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'The world is not big enough': the Vernezobre family in the refuge¹

BY KAZIMIERZ BEM

In recent years more and more attention has been given to the international links the Huguenot diaspora developed.² Instead of concentrating on a particular family, or trade, the commercial, religious and family links across Europe and sometimes the Atlantic Ocean are explored, giving the Huguenot settlement a truly more international meaning and dimension.³ This paper seeks to follow this trend, taking as an example the Vernezobre family⁴, which in the course of the 18th century settled in six countries and three continents.

The Vernezobre family had its roots in the small town of Villemagne in the southern province of Languedoc, where they were recorded as early as 1369. They were merchants, and they had embraced the Reformed religion in the 16th century. Somewhere at the beginning of the 17th century one branch moved to the Protestant stronghold of Nîmes, where Joshua Vernezobre, a merchant, died in 1617. His profession was carried on by his son Michel Vernezobre, one of whose sons, Emmanuel (1661-1746), became a man of the cloth, entering the ranks of Huguenot clergy on the eve of the Revocation. While one branch of the family was living in Nîmes, another stayed in Villemagne, where Salomon Vernezobre, probably a nephew of Joshua, a local tax collector, died in 1658. Married to Isabel Fizeaux he left behind four sons: Jean (c.1650-c.1715), Mathieu (c.1652-1706), both of whom moved to Paris, Salomon I (d. ca.1732) and Isaac. The younger sons lived in Villemagne.

The first generation

On 17 October 1685 in Fontainebleau Louis XIV revoked and annulled the Edicts of Nantes (1598) and of Nîmes (1629) thereby making Reformed Protestantism illegal in France. According to the provisions of Article IV of the Edict of Fontainebleau, the Reformed clergy had a choice of either converting to the Catholic religion or leaving the country within two weeks. The same Edict strongly prohibited emigration when it came to others of the 'Purportedly Reformed Religion'. The aim of the government was to dispose of the pastors quickly and painlessly, which would make it the easier to convert the Huguenot flock which was forced to stay behind.⁵

The young pastor Emmanuel Vernezobre chose to emigrate and he headed for Switzerland and Germany. Being a man of education, he was soon hired by the duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, a Reformed principality in Germany, to teach foreign languages to the duke's sons. It is there that he married Lavinia de Bermont de Roussait (1662-1715) a Huguenot noblewoman, who like him had sought refuge abroad.

His cousins in Paris and Villemagne did not have the luxury of emigrating legally. They were faced with the same choice of so many others: to stay in France or flee clandestinely. Jean Vernezobre (ca.1650-ca.1715) decided to stay. With a young wife and a newborn baby, he probably did not think it was sensible to flee. Living in a big city also had its advantages, and he assumed, quite correctly, as we shall see later, that secretly practising his religion in a big city would be easier than in a small town. So, with his family he abjured and stayed.

His brothers in the south of France were in a much more precarious position and they abjured like thousands of others for the sake of being spared by the *dragonnades*. They decided to flee once they discovered that they were in fact expected to be good Catholics. For each of the three brothers it was a different escape and taken at different times: while Mathieu Vernezobre fled almost immediately following his abjuration, his brother Salomon stayed behind until at least 1689.⁶

Mathieu Vernezobre settled in Königsberg, in Prussia. Here he joined eleven other Huguenot families and formed the French congregation, celebrating the first communion service in December 1686.⁷ Prussia had been the first Protestant state in the world. In 1525 the Duke Albrecht Hohenzollern, with the approval of his Polish and Catholic overlord, embraced Lutheranism. It remained a bulwark of Lutheranism, even when the new rulers became Reformed in 1613. It was only on Easter Sunday 1618 that the first Reformed communion service was held in the court chapel of Königsberg. The Reformed remained a small minority, consisting mainly of English and Scottish merchants, a few Germans and French, and a handful of Polish Reformed nobles. Due to the encouragement of the Prussian rulers, the Huguenot settlement in Königsberg grew rapidly: in 1690 it had 32 households and by the end of 1703 it had 123 families consisting 495 members. The Huguenots there were nobles, bankers, merchants, wigmakers, tailors, shoemakers, doctors, etc.⁸

