BEITRÄGE

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William of Orange and the reception of Huguenot Soldiers in the Netherlands and Great Britain 1685–1688[1]

This article examines the relationship between Huguenot soldiers and William III, Prince of Orange, between the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and the Glorious Revolution of 1688. It has traditionally been accepted that many of the Huguenot refugees who fled France, following the Revocation (and especially those who went to the Netherlands), directly entered military employment in their places of refuge. However, scant evidence exists for this assertion between the Revocation and the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Despite a tradition which insists that they were employed eagerly, there is in fact little proof that any but some unrepresentative few were taken–on in Britain or the Netherlands between 1685 and 1688.

In fact, most of the Huguenots associated with Dutch service before 1689, served in but a few regiments, when William issued commissions to 54 officers in his Blue Guards. Another 34 refugees joined his Life Guards.[2] Foreshadowing this event, some companies of Huguenot refugee officers were attached to Dutch regiments, but their number and nature is virtually impossible to deduce. In the same way, the assertion that the principle Dutch fortresses 'were used as so many *depôts* for such officers and soldiers as continued to take refuge in Holland', is true only in so far as some Huguenot gentlemen could be found in each between 1685 and 1688.[3] Undoubtedly, the Netherlands was a hot–bed of French Protestant ex–officers all eager to join with William to attack France or its satellites of interest.[4] Significantly, this included Great Britain, with its

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[1] This paper summarizes one of the main points made in my book: The Huguenot Soldiers of William of Orange and the Glorious Revolution of 1688: The Lions of Judah, Brighton Portland 2002.

[2] Charles Lart, The Huguenot Regiments, in: Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland 9 (1911) pp. 482–498, here pp. 480–481; John Childs, The Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution Manchester 1980, p. 175.

catholic king, James II.

Of those Huguenot refugees who attained military employment in the Netherlands between 1685 and 1688, it has been said:

"[They] formed a body ready drilled, either to fight the cause of freedom on the battlefield, or to guide public opinion by means of the press. Whilst six hundred *gentilhommes* were induced to swell the Prince's body–guard, four regiments of soldiers were enrolled."[5]

Masson here conflates William's actions between 1685 and 1688, with his creation of our fully–fledged Huguenot regiments in 1689. The mistake is typical of the historiographical myths that have grown up around the service given to William by Huguenot soldiers. Their genuine usefulness and important place in his struggle have blinded many researchers to the finer points of their employment and reception by the armies of Britain and the Netherlands.

One reason for not employing them immediately might have been the fact that French drill differed from the Dutch version. Huguenots seeking military employment would first have had to serve as volunteers, in order for them to learn Dutch drill, before they could be employed in the Dutch Army.[6] However, no refugee Huguenot officers appear to have been immediately or eagerly employed in Dutch service. And while a few were lucky enough to be offered positions in various Dutch regiments, most refugee officers were forced to cool their heels, without military employment, until the eve of William's embarkation for Great Britain.

Only when it became clear in mid–1688 that the prince's aims would be

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[3] For example, after escaping to the Netherlands in 1687, Dumont de Bostaquet found his brother–in–law, Monsieur de Moncornet, in garrison at Maastricht: Glozier, Huguenot Soldiers (n. 1), p. 64; Samuel Smiles, The Huguenots: Their Settlement, Churches and Industries in England and Ireland, London 1895, p. 198.

[4] Compares Dianne Ressinger, Au Réfugié: Huguenot Officers in The Hague, 1687, in: Matthew Glozier, David Onnekink (ed.), War, Religion and Service: Huguenot Soldiering, 1685–1713, Aldershot, forthcoming 2006.

[5] George Masson, The Huguenots: A Sketch of their History from the beginning of the Reformation to the Death of Louis XIV, London 1882, pp. 154–155.

