

Rediscovering Jacques Philippe de Lacombe de Vrigny, Huguenot exile in England and author of two early 18th-century journals, MSS. Rawlinson D. 601 and D. 602

At the time of writing, the Library is in the process of converting the so-called ‘Quarto catalogues’, published in the 19th century, to digital format for upload to the Bodleian Archives and Manuscripts Online Catalogue. Part of the process involves proofreading the newly formatted text, a laborious process which at least provides a chance to read these immensely detailed catalogues from cover to cover. While checking the catalogue of the Rawlinson manuscript collections, among the many curiosities and remarkable manuscripts in this extraordinarily wide-ranging collection, which includes papers that would have been modern records when Rawlinson acquired them in the first half of the 18th century, I came across a description of two early 18th-century journals relating to diplomatic missions. The first, MS. Rawlinson D. 601, is described in the catalogue as a

Journal kept during the embassy of the earl of Sunderland to Vienna in 1705, from the day of embarkation at Greenwich, 26 June, to the day of the return thither, 20 Dec.; in French; kept apparently by a French secretary, — Usigny.

The second volume, MS. Rawlinson D. 602, is described as

another volume of the French diaries of —Usigny, (without mention of his name) containing an account of his travels in Portugal and Spain, and of the operations of the English there, in 1706; he having been sent thither, as it seems, to the English ambassador.¹

As we were then about to launch MARCO,² a new search interface for manuscripts in Oxford, I thought that here would be an excellent example of how we can improve access to our collections through digitization of the catalogue. I imagined that it would be an easy matter to supply further details of Mr Usigny and to update biographical information for the online version of the catalogue. Since the subject matter of the journals seemed to be of great interest, I imagined Mr Usigny would turn up in other catalogues across the internet, among the State Papers at the National Archives (TNA) for example, or among Sunderland’s papers at the British Library. I felt sure that the only reason Mr Usigny remained an obscure figure

¹ W.D. Macray (ed.), *Catalogi codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae partis quintae fasciculus tertius, viri munificentissimi Ricardi Rawlinson, I.C.D.* (Oxford, 1893), columns 376-377.

² <https://marco.ox.ac.uk/>, discussed at the beginning of this issue in a note by Chris Fletcher.

was that our Victorian predecessors did not have access to the vast array of digital resources now at the fingertips of cataloguers and researchers. But instead of immediate enlightenment, my internet searches drew a blank. I was genuinely surprised at this, and became suspicious of the catalogue entry. Could Mr Usigny have been a misreading of the name? And so I returned to the manuscript itself and immediately saw that the name was indeed wrongly transcribed. The two manuscripts are written in one hand, apart from three lines written by a subsequent owner of the journals, and this is the only place where our man's name actually appears – not only in these manuscripts, but in fact in any of the published works ascribed to him. But I am jumping ahead a little, and so first I need to return to the inscription at the front of MS. Rawlinson D. 601, which from now on I will call the Vienna journal. Here it is stated, in what I now know to be the author's hand,

Si cette relation de mon voyage de Vienne tombe apres ma mort entre les mains de quelqu'un Je le supplie que s'il juge qu'elle soit imprimée, ce soit sans y rien ajouter ny retrancher. J'aurois pu y joindre plusieurs pieces authentiques et observations curieuses sur la cour Imperiale et sur le gouvernement politique et civil des pais hereditaires aussi bien que sur la cruelle persecution que les Hongrois ont soufferte a l'instigation des Jesuittes qui gouvernoient absolument le defunt Empereur et n'ont encore que trop d'influences sur les conseils de l'Empereur Joseph, mais puisque c'est mon sort et la volonté de Dieu que je ne puisse pas mener la vie tranquille et retirée que je m'etois proposée, apres laquelle j'ay toujours soupiré, mais au contraire en ay embrassé une toute differente que je continueray apparemment la reste de mes jours, je prie tres humblement mon cher cousin de Toullieu³ professeur a Lingen au que j'ay dessein de laisser la pluspart de mes livres et papiers par testament, d'observer ce que j'ay marqué cy-dessus. Fait a Londres ce 29^e Janvier 1710/11.⁴

Another hand has written underneath:

³ Wrongly transcribed as 'Touilleu' in the catalogue.

⁴ 'If this account of my journey to Vienna falls into the hands of someone after my death, I beg of him that if he decides that it should be printed, it should be done without adding or subtracting anything. I could have attached several authentic documents and curious observations on the Imperial court and on the political and civil government of the [Habsburg] Hereditary Lands as well as on the cruel persecution that the Hungarians suffered at the instigation of the Jesuits who absolutely governed the late Emperor and still have too much influence on the counsels of Emperor Joseph, but since it is my fate and the will of God that I cannot lead the quiet and secluded life that I had proposed to myself, which I have always longed for, but on the contrary have embraced a completely different one which I will apparently continue for the rest of my days, I very humbly pray to my dear cousin de Toullieu professor in Lingen to whom I intend to leave most of my books and papers in my will, to observe what I have marked above. Written in London this 29th January 1710/11.' I am very grateful to **Dr** Zoe Screti of the Voltaire Foundation for help with this and my other translations from French.

Mon cher ami Monsieur de Vrigny changea de sentiment, et par son testament me
laissa ses manuscrits, et divers papiers de feu monsieur son père.

J. De Fonvive.⁵

The misreading of the name Vrigny in the catalogue published in 1893 had the sad effect that this one chance to link Monsieur de Vrigny to all his other works and activities was missed. In fact, not one of the three names mentioned in these passages was transcribed correctly.