Mathieu Vernezobre de Laurieux became a merchant in silk ribbons, a highly sophisticated and expensive commodity in those times. It was in Königsberg that he married a Huguenot refugee, Anne Fournier (1668-1748). Six children were born: a daughter Marie Anne (1698-1727), and five sons François Mathieu (1690-1748), Abraham (ca.1693-1750), Daniel (ca.1694-1773), Salomon (1692-ca.1750) and Jacques. Mathieu Vernezobre died on 6 March 1706 in Königsberg.⁹

Russia was the second country of refuge for the Vernezobres. Tsar Peter the Great was pursuing an intensive policy of economic and cultural modernization. The Huguenot refugees offered him a unique opportunity to attract a wave of industrious and educated immigrants. Huguenot congregations were organized in Moscow (1686) and St Petersburg. (ca.1700).¹⁰ Most of the Russian Huguenots came from Germany, where they had initially sought refuge. The brother of Mathieu Vernezobre, Salomon I (d. ca.1732) came to Russia either via Königsberg or Gdańsk, as relations between these three refugee havens were quite close. The date of his arrival is not known but he must have stayed in France longer than his brother Mathieu, as his son Jean was born in Villemagne in 1689. Salomon I settled at the far end of Europe, in the Arctic port of Archangielsk where he died around the year of 1732. Married to his cousin Esther Donnet, they had at least one daughter, a son Franz who continued trading in Archangielsk and St Petersburg but of whom little is known, and a son Jean (1689-1763).¹¹

Poland, though not perhaps a country that springs into mind as a place of Huguenot refuge, was so for another Vernezobre brother. In the 18th century, as with Russia, Huguenots did emigrate there and Gdańsk, then the biggest port in the Baltic Sea, was an obvious choice. It enjoyed for long extensive economic and political ties with France and had its own French consulate in the city.¹² Another reason was that in Gdańsk, unlike the rest of Poland, it was Lutheranism and not Catholicism that was the established religion. Tolerance was practised, and in the Reformed church held sway in two city parishes – Sts Peter and Paul and St Elisabeth. A separate French Reformed parish was established around 1686 but the French colony in Gdańsk did not enjoy any special legal autonomy and was subject to the normal laws of the city. Services, initially held in a storage hall, were moved to the Reformed Church of Saint Peter and Paul. It was in Gdańsk, that the third brother Isaac Vernezobre settled with his wife Mary Raynaud. His two sons, Pierre and David were born there, and there he died, some time in the first decade of the 18th century.¹³

Thus, by the beginning of the 18th century we find Emmanuel Vernezobre as a pastor in Starsburg in Brandenburg, and his cousins scattered across Europe: Jean living in Paris, Mathieu in Königsberg, Prussia, Isaac in Gdańsk in Poland, and Salomon I in Russia.

The second generation

Shortly before his father's death, François Mathieu Vernezobre moved from Königsberg to Paris, no doubt to make the acquaintance of his uncle and to learn under close supervision the secrets of being a trader. Having been born outside France he was not viewed as a 'traitor' refugee, and thus, unlike his father, could easily have settled in France.

In 1712 in Paris he married his cousin, Marie Henriette Vernezobre (1697-1748), daughter of his uncle Jean, who had stayed behind. She was brought up a Huguenot, despite the fact that, having been born after the Revocation, she ought to have been brought up as a Roman Catholic. François became the treasurer of the Royal Banque in Paris (1717), and responsible for the finances of the Compagnie des Indes two years later. His two brothers also pursued careers in banking and trade: Daniel in the United Kingdom where he was naturalized in 1724, and Abraham in Amsterdam (1721). Additionally, their cousins Pierre and Daniel in Gdańsk were also bankers, creating a network of family-business contacts across most of northern Europe.