[6] Compares drill instructions contained in Thomas Pluncket, The Character of a Good Commander: Together with a short commendation of the famous Artillery (more properly Military) Company of London: also a brief Encomium on the Duke and worthy Prince Elector of Brandenburg: lastly, plain dealing with treacherous dealers: whereunto is annexed the general exercise of the Prince of Orange's Army, London 1689.

backed, or at least tolerated, by the anti–*Stadholder* and, occasionally, pro–French States Party in the Netherlands, was he in a position to facilitate the rapid creation of a number of Huguenot volunteer companies designed to be attached to existing Dutch regiments. Each of these new companies was to be manned exclusively by French Protestants. Two companies of French cadets – volunteers who, generally, enjoyed noble status – had indeed been raised as early as 1686, but they contained no more than 50 Frenchmen each.[7] Furthermore, William of Orange did attempt to maintain some other Huguenot officers on pensions between 1685 and 1688, but their number was small by comparison to later pension lists that groaned with the veterans of his Irish campaign (1689–91).[8] These efforts can in no way be construed as representing a general swelling of the Dutch Army with Huguenots between 1685 and 1688.

Though few of the Huguenots who fled to the Netherlands after the Revocation were themselves immediately commissioned, they found in the Dutch Republic a number of resident pre–Revocation Huguenots already holding commissions in the Dutch Army.[9] Indeed, Huguenots were a prominent part of the Dutch Army before 1685, and links between William of Orange, some of his closest friends, and the Huguenot soldiers who served in the Netherlands, were strong before the Revocation.[10] Many Dutchmen served in predominantly French regiments in the Netherlands, and there were many French soldiers scattered throughout the Dutch regiments of the United Provinces' army. A small number of

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[7] The first company of cadets was commanded by Charles de Cosne de Chauvernay, while the second was commanded by Daniel de Rapin. An additional company was commanded by Antoine de Houx, Seigneur d'Espinoles. Jean Guichard, Marquis de Peray, was appointed Commander–in–Chief of all three companies: Het Staatsche Leger, 1568–1795, ed. F. J. G. Ten Raa, François de Bas and Jan Willem Wijn, Breda/ The Hague 1911–1964, vol. VI, pp. 216. Daniel was the cousin of the Huguenot historian Paul Rapin de Thoyras, who joined him in this regiment of Cadets *c.* 1687: Hugh Trevor–Roper, A Huguenot Historian: Paul Rapin, in: Irene Scouloudi (ed.), Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550–1800, London 1987, p. 6.

[8] J. W. Verburgt (ed.), Liste des pensions des Officiers Français refugies, d'après la resolution des Etats Generaux. 1683–1689. 1697. 1698. 1700. 1717, in: Inventaire des Archives Wallonnes, Bibliothèque Wallonne, 1950.

[9] Issac Dumont de Bostaquuet is the exception: compares Dianne Ressinger, Good faith: the military and the ministry in exile, or the memoirs of Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet and Jaques Fontaine, in: Randolph Vigne, Charles Littleton (eds), From Strangers to Citizens. The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550–1750 Brighton Portland 2001, pt. 8, Huguenots in Ireland, pp. 451–462.

these Frenchmen were Roman Catholic, but the majority of them were Huguenots.[11] In this way, many Huguenot military families served William of Orange and the Dutch Republic throughout the last quarter of the century.[12]

There are many instances of the permeation of Huguenots throughout the regiments of the Dutch Army before 1685. Indeed, French Huguenots could be found serving in its most prestigious regiments throughout the 1670s and 1680s.[13] On the eve of the Glorious Revolution, many of the Dutch Republic's allied regiments also contained veteran French soldiers.[14] The army of Brandenburg, for example, employed over 600 Huguenot officers, losing those it could not accommodate to the Dutch Army when Marshal Schomberg entered openly into Netherlands service in the middle of 1688.[15] The fate of the large number of Huguenots who remained in Brandenburg is beyond the scope of this paper.[16]

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[10] For example, long before 1685, William Bentinck had established himself in the Huguenot regiment of Paul de La Baye du Theil. First raised in 1672, the regiment contained both Dutch and French officers. Bentinck was appointed lieutenant–colonel of the regiment in 1677, when he succeeded Paulus van Alkemade. In 1683 he was replaced in that position by Louis Mirleau d'Illiers, Marquis de Rhodes, and in 1687, Rhodes was succeeded by yet another Huguenot, Pierre Solbert de Marsilly: Glozier, Huguenot Soldiers (n. 1), compares chs 4 and 5.