Now that I had the name Vrigny to put into the internet search, a whole world began to open up; but this also led me down a large rabbit hole as I began to discover that the Bodleian cataloguers were not the only ones to have obscured de Vrigny in a bibliographical fog. There are numerous problems with the catalogues and references that are publicly available, and many of the ambiguities would have been resolved by information provided by our manuscripts. This article then, will discuss how I uncovered the identity of de Vrigny, and reveal how he provides a glimpse into a Huguenot network stretching across France, Britain, Ireland, Germany and the Netherlands. I have discovered that an anonymous work on the war in Spain in 1707 was written by him; and that at least one work ascribed to him in various bibliographical records was not by him at all, but by another, near-contemporary de Vrigny. In a future article, I intend to look at the journals themselves and highlight their interest as a historical source, but for the present I have mainly used them to discover often tantalizing pieces of biographical information that provide crucial clues about de Vrigny's previous, and subsequent, life.

To return to De Vrigny's own inscription at the beginning of the Vienna journal, it will be noted that he appears to be sorting out his estate as if in anticipation of his death. There is a very similar note at the front of MS. Rawlinson D. 602 (which from now on I will refer to as the Spain journal). The words appear to be those of a man who can see that his final hour might be near. Apart from the reference to his hopes of a tranquil life being dashed, he mentions his intention to leave his books and manuscripts to de Toullieu in his will. These seem the last acts of an old or sick man, and the mention of a will led me to the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (PCC) wills held in TNA. I knew also that de Vrigny had written his inscription in both journals on 29 January 1711 (New Style), though the Rawlinson catalogue incorrectly gives the date 1712 for the inscription in the Spain journal.

⁵ Wrongly transcribed as 'Dehomives (?)' in the printed catalogue. 'My dear friend Monsieur de Vrigny changed his mind, and by his will left me his manuscripts and various papers of his late father. J. De Fonvive.'

A first search in the PCC wills proved fruitless as there were none indexed under Vrigny. Internet searches, however, linked the name Vrigny to a potential identity for our man. An online listing of 17th- and 18th-century British office-holders⁶ includes one James Philip de Lacombe de Vrigny, a clerk in the Northern and Southern Departments (the offices responsible for foreign affairs), who held this post from 1699 to 1702, and speculates that he is probably one and the same man as James Philip de Lacombe de Vrigny who was naturalized in 1699.⁷ He is noted as having left office in 1702 on his appointment to the service of James Vernon, junior, envoy to Denmark.⁸ The link with the diplomatic service seemed extremely promising. Returning to the PCC wills, a search on Lacombe turned up the will of one John Lacombe,⁹ who was evidently de Vrigny's father. The father does not appear to have had de Vrigny as part of his name, but he refers to his son as 'Phillipp James de Lacombe of Vrigny'. In this will, dated 26 Nov (Old Style) and 7 Dec (New Style) 1701, de Vrigny's father calls himself John Lacombe, of the 'citty of St Hipolite in the country of Sevenes' in France, though he has lived most of his life in Paris. He says that having lived through this time of affliction and grief for his church, God has brought him to this city [London] with five children. His wife, named as Elizabeth Bauchamp [Beauchamp], was at this time still in France, and he expresses a wish to see her in England. He states his age as seventy-five (so he must have been born around 1627); and he mentions a nephew, Lacombe Marmant or Marmont[?]¹⁰ at Lyons, the son of his only brother, Stephen Lacombe, now deceased. He bequeaths all his books and manuscripts to Philip James, his only surviving son.

From John Lacombe's will we learn that the Lacombe family originated in southeastern France, if we assume that 'Sevenes' refers to the Cévennes. There is indeed a commune, St-Hippolyte-du-Fort, in the Cévennes, and while it cannot claim to be a city, it has to be remembered that Lacombe's will had been translated from French, with 'cité' rendered as 'city' though it could be translated as 'large town'. The region was at the centre of the Huguenot uprising known as the War of the Camisards which broke out in 1702.

⁶ *Office-Holders in Modern Britain: Volume 2, Officials of the Secretaries of State 1660-1782*, (London: University of London 1973) index pp. 63-85; available via *British History Online* (BHO).

⁷ Recorded in W. A. Shaw (ed.), *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Ireland 1603-1700* (Huguenot Society Publications, XVIII, Lymington 1911), p. 296.

⁸ Cited in J. F. Chance (ed.), *British Diplomatic Instructions 1689-1789, III Denmark* (Camden 3rd ser., xxxvi), London 1926, p. 22.

⁹ TNA, PROB 11/464/300

¹⁰ The text in the online version of the will is quite indistinct.

Indeed, St-Hippolyte was one of the worst affected communities.¹¹ We also learn from his will that John Lacombe was an educated man, with a collection of books and manuscripts to bequeath.

