Immigrant Librarians in Britain: Huguenots and Some Others

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Abstract:

From around 1500, librarians active in Britain have included foreigners. Many were recruits from the Continent for the royal and archiepiscopal libraries. Successive generations of refugees and their descendants have also enjoyed careers in the libraries of Britain. Their achievements cast an unexpected light on British librarianship and the prominence of our libraries. This paper discusses the intellectual momentum of the Reformation and identifies firstly the Huguenots who found places in the libraries of England and Ireland and their careers whose characteristics have anticipated those of later immigrants also bringing the leaven of Europe to the development of our libraries.

‘And amongst all other his special correspondency should be with the chief library-keepers of all places, whose proper employments should be to trade for the advantages of learning and learned men, in books and manuscripts.’ - Samuel Hartlib (1649)


NB In these footnotes, references to HSP = Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland

2 “Considerations tending to the happy accomplishment of England’s reformation in Church and State, 1649”, p.49
I take Samuel Hartlib as my starting point. The place of the refugee librarians in library history put them at the heart of European humanist scholarship and writes them into the wider scheme which is the interchange of learning, politics and theology in a European discourse and the building of libraries. Clearly they brought the leaven of Europe to Britain. They brought, in thrall to Hartlib, Comenius, Bacon and Bodley, and also the French pioneers (Dupuys and Naudé) that sense and practice of library-building and the organisation of knowledge which made examples of the great libraries that have survived to this day.

The Huguenot librarians, ancient and modern, owe their reputations to their activities as antiquarists, linguists, scientists, men of the enlightenment, collectors. Related by marriage, as travellers, as correspondents with and later as Fellows of the Royal Society, or as medical men and men of the cloth, their management of schools and the building up of libraries, at which they were celebrated confirmed them as citizens of the Republic of Letters as articulated by Pierre Bayle and as discussed by Uta Janssens, conveying the values of the republic and practising (French) sociability to ease their way in the world. ‘It was this sociability perhaps, more than the scholarly writing and publishing of the French refugees, which contributed most to the cultural and intellectual life of the Protestant countries in which they found shelter’.

Introduction
The employment of foreigners as librarians in England predates the Reformation and has continued to this day. It begins, under the Tudors (the Burgundian phase) when the court was improved by men recruited from Flanders, and Quentin Poulet of Lille, was appointed Royal Librarian from 1492, serving until 1506; his successor was William Faques, a Norman and previously Royal printer, and then Giles Duwes (du Guez/du Was or de Vadis) also from Flanders, keeper of the ‘Library at Richmonte’ with a salary of £10 a year, employed initially as French tutor also to the Princes Arthur and Henry and the Princess Mary, in 1509 until 1535, and a lutenist as well.

The line of Huguenots begins in the 17th century with Jean Verneuil, (1583?-1647) and Franciscus Junius, (1589-1677) and includes Isaac Casaubon of Geneva, (1559-1614) Henri Justel (1620-1693), John Evelyn’s ‘Great and knowledgeable virtuoso’ in the first era of the Royal Society, a figure to be associated with ‘the beginnings of Anglophilia in France’, then Peter Colomiez (1638-1692) at Lambeth before the end of the century, another ‘bibliothèque parlant’ alongside Justel. For the most part these men appear in the Dictionary of National Biography so that their entries are currently being refreshed for the new century. Their lives have much in common: birthplaces, universities (Montauban, Saumur), travel to Holland (Leiden), arrival in England and Ireland, disposal of books, encounters with the literary and political world, associates and friends in all circles; clergymen, linguists and grammarians,

7 Carley, pp.xxvi and 4
Hebraists; tutors, secretaries, medical men. Some had a hand in the inauguration of Anglo-Saxon scholarship or in the promotion of Greek studies. And the circumstances remain more or less the same with the figures of the 18th century some showing multiple displacements – their fathers’ escapes from France to Holland, Switzerland or Germany prior to the settling of the sons in England and Ireland.

It has to be said that apart from Jean Verneuil whose career at the Bodleian is exemplary and well documented, little of the ‘drudgery of the place’ can be found to their names. Junius, for instance, long-lived and blameless in character, was a pioneer of Anglo-Saxon scholarship and studies of the Teutonic languages. His Anglo-Saxon typography is of consequence. He was a benefactor to the Bodleian with the bequest of his Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and philological collections. His paraphrase of Genesis, Exodus and Daniel were of specific interest to Milton, also particularly, his translations of Caedmon’s three poems on the fallen angels, hell and temptation (Amsterdam, 1655) which have a place in “Paradise Lost”. His “Etymologicum Anglicanum”, first printed only in 1743, was largely used by Dr Johnson for the etymologies of his Dictionary, and this makes an example of the longevity of collections.

My line extends substantially with Elie Bouhéreau in Dublin, and Michel Maittaire at the Westminster School in the 1690s. Also of the later generations of immigrants are Andrew Ducarel at Lambeth and Dr Layard at Tenison’s, the Matys (and Planta and Solander, not Huguenots) at the British Museum, Claudius Amyand at the Royal Library and into the 19th century for the Hertslets at the Foreign Office as well as some nominal figures in Dublin.

Descendants of Huguenots appear as librarians throughout the 19th and into the 20th centuries in Britain and across the colonies and dominions forming the modern Commonwealth and of course at the Library of the Huguenot Society itself9.

### Two Refugee Institutions in London

Both the Dutch Church at Austin Friars and the French Protestant Church of London (at St Anthony’s) in Threadneedle Street were established by the charter of Edward VI in 1550. References to the library of the French Church appear in the records from 161310 and a foundation collection provided by Robert Le Maçon11. The list of subscribers in John

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9 Space perforce requires that I omit these and other modern avatars from the historic survey but they include: R.S. Faber (1848-1908), E.E. Stride (1831-1899), of the British Museum, a founder fellow of the Huguenot Society; S.W. Kershaw (1836-1914), formerly of the RIBA and Lambeth Palace, Winifred Turner (d.1969), William Le Fanu (1905-1995), Librarian of the Royal College of Surgeons; F.N.L. Poynter (1908-1979), Librarian of the Wellcome Institute; Charles Marmoy, formerly Medical Librarian at University College Librarian – this trio of medical librarians adds a colour I think; Dr Raymond Refaussé the Society’s custodian–librarian in Dublin; also: Ralph Durand (1976-1945) at the Priaulx Library, Guernsey. The Bodleian Library holds the lime-light to the last and brings us right up to date with the recent obituary notices for: Albina de la Mare (1932-2001), Palaeographer and librarian; Assistant Librarian, Bodleian Library, 1954-87; FBA, Professor of Palaeography at King’s College, London 1989-97; granddaughter of Walter de la Mare, daughter of Richard de la Mare, Director of Faber and Faber.  


11 Communication from Charles Littleton: From the will of Robert le Maçon dit de la Fontaine, principal minister of the French Church of London from 1574 to his death in 1611. He writes: ‘I doe dispose and ordayne of all my goods where I have at this presente in my possession as followeth for to be putte in execution frome pointe to pointe by Mr Harderet. In primis that an offer be made unto the whole bodye of the Consistorie and Deacons or Collectors of the poore assembled together for to accept and take in paymente and discharge for the somme of one hundred and fiftie pounds which I do owe, my library, which hereafter by gyftys of honest men may be turned to the benefit and use of the Churche farre more amountinge unto this saide somme [...]’. From the will (Prerogative Court of Canterbury, PROB 11/118, sig. 103; referenced as 103 Wood in the old style of referencing), dated 13 November 1610 (proved 23 December 1611).
Minsheu’s ‘The guide into tongues’, 1617\textsuperscript{12}, where the libraries of both the French Church and the Dutch Church are included; and also the names of Mr (Aaron) Cappell and Mr (Abraham) Aurelius, preachers of the Church gives independent witness to the existence of the library and backs up Winifred Turner’s references to Isaac Casaubon’s gift of his essays to the Library in 1614. She notes the appointment of Elder Beauvoir as ‘écrivain’ to the Library on 10th July 1615\textsuperscript{13}. The bookplate of the Library of the French Church and the collections it retains date from the 1740s and can be visited at the French Church now in Soho Square.