[11] Het Staatsche Leger (n. 7), vol. VI, pp. 239, 242; William Manchée, Huguenot Soldiers and their Conditions of Service in the English Army, in: Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland 16 (1938–1941), pp. 233–265, here pp. 234, 265.

[12] William Shaw, The Irish Pensioners of Huguenot Regiments, in: Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland 6 (1901), pp. 295–326, here p. 304; Het Staatsche Leger (n. 7), vol. VI, p. 233.

[13] Algemeen Rijksarchief (The Hague), Commisijboek, 1681–1691, p. 315; Het Staatsche Leger (n. 7), vol. VI, pp. 190, 297, 300.

[14] Two of the four Hanoverian regiments attached to the Dutch Army were commanded by Huguenots. By 1694, the First Regiment of Hanoverian infantry in Holland was commanded by Colonel du Pont, and the Second Regiment by Louis de Saint–Pôl des Estangs: Het Staatsche Leger (n. 7), vol. VI, pp. 374, 361–364. Several of the Brunswick–Lüneburg–Zell regiments in Dutch service contained Huguenots, and in 1688 four out of a total of 10 of these regiments, were commanded by Frenchmen. Colonel du Boisdavid (a Catholic) commanded the First Regiment of infantry, the Huguenot Colonel de La Motte the Fourth Regiment, Colonel Gabriel de Malorti, Seigneur de Villers, the regiment of dragoons and Henri du Tour de Pibrac the Second Regiment of infantry, which later served in Spain. De La Motte's regiment was entirely French, save for one Scottish major, who entered it in 1694: Het Staatsche Leger (n. 7), vol. VI, pp. 374, 361–364.

[15] Cf. R. Wiebe, Untersuchung über die Hilfeleistung der deutschen Staaten für Wilhelm III. von Oranien im Jahre 1688, Göttingen 1939.

Shortly before his forces departed the Netherlands for Britain in 1688, William of Orange made a request for volunteers to accompany him, from among Dutch–based Huguenots. The Huguenot refugee, Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet, says that William invited the ablest among the French gentlemen to join with him in the invasion. Dumont de Bostaquet was one of a large number of Huguenots who responded eagerly to the invitation, and he was one of the few successful applicants, securing a captain's position in the Blue Dragoons. It was only at this late stage that 54 Huguenots were incorporated into the Blue Dragoon regiments. The available data on post–Revocation Huguenot refugee employment in the Dutch Army, confirm the fact that Huguenots appeared in the Blue and Red Dragoons and in William of Orange's Life Guards only on the eve of the Glorious Revolution.[17]

Of the 88 Huguenots thus appointed by William of Orange to the Blue Dragoons and to his Life Guards, the careers of only 15 can be traced before 1688.[18] While it might be assumed that the other 23 later joined the Huguenot regiments raised (on 1 April 1689) by William in Britain for his war in Ireland, it is virtually impossible to trace them in records before that date. It should, therefore, be clear that post–Revocation Huguenot refugees did not constitute a large or significant group of commissioned officers in the Dutch Army in the period between 1685 and the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

John Childs has estimated that William commanded more than a 1.000 Huguenot officers, constituting 10 per cent of his entire officer *corps*. This