My disappointment at not discovering the will of Philip James himself was soon dispelled on searching for La Combe as two separate words. The search ‘la combe will’ brought up thirty-six hits of which the will of ‘Phillipp James De La Combe alias James Phillipp La Combe of Saint Ann Westminster, Middlesex’, dated 16 July 1711, was the second.¹² The will is a registered copy and is in English, translated from French. Once again, there is no mention of the title de Vrigny in this document, and a confusing feature of our author is immediately revealed: an ambivalence over the order in which he placed the ‘James/Jacques’ and the ‘Philip/Philippe’ of his name. The beneficiaries of this will include the ‘poor French Protestants, refugees in this country’, money to be distributed by the ‘French Committee of this Citty’. The first beneficiaries named are ‘Mesdemoiselles Sanlecque my kinswomen’, and ‘my sister Priscilla de Lacombe wife of Captaine Lewis Rivall’ (who receives money and his French books). The Rivall connection, as we will see later, proved vital in uncovering another aspect of de Vrigny’s life – his military career – which is only fleetingly alluded to in the will. The overwhelming impression from the will is that de Vrigny was an educated and literary man; apart from the French books, he left books of ‘piety and devotion’ to his mother, ‘fifty volumes in my library and all my English pamphlets’ to ‘Mr Renat de la Combe du Cluzal’, a choice of fifty more books from his library to ‘Mr John Espinasse de Fonvive’, and ‘all my Latin Greek Itallian and other books’ to ‘Peter de Toullieu Law professor at Lingen in Westphalia’. These last two beneficiaries are of course the very men noted in the inscription at the beginning of the Vienna journal. De Fonvive also received fifty pounds so that ‘he may cause two little treatys of David Clarkson to be translated into French which are in a drawer in my chest of drawers’. These are named as ‘Discourse of Liturgies’ and ‘Primitive Episcopacy’, and de Vrigny’s preferred publisher is Abraham Acher of Rotterdam. This bequest proved a crucial clue linking de Vrigny to other contemporary published French sources. De Vrigny bequeathed his manuscripts to Renat de La Combe, to de Fonvive, and to Elias Depeuch jointly, adding that if they think that

¹¹ Bernat, Chrystel, *Une guerre sans épithète: Les Troubles des Cevennes au prisme catholique: Déchirures civiles et violences de religion (vers 1685–vers 1710)* (Paris: Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, 2008), cited in W.G. Monahan., *Let God Arise: The War and Rebellion of the Camisards* (Oxford, 2014; online edn, Oxford Academic, 16 Apr. 2014), <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199688449.001.0001>.

¹² TNA, PROB 11/522/97.

anything is worth publishing from among these, ‘which I am persuaded there is in the collection left by my late father’, then again Acher is to be the preferred printer.

These names reveal that de Vrigny was part of a Huguenot network that had spread from France into England, the Netherlands and Germany. De Toullieu was a cousin and a professor of Law at Lingen; de Vrigny’s mother’s will, proved in 1721, shows that by that date he had become a professor at Groningen in the Netherlands.¹³ De Fonvive was almost certainly the Jean Espinasse de Fonvive who was naturalized at Westminster, 21 March 1688, and elected as a director of the French Hospital of London in 1721.¹⁴ He appears to be the same person as the Jean de Fonvive described in a French Wikipedia entry, where he is said to have been involved in the launch of the Whig newspaper *The Post Man* in 1695, retiring as editor in 1720 to devote himself to the French hospital.¹⁵ Abraham Acher, the Rotterdam publisher, was also a Huguenot exile. According to ECARTICO, a database of biographical material for the ‘cultural industries’ of the Low Countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Acher was born in Dieppe around 1653.¹⁶ A search on works published by him in SOLO reveals that he was active in Rotterdam between 1686 and 1738, publishing many Huguenot and Protestant works, including many by the French Protestant leader and Huguenot exile Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713).

There are other interesting beneficiaries in the will, among them Captain Lewis Rivall, de Vrigny’s brother-in-law, who received not only books and money as mentioned above, but also ‘all my equipage as an officer’ which looks extremely odd in the context of all the literary bequests. A marginal gloss qualifies this equipage as ‘horses’. At this stage there was nothing I had discovered about de Vrigny that suggested a military connection, whereas de Vrigny’s role as an author and literary figure seemed confirmed by the fleeting references to him in a number of online resources. Several library catalogues have references to ‘Lacombe de Vrigny’, and VIAF (the Virtual International Authority File) has attempted to collate these, giving a preferred form of ‘Vrigny, de (Jacques Philippe)’, or ‘La Combe de Vrigny, fl. 1692–1706’. There are four works associated with this entry:¹⁷

¹³ TNA, PROB 11/578/248, will of Elizabeth Beauchamp alias de la Combe, 7 Feb 1721

¹⁴ D. C. A., Agnew, *Protestant exiles from France, chiefly in the reign of Louis XIV; or, The Huguenot refugees and their descendants in Great Britain and Ireland* (Scotland 1886), p. 504.

¹⁵ https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jean_de_Fonvive. See also https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Post_Man.

¹⁶ <https://ecartico.org/persons/25563>

¹⁷ https://viaf.org/viaf/281010187/#La_Combe_de_Vrigny,_de.

1. *Défense du Parlement d'Angleterre dans la cause de Jacques II* (published by Abraham Acher, 1692)
2. *Dissertation sur le Concile de Trente. Dans laquelle on prouve que le Concile General est au dessus du Pape dans les matiers de la foi, & que le Concile n'est pourtant pas infaillible. Par Mr. de V.* (1702)
3. *Lettre de monsieur de Vrigny, contre les antitrinitaires, les tolerans, et les moralistes. Avec des remarques sur un livre latin, intitulé, La religion naturelle* (1693)
4. *Relation en forme de journal, d'un voyage fait en Danemarc, à la suite de Monsieur l'Envoyé d'Angleterre. Avec plusieurs Extraits des Loix de Danemarc, accompagnez de quelques Remarques* (Rotterdam, 1706).

