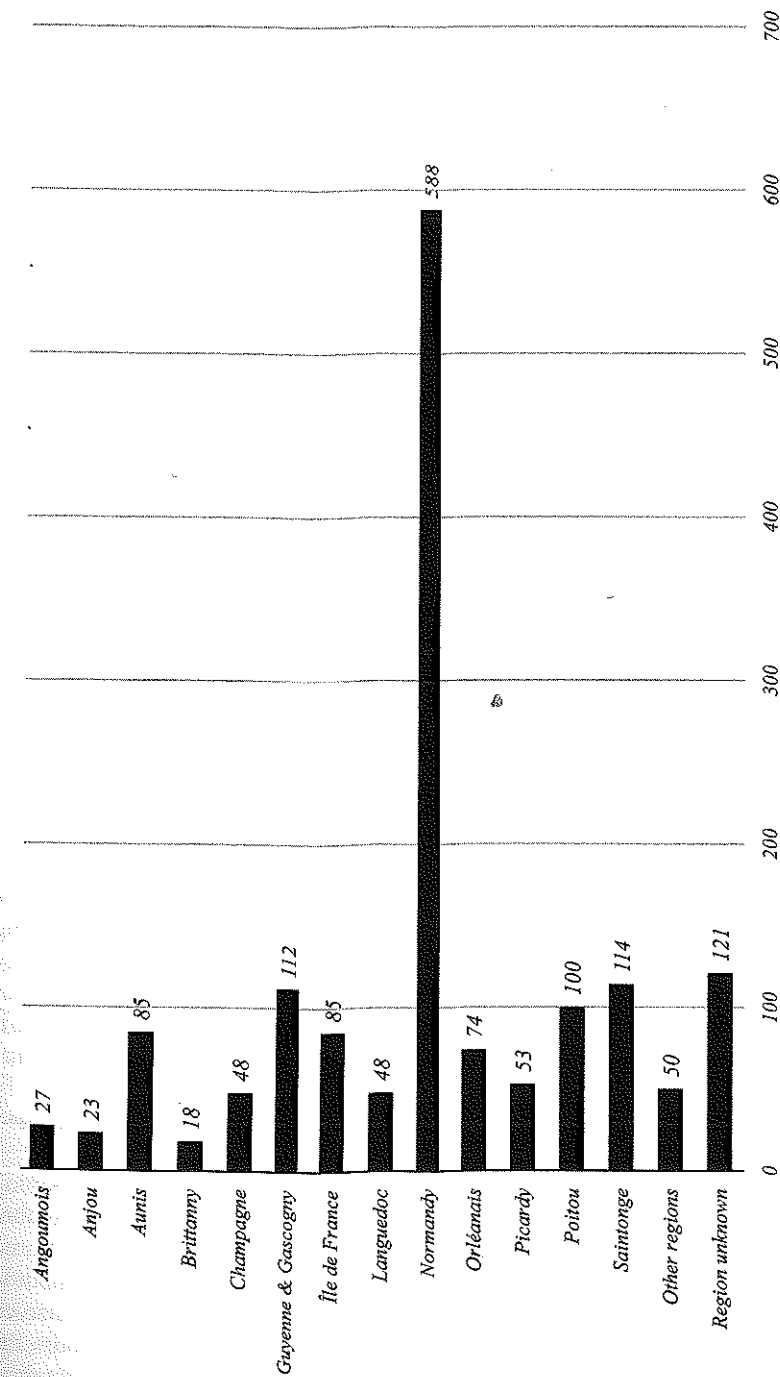


Figure 10.1 Regional origins of Huguenot signatories in the reconnaissance register of the Walloon church of Rotterdam, 1686-1715 (N = 1,546)

Source: Rotterdam, Gemeentearchief Rotterdam, EW 128, Register of abjurations and reconnaissances.

"reconnaissance", in other words to make public amends for their conversion to Catholicism in France.⁹ During the period 1686–1715 an impressive 1,546 Huguenots signed the register: 692 men and 758 women. Most signatories also specified their town or region of origin: only 92 migrants failed to mention any place of origin, while in 29 cases the town indicated could not be pinned down to a region with any certainty.¹⁰

As shown in Figure 10.1 (page 101), the overwhelming majority came from Normandy (588 Huguenots, 38 percent of all signatures). Most other Huguenots had travelled from towns in the "Protestant crescent", those regions in France where most Protestants lived, stretching from the Poitou, Angoumois, Aunis and Saintonge in the north to Guyenne, Gascony, and Languedoc in the south (486 signatures in total, 31.4 percent).¹¹ By contrast, the eastern provinces of France are conspicuously absent from the register, because Huguenots from these regions were more likely to cross the Alps and settle in nearby Switzerland or in the Protestant states of the Holy Roman Empire. As a result the Rotterdam register does not offer an even-handed reflection of Huguenot immigration, but it does serve as an excellent barometer indicating larger migration trends.