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[16] Erik Amburger, Die Anwerbung ausländischer Fachkräfte für die Wirtschaft Rußlands vom 15. bis ins 19. Jahrhundert, Wiesbaden 1968; Meta Kohnke, Das Edikt von Potsdam zu seiner Entstehung, Verbreitung und Überlieferung, in: Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus 9 (1985), pp. 241–275; Jean Erman, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des réfugiés française dans les états du roi, Berlin 1782, vol. I; A. Ruiz, Une famille Huguenote du Brandenburg au XVIIIe siècle: Les Théremin, in: Revue d'Allemagne 14, 2 (1982), pp. 217–228; Thomas Schmidt, Helmut Schnitter, Die Hugenotten in der brandenburgisch–preußischen Armee, in: Militärgeschichte 24 (1985), pp. 233–239; Marie Magdeleine, Le réfuge: Le role de Francfort–sur–le–main, in: Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du Protestantisme française 131, 4 (1985), pp. 485–494; Uta Janssens, Jean Deschamps (1709–1767) and the French colony in Brandenburg, in: Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland 23, 4 (1980), pp. 227–239.

[17] This is based, primarily, on the Dutch commission books; see the references to these throughout the footnotes of this paper.

[18] Glozier, Huguenot Soldiers (n. 1), pp. 63–66.

can be taken as a relevant comment only *after* 1688, when that prince was in a position to offer commissions in a sprawling Anglo–Dutch force to the vast majority of these soldiers.[19] While the significance of the post–Revocation refugees in the Dutch Army belongs to the decade of the 1690s, it is clear that many such refugee volunteers did accompany William to Britain in his 1688 invasion force. Their number is evidenced by the speedy creation of the Huguenot regiments for William's Irish campaign.

A leading figure among them, who accompanied William to Britain as his second–in–command, was Frederick Herman von Schomberg.[20] Being a truly international figure, Schomberg felt at home in both England and France, having taken a Huguenot bride as his second wife, while maintaining strong links with members of his English mother's family.[21] After the Revocation, he departed French service (on 11 March 1686) on good terms with Louis XIV, and retired to Portugal, but, soon thereafter, he applied for employment to the Elector of Brandenburg. Attempts to seduce or buy Schomberg into Dutch service soon followed.[22]

Louis XIV's regret at losing a loyal servant and a good general was genuine. However, the French king's goodwill towards Schomberg evaporated upon the death of the Elector Frederick William (on 9 May 1688) whose successor, Frederick III, was anti–French. His father's death left the new Elector free to pursue a strongly anti–French policy, in which Schomberg participated.[23] In 1687, Schomberg departed Brandenburg to serve William and the Dutch Republic. He took with him only those Huguenot refugees who had not already secured employment in Prussia, leaving behind a significant number that had.[24] Many more remained to fight

[19] John Childs, The British Army of William III, Manchester 1987, p. 134.
[20] Camille Rousset, Histoire de Louvois, Paris 1879, vol. IV, p. 115.
[21] Letters from George Carew to Sir Thomas Roe: Ambassador to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615–1617, ed. John MacLean, London 1860, pp. 6, 21, 41; George Cokayne, The Complete Peerage, ed. Geoffrey White, London 1949, vol. XI, pp. 522–523; Matthew Glozier, Marshal Schomberg, 1615–1690: "the ablest solider of his age": International Soldiering in Seventeenth–Century Europe, Brighton Portland 2005, ch. 7 "Revocation".
[22] Glozier, Marshal Schomberg (n. 21), pp. 115–116.
[23] Rousset, Histoire de Louvois (n. 20), vol. IV, p. 115 n1.
[24] Archives du ministère des affaires Etrangères, Quai d'Orsay (Paris), Cahiers Politiques Hollande 1656, 1688 Septembre – Decembre, despatches D'Avaux, pp. 302–318, d'Avaux to Louis XIV, 28 October 1688. I am indebted to Dr. David Onnekink for this reference.

under the Elector Frederick in several notable actions, playing no role in William's invasion.[25]