This network collapsed suddenly with the 'Louisiana bubble' in 1720. Though John Law was chiefly to blame, François Mathieu, together with his wife and five children, as well as a considerable amount of money, left for Berlin (1720). In Berlin, François Mathieu had an astonishing career. In 1721 the King of Prussia knighted him, giving him the title of 'Baron Vernezobre de Laurieux'. His wealth was huge, and he built the Vernezobre Palace in Berlin, which later became known as 'Prince Albert's Palace'. In his chief estate Hohenfinow, François Mathieu reconstructed the local church where he built a special family vault for burials. Having joined the higher nobility of Prussia, François Mathieu Baron Vernezobre de Laurieux lived happily in Berlin until his death in October 1748. He was buried in the family vault in Hohenfinow, next to his mother and wife, who had both died earlier that year.¹⁴

His two younger brothers, Daniel and Abraham, had been in Amsterdam for some time, learning the banking profession from their distant cousins, the Fizeaux family, who also originated married their Fizeaux cousins: on 14 August 1721 in the Eglise Wallonne of Amsterdam, Abraham Vernezobre married Madeleine Sophie Fizeaux (born in 1703 in Amsterdam), and four years later in the same church, his brother Daniel married her younger sister Henriette (born in 1705 in Amsterdam).¹⁵ This was not the only wedding in the family, as in 1716 the sister of Abraham and David, Marie Anne (1698-1727) married, in Königsberg, her cousin Jean Vernezobre (1689-1763) from Moscow. The pattern for family marriages continued, when in 1729 Pierre Vernezobre (1693-1768) from Gdańsk married his cousin Elizabeth Goium, whose mother was a Vernezobre. Thus, despite being in exile and in different countries, like most second-generation refugees, the Vernezobres married their fellow nationals and co-religionists. Strong family ties were kept: for example François Mathieu Vernezobre and his wife were godparents to some of the children of Daniel in London, while Daniel was in turn godfather to some of Abraham's children. The preservation of strong family ties

meant also the preservation of French and Huguenot culture within the family. When these were lacking, as we shall see, language and national bonds waned immediately.¹⁶

Daniel Vernezobre (*ca.*1693-1778) in England was also a merchant. He became interested in South Carolina, then a small British colony at the other end of the Atlantic. Huguenots had been settling there since 1686, and the place was flourishing as a result. Their success, and the colony's prosperity, attracted further Huguenot refugees who continued to arrive throughout the 18th century.¹⁷ In 1734 Daniel Vernezobre sponsored a group of Huguenot settlers to the Colony and requested that part of their lands be assigned to him. The Lords refused, saying that in accordance with the law only inhabitants were to receive land, and Mr Vernezobre was not an inhabitant. However, in 1736 the Lords changed their minds, and in June 1736, 2,000 acres in the Purrysburg settlement were assigned to him.¹⁸ It is unlikely that Daniel Vernezobre had ever settled in South Carolina, as the petition was made by his representative James Delas. His plantation remained well kept and in his possession until at least 1773.¹⁹ Daniel and his wife, though both born and brought up Reformed, had no difficulty in joining a Huguenot congregation that conformed to the Church of England and it was in the conformist church of St Martin Orgars in London that they baptized their 11 children: three sons and eight daughters. When Henriette Fizeaux died *ca.*1770 Daniel Vernezobre remarried in 1775 a Huguenot widow, Henriette Madeleine Saulvier (d. 1791), and died three years later.²⁰

The third brother, Abraham Vernezobre (*ca.*1692-1750) had settled in Amsterdam. He was a member of the New Walloon Church (Nouvelle Eglise Wallonne) in Amsterdam, where his five children were baptized.²¹ He took an active interest in the New World, having invested in the Berbice Colony.²² The Vernezobre owned the Magdalenenburg plantation, while their cousins the Fizeaux had La Providence plantation on the other side of Canje river.²³ Not much more is known about Abraham, who died in autumn 1750 and was buried in the New Walloon Church, which he had duly attended for 30 years. His wife, Madeleine Sophia Fizeaux, survived him by 17 years and also died in Amsterdam in 1767, being buried, like her husband, in the New Walloon Church.

While the three brothers settled in western Europe, the youngest, Salomon II, moved to Russia, where he was helped by his uncle Salomon I. Salomon II settled in the Arctic port of Archangielsk in 1715, later moving to St Petersburg, where he started doing business with the Count Shuvaloff. Less successful than his brothers, he went bankrupt in 1732. Helped by this patron, the Count Shuvaloff, he was nominated again to a post in Archangielsk, where he supervised the

Count's monopoly in whale fishing, oil, blubber and dried cod production. He died *ca.* 1750 in Archangielsk. Salomon II Vernezobre was the first to marry outside the Huguenot diaspora. His bride was a German, Anna Elizabeth Zimmerman (d. 1758, St Petersburg), and he joined the German Reformed congregation in Moscow, rather than the French.²⁴

