

*Stability in England, 1675-1725* [1967], p. 1), and members of parliament, eager to exploit the new possibilities afforded by the 'Glorious Revolution', often behaved ignorantly and clumsily in dealing with the navy, as Rodger shows. But parliament was genuinely upset over the navy's inadequate protection of trade in the 1690s, not just playing for political advantage (p. 159), and even the experts did not know how best to protect trade. The large question is: did not parliament play a crucial positive role in the prodigious growth of the navy during the financially desperate 1690s (as appears to be admitted on pp. 182-3), and also in the government's ability to initiate and sustain key reforms of naval administration during the next decade? After reading about the navy's having fallen under the control of 'ignorant amateurs' on page 225, the reader might be advised to reread what is said about parliament's increasing role on page 186 and also leap ahead to page 579 where it is observed, with impressive insight, that British administration in the eighteenth century was divided 'into two parts: the crown's and Parliament's'; the former, which included the army, 'was traditional if not archaic'; the latter, which included the treasury and the navy, was 'precociously professional'. The foundations of the latter were unquestionably laid before 1714.

Readers of this journal will be especially interested to know that the book's 'Operations' chapters pay due attention to foreign policy and to the ambitions and plans of allies and adversaries (sources are drawn from four languages). The French Revolutionary and Napoleonic era, when British warships served as instruments of policy in countless ways over a long period of time, provides the best example. Its naval operations, major and minor, are all examined, and with suitable background. Instead of spending a lot of time ashore with Napoleon and his armies, as A. T. Mahan did in his *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire, 1793-1812* (1893) – an admirable book in its own way – while relegating the British navy's impact mainly to broad claims in the last chapter about its offshore presence, Rodger scrutinizes the multitude and variety of naval actions, revealing the immediate and longer-term importance of each instance of Britain's use of sea power. It is naval history in the best sense.

At the end of this remarkable book, Rodger considers the larger significance of the British navy's rise and growing efficiency during these 165 years. This thoughtful, penetrating, indeed exciting, conclusion is not to be missed.

Cornell University

DANIEL A. BAUGH

RAYMOND HYLTON. *Ireland's Huguenots and Their Refuge, 1662-1745: An Unlikely Haven*. Brighton and Portland, OR: Sussex Academic Press, 2005. Pp. xiii, 226. \$69.50 (us).

SOME TRACES REMAIN of the immigration of individuals from France to Ireland, probably for reasons of trade and industry, in the late sixteenth and early seven-

teenth centuries. However, the arrival of French Protestants on a large scale took place in four successive waves: from 1662, after the Restoration; in 1681 and 1685, following the dragonnades in Poitou and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, respectively; after 1691 in the wake of the English Revolution of 1688 and the decisive victory of the forces of William III in Ireland over the Jacobite cause; and finally in 1752, as a result of a campaign in the Languedoc to enforce Roman Catholic baptism on those who continued to worship clandestinely as Protestants. Raymond Hylton is concerned with the first three waves, estimating that a total of between 8,000 and 10,000 French Protestants arrived in Ireland between 1662 and 1700 (pp. 81, 204), although other historians are more conservative in their estimates: 5,000, according to Alicia St Leger (*Silver, Sails, and Silk: Huguenots in Cork, 1685-1850* [1991], p. 1); between 3,000 and 7,000, according to Charles C. Ludington ('Between Myth and Margin: The Huguenots in Irish History', *Historical Research*, lxxiii [2000], 4-13); and in reality, probably somewhere between 5,000 and 7,000 overall.

Hylton's study has two distinct merits. First, he has combed through archival sources, identifying individuals, tracing their trades, social status, and family affiliations, and attempting to assess their contribution to Irish social and economic history. Second, he correctly argues that the three successive waves of Huguenot immigration into Ireland were distinct. The incentives offered in 1662 by the 'act for encouraging protestant-strangers and others, to inhabit and plant in the kingdom of Ireland' (14 and 15 C.II 2.13) attracted some two hundred French Protestants to Ireland; but they, like the Flemish weavers who also came at this time, were economic migrants rather than refugees. Their settlements in Waterford, Clonmel, Carrick-on-Suir, and Chapelizod, although initially successful, had dwindled to the point of extinction by the end of the 1670s (p. 25). The second wave of French Protestants came as refugees, fleeing the mounting pressure to convert to Catholicism placed on them by the regime of Louis XIV. By 1684, an estimated 430 French Protestants were resident in Dublin (p. 35), which rose to 600 after 1685, falling dramatically to approximately half that number when the French joined Irish Protestants fleeing for safety to England during the Jacobite war. The third wave of Huguenots came because of the second 'act for encouragement of protestant strangers' (4 Will. & Mary, c.2, 3 Nov. 1692) and formed a community more diverse than the previous ones. Agricultural workers, tradespeople, and merchants were encouraged in large numbers, but the military and nobility (which Hylton persistently refers to as *écuyers*, an ambiguous term that did not necessarily denote nobility) predominated, particularly in the settlement at Portarlinton, since they had been pensioned off on the Irish establishment in 1692 (p. 113). Unfortunately, despite its merits, Hylton's study of the Huguenot presence in Ireland is deeply flawed in a number of crucial respects.