When we focus on the disproportionate number of Huguenots from Normandy, it turns out that most of them came from the towns of Dieppe and Rouen. Out of a total of 588 Norman Huguenots signing the register, more than half stated Dieppe as their town of origin (306 refugees, 52.1 percent), as opposed to 152 from Rouen (25.9 percent), while smaller groups had fled from Caen, Luneray, Bolbec and Alençon.¹² The preponderance of Huguenots from Dieppe and Rouen in Rotterdam also struck the Norman nobleman Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet, who upon his arrival in 1687 observed "this beautiful and great city which had become almost French because so many inhabitants of Rouen and Dieppe had sought refuge there."¹³

Situated on the English Channel, Dieppe was one of the largest merchant ports in seventeenth-century France. By 1685 the town boasted 20,000 inhabitants, of whom 5,790 were Huguenots — more than a quarter of the total population. This made Dieppe the largest Protestant community in Normandy, putting it even before that of Rouen, which only numbered 4,720 Huguenots in the 1660s, and went into steady decline thereafter.¹⁴ The Protestant community of Dieppe found itself in trouble before the Revocation: in February 1685 its four ministers were accused of having admitted several bastard children and relapsed female Catholic converts to a Sunday service. This was considered a serious offence, because since the 1660s a string of royal decrees had forbidden Huguenots who had converted to Catholicism to return to their former confession (the *crime de relaps*), or to attend Protestant services. Thus the Protestant church of Dieppe was closed in February 1685, never to reopen. In June a local court ordered the church to be razed to the ground, fining the accused converts and banning the ministers from the town.¹⁵

Although the ministers lodged an appeal and even travelled to Versailles, hoping to persuade the king to reverse the sentence, all hopes were dashed when in October 1685 Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes. The *Intendant* René de Marillac, feared for having ordered the first *dragonnades* in Poitou in 1681, but posted to Normandy in 1684, quickly marched soldiers to Rouen and then to Dieppe, where they arrived on 11 November 1685. The next morning the lieutenant-general of Normandy, the Marquis de Beuvron, summoned all Huguenot heads of households to urge them to return to the Catholic fold. Few Huguenots complied, however, so he ordered the

soldiers to lodge with the Protestants of Dieppe.¹⁶ The *dragonnades* had an unprecedented success: after a week of dragooning the Huguenots of Dieppe had *en masse* signed their abjurations, and on 26 November de Beuvron triumphantly reported that "almost all those of the so-called R.P.R. in this town [Dieppe], who were large in number, have made their abjuration".¹⁷ All in all it had taken less than a fortnight to turn Dieppe into an all-Catholic city.

But of course that was wishful thinking. Most *nouveaux convertis* were façade Catholics, not loyal supporters of the Church of Rome, and soon enough many of them were boarding ships to escape from Dieppe. The French authorities responded by setting up border patrols along the Normandy coast, hoping to stem the flow of Huguenot refugees. In the spring of 1686 de Beuvron even received detailed guidelines from Versailles: he was to place guards along the Normandy coast, hire trusted Catholics to spy on their converted neighbours — Louis XIV suggested that these bounty hunters be promised a share of confiscated Huguenot property if they tipped off the authorities correctly — and to have ships patrol the waters off Normandy.¹⁸

In some cases these measures proved successful. One Sunday evening in September 1688, 36 *nouveaux convertis* were arrested at a local inn run by a woman known as La Hogue, who was suspected of acting as a middleman for Huguenots wishing to escape from France. Yet it was difficult to get firm evidence, police lieutenant Rouville complained to his superiors in Rouen, "because of the fidelity our *nouveaux convertis* have for the services she provides".¹⁹ Moreover, not all border patrols were exactly watertight: in the autumn of 1686 another 25 Huguenots managed to escape by bribing the coastguards who were supposed to arrest them.²⁰

Leaving Di ppe

We can trace the extent and composition of the Huguenot exodus from Dieppe by examining two registers drawn up by the French authorities in the wake of the Revocation. The first was compiled shortly after Easter 1686, when missionary priests visited all the *nouveaux convertis* of Dieppe to investigate their spiritual state of mind. For the ecclesiastical authorities were no fools: although most Huguenots had converted, they were in all likelihood façade Catholics, so to gauge their true religious beliefs the Archbishop of Rouen sent a company of priests to make a thorough inquiry.²¹ During these house visits the *nouveaux convertis* received a crash course in Catholicism, followed by a brief questionnaire to determine their inward beliefs. If the converts passed their exam, they earned the label *bien converti* (well converted), but the priests must have been dismayed to discover that only 48 people met their standards: the vast majority was classified as *mal converti* (badly converted), "obstinate" or "unruly".