While Salomon II was moving from Königsberg to Russia, the son of Salomon I, Jean Vernezobre (1689-1763) was moving in exactly the opposite direction: from Russia to Königsberg. There, in 1716, he married the only sister of the brothers described above, Marie Anne Vernezobre (1698-1727). Like all his family he engaged in trade (silk and satin). Placed in Königsberg, he kept close relations with his cousins in Gdańsk. Very successful in business, his private life was sad: his two wives both died young, and of his eight children, only one survived infancy. This son, Salomon III (1745-64), died young as a theology student in Berlin, where he was buried. The last years of his life Jean Vernezobre spent in Königsberg with his sister Marianne Cruse (d. 1814). He was buried in the French Reformed Church in Königsberg.²⁵

In Gdańsk the two sons of Isaac Vernezobre were bankers: Pierre (1693-1768), married to his cousin Elizabeth Gouim, and his brother David, married in 1741 in Königsberg to Louise du May. Little is known about these two brothers, as little is known about the Huguenot community in Gdańsk itself. The two brothers served as elders of that church: Pierre in 1722, and David in 1755. Pierre had 11 children and David two sons.²⁶

Pastor Emmanuel Vernezobre (1661-1746), following the death of his first wife, remarried in 1716. He had nine children, but only three lived to adulthood. His daughter from the first marriage, Marie Henriette, married a Prussian noble Joachim Bernard von der Osten, and another Marie (1729-84) died unmarried. The Rev. Emmanuel Vernezobre died in 1746 in Strasburg in Prussia, where he served as pastor for 32 years.²⁷

The third generation

The second half of the 18th century saw the demise of the once-thriving Huguenot settlements. This was a natural process. Eighty years had passed since the Revocation. To many descendants this, though important in terms of family history, was not decisive for their identity. The third generation of refugees had been born in other countries and had never seen France. Though duly attending French congregations, and while still literate in French, they began to think of themselves more as British, Dutch, Russian, Prussian or Polish citizens of French (Huguenot) descent, rather than just Huguenots.

One of the first symptoms was the disappearance from family annals of the Vernezobres from Paris. The two sons of Jean Vernezobre (*ca.*1650-*ca.*1715) did marry and have children but it is not clear if they remained Protestants. The complete lack of any family connection between them makes it highly unlikely. Probably years after the Revocation, with little or no spiritual support from their own denomination, in a Roman Catholic society, amidst constant persecution or pressure, they abjured or grew indifferent, like so many of the Huguenots still in France and they disappear from the story of the diaspora.²⁸

The second branch of the family which also disassociated itself from the Huguenot international were the children of Baron François Mathieu Vernezobre. Through becoming Prussian nobles, the children of François Mathieu naturally associated with people of their own new class rather than with their merchant cousins. His descendants became typical Prussian landlords with only their French surname distinguishing them from their noble neighbours. The family remained in the possession of the Hohenfonow estate until 1833 when it was sold. This line of the family still exists today.²⁹

The third branch of the Vernezobres who cut all their ties with the Huguenot diaspora, were those from Russia. The sons of Salomon II were like their father and mother members of the German Reformed congregations there.

The Huguenot family story was continued by only three branches: that of Daniel in London, Abraham in Amsterdam, and Pierre and David in Gdańsk.

Of the seven children of Daniel that survived infancy, only two daughters married. The eldest son, Jean Daniel Vernezobre (1732-80, London) never married and lived a quiet life with his father and sisters. He must have been a man of some credit though, as in 1777 he was elected a Director of the French Protestant Hospital. It seems that the end of the 18th century saw the demise of the Vernezobre wealth, and in 1791 Daniel's daughter Henriette was admitted as 'poor' to the same hospital of which her brother once was a director, and where she died shortly afterwards. Her sister Catherine also applied for admission to the French Hospital in 1815 but she died before any decision had been reached.³⁰

The second son of Daniel, David John (1736-post-1789), having married an Englishwoman Catherine Brect, moved to Russia. He was not as successful as his distant cousins, and in 1764 went bankrupt. Fearing his creditors, he fled the country, but was apprehended by the Russian authorities in the Aalan Islands and brought back to St Petersburg to face trial. He remained in Russia, where his 12 children were born and baptized. He too did not attend the French Reformed

church but rather the Anglican chapel at the Embassy and disappears with his family from the records after 1789.³¹