The last of these, an account of the embassy of James Vernon to Denmark in 1702, is particularly interesting in the light of the information given in *Office-Holders in Modern Britain*, that de Vrigny left his secretarial role in 1702 to join this very embassy. Its leader, the courtier, diplomat and Whig MP James Vernon (1677–1756), was envoy to Denmark from 1702 to 1707. He was educated in Utrecht and Rotterdam, and, as we will see, this is probably where he first became acquainted with de Vrigny.

The *Relation en forme de journal* alone can certainly be ascribed to Jacques Philippe de Vrigny, though ironically, it is the only work of the four that does not record the name of its author in some form. An English translation of the work was published in 1707,¹⁸ but this was derived from the French second edition which included several cuts from the first edition. It is necessary to return to the French first edition of 1706 to find a key to the author's long-standing acquaintance with Vernon and to their having mutual Utrecht connections:

Le 11. Mars ... nous vinmes à Utrecht, où M[onsieur] V[ernon] fut attaqué d'un rhume, accompagné d'une fluxion sur un œil, qui l'y fit rester un peu plus longtemps qu'il n'avoit dessein de faire. Nous y vîmes nos anciens amis, qui lui tinrent constamment compagnie.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Travels through Denmark and some parts of Germany: by way of journal in the retinue of the English envoy, in 1702. With extracts of several laws, relating to the Absolute Power of the King, Religion, and Civil Government of the Country: Including, The Military and Maritime State thereof: The whole Illustrated with divers Curious Remarks; and a map of the isle of Huen, &c. Done into English from the French original* (London, 1707).

¹⁹ *Relation en forme de journal, d'un voyage fait en Danemarc ...* (Abraham Acher, Rotterdam, 1706), pp. 14-15. 'On March 11 ... we came to Utrecht, where Mr. V[ernon] was attacked by a cold, accompanied by a sore spot in one eye, which caused him to stay there a little longer which he had not intended to do. We saw our old

Any doubt about the authorship of this work is removed by a reference in the Vienna journal, where de Vrigny alludes to his experiences in Denmark on more than one occasion. For example, on seeing Danish troops in Flanders in July 1705, he recalls having seen them reviewed by the King of Denmark three years before.²⁰

A connection of de Vrigny with the Netherlands, and with James Vernon before the embassy to Denmark in 1702, is also evident in a letter by Pierre Bayle, a moderate Huguenot who sided with those who still endorsed the traditional strategy of remaining loyal to the king of France in the hope of one day being welcomed back. In a letter from Bayle to Mr Silvestre, dated Rotterdam, 1 November 1700,²¹ the writer says that he is using the opportunity of the return of Mr de Vrigny to England to communicate with Silvestre, adding that de Vrigny is ‘auprès de Mr Vernon’ (with Mr Vernon). There is also further evidence of Bayle’s connection with de Vrigny, and of the latter’s presence in Utrecht, in the online edition of Bayle’s correspondence. At the end of a letter by François Janiçon to Bayle, dated Paris, 23 August 1697,²² Janiçon wrote:

J’atten[d]s avec impatience l’effet des promesses de Mr Léers touchant votre Diction[n]aire, dont je vous supplie de lui rafraichir la mémoire, et de me croire toujours Monsieur, votre tres humb[le] et tres obeissant serviteur. Il y a deja long temps qu’une coppie fut envoyée par Mr de La Combe à son fils qui est à Utrecht [sic] avec ordre de le faire voir à mon frere.²³

The ‘Mr de La Combe’ can only be Jacques Phillippe’s father (who uses the name Lacombe in his will), and the ‘fils’ in Utrecht is Jacques Phillippe himself.²⁴ It is a rare reference to the

friends there, who kept him constant company.’

²⁰ ‘*Ce deux regimens sont nationnaux / de l’Isle de Funen ou je les avois vû passer en revue a Odensée / devant le Roy de Danemarc il y a trois ans.* MS. Rawl. D. 601, p. 11.

²¹ *Oeuvres diverses de Mr. Pierre Bayle ... : contenant tout ce que cet auteur a publié sur des matieres de Theologie, de Philosophie, de Critique, d’Histoire & de Litterature ...* ; tome quatrieme, nouvelle edition (La Haye: par la Compagnie des libraires, 1737, letter no. 253).

²² <https://bayle-correspondance.univ-st-etienne.fr/?Lettre-1291-Francois-Janicon-a-Pierre-Bayle> accessed 19 April 2024

²³ ‘I am impatiently awaiting the effect of Mr. Léers’s promises concerning your Dictionary, about which I beg you to refresh his memory, and to believe me always Sir, your very humble and very obedient servant. A long time ago, a copy was sent by Mr. de La Combe to his son who is in Utrecht with orders to show it to my brother.’

²⁴ The metadata associated with this record is erroneous and confusing, identifying the father in the letter as our Jacques Phillippe de Lacombe de Vrigny, attributing to him a son for whom there is no evidence, and naming the latter Philippe Jacques. These identifications are impossible, since (as we will see in the next paragraph of this article) we know our Jacques Phillippe to have been about twenty-five in 1697, and so incapable of having had a son in Utrecht able to accept receipt of a scholarly dictionary in that year. The sender was certainly

father, suggesting that he too moved in intellectual circles, a fact that fits with the importance of his papers, as mentioned in his son's will and as alluded to in de Fonvive's note at the front of the Vienna Journal.