The Library of the Dutch Church can be traced back to 1605 when the Rev. Simeon Ruytinck founded a library at the west end of the church which would serve the community as a ‘buttress of support against its opponents and as a source of information for its members’. To provide: ‘the most profitable and worthiest works of the old fathers and learned men of this age’ were to be gathered\textsuperscript{14}. His successor was the Rev. Caesar Calandrinus whose catalogue appeared in 1655. In 1648 when he appealed to the Consistory for support to improve the housing of the library, it emerged that an anonymous donor was prepared to pay for a library building over whose door was incised: *Bellgicae Bibliotheca, exstructa, sumptibus Mariae Dubois* and Dubois was a Frenchwoman, more specifically a Walloon, and of the French Church of London\textsuperscript{15} and later Lady Middleton.

**Huguenot Librarians**

This chronology is launched by *Isaac Casaubon*, of Geneva, 1559-1614. Latterly keeper of the Royal Library in Paris in 1604-1610, yet not when he settled in England active as librarian. He is a seminal figure in the exchanges of the Reformation, whose classical scholarship was the emulation of the men I am dealing with and the manner of his settlement, virtually a recruitment, in England is comparable with that of others. The DNB gives an extensive account of his friendships with Archbishop Bancroft and Lancelot Andrewes, Dean of St Pauls, his reception in London in 1610, and favours of the King:

‘He granted him a pension of 300l. a year from his own purse, in addition to the prebend at Canterbury, and invariably treated him with the utmost kindness. But Casaubon had a penalty to pay; he had to follow the court to Theobalds, Royston, Greenwich, Hampton Court, Holdenby, and Newmarket. King James was worth talking to, and a good talker himself.

A gloss on the connection between the King and Isaac Casaubon is offered by his son Meric Casaubon whose career in England was in some jeopardy during the Commonwealth but he seems to have declined all Cromwell’s blandishments which included:

‘the restoration to him of all his father's books, which were then in the royal library, having been purchased by King James\textsuperscript{16}, and would give him a patent for 300l. a year, to be paid so long as the youngest son of Dr. Casaubon should live.’

\textsuperscript{12} Minsheu, John: *Hegemon eis tas glossas id est, Ductorin linguas, The gvide into tongves ...,* London : apud I. Browne, 1617. I find the Revd Jacques Prelleur (of Bristol) on the subscription list for Etienne Laval’s “A compendious history of the Reformation in France ...,”, London: printed by H. Woodfall, ..., 1737-43

\textsuperscript{13} Turner, op. cit. pp.246-7

\textsuperscript{14} Quoted by O.P. Grell in his: Dutch Calvinists in early Stuart London : the Dutch Church in Austin Friars, 1603-1642, Brill: Leiden, 1989, p.81

\textsuperscript{15} Overall, W.H.: The library of the Dutch Church, Austin Friars, letter in the City Press, 1st January 1880 (inserted in the Huguenot Library’s copy of ‘The catalogue of the Dutch Church Library at the Guildhall’, 1879

\textsuperscript{16} DNB
I have already mentioned Casaubon’s association with the library of the French Church of London; another thread that knits him into our library history is his association with the Bodleian by the fact that he contributed verses to the volume *Justa Funebria Ptolomæi Oxoniiensis* published to mark the death of Sir Thomas Bodley in 161317.

This leads me to introduce my formal gallery with Jean Verneuil, 1583?-1647, sub-librarian at the Bodleian from 1618.

**Jean Verneuil**, (1583?-1647),18 from Bordeaux, and educated at Montauban, came to England and settled in Oxford (where he was admitted first as a reader at the Bodleian in 1608) under the protection of Sir Thomas Leigh of Stoneleigh, taking an M.A. at Magdalen and becoming “Hypobibliothecarius” in 1618. Whether he was actually a ‘refugee for religious reasons’ as the traditional biography has it is open to doubt since he came more likely on academic pursuits at a time when Henri IV still reigned in France and the Edict of Nantes was upheld; the name Verneuil continues in the Protestant registers of Bordeaux for another century after his birth19.

Verneuil’s handwriting appears in the Bodleian registers from 1618 and his professional career is perhaps the best discerned of all my early candidates by the publication of the Bodleian account book20 at least in terms of expenses and active services over an extended period, and the fact that he is known to be the anonymous compiler of the new 1635 edition of James’s catalogue of 1605 which attests to steady work with the collections. At his death in 1647 “our public library lost an honest and useful servant”.

**Franciscus Junius**, 1589-167721,22,23 born Heidelberg (né François Du Jon), son of the protestant theologian originally from Bourg; he was educated in Leiden under his father and then G.J. Vossius with whom he studied letters and philology, and theology under Teelinghuis at Middleburg. He visited France in 1620 and came to England in 1621, as family tutor, then librarian, to Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel to join the many “good and true spirits” attached to the Arundel household. Thomas Howard also patronised Sir Robert Cotton, the great bibliophile. There were major collections to domicile in the Howard library, notably the Pirkheymer (which had belonged formerly to the kings of Hungary and was subsequently presented, through John Evelyn's efforts, by Arundel's son to the Royal Society). Junius travelled abroad with his charge the young Earl of Oxford in the 1640s and settled for a period in Amsterdam before returning to England in 1674 and retirement at Oxford in 1676 where one of his former students, Dr Marshall, was rector of Lincoln. Here I interpose Isaac Vossius (claimed also as a Huguenot descendant through his mother)

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17 Casaubon father and son and their libraries come together again at Marsh’s Library where there are 26 volumes from Isaac’s library and 77 from the son’s.
19 See: Coïne, P.L.: Dictionnaire des familles protestantes de Bordeaux au XVIIe siècle, Bordeaux, 1994, fasc.8, p.33-36
21 DNB. Also: Watson, p.329
22 Howarth, D.: Lord Arundel and his circle, Yale 1985, pp.79-81, and *passim*
Isaac Vossius, 1618-1689\textsuperscript{24}, son of Gerard John Vossius 1577-1649. Vossius senior was Professor at Leyden in 1622, and had been invited to England in 1629, when he was made a canon of Canterbury. Vossius junior, a nephew of Junius, came to England in 1670 and became a Canon of Windsor (and had “the best private library in the world”, the manuscripts of which were catalogued after his death by Paul Colomiez\textsuperscript{25}): - if not a librarian, he certainly arranged the deposit of his father’s library to the Swedish Royal Library and the purchase of books on Queen Christina’s behalf, and is associated with several people in this gallery.

Henri Justel, 1620-1693 \textsuperscript{26-31} is one of the most interesting of the refugees and an important pivotal figure of the Refuge. A great scholar and man of letters, he sustained the reputation of his father Christophe Justel (1580-1649) a notable Protestant writer on canon law, firstly secretary to Henri IV, then to the Duc de Bouillon for whom he collected the library of the Academy of Sedan. He bought the reversion of his royal office for the son succeeded to it as one of the secretaries to Louis XIV in 1649 or 1650. Justel also gained a professional approach to libraries through Pierre Dupuy (1582-1651), no Huguenot, but historian-librarian to the King, the first to catalogue the royal archives and a collector of books for the royal library. Justel’s career blossomed at the heart of Louis XIV’s cabinet. He became the chief French agent of the newly founded Royal Society and its secretary Henry Oldenburg. His house in Paris was much frequented by distinguished foreign scholars like Leibnitz and Englishmen, among them John Locke, the Revd. Dr Hickes and Archbishop William Wake, and John Covell (or Colwill). “So marked was the British element in his ‘conference’ that it has been the focus of an article on “The beginnings of Anglophilia in France”\textsuperscript{32}. Through Dr Hickes, Justel sent to Oxford in 1674 the 7th century Greek manuscript of the \textit{Canones Ecclesiae Universalis} (which his father had had printed) for which with due recognition of his various own writings Justel was diplomated Doctor of Civil Law by the University in June 1675.