In England, the role of Huguenot soldiers has been similarly misinterpreted. When he became king, Britain's James II did little to cover his Catholic objectives, despite the bogey–man image which Roman Catholicism possessed in Britain. Fears of increased Catholic interest at home were enhanced by stories of the French king's persecution of Protestants in France, and this aggravated many Britons, who tended to have a good knowledge of the Huguenots and their sufferings. The stream of Huguenot refugees entering Britain throughout the 1680s – especially in the peak–year of 1687 – ensured the speedy distribution of information about their persecution in France, in print and through gossip. In this atmosphere, King James's aversion to Huguenot refugees was affected by his need to maintain the good will of his subjects, most of whom felt pity for the plight of the poor French Protestants. James's actions towards the Huguenots were, however, highly ambivalent, and this is nowhere more apparent than in his treatment of Huguenot soldiers in Britain.

In September 1688, King James offered a concession to Huguenot refugees in the form of military employment in a regiment of dragoons to be commanded by a well–connected noblemen, Armand de Bourbon, Marquis de Miremont. However, it was well understood that the unit was to serve far outside Britain.[26] It was to fight against the Ottoman Turks, in Emperor Leopold I's army in Hungary.[27] Miremont undoubtedly owed the king's favour to the fact that his uncle – the pro–Stuart Huguenot Louis de Durfort–Duras, second Earl of Feversham – was one of James II's favourites, and also Commander–in–Chief of the English Army.[28] Though firmly allied to the Stuart interest, Feversham was the central

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[25] Glozier, Marshal Schomberg (n. 21), p. 116.

[26] The regiment was raised on 22 September 1688: Childs, The Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution (n. 2), pp. xi, 33; Lart, The Huguenot Regiments (n. 2), pp. 479, 525.

[27] Robin Gwynn, The Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain, London, 1985; second revised edition, Brighton Portland 2000, p. 131.

[28] Feversham was himself a nephew of Marshal Turenne, whom James held to be "one of the men in this world I am most obliged to": Rex Whitworth, 1685 – James II, The Army and the Huguenots, in: Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research 63 (1985), pp. 130-137, here p. 130; The Memoirs of James II: His Campaigns as Duke of York, 1652–1660, ed. Arthur Lytton Sells, London 1962, p. 222.

figure in a network of prominent Huguenot refugees in London, and during James's short reign, the earl played host to his French in–laws at his London home at Somerset House.

In fairness to the British king, it should be mentioned that the Empire offered the *only* contemporary employment in Europe to soldiers–for–hire. James II (in the words of John Childs), 'was well aware of the lean times which a spell of general European peace brought to mercenary officers and men'.[29] However, the truth is that service in far–flung Eastern Europe was perceived to be a form of banishment, proving that practicality and expediency could be combined to rid his kingdom of embarrassing or potentially troublesome military forces which, in practice, helped James to ease anti–army fears in the British Isles.[30]

King James had little reason, beyond his own prejudices, to doubt the loyalty of Miremont and his officers. The nobleman's proximity to the Earl of Feversham was a powerful statement in his favour, as was the fact that several Huguenot gentlemen had already expressed a strong, and presumably sincere, desire to serve the king's late brother, Charles II. In 1683 – the year of the great siege of Vienna – a group of Huguenot gentlemen drafted a letter to King Charles, in which they claimed to have been 'stripped for their religion's sake of their employment [in France]'.[31] They said they had come to Britain 'to offer their hearts, their swords and their whole persons' in faithful service.[32] Thus was the strength and

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[29] Childs, The Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution (n. 2), p. 19.