There is further evidence of de Vrigny's Utrecht connection (and even earlier than 1697) in another resource available online, which also allows us to calculate his approximate date of birth. He is listed in a published list of the subscribers to the 'Million Act' of 1692, a government scheme to raise money for William III's armed forces during the Nine Years War with France, as 'Phillip James De La Combe, of Utrecht, in Holland, Gent.', who subscribed £100, with his age given as twenty-one (in 1693), meaning that he must have been born in 1671 or 1672.²⁵ This young age in 1693 makes him very unlikely to have been the author of the two works published in 1692 and 1693, listed in VIAF under his name. We will return later to this Dutch connection which is highly significant in establishing de Vrigny's network and past life.

We must now return to his will, which was registered in July 1711. Having now established that he made this will at the age of 39 or 40, it seemed possible that the timing could have been connected in some way with his reference to being an officer in the bequest he made to Captain Lewis Rivall. As I have said, there is nothing obvious in the will to suggest any military connection apart from this one reference to himself as an officer. Fortunately, however, Jean de Fonvive, who received in this same will fifty pounds so that 'he may cause two little treatys of David Clarkson to be translated into French', did exactly as he was instructed, and the publication which followed in 1716 tells us in its Preface ('Avertissement') that the translation was carried out to satisfy the desire of 'un Homme de merite, qui en mourant legua une somme pour faire traduire', with a footnote that explains that this 'homme de merite' was 'Monsieur de la Combe de Vrigny, Capitaine dans un regiment Anglois, mort au service en Flandres en 1711.'²⁶ So de Vrigny must have drawn up his will, as many soldiers did, in anticipation of possible disaster during military service.

Jacques Philippe's father, and the recipient Jacques Philippe himself. In the metadata associated with another letter by Bayle, there is a further error, identifying our de Vrigny as the author of a work, the *Défense du Parlement d'Angleterre*, which, as we will see in the Appendix to our article, was the work of a different man: <https://bayle-correspondance.univ-st-etienne.fr/?Lettre-891-Pierre-Bayle-a-Vincent>.

²⁵ *A particular account of the moneys paid into the Receipt of Exchequer, upon the late million act, for the benefit of survivorship containing the names of the several nominees, their ages, places of abode, the sums paid upon each nominee's life : as also, the deaths of such nominees as were certified into the office of the Receipt of Exchequer before the 24th of December, 1693 / examined by the Right Honourable Sir Robert Howard, Kt., auditor of the Receipt of Exchequer ; and printed by his direction.*
<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A70274.0001.001>.

There is proof of this in the will of the recipient of his 'equippage', Captain Lewis (an anglicization of Louis) Rivall, which also survives among the PCC records and is also dated 1711 and translated from French.²⁷ Rivall was another Huguenot and, as we have already learnt from de Vrigny's will, the latter's brother-in-law. He had been a professional soldier for many years before 1711²⁸ and his will describes him as 'of Flanders', which immediately raises the possibility that he and de Vrigny served together there, and it begins with the statement that the hour of our death is uncertain, suggesting that he was also anticipating the possibility of death in service. But the key clause that seems to confirm the nature of both this and de Vrigny's wills, is one in which he leaves his equipage to his brother, 'excepting one of my best horses which I leave to Mr. de Vrigny'. This will, 'made at the Camp of Leward the 2/13 June 1711', seems to establish that there was a mutual pact between de Vrigny and Rivall, who were to receive each other's best horses should one or the other die; secondly, it shows that de Vrigny was probably still alive in June 1711, assuming that Rivall was not working on out-of-date information. De Vrigny must have died very shortly afterwards, because as we have seen, his will was registered in London on 16 July. Rivall also died within months, his will being registered 5 February 1712. It seems quite likely that their deaths were in some way connected with one of Marlborough's last campaigns of the War of the Spanish Succession. Lewarde is in France, just over the Belgian border near Douai. The date of de Vrigny's will suggests that he died in late June 1711, and at this time there were various actions taking place as a prelude to the main attack on the French defences, known as the lines of Ne Plus Ultra.

²⁶ *Traitez Historiques de L'Etat Primitif de L'Episcopat et des Liturgies par David Clarkson* (Abraham Acher, Rotterdam, 1716): 'a man of merit who on his death left a sum to make a translation', and (in the footnote) 'Monsieur de la Combe de Vrigny, captain of an English regiment, who died in service in Flanders in 1711.' I am very grateful to Zoe Screti for putting me onto this crucial publication.

²⁷ TNA, PROB 11/525/245.

²⁸ Rivall's career can be traced via the indexes to Charles Dalton, *English army lists and commission registers, 1661-1714*, vols. 3-6 (London 1896-1904). He had been a professional soldier for many years before 1711. A pass issued to him 1 June 1704 to travel to Holland shows that he was then a lieutenant and adjutant in Lord Mordaunt's regiment: MS Records Assembled by the State Paper Office SP 44/391 f.39. The National Archives *State Papers Online*, link.gale.com/apps/doc/MC4331482775/SPOL?u=oxford&sid=bookmark-SPOL&xid=28926502. Mordaunt fought at Blenheim, and was made colonel in the Scots Fusiliers shortly afterwards. Another pass issued to Rivall in March 1705 shows that he was now a captain in the Scots Fusiliers himself: MS Records Assembled by the State Paper Office SP 44/390 f.135. The National Archives *State Papers Online*, link.gale.com/apps/doc/MC4331483931/SPOL?u=oxford&sid=bookmark-SPOL&xid=a6720f94. According to Dalton, his first commission was as ensign in the duke of Monmouth's regiment in 1691, and he transferred to the Scots Fusiliers in 1702. He was still a captain in the same Regiment 8 June 1711, but was replaced 17 October 1711, presumably soon after his death in service.