But as Secretary and Councillor he foresaw before 1681 that the revocation was inevitable and made his plans accordingly. The invitation to London came from none other than the King:

“Le 2nd décembre 1680, Charles II lui écrit pour lui signaler qu’il possède de nombreux manuscrits de valeur, mal classés où pas classés du tout, et que beaucoup d’autres ont été perdus ou volés. En raison de ses vastes connaissances, il prie Justel de venir s’en occuper: qu’il les classe et les range le mieux possible: il le couvrira de son autorité. Ce n’est pas la une nomination en règle, mais un appel suffisamment officiel pour justifier un voyage

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\textsuperscript{24} DNB. Also: Watson, p.395
\textsuperscript{29} Engel, C.-E.: “Henri Justel”, In: XVIIe Siècle, No. 61, 1963, pp.18-30
\textsuperscript{32} Briggs, pp.13-17
en Angleterre. Sans doute la lettre a-t-elle été sollicitée par Henry Saville, English ambassador. Avec ce document en main, Justel prend ses mesures". 

He sold his own library for 7000 livres, writing to Locke in June 1681:

"Comme j’ai vendu mes livres, je n’achète que ceux qui sont tres bons et d’usage. Nous sommes en un état si pitoyable que nous n’avons pas le coeur de lire ni de dépenser à la curiosité. Les protestants de France ne peuvent pas subsister longtemps, étant pressés de tout côtés ... Si vous me pouvez donner quelque bon conseil sur le moyen de placer quelque petite somme surement, vous me ferez plaisir. Il faudra mettre votre letter dans le paquet de M. Saville".

He made his way to England where he secured from Charles II the position of library keeper at St James’s Palace, a position to which both James II and William III re-appointed him in turn. Neither the Royal Archives at Windsor, nor Sainty and Jayne & Johnson explain fully the relationship of Justel with Henry and James Thynne who had assumed the keepership following the death of Thomas Ross in 1675, and who were succeeded in turn by Richard Bentley in 1693.

On his arrival in 1681, Justel installed himself in Piccadilly. At the same time, his standing was recognised by his unanimous election to the Royal Society on 7 December 1681 on the proposition of Christopher Wren, four days after his royal appointment so that few refugees can have had a more flattering or favourable reception, especially as we have noted he had been able to transfer his considerable fortune. The DNB article states that in 1686 he contributed three papers to the Transactions of the Royal Society but none is of his own composition. In London Justel maintained his international contacts in correspondence across Europe providing a valuable two-way view of intellectual life of the time. It was by personal links and exchanges of ideas as a cultural intermediary that he played an important role, rather than by extensive formal publications.

When it came to his settlement in England he had parental influence to thank in this respect too because his father had had many contacts here from early in the century: the British Library has many letters of his to notabilities like Sir Henry Spelman, Sir T. Edmondes, Meric Casaubon, the Earl of Pembroke, Bishops Cosin, Hall, and Ussher; Wren, Robert Sanderson and the eminent Puritan writer-parson John Goodwin. Engel expands on the nature of cosmopolitan exchange and the nature of the savan of the period, Justel’s paramount character:

"Entre le grand savant et le grand seigneur il y a place pour l’honnête homme, qui ne se pique de rien, mais qui sait établir des relations, diffuser des livres, rendre des services, l’homme du monde cultivé qui tient table ouverte, chez qui se rencontrent ses pareils, Anglais, Italiens, Hollandais. On parle de romans, de sonnets, de collections, eventuellement de chasse à courre, et aussi du dernier traité théologique, ou de la construction des horloges. Des relations se nouent. Telle a été la position d’Henri Justel".

One of his hospitable friends was John Evelyn. We meet him in Evelyn’s diary several times. On December 3rd Evelyn notes that he carried Mr Justell and Mr Slingsby, Master of the Mint, to see Mr Sheldon’s collection of medals. In March 1691 there is an entry:

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33 Engel, p.24
34 Engel, p.24
36 Jayne, S. and Johnson, F.R., p.294
37 Engel, p.19
“I went to visit Monsieur Justell and the library at St James’s in which that learned man had put the MSS. (which were in good number) into excellent order, they having lain neglected for many years; divers medals had been stolen and embezzled.”

As to Henri Justel’s library career, he was appointed first as assistant keeper in 1681; and assumed the Keepership in his own right only on July 15th or 22nd August 1689 at the said £200 “with the reversion thereof to James Thynne” and he died in office (“Il mourut dans l’exercice de cette charge”). Mme Justel was granted a pension of £60 from 1695, and again from 1702. There is a rather stodgy portrait of him reproduced in the Gentleman’s magazine for March 1788, “a remarkable encourager of learning in others”.

There is obviously much more to be said about Justel in the light of the papers by Briggs and Treasure and in exploration of his intellectual influence but I can say nothing more about him as librarian. We have Evelyn’s word that he organised the Royal library’s manuscripts and the Biographia Britannia states that he drew up a catalogue of books and manuscripts. The DNB article quotes this but also the opinion of Hearne in 1710 that the library “was useless for want of a catalogue”. That fault must lie with Bentley (or his deputy) who succeeded to the librarianship in April 1694, as we have seen.

Next in the chronological sequence comes:

**Paul Colomiez**, 1638-1692, who, like Elie Bouhéreau, was from La Rochelle, his father a doctor and his grandfather a Protestant Minister originally from the Béarn. He was sent at 16 to the Academy at Saumur. Cappel taught him Hebrew. In Paris in the 1660s he became acquainted with Isaac Vossius and accompanied him to Holland where he published his “Gallia Orientalis”, an account of the French Hebraists, in 1665. He returned to La Rochelle. It was Vossius who suggested that Colomiez come to England in 1681; initially he had difficulty in obtaining a position in the Church but eventually he became the first of a quartet of Huguenot librarians associated with the Archbishops of Canterbury over the next century (also Ducarel, Layard and Ott, and perhaps the mysterious De Veil as well) when Sancroft appointed him to Lambeth Palace Library. Colomiez served under Henry Wharton from 1687-90, but retired as Rector of Eynesford, Kent, when Sancroft fell from office. His Catalogue of the Printed Books in Lambeth Palace Library still survives and I have mentioned his catalogue of the manuscripts of Isaac Vossius among a very extensive list of scholarly publications. He was a great reader and a diligent annotator of books, cited in the retrospect of the “Jugemens des Savans” of 1725 as “un des plus intelligents qui soient aujourd’hui dans la connaissance des livres”. On his death, he was apparently about to take up a librarian’s position in Germany. His personal library was purchased by Paul Vaillant, bookseller and son of François Vaillant, of Cecil Street, Strand.

**Elie Bouhéreau**, (1643-1719) is one of the best studied librarian among these figures but it was late in his life when he was appointed (first) Librarian of Marsh’s Library,

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Dublin, in 1701 serving until his death in 1719. His early career and the first part of his life demonstrates most vividly the experience of the Refuge and the difficulties of the period just prior, and also the ways the emigrés acquired new lives outside France. He came from a trading, property-owning family of La Rochelle; he studied at Saumur, and spent some time in Paris before going in for medical studies at Orange. He travelled and settled in La Rochelle as a doctor until this profession was prohibited to Protestants by the arrêt of 1683. He was well educated and cultivated and had highly literate skills and a reputation for meticulous record-keeping. During 1685 he arranged for the removal to England of his library by the expedient of a “fictitious sale” to the English ambassador, together with the records of the church of La Rochelle. What comes through his experience and activities in the early phase of his refuge is a strong capacity in the arts needful for diplomacy, and it is this same aptitude that underlies the conversational skills of a Justel and in my conclusion will serve to characterise the true nature of a librarian.