The Dutch Vernezobres also kept a low profile and little is known about them. In August 1753 in the New Walloon Church in Amsterdam, Charles Abraham Vernezobre (1724-75) married his cousin Madeleine Sophia Vernezobre (1728, London - ca.1759, Berbice), daughter of his British uncle Daniel. This was that last of the series of family matches for the Vernezobres. The following year in September they left for the Berbice colony in Surinam. The climate in Guyana, as well as the constant childbearing of Madeleine, proved disastrous to her health and she died there, probably of the plague of 1758-60 that had wiped out most of the white population in the colony. The widowed Charles Abraham returned to Amsterdam with his young son David John, and in 1760 he remarried, his wife being the daughter of the French pastor in Amsterdam, Marie Elisabeth de Chauffepié (d. 1770, Amsterdam).³² The Guyana tragedy was made worse when in 1762 a slave rebellion began, having started precisely in the Vernezobres' plantation. This revolt, the biggest, and most famous of all slave rebellions, devastated the colony. Though it was eventually put down, the family sold their plantation and withdrew from South America.³³ In 1770 when the second wife of Charles Abraham died, leaving him with two little girls: Sophie Marie (1761-1837) and Anne Charlotte (1765-1840). It is not clear if Charles Abraham was present at his wife's death, as in 1768 he left for New York. He was back in London in 1773 when he married for the third time, Rebecca Dobson. He died in 1775 in London, leaving behind two daughters in the Netherlands and a son from his first marriage, living in England.³⁴

Gdańsk, following the First Partition of Poland (1772), became a Polish enclave within Prussian territory which retorted with a total financial, economic and military blockade of the city. This ruined the city which resulted also in the decline of the Vernezobre family. The son of the banker Peter, Peter Junior, was portrayed by Daniel Chodowiecki in 1773 in his *'Reise nach Danzig'* with a comment that though he had been greatly impoverished and unhappy, he was still very proud of his Huguenot ancestry.

It is not clear when the Vernezobres left Gdańsk. A list of households of the French Reformed Church dating from 1800 does not mention any Vernezobre, but the sister of Peter Junior, Louise, died in the city in 1803 which seems to indicate that by that time the Vernezobres had joined the German Reformed congregations. Her cousin Peter Lewis (son of Daniel and Louise du May) had by then moved to Warsaw.³⁵

The son of the Revd. Emanuel Vernezobre, Emanuel Junior (1716-73) moved to Dresden, where he taught French at the noble academy

in the city. He even published a textbook on how to learn French. He died childless and unmarried.³⁶

The end of the diaspora and of the family

'Everywhere they fled, everywhere they vanished', wrote one author about the Huguenot diaspora in North America.³⁷ This is true of the Vernezobre family as well. By the beginning of the 19th century we can speak of only a few members. The son of Charles Abraham Vernezobre, David John (b. ca.1755, Berbice) lived in the United Kingdom all his life. He married an Englishwoman of no Huguenot ancestry with whom he had three children. The family were conventional Anglicans and only their surname pointed towards their Huguenot pedigree. His daughter Hannah Vernezobre married a Roman Catholic, something which would have shocked her ancestors, but which was of little significance in her own time. Hannah Vernezobre-Burke (1815-87) was the last of the family in the United Kingdom.³⁸

On the other side of the English Channel lived the two daughters of Charles Abraham Vernezobre and his second wife: Sophie Marie (1761-1837) and Anne Charlotte (1765-1840). Left in the care of their mother's family, they moved from Amsterdam to Utrecht where both of them died. These two ladies were the last to celebrate their Huguenot heritage: both attended the Walloon church in Utrecht, and in her will Anne Charlotte left what little she had to the *Hospice Wallon* in Amsterdam.³⁹

