the similar themes and topics of loss, mourning, war, captivity, and perhaps most importantly, a keen sense of the importance of forging both personal and communal connections to place through language and over time. The notions of domestic space and the female body as cultural memory theatres, and the variations on forms that establish literary monuments, not only reflect but augment the canonical (and largely masculine-authored) work on memory in the period.


The title of this collection of ten studies, which originates from a colloquium held in Montpellier in 2004 on the Huguenots in the British Isles and the American Colonies (1550-1789), does it an injustice, for its authors range broadly over a series of themes, some of which are only loosely connected to religious culture. The uncomfortable fit between Huguenots, who were Reformed Christians in the Calvinist tradition, and the Anglicanism of the receiving societies of England and Ireland—the latter being ruled by an Anglican minority—is the subject of two essays. The Huguenots who made it into the new Oxford DNB, particularly the Du Moulin family, is studied by Vivienne Larminie, who correctly notes that anti-popery created a common bond between French Reformed refugees (or nonconformists), French Episcopalians (or conformists), and English Anglicans. “Poor relief” captures the attention of Randolph Vigne, who outlines the institutions founded in Britain to address the need of the thousands of destitute French refugees who poured into London, particularly after the Glorious Revolution. The Huguenot military that swelled the ranks of William of Orange’s invading army and fought under Schomberg against their own compatriots, because of the alliance between James II and Louis XIV, also figure, alongside a summary of the life and sermonising of that contentious character in the New York Refuge, Louis Rou, pastor of the French Reformed Church of St. Esprit.

The most original essays in the volume, however, are devoted to the Huguenots as cultural intermediaries via their publications, which
were acquired by ecclesiastical libraries in Ireland; their journalism and ideas, with the Rainbow Coffee House in London playing a pivotal role; their contribution as tutors to John Locke’s project for educational reform in Britain; and their intellectual influence, most notably that of Pierre Bayle on John Toland. These four case-studies add new information and insight to our existing picture of the way the movement of some 200,000 Huguenots out of France from the early 1680s onwards helped to prompt shifts in the political, cultural and intellectual map of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Europe. Jane McKee’s reconstruction of Huguenot publications figuring in libraries founded by the Church of Ireland in the eighteenth century in order to provide better intellectual support for the clergy, is an original and meticulously researched essay, which lays the foundations for future inquiry into the ways these books were read, that is, if they were read at all by Irish clergy. It is a pity, however, that the author did not compare the holdings of these smaller libraries with those of Archbishop Marsh’s Library, Dublin, the first public library founded in the islands of Britain and Ireland, which does have a catalogue compiled in the early eighteenth century (contrary to what is stated here, 124) by its first librarian, the Huguenot refugee Élie Bouhéreau. S.J. Savonius’s impressive study of Locke’s critique of the essentially rhetorical education of the day, and the moral relativism he believed it fostered, highlights the way certain Huguenot tutors embodied for the philosopher an ideal of freedom, conceived as the ability to speak truth boldly to power. However, it does not answer the question as to why Locke thought that these men, who had themselves received a rhetorical education, would reject its values and endorse the “ethos of ingenuousness (ingennitas) and fearless speech” (159), which he hoped they would instil in the sons of those who employed them. It might be more interesting to see Locke as an early myth-maker who projected onto Huguenots virtues that he wanted them to embody; as, indeed, does one of the authors in this volume, referring to them as “one of Europe’s most energetic, devout, industrious and brave peoples” (107). Simon Harvey and Elizabeth Grist provide a short but stimulating insight into the way the Rainbow Coffee House became an informal talking-shop, a public space where the Huguenot journalists Pierre Des Maizeaux and Michel de Laroche could engage
in intellectual exchange and garner the news and ideas that they then put into circulation through the periodicals, and in the case of Des Maizeaux, via his voluminous and, as yet, underexploited correspondence. Nonetheless, the authors’ conclusion that the two journalists’ “support for religious toleration helped to create the climate in which the radical thought of the Enlightenment could develop later in the eighteenth century” (172) is debatable in the light of recent studies. It raises the question as to the actual impact of ideas, and ignores the ways the quotidian resistance and political struggle for recognition and toleration—whether of Dissenters in Britain or Huguenots remaining in France—acted as catalysts of change.¹ Myriam Yardeni’s consideration of Huguenot traces and reminiscences in John Toland’s conception of tolerance reveals how much ideas could shift in their transmission from one thinker to another. Toland argued in favour of freedom of conscience while supporting the imposition of civil impediments on dissent, which makes him more conservative than Pierre Bayle, on whose defence of toleration he draws. Another example, if one were needed, that ideas in and of themselves are not necessarily agents of change.