Bouhéreau was naturalised in 1687 and was tutor to the Duchess of Monmouth’s children until 1689; next he was engaged as Secretary to Thomas Cox and followed him in his embassy to the Swiss cantons in 1692. In 1693 he became Secretary to Henry de Ruvigny, Lord Galway, leader of the Huguenot refuge, and accompanied him on his mission to the Piedmont. When Lord Galway was appointed one of the three Lord Justices in Ireland, Bouhéreau settled his family in Dublin and maintained a correspondence between the political leadership in Dublin and London. Following the disbanding and pensioning of the Huguenot regiments in Ireland in 1698-99, he added to his official duties the role of private banker; his diary records the payments of pensions in Ireland and England, the granting of loans and the purchase of stock and of shares in tontines and lotteries. Whereas the military men in Ireland were able to continue their careers during the wars of the 18th century, for professional men like Bouhéreau the way to economic survival was through a funded office and this he achieved at the time Archbishop Marsh established his public library in Dublin in 1701. The salary was £200 a year. In 1709 he also was ordained a priest in the Church of England and at his death in 1719 he had just been collated a praecentor of Saint Patrick’s Cathedral.

His books brought over somehow from France at the Revocation, which he donated to the Library42, illustrate the many facets of his personality and career: the literary taste of the salons where he mixed politesse with learning relate to protestant theology and controversy, and also to the protestant Académie of Saumur where three of its most renowned scholars, Moise Amyraut, Louis Cappel and Tanneguy LeFèvre, had been his teachers and where Greek studies flourished at this period. The books represent a typical scholar’s library: religious controversy, history, politics, science, medicine with a liberal inclusion of classical authors. There are many relating to the French protestants which constitute a unique source of information for the study of Calvinism in seventeenth century France. His particular interests in modern medicine and intellectual developments in France are also fully confirmed; he

42 ‘Catalogue of books in the French language printed in or before 1715 remaining in Archbishop Marsh’s Library, Dublin; with an appendix ...’, compiled by N.J.D. White, Dublin: printed for the University Press by Ponsonby & Gibbs, 1918, iv, 184pp. “The greater number of the books here catalogued belong to the collection made at La Rochelle before the year 1685 by Elie Bouhéreau” - preface
purchased the first and later issues of the *Journal des Sçavans*. He had Hebrew works in his collection and had been at pains to recruit a Hebrew tutor for his son Jean Bohéreau who joined him as Assistant Librarian from 1708 where he remained until his death in 1727. The son’s career does not appear to have been distinguished. Bouhéreau’s Diary does not yield much by way of the practical so it is as well to record another Huguenot figure whom Bouhéreau notes in connection with the shelving of the books ‘... Mr D’Agniel has come to help me put the library books in order and will stay’.

**Louis-Compiègne de Veil, 1637-1710** is one of the fugitive figures. He was formerly (né Daniel de Weil) of a Jewish family from Metz, baptised as a Catholic who later like his brother, Charles-Marie de Veil, adopted Calvinism and came to England in that character, denizzated in 1687. Designated sub-keeper of the Royal Library in 1678 he was licensed “ad docendum litteras in et per totam urbem Londinensem” in 1685. The archiepiscopal details have him as Hans de Vielle and he is referred to in the Huguenot Society manuscripts; at some points he is stated to be Librarian at Lambeth under Tillotson and, married to Margaret Lydiatt, was father to Thomas de Veil, 1684-1746, ‘born in St Paul’s Churchyard’, which confirms the association with the Archbishop but the designation is not taken up in other sources. The Windsor Archives confirm only that the list of the Household of Queen Anne shows a De Veil in receipt of a pension of £50 from 1702.

**Michel Maittaire, 1668-1747**: a much younger émigré, the DNB entry describes him as a classical scholar and typographer, schoolmaster at Westminster School before he set up his own establishment; he was later Latin tutor to Stanhope, son of Lord Chesterfield, and: “During fifty years he had formed a large library, rich in classical authors and in early printed editions ... . This was sold by auction in London by Cock & Langford, the sale beginning on 21 Nov. 1748 and lasting for forty-four evenings. A copy of the sale catalogue (which was printed from Maittaire’s own manuscript), with the prices marked, is in the British Museum”. He was also a master index-maker. Maittaire and his library were notable at a period when in London there where most of the great libraries were off-limits to general readers in the era prior to the opening of the British Museum. Agnew, however, goes further: “His earliest project was to prepare a catalogue of the Westminster Public Library. His work to the extent of 250 copies was printed in 1694; but only one copy survived an accidental fire. Although his name was not thus to be publicly associated with the library, yet he interested himself in it all his life. In the chapter book of Westminster Abbey there is a vote dated 25th December 1730: “Mr Mattaire to have twenty-five guineas for the pains he has taken to regulate the public library”.

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43 Bouhéreau’s Diary, 20th March 1707, Marsh’s Library
44 Op cit: 14th October 1708: ‘In the meeting that the directors of the library have held today, following the act of its establishment, the directors have appointed my son Jean Under-Librarian and my lord the Primate has been so good as to promise him thirty pounds sterling a year until he is otherwise provided for’.
45 Op cit: 9th January 1708
47 Jayne, S., and Johnson, F.R., p.294
48 Schickler, F. de: Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre, T. II., p. 335, confidently records him as “bibliothécaire de Charles II et son interprête pour les langues orientales” but asserts him to be the elder brother to Charles-Marie de Veil, 1630-1685? [see below]
49 See below footnotes under J.H. Ott
50 Kershaw, S.W.: Lambeth Palace catalogue, 1883, *Huguenot Society Ms T13*; but the biographical material is limited
51 But their recent letter of 19th December 2000 does not indicate for how many years this was sustained.
52 French Protestant Exiles, II, 1886, pp.275-279
We have a further reference to him\textsuperscript{53} being identified in the Jacobite interest. It may bear out Agnew’s note of his correspondence with all the \textit{savans} of Europe and the fact that his reputation was such that “his native country was proud of his fame, and gave him a passport to prosecute his studies in Paris. For this favour he was deeply grateful, having like most of the refugees, a warm affection for France and the French”. “Maittaire’s character presents a remarkable union of great abilities and profound learning with the most unassuming modesty”.

**Some Literary Treasures**

That Cambridge University Library does not provide a figure to add to this galaxy of libraries and librarians might seem unexpected. What it does have, however, and as one of its greatest treasures, is the \textbf{Codex Bezae}\textsuperscript{54}, given to the University in 1581 by Theodore Beza. The Codex is not of course a Huguenot document; but, despite Beza’s deprecation in his letter of gift, its peregrinations in the 16th century and the reasons for its deposit at Cambridge (and the pride that Cambridge take in its possession) are at the heart of Huguenot scholarly history. Another of the treasures of Cambridge are Sir Samuel Morland’s \textbf{Waldensian MSS}\textsuperscript{55} which he had collected and used for his history of the Evangelical Churches of the Valley of the Vaud\textsuperscript{56}, deposited in August 1658\textsuperscript{57}, and these again draw scholarly threads of the Reformation together as well as the politics.

I have mentioned the personal libraries of the Casaubons, and those of Vossius and Maittaire, Bouhéreau’s (corner-stone of Marsh’s Library); other collections brought in by immigrant Huguenots such as those of Turquand de Mayerne, 1573-1655\textsuperscript{58}, might also feature in a more detailed survey. Theodore Beza was his godfather and after he had settled in England from 1611, he enjoyed a wide and distinguished practice including royal patronage. He wrote up Isaac Casaubon’s last illness and death. The intimacies of this world are endless.