The Vernezobres in Poland were also on the move. Peter Lewis had moved to the Warsaw towards the end of the 18th century, and in 1802, Edward Charles, a son of Peter Lewis and his wife Juliana du Bois, was baptized in the Warsaw Reformed Church. Another son of the couple, William Lewis, was born soon after. In 1815 this part of Poland became the 'Kingdom of Poland' under the Tsar of Russia with its own army and constitution. Edward Charles joined the Polish army in 1822 and was assigned to the infantry. A poignant feature of the family's assimilation is that it was recorded that he knew Polish and German, with no mention of French, the language of his ancestors.⁴⁰ In 1830 when the Polish rebelled against the Tsar's tyranny Edward Charles fought against the Russians in all the major battle of the war. During the famous battle of Ostroleka he was wounded and taken to hospital and for his bravery was awarded the cross of honour – '*Virtuti Militarii*'. After the failure of the Rising, he fled to France (1832). His brother William Vernezobre, a glove-maker, left Warsaw and settled in Königsberg, where his family had flourished less than a century before. There he joined the French Reformed church and died after 1846. One of William's daughters, Anna, was listed as an inhabitant

of the city in 1904, living on the *Französische Strasse*. She was the last Vernezobre in Europe.⁴¹

By a twist of fortune, Edward Charles Vernezobre found himself a refugee in France, the country from which his ancestors had fled some 130 years before. There he married Othillia Berger (b.1814) and had two children: Edward Lewis (b.1846) and Wanda Anna (b.1841). The family later emigrated to the United States (1856) and settled in Cincinnati, Ohio. Edward Charles died in there in 1875, and his son Edward Lewis, a blacksmith married to an Irish immigrant, in 1880. Wanda Anna Vernezobre (1841-1923) married an immigrant from Austria and had seven children. Born in France, of Polish Huguenot stock, she died an American. With her death the story of the Vernezobres comes to an end.⁴² The Huguenot International had by then become history.

¹ An earlier version of this paper was awarded the Huguenot Society of South Carolina Graduate Scholarship in 2001.

² See R. Gwynn, *Huguenot heritage, the history and contribution of the Huguenots in Britain*, 2nd edition (Brighton and Portland, 2001) Pp 118-20, 185-6.;

³ See B. van Ruymbeke and R. J. Sparks (ed.), *Memory and identity. The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic diaspora* (Columbia, N.C., 2003), pp 172-240; K. Bem, *Protestant solidarity in the eighteenth century: relief efforts of the Walloons for the Polish Reformed churches* (*Church History*, vol. 73, 2004).

⁴ For the quite complicated genealogy of the Vernezobre family: City Archives Amsterdam (GAA); Huguenot Library London, Wagner Files (W. F.); O. Kriening, *Familles Constantin et Vernezobre*, 1991. pp. 149-56 (*Cahiers du Centre de Genealogie Protestante* (CCGP) vol 35); E. Goulon Sigwalt, *Famille Vernezobre*, 1994. pp. 64-8 (CCGP vol 46); Idem, *Die Vernezobre in Villemagne. Ein Beitrag zu ihrer Geschichte*, 1994. pp. 111-18 (*Der Deutsche Hugenott*, vol. 58). I have combined these sources so that they make sense.

⁵ S. Mours, *Le Protestantisme en France aux XVII Siècle (1589-1685)*, Paris 1967.

⁶ *Supra* n. 4.

⁷ B. Muller-Heynen, *Zur Familiengeschichte der Vernezobre in der Französischen Kolonien von Königsberg (Pr.) und Danzig*, 1994. pp. 35-47 (*Der Deutsche Hugenott*, vol 58).

⁸ P. Fijałkowski, *Polska wspólnota ewangelicko – reformowana w Królewcu*, Warszawa 2001. pp. 133-53 (*Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, vol 45); K. Krueger, *Psalm and potatoes: The congregations of the Polish-speaking Protestant Mazurians in East Prussia, Suwałki, Poland, and the United States*, Ph.D. thesis (unpublished) 1992, pp. 100-2.

⁹ B. Muller-Heynen, *op.cit.*, pp. 36-37.

¹⁰ J. Krammerer, *Russland und die Hugenotten im 18. Jahrhundert*, Weisbaden 1978. pp. 19-27.

¹¹ E. Armbrurger, *Hugenottenfamilien in Russland*, Der Herold, 1964.

¹² In the years immediately predating the Revocation, the French consul in Gdańsk was Jan Formont, a Huguenot, and a member of an influential banking family from France.