[30] Only a few years earlier (in 1684), the anti–Catholic Whig faction at the English court had suggested that one of Charles II's Roman Catholic favourites, the Scottish Earl of Dumbarton, should be sent thither. He was to be joined by a gaggle of Catholics, to purge the army of "Popery". His obvious involvement in military and civil affairs under Charles II was such that Dumbarton was targeted by the anti–Catholic Whig faction at the English court. They whispered "that my Lord Dumbarton and my Lord Dartmouth, and several other persons suspected of Popery and the French interest [should] be forbidden [from the] Court and dismissed from the king and confidence or else sent into the Emperor's service": Spy to Preston, 9 September 1684, printed in Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report and Appendix, London 1879, vol. I, p. 395b; Karl Roider, Origins of Wars in the Balkans, 1660–1792, in: Jeremy Black (ed.), The Origins of Wars in Early Modern Europe, Edinburgh 1987; Public Record Office (now National Archives), London, State Papers 63/343/46; CSP Dom., 1682, p. 30; Kenneth Haley, Shaftesbury, Oxford 1968, p. 706; Richard Greaves, Secrets of the Kingdom: British Radicals from the Popish Plot to the Revolution of 1688–1689, Stanford 1992, p. 97.

[31] Bodleian Library, Rawl. MS D.18, fol. 44. Cited in Bernard Cottret, The Huguenots in England: Immigration and Settlement, c.1550–1700, Cambridge 1985, pp. 215–216.

potential of Huguenot loyalty expressed. Despite this, King James suspected that these officers (like all Huguenots and most Protestants in his opinion) were outright republicans. After all, a group of Huguenots had, in the year preceding the petition (in 1682), reportedly been approached by Robert Murray, an agent of the disgraced Whig leader, the Earl of Shaftesbury, to finance an insurrection in Britain.[33]

It is claimed that James II did 'not disdain the Huguenot contribution' to his army.[34] The establishment of Miremont's Dragoons, and the fact that some Huguenots served in the Royal Dragoons and under Lord Dover in the Life Guards, seems to support the notion of the king's appreciation of the Huguenots' worth as competent and potentially loyal soldiers. And this was similarly the reason for the sometimes–generous royal support of their academies in London, run by men such as Foubert, Mestre and d'Agard.[35] However, based on the evidence of the 1683 letter, Bernard Cottret says that the 'Huguenot element in the English army was conspicuous'.[36] In truth, it was anything but conspicuous. Like many historians of the Revocation and Glorious Revolution, Cottret failed to perceive the difference between these scattered groups of French gentlemen refugees in Britain before 1688, and the large bulk of Huguenots who entered Britain with William of Orange after the invasion.

A brief survey of the military careers of some of the signatories of the 1683 petition to Charles II is enough to demonstrate the relative obscurity of all but a very small number of them. Of 19 original signatories, only four later appear on record in Britain as being in any way connected with its army. One of the four – Monsieur Picard – is said to have retired from Britain to the Netherlands, where he sought employment as a caval-

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[32] Cottret, The Huguenots in England (n. 31), p. 216.

[33] Public Record Office, State Papers 63/343/46; *CSP Dom., 1682*, p. 30; Haley, Shaftesbury (n. 30), p. 706 n; Greaves, Secrets of the Kingdom (n. 30), p. 97.

[34] Whitworth, 1685 (n. 28), p. 136.

[35] Solomon de Foubert (d. 1696), received £ 100 from Charles II towards the establishment of his academy in Sherwood Street, Piccadilly in 1679; it helped "lessen the expense the nation is at yearly in sending children into France to be taught military exercises". Both d'Agard's academy in the Savoy, Strand (established c. 1680), and Mestre's in Long Acre, next to the White Hart Inn, maintained a valued emphasis on mathematics and its application to geography and navigation, long neglected by similar English establishments: Tessa Murdoch (ed.), The Quiet Conquest: The Huguenots 1685 to 1985, London 1985, p. 94.