In the first place, Hylton seems unaware of recent research on planned immigration schemes, which places Ireland in an international context and alters the

way we interpret the Irish Huguenot Refuge (*Europeans on the Move: Studies on European Migration, 1500-1800*, ed. N. Canny [1995; rev. ante, xviii (1996), 396]; *To and From Ireland: Planned Migration Schemes, c.1600-2000*, ed. P. J. Duffy [2004]). In reality, although the three successive waves of French Protestants who settled in Ireland were distinct, most of those who came did so in response to measures taken to recruit them in the 1660s, the 1680s, and the 1690s. Recruiting agents were active throughout these decades, competing for skilled foreign workers and French refugees, eager to attract them not only to the Americas, but also to England, Holland, the German states, and Ireland. While some French Protestants arrived in Ireland directly from France, the majority were offered incentives to bring them to Ireland from other centres of refuge, notably England, Holland, Germany, and Switzerland. In a recent article, Raymond Gillespie placed the immigration of Huguenots in the 1660s in the wider context of planned immigration schemes to early modern Ireland ('Planned Migration to Ireland in the Seventeenth Century', in *To and From Ireland*, ed. Duffy, pp. 39-56). Although this study may have appeared too late for Hylton to be aware of it, he should have been aware of the two papers by Michelle Magdelaine, tracing the planned resettlement of Huguenots from Switzerland ('L'Irlande huguenote: utopie ou réalité?', in *De l'humanisme aux Lumières, Bayle et le protestantisme*, ed. M. Magdelaine, M. C. Pitassi, R. Whelan, and A. McKenna [1996, pp. 273-87]; 'Conditions et préparation de l'intégration: le voyage de Charles Saily en Irlande (1693) et le projet d'Edit d'accueil', in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland, and Colonial America, 1550-1750*, ed. R. Vigne and C. Littleton [2001, pp. 435-41]), but he prefers to allude to a study 'carried out over a century ago by the Baronne de Chambrier' adding (falsely) that 'there has been no sustained study on the Irish dimension of the subject since then' (p. 138). Hylton does refer to 'Galway's [that is, Henri de Massue, marquis de Ruvigny, first earl of Galway] colonization scheme as administered by Henri de Mirmand' (pp. 138, 154), but he omits any detailed consideration of this large-scale, but ultimately failed, project in the 1690s. Instead, Hylton favours expressions such as 'a flood-tide of Protestant families ... accelerated the rate of immigration and swelled the refugee population [of Ireland] to its greatest extent up to that time' (p. 36), that is, between 1684 and 1687; or 'a wave of Huguenot refugees ... was streaming into Ireland by 1692' (p. 186). Such statements suggest that the Huguenots arrived spontaneously in Ireland, rather than as a result of planned immigration that was part of a much larger social and economic experiment to colonize Ireland by plantation, land confiscation, and dispossession, whereby unwanted Irish Catholics could be replaced with more desirable Protestant settlers. While Hylton refers indiscriminately to the Huguenots who settled in Ireland as 'refugees', 'colonizers', and even 'planters', he nowhere addresses the thorny problems of interpretation associated with those different designations.

In the second place, although Hylton rightly states that 'religious faith was, after

all, at the very heart of it', his understanding of the religious sensibility of the Huguenots tends to be reductionist in the extreme. Early modern religion was not simply a body of beliefs – what he refers to as 'principles of personal piety' (p. 178) – it was also a body of believers, that is, a culture with political, social, and economic, as well as religious, characteristics. The Huguenots were Calvinists, members of the French Reformed Church, which was formally founded in 1559; in other words, Calvinism was not 'a distinguishable, organized *sect* of Christianity' (p. 6, emphasis mine), nor was there any such movement as 'a free-wheeling partisan brand of Huguenotism [*sic*]' (p. 11). When they settled in Ireland, the Huguenots were divided between those who wanted to maintain their French Reformed religious culture and church organization in exile, and those who found no difficulty in conforming to Anglicanism and accepting the French Episcopalian compromise, exemplified by the French Church that met in the Lady Chapel of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