More on the Gdańsk Huguenot congregation: Z. Szultka, *W sprawie obecności uchodźców religijnych z Francji w Gdańsku w XVII-XVIII wieku*, 1987. pp. 251-60 (Rocznik Gdański, vol 57); M. Komarzyński, *Działalność kupców francuskich w Gdańsku w XVII-XVIII wieku*, 1954. pp. 239-80 (Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych, vol 16); E. Muret, *Geschichte der Französische Colonie in Brandenburg-Preussen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Berliner Gemeinde*, Berlin, 1885. pp. 211-12; K. Bem, *Huguenots in 18th-century Poland. Refuge in a Catholic country of limited tolerance, Proceedings of the 3rd International Huguenot Conference*, September 2003; pp. 207-13.

¹³ E. Muret, *op.cit.*, p. 212.

¹⁴ B. Muller-Heynen, *op.cit.*, pp. 34-7.

¹⁵ G. A. A. 201 (Actes of the Walloon Church in Amsterdam), births, marriages, and burials.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*; W. & S. Minet (ed.), *Register of the Church of Saint Martin Orgars with its History and that of Swallow Street*, Huguenot Society Quarto Series, vol. XXXVII, 1935, pp.16-7.

¹⁷ A. H. Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, Durham, 1928; J. Butler, *The Huguenots in America. A Refugee People in New World Society*, Harvard, 1983. pp. 144-99.

¹⁸ B. H. Holcomb, *Petitions for land from the South Carolina Council Journals*, vol. I (1734/5-48) Columbia, 1996; H. A. M. Smith, *Purrysburgh*, 1909, pp.203-04 (*The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. 10).

¹⁹ B. H. Holcomb, *South Carolina Deed Abstracts 1773-1778*, Columbia 1993, p. 3.

²⁰ *Supra* n. 4

²¹ *Supra* n. 4

²² B. L. Blair, *Wolfert Simon van Hoogenheim in the Berbice Slave Revolt of 1763-1764*, 1984. pp. 58-62 (*Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*, vol. 140); K. Kramer, *Plantation Development in Berbice from 1753 to 1779; The shift from the Interior to the coast*, 1991. pp. 51-63 (*New West Indian Guide*, vol. 65); Cornelis Ch. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and the Guianas 1680-1791*, Assen/Maastricht, 1985. pp.461-95.

²³ S. Kalff, *Franschen in Suriname*, 1929/1930. pp. 316-36 (*West-Indische Gids*, vol 11); C. Landré, *Les Réfugiés Huguenots dans la Guyane Hollandaise*, The Hague, 1888, pp. 357-60 (*Bulletin de La Commission de L'Histoire des Eglises Wallonnes*, vol 3).

²⁴ E. Armburger, *Die Van Brienens und ihre Sippe in Archangel*, Berlin 1930.

²⁵ B. Muller-Heynen, *op.cit.*, pp. 40-3.

²⁶ E. Muret, *op.cit.*, p. 212.

²⁷ *Supra* n. 4.

²⁸ For a similar process see B. Van Ruymbeke and R.J.Sparks, *op.cit.*, pp.225-84.

²⁹ *Supra* n. 4.

³⁰ R. Vigne, 'A monument to the piety of their ancestors': origin and early history of the French Hospital, London, 1708-1740', *Proceedings of the 3rd International Huguenot Conference*, September 2003, Huguenot Society of South Africa. pp. 196-207.

³¹ *Supra* n. 4.

³² *Supra* n. 4.

³³ *Supra* n. 4.

³⁴ G. A. A.; <http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/f/i/e/Anthony-L-Field/TREE/0003tree.html>; Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie (The Hague), Fiche 7236.

³⁵ B. Muller-Heynen, *op.cit.*, pp. 42-6.

³⁶ *La France Protestante*, Geneva, 1966. p. 471.

³⁷ J. Butler, *op.cit.*, *passim*.

³⁸ <http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/f/i/e/Anthony-L-Field/TREE/0003tree.html>; Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie (CBG), The Hague, Fiche 7236.

³⁹ G. A. A. no. 201-515 f; Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie (CBG), The Hague, Fiche 7236.

⁴⁰ Family documents kindly supplied by Mrs Dietz (USA).

⁴¹ *Supra* n. 4.

⁴² Family documents kindly supplied by Mrs Dietz (USA).