This discovery also makes sense of another bequest in de Vrigny's will that could easily be overlooked. He left a sum of money to 'Henry Miller my footman (if he be living and with me at my death)', with travel expenses for his return to England, showing that de Vrigny was going abroad, and aware that death might well be imminent. After several false starts, I eventually found de Vrigny as a commissioned officer in Dalton's *English army lists*, receiving a commission as a captain in Lord Strathnaver's regiment, dated 18 December 1710, but appearing under yet another spelling of his name, 'Jas. Philip Lacombe Devrigny'.²⁹ The significance of the date recorded in the front of both the Rawlinson journals (29 January 1711) now also becomes apparent, for de Vrigny was evidently sorting out his estate before leaving for Flanders. He was in fact repeating a journey he had made in 1705, as revealed in his Vienna journal. Nor was the 1711 campaign his first encounter with Marlborough, nor indeed his first military service.

All the fragments of information examined so far have established that de Vrigny had connections with Utrecht before he came to England; that he was given English citizenship in 1699; that he had numerous Huguenot connections such as his cousin Pierre de Toullieu in Lingen, and Abraham Acher the publisher in Rotterdam; that he had been active, at least financially, in supporting the cause of William III and the Grand Alliance in the Nine Years War; and that he had joined the army for Marlborough's last significant campaign in the War of the Spanish Succession in 1711, serving there with his brother-in-law Louis Rivall and dying in service. The two Rawlinson journals are mainly concerned with political, diplomatic, and military matters connected with the earl of Sunderland's embassy to Vienna in 1705, and the earl of Galway's abortive campaign in Spain in 1706. Nevertheless, further biographical details for de Vrigny emerge from the journals themselves in fascinating, if fleeting, references.

One of these, in the Vienna journal, reveals that de Vrigny had fought with William III in Ireland even before he became an English citizen. On 15 October 1705 he was in Vienna, and was given the great honour of accompanying the earl of Sunderland on a tour of the Emperor Joseph I's 'chambre de curiosités'. Among the many precious treasures that he saw on this occasion, which take up several pages of description in the journal, it would be easy to miss a vital piece of biographical information. He was shown the buff coat that the Swedish king Gustavus Adolphus was wearing when he was killed at the Battle of Lutzen in

²⁹ Dalton, *English army lists*, vol. 6, p. 217.

1632, and also the hat of a ‘certain general’, half of which was blown off by a cannon ball, though the wearer was unscathed. This sight brought back a memory for de Vrigny. Such a thing may seem incredible, he muses, but:

cependant j'ai vu le semblable de mes yeux arriver en irlande dans la derniere guerre, au colonel Crismar commandant d'un bataillon des gardes hollandoises du Roy Guillaume de la Grande Bretagne – un boulet luy emporta le haut de la forme du chapeau ne luy effleurant que la peau, et ses amis accourant pour voir s'il etoit blessé. Il dit que ce n'etoit rien et ne quitta point son poste il montoit alors la tranchée.³⁰

So here we discover that de Vrigny was serving in Ireland during William III's campaigns there between 1689 and 1691. William's army contained Huguenot contingents, so it seems quite likely that de Vrigny was serving with them, although it is also possible he had entered a regular Dutch regiment.

Unfortunately, his anecdote does not mention the exact location of the incident, though the mention of a trench might indicate a siege or capture of a town. The unsuccessful attempt to storm Limerick in August 1690 involved Dutch and Huguenot contingents, while the 1691 campaign included a number of such actions, culminating in the taking of Limerick. In 1691 the army was led by the Dutchman Godert de Ginkel, soon to become 1st earl of Athlone. One of his officers was Henry de Massue, earl of Ruvigny, who, as we are shortly to learn, employed de Vrigny as his secretary in Spain, by which time he had become a general and earl of Galway. The ‘Colonel Crismar’, disguised by de Vrigny's French version of his name, would seem to be Colonel Johann Christian von Kretschmar und Flamischdorf (1650—1693). Kretschmar was lieutenant colonel in the Dutch ‘Gardes te voet van Zijne Majestijt’ (H.M. Foot Guards) who were in English service between 1689 and 1699. He was killed at the battle of Landen in 1693.³¹

³⁰ MS. Rawl. D. 601, p. 88. ‘However, I saw the same thing happen with my own eyes in Ireland in the last war, to Colonel Crismar, commander of a battalion of the Dutch guards of King William of Great Britain – a cannonball took away the top of his hat, only grazing his skin, and his friends ran up to see if he was injured. He said it was nothing and did not leave his post, then climbed the trench.’

³¹ F. J. G. ten Raa and F. de Bas (J. W. Wijn), *Het staatsche leger, bewerkt door* (Breda, 1911–), Deel VII, p. 301. I have several people to thank for this reference: Andrew Wheale of the Bodleian, a military researcher, suggested I contact the military historian James Falkner. He very kindly put me in touch with Erik Wauters an independent military researcher from Belgium who introduced me to this invaluable work on the Dutch army, and pointed me to the likely identity of Lt. Gen. ‘de L’Et—’.