More important for our purposes, however, is that of the 1,484 heads of household included in the register, the priests wrote down the professions of 728, while they also included 63 servants attached to the well-to-do Huguenot families. Moreover, the priests did not just record the *nouveaux convertis* who had stayed in Dieppe, but also those families that had left town. We can thus get a rough idea of the occupational structure of the entire Huguenot community at Dieppe. As shown in column A of table 10.1, most Protestants (338 heads of household, 21.8 percent) worked as craftsmen, mainly in the textile industry, as lacemakers, weavers, or tailors. Other

Huguenots engaged in more specialized trades such as hat-making and glazing, while they also dominated ivory carving and watchmaking, crafts for which Dieppe was well known throughout Europe.²²

Table 10.1 Occupations of Huguenots in Dieppe, 1685–86, and occupations of Huguenot heads of households leaving Dieppe, 1685–1689

Types of activity	A. Occupations of all Huguenot heads of household, 1685–86*		B. Occupations of escaped and absent heads of household, 1686		C. Occupations of heads of household who abandoned property, 1685–89	
	no.	% of total	no.	% of A	no.	% of A
1. Servant/maid	63	4.1	4	6.3	0	0.0
2. Crafts						
Clothing	148		12		4	
Glass/stone	15		2		0	
Ivory	22		2		10	
Leather	16		3		4	
Metalwork	39		1		6	
Wood	44		6		8	
Miscellaneous	54		7		11	
Sub-total	338	21.8	33	9.7	43	12.7
3. Retail						
Clothing	48		6		11	
Victualing	58		11		9	
Miscellaneous	8		0		1	
Sub-total	114	7.4	17	14.9	21	18.4
4. Shipping	154	10.0	95	61.7	9	5.8
5. Merchants	83	5.4	14	16.9	32	38.6
6. Liberal professions						
Education	3		0		0	
Judiciary	2		0		0	
Medical	20		4		5	
Army	5		0		0	
Church	3		1		2	
Sub-total	33	2.1	5	15.2	7	21.2
7. Miscellaneous	6	0.4	1	16.7	1	16.7
8. Occupation unknown	756	51.9	87	11.5	64	8.5
Total	1.547	100.0	256	16.5	177	11.4

Note: * Though technically part of the family they served, servants have been included as separate heads of household.

Sources: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Mélanges Colbert 6, ff. 189–243, Roole général des nouveaux convertis de la ville de Dieppe, 1686 (A and B); Paris, Archives nationales, TT 19 and TT 264/13, Accounts of confiscated Protestant property in Normandy, 1685–1689 (C).

Given that Dieppe was an important commercial and naval port town, it comes as no surprise that the second largest group was made up of Huguenots in the shipping industry (154 heads of household, 10 percent), from captains commanding merchant

vessels or barges, down to the many sailors and pilots. By contrast the number of Protestant merchants in Dieppe was relatively small (83 heads of household, 5.4 percent), falling behind the 114 retailers (7.4 percent), who mostly worked as haberdashers, fishwives, beer-sellers, and bakers.

Next, we may compare the overall occupational structure of the Huguenot community in Dieppe to those Protestants who had left town. Column B lists all the heads of household who were listed in the register as having escaped, or were absent when the priests paid them a visit. Although in some cases the clerics suspected that families simply refused to answer the door, the register also contains about 60 Huguenot sailors “out at sea”, whose wives and children were also suspiciously absent, probably because they had fled. Absent heads of household were also found in other branches of the economy, mainly among the Huguenot merchants or those working in the textile industry. All in all a total of 256 heads of household were absent in the spring of 1686, 16.5 percent of all Protestants in Dieppe.

Comparing the refugees’ professions with those of the Huguenots staying behind shows that a proportionate number of Protestant merchants left town (14 out of 83, 16.9 percent). Many craftsmen stayed in Dieppe, however, as only 33 out of the 338 set off abroad (9.7 percent) — mainly lacemakers, a group of candlestick makers, and four watchmakers. Yet the number of captains and sailors that was registered as either absent or escaped was sky-rocketing, since almost two-thirds of all heads of household owning a ship or working as sailors had gone (95 out of 154, 61.7 percent).