[36] Cottret, The Huguenots in England (n. 31), p. 216.

ry officer.[37] The other three gentlemen – Pierre du Quesne, and Messrs d'Arques and de Jouisse – later obtained commissions in the Huguenot regiments raised by William of Orange for his Irish campaign in 1689.[38]

The evidence presented by the careers of these French Huguenot gentlemen suggests that they all left Britain before 1688, to return *via* the Netherlands at the time of the prince's invasion. This seems to support contemporary reports of Dutch Army recruiters operating in Britain before the invasion.[39] At least one British army officer – Humphrey Oakover – firmly believed that the Dutch ambassador in London was recruiting both Britons and Huguenot refugees resident in Britain, for service in the Netherlands before 1688.[40] Based on these suspicions, King James may well have feared among his French Protestant officers in Britain (what he thought to be) the 'latent republicanism' of the Huguenots as a group. In practice, he had little to worry about on this point, as the number of Huguenot officers holding commissions in Britain during his reign was demonstrably small and of little significance.[41]

There is another factor suggesting James's willingness to dispose of Miremont's Dragoons and Huguenot officers generally. This is the fact that the king had created a Fourth Troop of his Life Guards (on 22 May 1686), with the intention that it would train–up a new generation of loyal, and mostly Catholic, officers for his army.[42] Significantly, there was no suggestion whatsoever that this *corps* should enter the service of the Holy Roman Empire. Ironically, Lord Dover, the Roman Catholic commander of the troop, is said to have sold half the available commissions to refugee Huguenot gentlemen: 'For if a Turk had come, the 50 guineas had been acceptable to that Lord, the Captain'.[43] But then, Huguenots could drive

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[37] Smiles, The Huguenots (n. 3), p. 200.
[38] Dublin and Portarlington Veterans: King William III's Huguenot Army, ed. Thomas Le Fanu and William Manchée, Huguenot Society Quarto Series 41, London 1946, p. 34; Shaw, The Irish Pensioners of Huguenot Regiments (n. 12), p. 303; Lart, The Huguenot Regiments (n. 2), p. 521.
[39] British Library, Add. MS 41,805, pp. 42–43.
[40] British Library, Add. MS 41,805, pp. 42–43.
[41] Among other evidence, witness the scarcity of French (and specifically Huguenot) names in the English army commission books 1685–1688: Charles Dalton, English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661–1714, 6 vols, London 1892–1904.
[42] Childs, The Army, James II and the Glorious Revolution (n. 2), p. x.
[43] Stephen Webb, Lord Churchill's Coup: The Anglo–American Empire and the Glorious Revolution Reconsidered, Syracuse 1995, p. 108.

hard bargains, and Henri de Foubert (son of Solomon, who established a gentleman's academy in London in 1679) secured his place as cornet in the Life Guards due to a bribe of £ 500.[44] Furthermore, Foubert would later, in 1690, act as *aide–de–camp* to Marshal Schomberg at the Boyne in Ireland.[45] Having said this, it is also clear that the Fourth Troop harboured a number of committed Roman Catholics and others deeply loyal to the king. One of the most significant of these men was Patrick Sarsfield, who was later among William's most implacable opponents in Ireland.[46]

Stephen Saunders Webb highlights the speed with which the Huguenot officers of the Fourth Troop became devoted subordinates to John, Lord Churchill, the executive officer of the Life Guards.[47] The lack of control exercised by James II over the personnel of the Fourth Troop of his Life Guards is demonstrated by the fact that it not only contained Huguenots but also housed some violent Whigs.[48] The Huguenots of the Life Guards later followed Churchill into the service of William of Orange. They did not, however, create, foster or even significantly aid Churchill's so–called 'conspiracy in the army'.[49] The Huguenots who joined the Fourth Troop were professional gentlemen officers in search of a livelihood, commensurate with their religious faith and social status. They were not, as the British king feared, plotters or violent republicans. Based on the evidence

[44] Thomas Bruce, Earl of Ailesbury, Memoirs, ed. William E. Buckley, Roxburgh Club, Edinburgh 1890, vol. I, pp. 128–129; Childs, Army of Charles II (n. 19), pp. 65–66.

[45] The Quiet Conquest (n. 35), p. 94.