There are, however, a number of misconceptions running through this book. Some authors confuse the members of the French Reformed Churches with Presbyterians (38, 43, 45), which is inaccurate; or refer to them as “dissenting churches” (50, 51, 52, 53), which is misleading, since their existence in Ireland was sanctioned by the 1692 act of parliament; or use the term “Huguenot faith” (53), which is meaningless. Although the Presbyterian and French Reformed traditions were both Calvinist in origin, their confessions, ecclesiology and liturgical practices developed differently; understanding those differences is important to any history of the way the religious culture of the Huguenots evolved in the Refuge.² There was, to the best of my knowledge, no statute passed by the Parliament in Dublin “stipulating that only French ministers willing to conform to Anglican rites

would be guaranteed livings within the state Church” (44, 47), and the author cites no source that could substantiate this claim. Nor was there an “Act of 1704” (50), which proved divisive to the refugees in Ireland. There is, moreover, little evidence that “in 1665 most of the French refugees arriving in Ireland officially conformed to Anglicanism,” and none given by the author (49). It is not true that the French Episcopalians (or conformists), who worshipped in the Lady Chapel of St Patrick’s Cathedral followed a “Calvinist discipline”; in the 1660s they were governed wholly by the canons of the Church of Ireland; in the 1690s a compromise between the two was reached under the astute guidance of Archbishop Marsh. There was no such thing as an “officially conformist party” (my emphasis) in Ireland (50); conforming to the Church of Ireland was more than “an act of civil obedience to the Crown” (51) for those who elected to do so, it was also—and possibly primarily—a matter of conscience, since they believed that the Church of Ireland was a truly reformed church. It is not clear to me how Frederick Herman von Schomberg, by birth German and by naturalization French, could be presented as “this chief representative of French Protestantism” (90). It is mystifying to find the Huguenot pastor, Jacques Fontaine, adduced as an example of the religious worldview of the Huguenot soldiery, pensioned off on the Irish establishment, given that Fontaine neither participated in the Williamite reduction of Ireland (as stated here, 99) nor settled among the retired military in Portarlington (as alleged here, 97). It is simply not true to say that “it is usually argued that militancy of any sort was alien to the Huguenots as a group,” (98) since the contrary is amply demonstrated by their armed resistance as late as the 1620s, their participation in the Williamite wars from 1688, and the Camisard revolt in the Cévennes in the early eighteenth century. The Églises Réformées de France—the plural (not the singular, as on 132) is important since it was a federation of churches—were governed by a consistory composed of the pastor or pastors, who acted as moderators, and lay elders who were nominated by the consistory, but not by magistrates or a “magistracy” (100, 101, 102). The term “High Church Huguenots” is mystifying (103, 104), as is the notion that there was racial hostility in “Portarlington, Dublin and London” (106); there is some evidence of xenophobia towards the French
refugees in Dublin and London, but they were after all European and Protestant, Caucasians all, displaying no *racial* differences from the native populations of the islands of Britain and Ireland.

Inter-disciplinary scholarship provides particular challenges to editors, who cannot be expected to have mastered every field of inquiry represented in the volumes they publish. Nonetheless, academic publishers such as Ashgate might be reminded to engage more assertive scholarly referees, who could spot such misconceptions before a book goes to print. Mistakes apart, however, this volume makes a valuable, mostly interesting, and at times original contribution to our understanding of the Huguenots in exile.


“What is the reason for yet another book on Francis Bacon?” (vii) asks Steven Matthews at the outset of his. Matthews’s answer to that question picks up on Stephen McKnight’s recent observation made in *The Religious Foundations of Francis Bacon’s Thought* (Columbia, 2006) that “there is still no book-length analysis of Bacon’s use of religious images and themes in his major works, and there is no systematic development of Bacon’s religious outlook” (quoted at viii in the book under review, which is dedicated to McKnight). While Bacon’s religious beliefs have been the subject of much historical debate over the years, Matthews aims, quite reasonably, to “place Bacon back in his proper day and age, and let his own writings inform us about where he fitted in the theological landscape of Tudor and Stuart England” (vii). The book he has written not only adds much to our knowledge of Bacon’s thought but raises stimulating questions about the links between this seventeenth-century figure and the eighteenth-century Enlightenment.

The project begins with a chapter on the religious context of Bacon’s time and place. Here, Matthews argues persuasively for the complexity of the religious landscape in late sixteenth and seventeenth-century England. In short, textbook understandings