The obvious drawback to the register is that it was drawn up in the spring of 1686, and thus does not include those Huguenots who left Dieppe in subsequent months. Fortunately, another source runs until 1689: the accounts of confiscated Protestant property in Normandy.²³ Already in 1669 Louis XIV had forbidden his subjects to leave France without written permission from the authorities, threatening to confiscate their goods if they were caught, while in 1682 the King had issued a similar decree that explicitly named the Huguenots.²⁴ The Edict of Fontainebleau only repeated these measures (article 10), and from the spring of 1686 onwards *intendants* all over France started seizing the property of absent Huguenot families, noting down their names and possessions in registers. The receipts were used to reward Catholic informants, build new churches, and pay for the construction of schools to instruct the *nouveaux convertis*, as well as the maintenance of Huguenot women sent to convents.²⁵

The register for Normandy contains 177 heads of household from Dieppe, 113 of whom are listed with their occupation (Table 10.1, column C). Results on the occupational structure of refugees are very different now: in the long run, skilled craftsmen did leave Dieppe, mainly ivory carvers, watchmakers and goldsmiths (43 out of 338 craftsmen, 12.7 percent), as did a group of 11 drapers and haberdashers. Most striking, however, are the many merchants listed in the accounts (32 out of a total of 83, 38.6 percent), while the number of sailors and captains plummets to just 9 out of 154. Yet we must be careful when interpreting these figures, because the well-to-do Huguenots who owned property are overrepresented, while poorer people who rented their houses do not appear, nor do the clever Huguenots who managed either to sell or transfer their property before leaving. In 1687 for example the salt tax collectors of Dieppe complained that they had difficulty meeting their quota, because many Protestants had left town “without leaving behind any goods, while those who own only furniture have sold it secretly before their departure”.²⁶

Still, drawing together the evidence from both registers, it appears that Huguenots

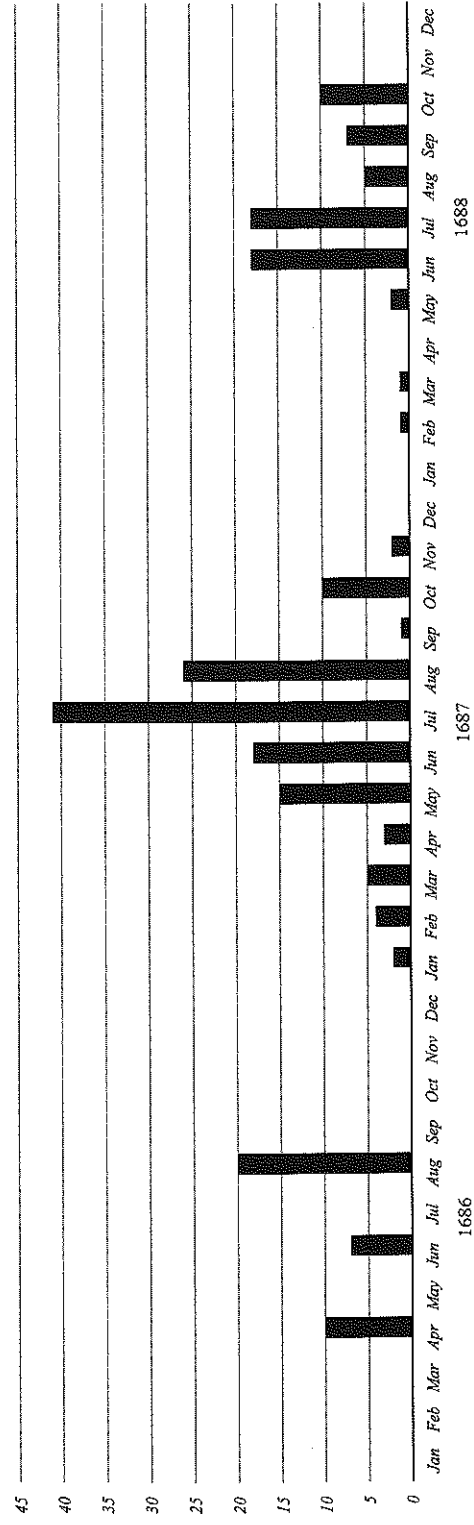


Figure 10.2 Huguenot signatories from Dieppe in the reconnaissance register of the Walloon church of Rotterdam, 1686–1688 (N = 226)
 Source: Gemeentearchief Rotterdam, Église Wallonne 128, Register of abjurations and reconnaissances.