**The Eighteenth Century**

I have included Elie Bouhéreau under the 17th century because the trajectory of his career was formed before he actually took up office at Marsh’s Library after 1701. The chief figures


\textsuperscript{55} Cambridge University Library: Mss. 112-125; Dd.II 25-38

\textsuperscript{56} Dickinson, H.W.: Sir Samuel Morland : diplomat and inventor, 1625-1695, published for the Newcomen Society by W. Heffer, 1970;

\textsuperscript{57} Sayle, op cit. 1710

- Sir Samuel Morland, who had been Cromwell’s envoy to the Duchy of Savoy, presented the Waldensian MSS which he had collected and used in his history of the Evangelical Churches of the Valley of the Vaud: August 1658 [i.e. his “History of the Evangelical Churches in the Valley of Piemont ... with a most naked and punctual relation of the late Bloody Massacre in 1655 and the narrative of all the following transactions to ... 1658, London, 1658], [together with a copy of the Olivetan Bible, 1535];- discussed in Oates: pp.283-288

\textsuperscript{58} Now at the Royal College of Physicians
among these Huguenots of the 18th century are Andrew Ducarel at Lambeth Palace, Ott at Wake’s and Layard at Tenison’s, three further Royal Librarians (Mercier, Amyand and Vallotton), the Matys father and son at the British Museum, and a string of librarians at Trinity College Dublin.

Lambeth Palace

Andrew Coltée Ducarel, 1713-1785 ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ is a worthy successor to Justel, and to Junius as well. Book collector, antiquarian and architectural historian, FRS, and keeper of the Public Records, numismatist, his interests and career were manifold. Born in Normandy, educated at Oxford and with an extensive record of service at Lambeth Palace his activity as a librarian is notable, and his place in Anglo-Norman scholarship assured. He makes a major figure in this series and his personal library is of note ⁶².

Archbishop Wake and Christ Church, Oxford

- Archbishop Wake’s ‘librarian’ was the Revd. John Henry Ott (1693-1743) grandson of a Swiss/Calvinist minister (Johann Heinrich Ott of Zurich, 1617-1682) ⁶³ who thus qualifies, not as a refugee but as a scholar and through his qualifications for a diplomatic and secretarial role. His father was Jean Baptist Ott (1661-1744), noted as a scholar of the Jewish antiquities. His daughter Dorothea was the grandmother of Heinrich Pestalozzi. John Henry completed his education at the University of Geneva ‘where he became intimate with many of the scholars in Europe’. He left for England in 1716 with letters of introduction to persons in France and England, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was naturalised 1721, becoming the Archbishop’s secretary, librarian and numismatologist ⁶⁴, and Canon of Peterborough ⁶⁵. He married Elizabeth de St. Pierre in 1731, granddaughter of Marie Renouard (1681-1749), and their daughter, married also into the Renouard family, was mother to George Cecil Renouard (1780-1867) Professor of Arabic at Cambridge.

‘The prelates of the Church were of necessity, in constant relation with their foreign co-religionists, and it was essential to them to have assistants possessing erudition as well as competent knowledge in the languages of the world. The post of private secretary to the Archbishop had been filled by Dr Hans de Vielle, a Huguenot refugee of great learning, in the time of Archbishop Tillotson, and he had been succeeded by other men of like celebrity. No one, then, could be better adapted than John Henry Ott, fresh from his Geneva studies, to fill the position of the medium of intercourse between the Primate of the Church of England, and the Calvinist, Lutheran and cognate sects abroad’ ⁶⁶.

⁵⁹ DNB; also: Myers, R.: ‘Dr Andrew Coltée Ducarel (1713-1785) pioneer of Anglo-Norman studies’, In: Antiquaries, Book Collectors & the Circles of Learning, edited by R. Myers and M. Harris (Winchester, 1996), pp.45-70;
⁶¹ Myers, R.: Dr Andrew Coltée Ducarel, Lambeth librarian, civilian, and keeper of the public records, In: The Library. - Vol. 21, Issue 3: September 1999, pp. 199-222
⁶² ‘A catalogue of the very valuable library of books, manuscripts, and prints, of the late Andrew Coltée Ducarel, ... Which will be sold by auction, by Leigh and Sotheby, ..., beginning Monday, April 3, 1786. - [London, 1786]. - 2, 52p
⁶³ Details in: Renouard James, E.: Genealogical notes on the descent of the family of James of Austin Friars, 1898, pp.51-55
⁶⁴ References amongst the papers of the Ott-Renouard Families in the Huguenot Library, F Ot 3.
⁶⁵ Quarto series XLVI, p.xi
⁶⁶ Op cit. p.53
His magnum opus is dedicated to the Society of Antiquaries.

Archbishop Tenison’s Library

Charles Peter Layard, DD, FRS, (1749-1803)67 68

Librarian of Archbishop Tenison’s Library from 1783, (later Dean of Bristol, 1800) although he retained his post of librarian and headmaster until his death. He took a proper interest in the Archbishop’s library (established 1695 for his parishioners in St Martin’s in Castle Street, Leicester Square hard-by the Huguenot chapel), and was noted for his work increasing its acquisitions, his improvement of conditions for manuscript collections and the care of the building and its furniture. The Trustees resolved to allow his ‘numerous and distress’d family to remain in the house for a while [after his death], notwithstanding the appointment of a new librarian’.

On leaving the archiepiscopal libraries there is an interesting association to be made with the libraries promoted through the SPCK and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts promoted by the Revd. Dr Thomas Bray. My focus here is to feature the work of Simon Gribelin, the famous engraver, whose design for a bookplate was used throughout the collections dispensed by the SPCK to the fifty-two parochial libraries established by the Society after 1709:

Each book had a bookplate pasted to the title verso. The larger books contained a plate: St. John on the Island of Patmos receiving a book from an angel, who also holds a banderole with the words from the Apocalypse: Accipe librum, et devora illum. To the left is a book cupboard that is an accurate representation of those sent with the libraries. Below St. John’s eagle are the initials of the engraver, Simon Gribelin. Gribelin (1661-1733) engraved numerous bookplates and also provided illustrations, headpieces, and tailpieces to the booksellers, notably for the lovely edition of Shaftesbury’s Characteristicks (1711). ... A similar plate is found in the smaller books, with a kneeling figure and a different text. Both plates have an inscription at the foot to which is added in manuscript the name of the parish and of the county. Records of the SPCK show that 8,000 impressions of the two plates were provided in 170969.

The British Museum

Matthew Maty, M.D., FRS, (1718-1776)70 71 72: Principal Librarian at the British Museum (1772, previously an assistant etc). We should note that Dean Layard (see above), nephew to

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68 Henry Wagner pedigree of the Layard family
70 DNB
72 Gunther, A.E.: Matthew Maty MD, FRS (1718-76) and science at the foundation of the British Museum, 1753-80. - London: British Museum (Natural History), c1987. - 58 p : ill., ports ; 25 cm. - (Bulletin of the British Museum (Natural History). Historical series ; v. 15, no. 1);
Maty’s wife, Elizabeth née Boisragon, preached the sermon at his funeral and his personal library made a noted sale. His public association with Huguenot affairs is evinced by his involvement as an executor of the Boislin Trust, one of the charities associated with La Providence (established in 1718) the French Protestant Hospital. A strong sense of social obligation and the support of fellow Huguenots characterises the settlement of the Refuge. They established ‘Friendly Societies’, introduced tontines and other means of benefaction and financial support for a close-knit group. These societies sustained also the need to maintain old connections as Frenchmen as well as to give them a place in their new environment as Englishmen. Intellectually and in other senses of sociability the Huguenots were quintessentially ‘clubbable’ men and brought through their promotion of freemasonry on the one-hand and literary and intellectual societies on the other a strong reminder of that sociability for which French men were in any case famous throughout Europe. Matthieu Maty was most effective in this character and holds his place in medicine, literature, and the world of books on that account.