While it is true that such differences at times created bitter divisions in the Irish Refuge (p. 189), it is misleading to represent those divisions as importing into Ireland a political conflict between "politiques", moderates, or accommodationists' as opposed to 'fundamentalists' and 'zealots' who believed that 'loyalism to the monarch could be taken too far and that it was dangerous to appease a Catholic-dominated government' (p. 178). Although opinion in France and later in the international Huguenot Refuge was certainly divided along political lines, it is misguided to present the issues involved in terms of a simplistic political 'dualism'. There is absolutely no evidence to support the contention that this 'unresolved dualism endured the transition into exile, the Conformist and Non-Conformist worshippers adhering, in rough fashion, to the respective philosophy of passivity and that of resistance. Exile simply transposed the pre-existing problem and brought it into another Environment [*sic*]' (p. 180). Without exception, the Huguenot refugees in Ireland were loyal to the British crown and supported its colonial and imperialist models of settlement, because those models suited them, and spoke to their own fear of 'popery' and of living once again in the midst of a Catholic majority. While approximately two-thirds of the refugees chose to worship in non-conforming (that is, French Reformed) rather than conformed (French Episcopalian) congregations – unless they were compelled by key Irish Anglican bishops to do otherwise – such differences did not result in a political split. All Huguenots, conformed and non-conformed alike, expressed their allegiance to the crown, either by fighting on its behalf in the Irish and later European theatres of war, or by taking the oaths of loyalty required of them by the 1692 act. And despite their differences, the Huguenots in Ireland continued to fraternize and co-operate on joint initiatives, most notably for the relief of the poor and indigent in their ranks. Furthermore, many of the French Protestants, who insisted on retaining their French Reformed traditions in exile, conformed on an occasional basis to Anglicanism by taking communion with their Episcopalian

brethren. They did so not just because they were required to by the terms of their pensions on the Irish establishment, but also as a matter of principle, in recognition of the underlying unity of faith that bound them all together.

Hylton deserves credit for debunking many of the myths that surround the Huguenot presence in Ireland: that a majority of them lived in the Liberties of Dublin and were weavers; that they invented a gabled style of domestic architecture, known as ‘Dutch Billy’ or ‘Huguenot Houses’; or that they founded the Irish linen industry. However, he unquestioningly promotes some of the old chestnuts himself. He holds Mme de Maintenon responsible for the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (pp. 30, 34); argues that Catherine de Medici ‘browbeat her son’, Charles IX, into authorizing the massacres on St Bartholomew’s Day (p. 73); makes grandiose claims concerning the contribution made by French Protestants to Irish society, which he uncritically presents as ‘a significant source of blessings’ (p. 2); and lauds their ‘open-handed toleration’ (p. 203), despite the evidence to the contrary given in two of my own recent papers (R. Whelan, ‘Persecution and Toleration: The Changing Identities of Ireland’s Huguenot Refugees’, *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, xxviii [1998], 20-35; ‘Repressive Toleration: The Huguenots in Early Eighteenth-Century Dublin’, in *Toleration and Religious Identity: The Edict of Nantes and Its Implications in France, Britain, and Ireland*, ed. R. Whelan and C. Baxter [2003], pp. 179-95).

Many other errors of fact and interpretation, big and small, mar this book, but space prohibits me from listing them here. However, three must be mentioned. It is inaccurate as well as insensitive to refer to the massacre of thousands of French Protestants on St Bartholomew’s Day 1572 as a ‘débâcle’ (pp. 5, 41); to suggest that the presence of Huguenot military in the Prussian army ‘could arguably be said to have set into place the German military force whose dominance was not shattered until 1945’ (p. 48); or, finally, despite the afflictions visited on French Protestant refugees, to compare their plight to that of the Jews during the Holocaust in the Second World War (p. ix).

A special word of censure must be reserved for the publishers, Sussex Academic Press. It saddens me to have to say that never before have I reviewed a book with so many malapropisms or persistent errors of grammar, punctuation, and spelling – a serious matter where so many Huguenot names are listed and often misspelled from page to page. The presentation of references in the form of a bibliographical list at the end of each chapter rather than in systematic footnotes or endnotes also limits the usefulness of a book that many have longed to see in print. If the press wishes to make a name as a serious scholarly publisher, it would be advised to engage the services of scholarly readers and copy-editors, who might have helped to eliminate the many avoidable errors and shortcomings that regrettably undermine the merits of this book.

*National University of Ireland, Maynooth*

RUTH WHELAN