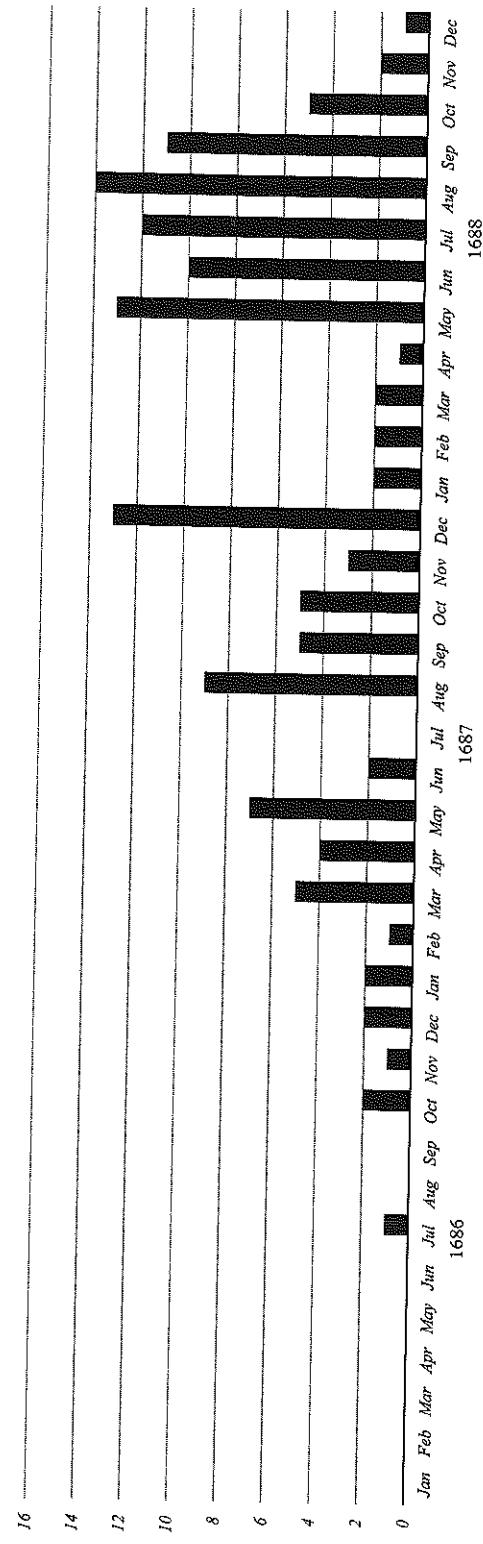


Figure 10.3 Huguenot heads of household leaving Dieppe, 1685–1687 (N = 137)
 Source: Archives nationales, Paris, TT 19, Accounts of confiscated Protestant property in Dieppe, 1685–1687.

in some professions left disproportionately to the share their occupational group had in the overall Protestant economy of Dieppe. It was especially merchants and skilled artisans — such as watchmakers, ivory carvers, hatters, weavers and goldsmiths — who left town after the Revocation, while many captains and sailors probably never returned from their voyages, their families quietly leaving France as well. Unskilled artisans, on the other hand, mostly decided to stay in Dieppe.

Finally, most Huguenots did not leave France immediately after the Revocation. The consistory of the Walloon church in Rotterdam only started its *reconnaissance* register in April 1686, which suggests that migration was slow to take off. Looking at the town of Dieppe, the same pattern emerges. In 1686 only a handful of Protestants arrived in Rotterdam to sign the *reconnaissance* register, while the real exodus from Dieppe took place during the spring and summer of 1687 and 1688, when travel was less difficult than in winter (Figure 10.2). These findings are corroborated by the accounts of confiscated property, which also list the months of departure: most refugees indeed left Dieppe in the summer of 1686 and 1687 (Figure 10.3). Huguenots thus proved perfectly able to negotiate their religious identity, living as façade Catholics for several months — or even years — before setting off.

The Social System of Migration

These findings raise two important questions: first, why did precisely these Huguenots leave Dieppe and why did others stay behind? And second, why did most refugees not immediately set off in 1685? The answer is that for most Huguenots pondering whether or not to leave France, religion was only part of the equation: the decision to leave home was not taken in a fit of religious enthusiasm, but carefully considered. Certainly, the religious dilemma created by the Revocation was a pressing one, pushing devout Huguenots to go into exile, but the socio-economic possibilities of migration also played their part in the decision-making process. Simply put, Huguenots with money, skills, and access to information networks were far more likely to risk their lives for religion than those who lacked all or some of the above; they knew where to go, how to get there, and had some assurance that they could make a living abroad.

Early modern migration was a social system above all: it was the “personal information field” of prospective migrants that explains why some stayed and others left, because in an era without mass communication people had to rely on friends, relatives, and fellow migrants for information about routes, housing, and job opportunities in foreign destinations.²⁷ As social historians have pointed out, migration is usually the outcome of a rational cost-benefit analysis, as migrants weigh up the benefits of moving against the risks involved — in the case of the Huguenots, freedom of conscience against the cost of travel, the possibility of arrest, and financial uncertainty once abroad. Social networks may lower the risks of moving, however, as migrants will often rely on chain migration, with relatives and migrants already living at a given destination providing aid, information and encouragement to new migrants.²⁸