Maty was born to French refugees in Utrecht and came to England from the Netherlands in 1740, fresh from Leiden with a degree in medicine and another in philosophy, having also pretentions as a poet and writer, at home in French, Dutch, Italian, English and Latin. In London he frequented the coffee houses (fraternising with the notorious French journalists at their haunts Slaughter’s and the Rainbow coffee house in Marylebone) and began to contribute articles on literary London. Under contract from a Dutch publisher he became sole editor of the Journal britannique, 1750-1755, exercising a reviewer’s talent for translation in an endeavour to convey to French readers the essence of his subjects: Gray, for example, Fielding, Johnson (of the Rambler) and Nathaniel West, translator himself of Pindar. In 1751 he started a literary tea-club (Dr Maty’s Thursday’s Tea) to which he invited some of the key figures of the London literary scene, English as well as French, for the purpose of discussing the latest books and exchanging literary news. These meetings are recorded in Thomas Birch’s Diary. Another group, a clique, which Maty frequented, was gathered around the aged Abraham de Moivre, a first-generation refugee and former associate of Newton, with social evenings where conversation was invariably ‘universelle et instructive’ and Maty sustained acquaintance there with the likes of Lord Macclesfield and Lord Chesterfield. In the medical arena Maty was active at The Mitre in Fleet Street where the doctors met regularly to read papers and were numbered among the young cohort that endeavoured to break the monopoly of the Royal College of Physicians to gain recognition and election as fellows. As foreign secretary of the Royal Society and editor of the Philosophical Transactions he enjoyed wide contacts, also as doctor to the likes of Casanova among others, the French envoy – the Duc de Nivernois, of the comte de Gisor and others. He was at the centre of the inoculation debate in correspondence

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73 Layard, C.P.: A sermon preached at Oxendon Chapel, on Sunday, August 11th, 1776, occasioned by the decease of the late Matthew Maty, .... - London: printed for J. Robson, and Co., 1776. - [6], 14p
74 ‘A catalogue of the several valuable libraries, lately purchased, including the books of natural history, philosophy, and physick, of M. Maty, ... to be sold on Thursday the 7th August, 1777. By Benjamin White’. - [London, 1777]. - [4], 231, [1] pp
75 Henry Wagner in HSP VIII, 1908, p.390. There is also a Maty Family pedigree in the Wagner collection; published in the Genealogist, 1906
76 Janssens, U.: ‘Learned agents of cultural transmission’, in:
with Kirkpatrick, the Swiss doctors, Tissot and Tronchin, and La Condamine in France among others.

Maty’s career culminated in his becoming Principal Keeper at the British Museum, under such recommendations as those of John Jortin to the Lord Chancellor, and Secretary of the Royal Society. One specific instance of his work as librarian is his part with Henry Rimius in the ‘Reports … on the condition of the Cotton Library’, in July 1756. Following Ducarel, Maty’s is the great career of this century’s librarians. He was followed as it happens by his son who cuts rather a lesser figure. Henry Paul Maty, FRS, (1745-1787), Assistant Librarian at the British Museum (from 1778) and one-time foreign secretary to the Royal Society, with his own library to be sold after his death.

Another family is that of the Rev. Andrew Planta and his son Joseph Planta (1744-1827), the third of the Principal Keepers at the British Museum, successor in this to Maty senior as also in his capacity as Secretary to the Royal Society. The pattern of immigrant achievement and contribution is palpably of the same order. Andrew belonged to an old Swiss family and when he came to reside in England in 1752 became minister of the German Reformed Church and from 1758 until his death in 1773 was an assistant-librarian at the British Museum; he was an F.R.S. and a “reader” to Queen Charlotte; Joseph was born at Castegna in the Grisons, succeeding his father at the British Museum in 1773; he was promoted to Keepership of Manuscripts (1776) and then Principal Librarian from 1799. He was elected F.R.S. in 1774 and Secretary in 1776. His sister was a teacher to George III’s children.

Another foreigner, also not a Huguenot, should be mentioned here: Daniel Charles Solander (1736-1782), Swedish botanist, appointed an assistant librarian at the British Museum in 1763 to catalogue the natural history collections. He was engaged afterwards by Joseph Banks as his secretary-librarian. His name is now enshrined in our rare book librarianship and conservation work through the solander case whose prototype he designed.

Royal Librarians:
We come now to Claudius Amyand, of a notable father also named Claudius Amyand, F.R.S., and active as the King’s surgeon, 1715-1740. The Amyands were refugees from Mornac in Xaintonge; they were naturalised at Westminster on 9th September 1698. Claudius senior had three sons: - the second was George Amyand, 1720-1766: he was a Hamburg merchant, a Director of the East India Company and MP for Barnstaple; the third was the Revd. Thomas Amyand, 1728-1762 some time Rector of Fawley in Buckinghamshire, father of Thomas Amyand a Director of the Bank of England.

Claudius Amyand, 1718-1774, junior, the Librarian, if that’s the word for it, became Keeper of the King’s Library (the Cottonian) in 1745. In 1750 he was under-secretary of state. He was made a Commissioner of Customs in 1756 and his name remains in the list of commissioners until 1765 when he received the appointment of Receiver-General of the Land
Tax for Middlesex, London and Westminster. What we learn of him as librarian is very little. As I have mentioned, he was appointed Library Keeper in December 1745; according to the civil list accounts for 1763 he received a salary of £200 and £100 for the rent of a house. He is also shown as “Keeper of His Majesty’s Library called the Cotton” at £100 in 1748.

John Brooke states: “Under King George II Claudius Amyand had been appointed Keeper of His Majesties Libraries at £200 a year. This was a nominal office (the King did not care for books and presented his library to the British Museum), and was used to provide retirement pay for a former under-secretary of state. King George III, who did care for books, appointed his own librarian and paid him a salary out of the Privy Purse, thus paying for two librarians and receiving service from only one.”

It is clear that Amyand was the one who gave no library service and one can only speculate as to the thoughts of Maty and Rimius when they surveyed the Cottonian for the British Museum in 1756 (as above)! So we move on to one who presumably did:

François Valotton[^85]. The index at Windsor gives multiple variants for his name: Francis Valotten (Vallotten, Valentine, Valatin and others) and gives more about his family than his origins. He was a Page of the Presence to Queen Caroline Anspach from the accession of George II in 1727 until the Queen’s death in 1737. After the death of the Queen he became Page of the Presence to her daughters, the Princesses Amelia and Caroline, and from Michaelmas 1738 to Michaelmas 1740 when he became Page solely to Princess Amelia, continuing then until Lady Day 1752. The remuneration consisted of wages of £2 and board wages of £23 amounting to £25 a year.

He had “care of the late Queen’s Library at St James’s and apartments adjoining” from Midsummer 1749. He so continued until January 1758. The books in Queen Caroline’s library were later added to Queen Charlotte’s collection. During this time he appears in the printed lists as Librarian, but from 1759 until his death in 1772 he appears as Deputy Librarian [presumably becoming an assistant to Richard Dalton at Buckingham House]. On the marriage of George III he became also Page of the Presence to Queen Charlotte; he drew pay as such from August 1761 until his death, recorded for 20th August 1772 where he is described as “Deputy Librarian to His Majesty”.

This brings us to an additional member of the library fraternity in that the recipient of Mrs Poumies’s mourning ring, Mrs Valentine, also figures in the records at Windsor where Mrs Margaret Vallotton drew pay for “cleaning the late Queen Caroline’s Library at St James’s from Christmas 1751 to January 3 1758”. Later she, or perhaps a daughter, drew pay for cleaning the Library from 5 April 1786 to January 5th 1787; she died evidently still in office before February 4 1791 on which day a warrant was issued to her successor Mrs Ann Thomas “to clean and look after the Great Library at St James’s”.

Philip Mercier, 1689?-1760: was a member of the Club of Virtuosi of St Luke (the adherents of the disaffected Tory, Lord Harley of the great library of Wimpole Hall and the Harleian) their steward in 1728[^86],[^87]. Born in Berlin and a member of the Hanoverian court

[^85]: It is necessary to digress here since it was in fact a name in the Huguenot Society’s first volume that provoked me with a reference to a will dated 1770 where Elizabeth Poumies, of Bolton Street, of the parish of St. George’s, Hanover Square, gives a mourning ring to Mrs Valentine, wife of Mr Valentine of St. James’s House, Library and it has been the pleasure of this enquiry to track this man down through the London Library and the Royal Archives.