A further connection with William III's army can be found in the Spain journal, and, having had to remove a couple of printed works from de Vrigny's authorship, I am glad through it to be able to add a work that hitherto has not been ascribed to him. At the end of the Spain journal, de Vrigny has included, in the words of the 1893 catalogue,

a copy of a letter written by himself from London in 1707 "à Mr. de L'Et... , lieutenant general de cavalerie au service d'Hollande, en luy envoyant le relation precedente de la campagne de 1706 en Espagne".³²

So de Vrigny sent a copy of his journal to 'Mr. de L'Et...', a useful piece of information, given that the journal is itself in the form of an extended letter to an unnamed reader. What the catalogue does not mention, however, is that this was only a partial transcript of the 'lettre', and that a full version was published. After transcribing nine pages of this covering letter to the Dutch officer in his Spain journal, de Vrigny has written in the margin that 'la reste est mot a mot dans la lettre imprimée a Cologne – l'an 1707.'³³ With this note, it was easy to discover that the full letter was indeed published with a Cologne imprint in 1707, as *Lettre écrite de Londres a M. de *** en lui envoyant une Relation de la Campagne de 1706 en Espagne*.³⁴ This printed version is, however, anonymous and it is only de Vrigny's autograph note in his Spain journal that proves his authorship. Furthermore, only this manuscript version of the first part of the *Lettre* in de Vrigny's journal mentions the name (if only part of it), the role and nationality of the intended recipient. As far as I have been able to pursue the matter, it is not known that de Vrigny was the author of the *Lettre écrite de Londres*, and the work is not listed by Barbier³⁵ who presumably only included anonymous works for whom he had been able to establish an author. There seems little doubt that 'Mr. de L'Et_' the Dutch cavalry officer was Nicolaas de L'Estang.³⁶ The name Estang was often written 'Etang', and in his writings de Vrigny uses both the older and more modern forms of French spelling for many words, so that one can find both 'estre' and 'être', and 'mesme' and 'même' in his work.

³² 'to Mr. de L'Et... , lieutenant general of cavalry in the service of Holland, on sending him the foregoing relation of the campaign of 1706 in Spain.'

³³ MS. Rawl. D. 602, pp. 181-189. 'The rest is word for word in the letter printed at Cologne in the year 1707.'

³⁴ There is reason to believe that the work was actually printed in the Netherlands, but this is not the place to discuss this aspect of book history.

³⁵ For Barbier see the discussion of other works attributed to de Vrigny below.

³⁶ Once again I am indebted to Erik Wauters for suggesting this name, and for finding the reference in ten Raaij and de Bas, *Het staatsche leger*, p. 263.

Nicolaas, or to give him his French name, Nicolas de L'Estang, was evidently another Huguenot exile. He is mentioned in a letter from Constantyn Huygens to his brother Christiaan Huygens, dated 21 November 1690.³⁷ A brief outline of his career appears in a footnote to the printed edition of this letter, telling us that de L'Estang had served in the French army until 1687, but then fled to The Hague. In 1688 he was made a lieutenant in the Prince of Orange's Lifeguard, and followed him to England, becoming a brigadier in 1691, and general in 1696. He died in The Hague in 1712. It seems highly likely that de Vrigny had known him from this English service, and *La France Protestante* links his name to the recruitment of Huguenots at The Hague for William III's expedition to seize the British throne in 1688.³⁸

The Bodleian has a copy of the Cologne edition of the *Lettre écrite de Londres*, bound up with other works in a vellum binding with a title on the spine of 'VII. Traitez Historiq. & Politiques concernant la Grande Bretagne 1704-1714.'³⁹ This little collection was only acquired by the Library in the later 19th century, so I was amazed to find evidence in the Bodleian's copy of the *Lettre* that it had been in de Vrigny's hands. On page 17, he has made a correction, deleting the word 'prendre' in the sentence 'j'eus loin prendre leur avis', and replacing it with 'suivre', changing the meaning from 'I was far from taking their advice', to 'I was far from following their advice'. It is pure good fortune that de Vrigny should have written a word containing the letter 'i' because he had a very distinctive way of dotting the 'i' without lifting the pen. I have traced four copies of this work in library collections through online searches. Apart from the Bodleian's copy, the British Library has one; there is one in Dresden; and there is another at Columbia University in New York. Images of the London and Dresden copies are available online.⁴⁰ Both have the same correction on page 17 in de Vrigny's distinctive handwriting, and an enquiry to Columbia University has revealed that its copy too has this same alteration.⁴¹ We do not know how many copies de Vrigny had

³⁷ Letter no. 2635 in Société hollandaise des sciences, *Oeuvres complètes de Christiaan Huygens*, Tome IX, Correspondance 1685-1690 (La Haye, 1901).

³⁸ Eugène Haag and Émile Haag, *La France protestante : ou, Vies des protestants français qui se sont fait un nom dans l'histoire...* (Paris; Geneva, 1846-59), vol. VI, p. 425.

³⁹ Antiq. f. X. 6. At the time of writing, the Bodleian has attached this work to (incorrect) ESTC version of his name in the catalogue under Lacombe de Urigny. I hope this will be a temporary measure before the findings outlined in this article can contribute to a complete reformation of his bibliographical details.

⁴⁰ The British Library copy has been digitized by Google Books, <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=XE1iAAAACAAJ>; The Dresden copy is in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats - und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, and the digital version can be accessed via <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/113784/1>.

⁴¹ My thanks to Jane Siegel, Rare Book Librarian in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Columbia University, who checked the work and sent me an image of the page.

published, but it cannot have been very many, because it appears that he corrected them himself before they were distributed.