In early modern systems of long-distance migration especially, these social networks were crucial, because news of employment in the distant town of Rotterdam, for example, was hard to come by. As distance and travel costs increased, such information not only became scarcer and less reliable, but also tended to be found in larger

cities, where well-informed merchants could spread the latest news.²⁹ Huguenots weighing up the pros and cons of settling abroad also relied on these urban networks of information, so it is not surprising that most of those arriving in Rotterdam came from precisely those Norman towns that engaged in long-distance trade with Rotterdam. From the 1640s onwards, France had become the largest overseas market for Dutch exports, a trade dominated by Rotterdam merchants, who mainly exported herring, cheese, cloth, grain and spices to the Normandy ports along the river Seine, such as Rouen and its outposts Le Havre and Honfleur, as well as the coastal towns of Dieppe, Caen, and Valéry-sur-Somme.³⁰

Nor is it surprising that Huguenot merchants belonged to those occupational groups that left Dieppe in disproportionately large numbers. Engaging in long-distance trade with Rotterdam, they first heard of the possibilities of settling abroad, while they could easily open businesses in a foreign port without losing their trading network. The same goes for the many captains and sailors in Dieppe, who quickly picked up the news when they dropped anchor in Dutch ports, and who had ample opportunity to join the Dutch navy or board an East Indiaman. During the Nine Years War (1688–1697) the French navy was poignantly reminded of this exodus, when its commanders repeatedly arrested Huguenot merchants and sailors from Normandy on board Dutch ships. In 1690 for example, Jean Pétel, a sailor from Le Havre, was discovered on board the vessel *Johannes de Doper* from Amsterdam, while the formerly Dieppe-based merchant David Droyer was arrested in the Channel on board a Dutch ship headed for the West Indies.³¹

Artisans also had more cause and opportunity to leave Dieppe. From 1681 onwards Dutch town officials had eagerly tried to attract Huguenot artisans to boost the urban economy, especially those trained in such specialized trades as the production of hats, silk, or lace.³² The Rotterdam burghomasters had, for example, promised tax immunities and small subsidies to French Protestants to encourage them to relocate their businesses.³³ When religious persecution in France increased, more and more artisans showed up in Rotterdam to benefit from these promises and their own skills: in August 1685, David de Caux, a merchant from Dieppe producing and exporting lace, successfully petitioned the town council for a workshop and tax exemptions to transplant his business to Rotterdam.³⁴

Information networks clearly played a role in aiding Huguenots in Dieppe to make up their minds in favour of migration. When, in 1685, the widow Hebert and her family had managed to reach the Dutch Republic, news of their successful escape quickly reached the Protestant community at Dieppe, because “they had been able to write about their arrival in Holland”.³⁵ That same year David Mallot, a hatter from Rouen who was seeking financial aid to set up a new hat-making business in Rotterdam, similarly explained that “after having carefully examined all things, I believed I could not find a better retreat than in this country and mainly in this town ruled by your Lordships, who are accustomed to aiding and relieving the refugees”.³⁶ His fellow migrants had obviously told Mallot about the privileges Rotterdam was making available to Huguenots.

Conclusion

In sum, most of the Huguenot refugees were not simply very devout Protestants,

escaping France to secure religious freedom. Admittedly religion was the first and foremost reason for Huguenots to consider exile, but socio-economic opportunities also played a crucial role in the decision-making process that led to migration. Rather than casting Huguenots in the role of religious refugees, it seems more fruitful to consider them as a diverse group of migrants. At one end of the extreme we find a minority of devout Huguenots, ministers who fled France within the fortnight set by Louis XIV, and believers who heeded God's calling the instant dragoons appeared in their villages — these were the religious refugees of whom Jean Claude spoke. At the other extreme were those for whom the economic advantages of moving abroad provided the spur to action.

The vast majority of Huguenot migrants, however, fell in between these extremes. Assuredly they were convinced Protestants, or they would never have left France, but they also knew that faith alone could not sustain them in exile, and thus thought twice before setting off. Like any sensible migrant in early modern Europe, they first went about obtaining accurate information about destinations where they were likely to find employment; seeking out relatives and friends who could help them leave France; and selling their homes and furniture to have enough money to cover their voyage and first weeks abroad. This meant that some Huguenots stood a better chance of leaving than others. Merchants, sailors and skilled craftsmen had more ready access to information networks, better skills, and more opportunities to abscond and continue their trade in exile. Despite the rhetoric of exile, then, the Refuge was not just about obtaining religious freedom, but also about overcoming the same socio-economic hurdles that faced any migrant in early modern Europe.