[46] There was a fairly even mix of latent Williamite and Jacobite soldiers in the Fourth Troop in the years immediately preceding William's invasion: John Kinross, The Boyne and Aughrim: The War of the Two Kings, Gloucestershire 1997, p. 31.

[47] Whitworth, 1685 (n. 28), p. 130; Ailesbury, Memoirs (n. 44), vol. I, pp. 130–131; George Arthur, The Story of the Household Cavalry, London 1909–1926, vol. I, p. 202; Francis Hare, Bishop of St. Asaph and Chichester, The Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough during the Present War, London 1712, p. 12; Webb, Lord Churchill's Coup (n. 43), p. 108.

[48] One of these was Richard Savage, Viscount Colchester. This nobleman left Lord Churchill's direct command in the Third Troop in order to take a commission in the Fourth – presumably with the intention of consolidating anti–Jacobite feeling within the *corps*. Colchester eventually became lieutenant–colonel of the Life Guards. He was also the representative of the "Treason Club", being one of the first of James II's officers to desert to William of Orange when the prince arrived in 1688: he took 60 veterans of the Life Guards with him: Webb, Lord Churchill's Coup (n. 43), p. 178; Dalton, Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661–1714 (n. 41), vol. II, pp. 75, 115, 228–229; Kinross, The Boyne and Aughrim (n. 46), p. 31.

[49] Webb, Lord Churchill's Coup (n. 43), p. 108; Whitworth, 1685 (n. 28), p. 130; Ailesbury, Memoirs (n. 44), vol. I, pp. 130–131; Arthur, The Story of the Household Cavalry (n. 47), vol. I, p. 202; Hare, The Conduct of the Duke of Marlborough (n. 47), p. 12.

of their later actions, it is difficult to see any political profile at all among Huguenots employed in the English Army before 1688.

The example of Lord Dover's Company reinforces the problem that faced James II in ensuring the support of his army. However, his attempt to introduce Catholics into his armed forces does not represent a desire to Catholicize the army as a whole. What it does demonstrate is the king's desire to staff his forces with trustworthy and dependable subjects upon whom he hoped he could rely. Even on the eve of the Glorious Revolution, no more than 1.000 out of 18.000 soldiers, or less than 10 per cent of the English Army, were Roman Catholic.[50] The number of Huguenots employed elsewhere in James's army was meagre by comparison even to this small figure. Besides those already mentioned, Edward Fox's infantry regiment contained some Huguenot officers, and there were six Frenchmen in the Royal Dragoons and a further nine in the Earl of Macclesfield's Horse.[51]

Between 1685 and 1688, the armies of the Dutch Republic and Great Britain, contained numerous Huguenot officers. However, few of them were post–Revocation refugees, of the sort who might be eager to exact revenge upon Louis XIV or conspire to that end. Many had been employed before 1685, and they, like the small number of their compatriots who joined them before the Glorious Revolution, enjoyed a well–deserved reputation as competent professional soldiers. Consequently, the few post–Revocation Huguenot soldiers employed anywhere between 1685 and the 1688 can scarcely be described as a 'conspicuous' element in any of these armies. In the Netherlands alone, did post–Revocation Huguenots play a part in military affairs worthy of their ability and potential in general, but, even in the Dutch Republic, it was circumstances beyond their control that conspired to thrust them into a position of prominence. The Glorious Revolution of 1688, and William's subsequent Irish campaign in particular – not the few years between the Revocation and the Revolution

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[50] Whitworth, 1685 (n. 28), p. 136.

[51] Macclesfield maintained close associations with some Huguenots and Abraham de Moivre dedicated to the earl his Annuities upon Lives (London, 1725): Childs, The British Army of William III (n. 19), p. 134; Graham Gibbs, Huguenot Contribution to England's Intellectual Life, and England's Intellectual Commerce with Europe, *c.*1680–1720, in: Scouloudi (ed.), Huguenots in Britain and their French Background (n. 7), pp. 29, 40.

– was the making of the Huguenots as an international military group in the post–Revocation era.