[^86]: DNB

[^87]: HSP I, 1886, p.298
circle, the references to him concern primarily his work as a painter. Mercier was made Principal painter to Frederick, Prince of Wales, on 6 February 1729 ..., Gentleman Page of the Bedchamber on 6th March 1729 and Library Keeper (a post involving the purchase of books and pictures for the Prince ‘at their house in Leicester Fields’) at £100 per annum on 26th January 1730. ... Mercier became a share-holder in Rich’s new theatre at Covent Garden in 1733, when his address was given as Bury Street, St James’s. There is a portrait showing Mercier by his easel within a library 88. The article notes that Mercier was dismissed from the Prince’s service in 1737 though his salary as Library Keeper was paid up to May 1738 when he was replaced by Frederick Ritzau. The footnotes give some details as to purchases made by Mercier as Library Keeper derived from extracts from the Prince’s Household accounts at the Duchy of Cornwall Office, and they note some literary and theatrical content in some of his pictures. The DNB entry indicates that he regained the Royal favour and recovered his post as royal painter (but not as librarian). He is recorded as living at No. 40, Leicester Square (as also Sir Thomas de Veil, J.P. who has, as noted, a tenuous connection with this project) 89. As to Frederick Ritzau, presumably another member of the Hanoverian entourage, I have traced as yet nothing more about him.

Trinity College Dublin
There were several librarians of Huguenot descent at Trinity College Dublin in the 18th century. The background to 17th century developments at TCD is studied by E. Boran in Kinane & Walsh 91. Fox remarks of the librarians of this period: “For most of the 17th and 18th centuries it was an elected post among the Fellows, usually annually. There is no evidence of any of the holders having had much influence on the development of the Library ...”; hence the singling out of Henry Mercier in a more active capacity. Certainly no Huguenot of the early refugee generation held the post, nor in the modern period any descendants among the fully professional incumbents.

These were: John Pellisier (1703-1781) of Laois, Fellow Librarian in the year 1727-1728; his baptism at Clanigaon is recorded in the Portarlington register; Henry Mercier, Fellow, and Assistant Librarian, who between 1744 and 1749 arranged and catalogued the 13,000 books left by Claudius Gilbert in 1743; he was the son of Charles Mercier of Dublin (or of one of the Merciers of Portarlington); the Revd. Henry Joseph Dabzae, 1737-1790, born in Menorca, Librarian 1785-1790 (and there is a portrait of him); mentioned in the Lart and Wagner pedigrees, and Mangin’s List of Huguenot names, 1840 92; he was in fact Assistant Librarian in 1768 (a detail left unmentioned by Fox 93) so can be imagined to have had a more than customary acquaintance with the collections. His career at TCD was extensive and he

88 Ingamells & Raines: op cit, No. 68.
89 Survey of London, XXXIV: The Parish of St Anne, Soho, 1966, pp.502, 506
92 HSP, XXVI, 1997, pp.616-7
93 Keepers of the Library and Librarians, November 1943; typescript by M.C. Griffith. Trinity College MSS J.7
enjoyed a dispensation under Provost Hely-Hutchinson who in 177594 “secured the support [for his parliamentary ambitions] of two senior fellows ... and Dr Dabzac, each candestinely married”, so as to retain his fellowship and professorial posts. Duigenan in his *Lachrymae academicae* called him “a creature of Hely-Hutchinson”. He is buried in the Huguenot cemetery, Merrion Row95. In the 19th century of more importance there is: **John Adam Malet, 1810-1879, Librarian 1869-1879, who was in London in 1879 to defend the copyright deposit arrangement.**

**Nineteenth Century**

The 19th century opens with another dynasty, that of the **Hertslets**96 at the Foreign Office Library for nearly the whole of the century97. Swiss Huguenot émigrés, père et fils, both Librarians to the Foreign Office in the 19th century. If Sir Edward Hertslet and his son Godfrey, who also followed on the library staff at the Foreign Office, were nurtured in the profession, Lewis Hertslet himself, taken on as sub-librarian at 14! (his father Jean Paul Louis Hertslet being retired and appointed a King’s Messenger in 1795) must have had innate qualifications; he was a “walking state paper” and he “not seldom, exercised a powerful influence on policy”. Along with Hartlib’s, his axiom can stand for all research collections:

“It must be obvious that, to render the librarian’s department of the Foreign Office as efficient as it ought to be, all correspondence and treaties should be under the roof of the office itself; there is no divisible period in our foreign affairs, nor any limit to our researches.”


**Sir Edward Hertslet** (1824-1902)99 100

Began his career in 1840 as clerk and supernumerary, 1840-55, succeeded his uncle as Sub-Librarian in 1855, and became Librarian of the Foreign Office, in succession to his father, 1857-1896; knighted for diplomatic rather than bibliothecal services, it has to be said. ‘So great was Edward Hertslet’s knowledge of the political geography of Europe and Africa that he was included in the British delegations to both the Congress of Berlin, 1878 ... and the Berlin West Africa Conference of 1884-5’101. His third son **Godfrey L.P. Hertslet** (1847-19--?) was assistant librarian at the Foreign Office and co-author of later editions of Hertslet’s Treaties

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96 Henry Wagner pedigree of the Hertslet (né Hiertzelet family of Vaud)
98 DNB
99 DNB
101 ‘The Library in the Hertslet era, 1801-1914’, p.4
At the British Museum

Russell Martineau, 1831-1898, who served at the Museum from 1857 and as Assistant-Keeper from 1884 until 1896, orientalist and librarian, son of James Martineau the Unitarian minister, commended by John de Villiers in his memoirs as ‘a polyglot and a profound Biblical student ... a giant of learning in receipt of a princely salary ranging between six and seven hundred a year ...’102; Charles Pierre Henri Rieu, 1820-1902, Martineau’s contemporary, also an Orientalist, and Keeper of the Oriental Manuscripts, 1867-1895, later Professor of Arabic at the University of Cambridge. The Rieu family left France for Geneva after the Revocation, Charles Pierre Henri was born there and came to England in 1847 when after research at the Bodleian he entered the British Museum.

In Dublin

William Maturin, 1806-1887; also a Huguenot descendant although it is probably his father’s gothic novels that colour the family reputation in book history; several of its members were literary and others held church positions. In 1872 Maturin was appointed Keeper (Librarian) of Marsh’s Library but seems never actually to have served as such. His appointment came about through the influence of Sir William Wilde who wished to keep Dr Robert Travers from the appointment because Travers’s daughter Mary Josephine was at the centre of a libel case against Lady Wilde arising from her relationship with Sir William. Travers served instead as Assistant Librarian but did in fact carry out the work of librarian at Marsh’s since Maturin at this stage was suffering from ill-health and retired himself to Howth. He offered Travers the Keeper’s apartment, a second key to the Library and a part of his salary - all of which Travers refused103.

Channel Islands

The Channel Islands make uncertain ground when we consider identification of Huguenots as distinct, if possible, from the local Protestants, so an example from Oxford tests the elasticity of this survey on two counts: Bulkeley Bandinel (1781-1861), Bodley’s Librarian, 1813-1861, descendant of an Italian Protestant refugee who became the first Protestant Dean of Jersey in 1620; long-lived and long-serving, he was a distinguished librarian104. His father was Public Orator, his godfather, John Price, Bodley’s Librarian, secured his appointment as Sub-Librarian and he succeeded Price in 1813; his brother James Bandinel was at the Foreign Office in the Hertslet era in the library, head of the department concerned with the suppression of the slave trade.

Guernsey features in the history of Australian libraries through the family de la Condamine settled first from Nimes after the Revocation. Thomas de la Condamine (1797-1873), Native of Guernsey, descendant of André de la Condamine of Nimes (1665-1737), enjoyed a military career before transferring to Australia; a river in Queensland is named after him. His chief claim as a public servant is “his enduring work [which] lay in the establishment of the Australian Subscription Library which despite its inherent weakness of exclusiveness survived to become the Public Library of New South Wales. As Secretary from its inception in 1826 until he left the colony he organised it, bore the brunt of managing its affairs and guided it

102 See below: ‘My memories’, London, 1931, p.54
104 DNB and the Biographical Dictionary of Jersey
through the initial troubles arising from delays in getting books, the high cost of premises and the low literary taste of its members. This certainly sounds the character of Huguenot devotion to a cause. The Australian Subscription Library and Reading Room opened in 1826 and was the seed from which grew both the Library of New South Wales and the City of Sydney Public Library, 1869.