Notes

- 1 Jean Claude, *Les Plaintes des Protestans, cruellement opprimés dans le Royaume de France* (Cologne: Pierre Marteau, 1686), pp. 96–7.
- 2 Philippe Le Gendre, *Histoire de la persécution faite à l'Église de Rouen sur la fin du dernier siècle* (Rotterdam: Jean Malherbe, 1704); Jacques Pineton de Chambrun, *Les larmes de Jacques Pineton de Chambrun, Pasteur de la Maison de Son Altesse Sérénissime, de l'Église d'Orange, & Professeur en Théologie: Qui contiennent les Persecutions arrivées aux Églises de la Principauté d'Orange, depuis l'an 1660* (The Hague: Henri van Bulderen, 1867).
- 3 Charles Johnston, "Elie Benoist, historian of the Edict of Nantes", *Church History* 55 (1986): 468–88; Frank van Deijk, "Elie Benoist (1640–1728), historiographer and politician after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes", *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 69 (1989): 54–92.
- 4 Warren C. Scoville, *The Persecution of Huguenots and French Economic Development, 1680–1720* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960); Myriam Yardeni, "Naissance et essor d'un mythe: La revocation de l'édit de Nantes et le déclin économique de la France", *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 142 (1993): 76–94.
- 5 Elisabeth Labrousse, *Une foi, une loi, un roi? Essai sur la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1985), p. 215.
- 6 *Ibid.*, pp. 212–15.
- 7 Yves Krumenacker, *Les protestants du Poitou au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1997), pp. 126–7.
- 8 Michéle Magdelaine, *Le Refuge huguenot* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1985), pp. 31–44.
- 9 Rotterdam, Gemeentearchief Rotterdam, Église Wallonne (EW) 128, f. 1. Rotterdam register of abjurations and *reconnaissances*.
- 10 I have categorized the towns listed by Ancien Régime province, following Samuel Mours, *Les églises réformées en France: Tableaux et cartes* (Paris: Librairie Protestante, 1958).

- 11 On the geographical spread of the Huguenot population, see: Philip Benedict, "The Huguenot population of France: The demographic fate and customs of a religious minority", in Philip Benedict, *The Faith and Fortune of France's Huguenots, 1600–85*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 39–95; Mours, *Les églises réformées*, pp. 155–68.
- 12 Rotterdam, Gemeentearchief Rotterdam, EW 128. Register of abjurations and *reconnaissances*.
- 13 Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet, *Mémoires inédits de Dumont de Bostaquet, gentilhomme normand, sur les temps qui ont précédé et suivi la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes, sur le Refuge, et les expéditions de Guillaume III en Angleterre et en Irlande* (eds) Charles Read and Francis Waddington (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1864), p. 161. Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet, *Memoirs of Isaac Dumont of Bostaquet*, translated by Dianne Ressler (London: Huguenot Society New Series 3, 2005), p. 143.
- 14 See for these figures: Luc Daireaux, *Réduire les Huguenots: protestants et pouvoirs en Normandie au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2010), pp. 640, 953, and 958–9.
- 15 R. Garetta (ed.), *La seconde partie de l'Histoire de l'Église réformée de Dieppe, 1660–1685*, vol. 1 (Rouen: Société Rouennaise de Bibliophiles, 1902), pp. 82–123; Samuel Hardy, *Histoire de l'Église Protestante de Dieppe* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1897), p. 339; Daireaux, *Réduire les huguenots*, pp. 570–4. On the royal declarations, see: Labrousse, *Une foi, une loi, un roi?*, pp. 167–8.
- 16 Hardy, *L'Église Protestante de Dieppe*, pp. 349–51; Garetta (ed.), *L'Église réformée de Dieppe*, vol. I, pp. 200–3.
- 17 Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, chartier 398, f. 10r. Beuvron to the Rouen aldermen.
- 18 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, NAF 1206, ff. 50r–51v. Louis XIV to Beuvron, *Mémoire pour servir d'instruction à Mr. le marquis de Beuvron*, Versailles, 3 March 1686. Seignelay forwarded the memoir to Beuvron on 25 March, see f. 52.
- 19 Paris, Archives Nationales (AN) Paris, TT 243/7, ff. 765–768. Rouville to Feydeau de Brou, Dieppe, 10 September 1688.
- 20 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, NAF 1206, f. 78. Seignelay to Beuvron, Versailles, 11 September 1686.
- 21 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Mélanges Colbert 6, ff. 189–243. Roole général des nouveaux convertis de la ville de Dieppe, leurs caractères et dispositions d'esprit trouvées et marquées en ce registre lors de la visite des pères missionnaires établis en cette ville par les ordres de Monseigneur le coadjuteur de Rouen. For an analysis of this register, see Gérard Hurpin, "La révocation de l'Édit de Nantes à Dieppe", in *Protestants et minorités religieuses en Normandie* (Rouen: Société Libre d'Émulation de la Seine-Maritime, 1987), pp. 83–98.
- 22 Ambroise Milet, *Anciennes industries scientifiques et artistiques dieppoises* (Dieppe: Musée de Dieppe, 1904).
- 23 Paris, Archives Nationales, TT 19 and TT 264/13. Accounts of confiscated Protestant property in Normandy, 1685–9.
- 24 Léon Pilatte, *Recueil des Édits, Déclarations et Arrests concernant la Religion P. Réformée, 1662–1751, précédés de l'Édit de Nantes* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1885), pp. 26–9, 119–20.
- 25 Emmanuel Jahan, *La confiscation des biens des religionnaires fugitifs, de la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes à la Révolution* (Paris: Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 1959), pp. 10–45; Magali Schaeffer, *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes et les biens des religionnaires fugitifs en Languedoc* (Montpellier: Centre Régional de la Productivité et des Études Économiques, 1985), pp. 12–45.
- 26 Paris, Archives Nationales, G7 492/407. Petition of salt tax collectors presented to *intendant* Feydeau de Brou, Dieppe, June 1687.
- 27 Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), pp. 15–17.
- 28 Charles Tilly, "Migration in Modern European History", in William H. McNeill and Ruth J. Adams (eds), *Human Migration: Patterns and Policies* (Bloomington: Indiana University