In the Empire

Further afield of major interest in South Africa, Australia and New Zealand is Sir George Grey (1808-1898), posthumous son of Lieutenant-Colonel George Gray who died at Badajoz in 1808; Sir George’s mother was Elizabeth Anne, daughter of the Revd. John Vignoles of a well-established Irish Huguenot family. Grey’s career in the imperial service - in Australia, New Zealand, where formerly as Governor and later as Prime Minister, he is particularly remembered, and in South Africa, also, was matched at each turn by the collecting of books and the promoting of libraries. His career and various collections are well documented. Donald Kerr in Auckland is currently working on Grey as book collector and has published several papers on him. Grey’s “Address delivered at the Theatre Royal, Auckland on 5th June 1883” covers his thoughts on the characteristics of a library.

In Canada I find only Elizabeth Dafoe (1900-1960) celebrated in the name of the library building at the University of Manitoba having served on the library staff from 1925 and as Chief Librarian from 1937 until her death. Her father, J.W. Dafoe (1860-1942), Liberal Ontario journalist, settled in Winnipeg in 1901 on assuming the post of editor of the Manitoba (Winnipeg) Free Press. His descent was from David Dufour who fled from Mons to Amsterdam and subsequently moved to New Amsterdam in the 1650s.

By way of conclusion of this genealogical gallery, there are two further names of importance in modern library history, people of Huguenot origin and also of more immediate immigrant status: Fanny Juliet Passavant, 1849-1944, librarian of Yorkshire College, later the University of Leeds, daughter of Frankfurt-born Philip Wilhelm Passavant (1800-1881) and Emily née Steinhauser (1815-1896), grand-daughter of Pastor Jakob Passavant 1751-1827, a friend of Goethe, son of a Frankfurt merchant. The family belonged therefore to the West Riding Anglo-German community but their descent can be traced from the early Huguenot émigré Rodolphe-Emmanuel Passavant (né à Strassbourg 1641, son of Claude Passavant, 1593-1653, of Bourgogne) who originally went from France into Germany. And Emily Steinhauser was born in Milan so the connections are various and interesting to my theme. Fanny was born in Knostrop but the family appears in the local directories of Leeds from 1845 as well as the

106 Hahn, T.: An index of the Grey Collection in the South African Public Library. - Cape Town, 1884
107 These are described in “Medieval and renaissance manuscripts in New Zealand” by Margaret Manion, Vera Vines and Christopher de Hamel, London: Thames & Hudson, 1989.
109 Sir George joined the Huguenot Society in his retirement in extreme old age, March 1895. Edward Leopold Layard (1824-1900) was his private secretary at the Cape (1861-1867).
110 She was a great proponent of the National Library of Canada which came into being in 1953 and she served on its Advisory Board. She had a role in the formation of both the Manitoba and the Canadian Library Associations and served as President of both organizations
census of 1851\textsuperscript{112}. Morrish\textsuperscript{113} draws extensively on the work diaries that Miss Passavant kept during her long service in the library starting in 1885 so she is one of the better recorded active librarians and over a long period for she only retired in 1919. Her career is also exemplary for the period of the transition of the civic colleges to university status and the predicament of women staff of application but uncertain qualifications.

The second figure of this era is of interest having immigrant status as both of Huguenot and of Jewish origin: \textbf{Sir John Abraham Jacob de Villiers} (1863-1931)\textsuperscript{114,115,116}: His mother was Hanna Groen (Hettie Green), a Jewess from Middleburg in Zeeland and while he prided himself on his Huguenot ancestry, (his father, Jacob Hendrik Daniël de Villiers 1828-1874, was a scion of the De Villiers family of South Africa, a distant cousin of Baron De Villiers of Wynberg, first Chief Justice of South Africa, both descended from Pierre de Villiers, second-born of the original family of the 1688 party) he maintained the faith of his mother and rejoiced in the Dutch origins compounded by his parents’ marriage. Historian, he was an expert in the colonial history of the Netherlands. He held posts at the University of London, the British Foreign Office and the British Museum. He was an Officer of the Netherlands Order of Orange-Nassau and was knighted by the British Government in 1927 (belated recognition for his work in connection with the Venezuela-Surinam frontier negotiations, 1899, the Brazil Arbitration, 1904, and the Newfoundland-Canada negotiations, 1927). He played a prominent part in the communal affairs of London Jewry. He rose to be Deputy Keeper of the Printed Books and head of the Map Room. Following the Hertlets in my trajectory and in the vein of Bouhèreau it is the skills in diplomacy and geographic knowledge that characterises his success as a librarian.

\textbf{Conclusion}

While there is no specific tradition of Huguenot librarianship to which these men (and a few women) subscribed, I hope that I have put a spotlight on the ways in which their scholarship, collecting and library building bring out the character of international exchange and the momentum of the protestant enterprise which they sustained. The experience and contribution of later immigrants, whether as individuals or in groups, can be examined for similarities and some particular differences against this background. Some, from the entourage of Frederick of Hanover, Prince of Wales, have already appeared briefly; Prince Albert in the 19th century was

\textsuperscript{112} The family also has prior and parallel English connections through Jean-Ulric Passavant, 1678-, son of Claude Passavant, 1650- (brother of Rodolphe-Emanuel), engaged in the Gobelin tapestry trade at Exeter. Jean-Ulric had a brother, also Claude and their business is referred to in British carpet history; Haag indicates that it is probable that Luc Passavant, ancien de l’église de la Nouvelle-Patente in 1786 was descended from him (also Philip and Susanna Passavant goldsmiths etc). Philip Passavant, baptised at St Martin’s in the Fields, 1742, son of John P., was married there to Susanna Du Bourg in 1764; a jeweller of Leather Lane mentioned in the will of Ann Marshall, 27 February 1776; a Susanna Passavant, jeweller and trayman of Ludgate Hill, is mentioned along with William of 14 Red Lion Passage, 1790-93. See: HSP, XV, 1937, p. 516; also: HSP, XXIV, p.29, in connection with Roubilliac; also in Britten’s ‘Old clocks and watches and their makers’, 9th ed., by Cecil Clutton, Bloomsbury Books, 1982

\textsuperscript{113} Op cit

\textsuperscript{114} HSP, XV, 1937, pp.162-3

\textsuperscript{115} His autobiography: ‘My memories’, London: Grant Richards Fronto Limited, 1931

\textsuperscript{116} I am grateful for additional details supplied in correspondence by our colleague at this conference, Professor J.C. de Villiers and the ‘Genealogy of the De Villiers family in South Africa’, compiled by Juna Malherbe & Alet Malan, Vol. 1, Franschoek: De Villiers Publication Fund, 1997, p.255
also accompanied by such an entourage. Others include Jewish scholars of the 18th-20th centuries and the political refugees of the 19th century. Pre-eminent amongst them Antony Panizzi at the British Museum. Jewish immigrants of the period 1881-1914, the Russian emigrés of the 20th century following the Revolution of 1917 and the civil war, and then the Jews displaced by Nazi persecution in Germany and Austria in the 1930s with the survivors of the Holocaust from across Europe after 1945 all included librarians. Librarians from various East European states, notably Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, have made a dramatic presence in the development of our libraries in the last fifty years, as have others from the Caribbean, Asia and Africa. These will be the subject of later papers to be augmented also by a survey of British librarians active in the development of university library services throughout the Commonwealth during the twentieth century, and concluded by notes on British librarians acting as consultants for the British Council and for international bodies such as Unesco and IFLA in many countries over the last half century.