- Press, 1978), p. 53; Douglas S. Massey, "Social structure, household strategies, and the cumulative causation of migration", *Population Index* 56 (1900): 3–26.
- 29 Clé Lesger, "Informatiestromen en de herkomstgebieden van migranten in de Nederlanden in de vroegmoderne tijd", *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 3 (2006): 3–23; Clé Lesger, "Variaties in de herkomstpatronen van nieuwe burgers in Nederlandse steden omstreeks het midden van de zeventiende eeuw", *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 3 (2006): 118–39.
- 30 Jonathan Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World trade, 1585–1740* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 285–6; Arie van der Schoor, *Stad in aanwas: Geschiedenis van Rotterdam tot 1813* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1999), pp. 166–76 and 202–6.
- 31 Gaston Tournier, *Les galères de France et les galériens protestants des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, vol. 2 (Montpellier: Les Presses du Languedoc, 1984), pp. 360, 388. See also: Mickaël Augeron, "Se convertir, partir ou résister? Les marins huguenots face à la révocation de l'édit de Nantes", in Mickaël Augeron, Didier Poton and Bertrand van Ruymbeke (eds), *Les huguenots et l'Atlantique: Pour Dieu, la Cause, ou les affaires* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2009), pp. 349–69.
- 32 Willem Frijhoff, "Uncertain Brotherhood: The Huguenots in the Dutch Republic", in Bertrand van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks (eds), *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003), pp. 143–9.
- 33 Rotterdam, Gemeentearchief Rotterdam, OSA 30, f. 89r. Resolution, Rotterdam town council, 18 August 1681.
- 34 *Ibid.*, OSA 31, ff. 165r and 175r. Resolutions, Rotterdam town council, 11 July and 7 August 1685.
- 35 Garetta (ed.), *L'Église réformée de Dieppe*, vol. I, p. 113.
- 36 Rotterdam, Gemeentearchief Rotterdam, OSA 31, f. 175v. David Mallot to Rotterdam town council, 7 August 1685.

11

Huguenots to the Southern Oceans: Archival Fact and Voltairean Myth

Randolph Vigne

Writing fifty years after the event, Voltaire ended his account of "one of the great calamities of France", the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, with a dramatic climax.¹ His "terse and vivid summary", as Macaulay called it,² described how some of the "fifty thousand families [who] left the kingdom" in the three years that followed the Revocation "emigrated as far as the Cape of Good Hope, where they established settlements". Voltaire likened this to a far more ancient diaspora, mixing fact and fiction:

The nephew of the celebrated lieutenant-general in the navy, Du Quesne, founded a little colony at this distant spot; but it did not prosper, and most of those who set sail for it perished. There are still, however, some survivors of this colony close to the Hottentots. The French have thus scattered further abroad than the Jews.³

As we know, no nephew of the great naval hero Abraham Du Quesne founded any such colony, and the Huguenot settlement at the Cape did in fact prosper. The great majority of those who set sail for it survived the three or four month voyage. There was, however, an attempt by Du Quesne's eldest and second sons, with a third Huguenot naval man, the unheralded and unsung Charles Perrault, sieur de Sailly, to found a colony even further away than the Cape, and of the very few who set sail for it, most did indeed perish. The story of "Eden", the island of Mascarin or Bourbon (now Réunion) they planned in vain to colonize in the south Indian Ocean, is a footnote to the diaspora that should be recalled. The only outcome, the two-year occupation of Rodrigues, some 800 miles to the north-north-east, has its own history and gives brief reality to Henri du Quesne's dream.

The Cape-Du Quesne myth persisted. Over a century after Voltaire, Charles Weiss wrote that about "eighty families" accepted the offer by the Lords Seventeen, the governing body of the United East India Company, of free passages to, and land at, the Cape of Good Hope, which it held under charter from the States General of the Netherlands. They

embarked under the guidance of a nephew of Admiral Du Quesne [and] were soon joined by other French emigrants. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, there