The *Lettre* is essentially a justification of the actions of de Vrigny's patron the earl of Galway who in 1707 came in for severe censure and criticism following the defeat of the allies in Spain at the Battle of Almanza in 1707, which effectively ended the hopes of Archduke Charles, the Habsburg claimant to the Spanish throne, of winning that crown by force of arms. De Vrigny used his own experiences in Spain in 1706, as described in his journal, to explain the political and military circumstances there, and the difficulties faced by Galway, trying to deflect what he regarded as unjustified criticism. De Vrigny was lining up with the Whigs in an issue that was dividing the British political nation, with Marlborough and Godolphin and their Whig allies determined to prosecute the war against France ('no peace without Spain'), while the Tories began to talk of peace and extrication from a ruinously costly war.

De Vrigny's work may well be one of the earliest in the field on this matter. The Huguenot writer Abel Boyer included a piece in the *Post Boy* on 1 January 1708 asserting that Galway had received positive orders to attack the Bourbons in Spain, and as a result he was called before the House of Lords investigation into Almanza to declare his authority for the statement.⁴² It is even possible that Boyer had received a copy of de Vrigny's *Lettre écrite de Londres*. De Vrigny was clearly very much a part of this Whig nexus. The patrons connected most closely with his career, James Vernon, the earl of Sunderland and the earl of Galway were all staunch Whigs. I have already discussed the Vernon connection; Charles Spencer, 3rd earl of Sunderland (1675–1722), like Vernon, attended university in the Netherlands, at Leiden. His appointment as envoy to Vienna was his first major posting; from 1708 to 1710 he was a member of the Whig Junto that controlled the government under the guiding hand of the 'duumvirs' Marlborough and Godolphin. Henri de Massue, 2nd marquis de Ruvigny, earl of Galway (1648–1720) was a French Huguenot soldier, who fled France in 1690 and entered the service of William III. We have a little more solid evidence about de Vrigny's role in relation to Galway which we lack for his role in the Sunderland embassy. In the State Papers in the National Archive there is a pass issued to de Vrigny, secretary to the

⁴² Charles G. D. Littleton, 'Abel Boyer and Other Huguenot Reporters of Parliament: Hansard *Avant la Lettre*?' in Vivienne Larminie (ed.), *Huguenot Networks, 1560–1780, The Interactions and Impact of a Protestant Minority in Europe* (New York, 2017), pp. 62-3.

earl of Galway, to go to Portugal with his servant, Dennis Bryan, dated 30 March 1706.⁴³ He must only have been waiting for this to begin his journey as the journal begins with him leaving London on the first of April.

There is one last fragment of biographical information in the Vienna journal which might point towards one further connection. While visiting Nuremberg town hall, de Vrigny saw a painting by Dürer, and another work representing St. Luke drawing a portrait of the Virgin Mary. In the margin of the journal he has added:

J'ay vû depuis a Venise la meme representation en sculpture petit qu'il fit avec la pointe d'un couteau dans les prisons de cette ville lequel on garde comme un chef d'œuvre dans le petit arsenal des nobles.⁴⁴

We know that de Vrigny put the finishing touches to his journals in January 1711 before setting off for Flanders. He had returned from his Spanish mission later in 1706, so that his visit to Venice must have occurred between 1707 and 1709. It seems to me, given his role in Denmark in 1702, Germany and Austria in 1705 and Iberia in 1706, that there is a very high probability that this Italian episode was in some way connected with the diplomatic mission to the Venetian Republic undertaken by Charles Montagu, earl of Manchester, who arrived in Venice in July 1707 and left in October 1708. Charles Montagu (c. 1662–1722) had been a great supporter of the Revolution in 1688, and had, like Galway and of course de Vrigny himself, served with William III in Ireland. The 'petit arsenal des nobles' mentioned here was within the Doge's Palace.⁴⁵

If de Vrigny was involved with this embassy, he was back in England by 30 March 1709 which is the date of a letter from him to the earl of Sunderland, now in the British Library.⁴⁶ This letter is interesting for a number of reasons. It shows that de Vrigny was unemployed at the time, because it is a plea for the earl to take him into service or to use his

⁴³ MS Records Assembled by the State Paper Office SP 44/390 f.411. The National Archives. *State Papers Online*, link.gale.com/apps/doc/MC4331582395/SPOL?u=oxford&sid=bookmark-SPOL&xid=c7671ec9.

⁴⁴ MS. Rawlinson D. 601, p. 29. 'I have since seen in Venice the same representation in a small sculpture made with the point of a knife in the prisons of this city which is kept as a masterpiece in the small arsenal of the nobles.'

⁴⁵ 'Within the palace there is a little arsenal, which communicates with the hall of the great council. Here a great number of muskets are kept, ready charged, with which the nobles may arm themselves on any sudden insurrection, or other emergency'. John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*, vol. 1 (Dublin, 1781).

⁴⁶ Add MS 61546 ff. 124–125. My thanks to Dr Alice Zamboni, Curator of Modern Archives and Manuscripts at the BL, for locating this letter. The handwriting of the letter matches that in the Rawlinson journals.

influence to find a diplomatic posting. In the letter, which is written in English and contains several grammatical errors that appear to be French idioms,⁴⁷ de Vrigny begs the earl to recall how he had held de Vrigny in high regard. It seems that a return to Vienna had been mooted, but that the ‘earl of B’ no longer seemed to be going there, which had dashed his hopes. He mentions that the ‘Duke of M’ himself had been ‘well dispos’d towards me’ as he had ‘told me several times’. It might be thought that this refers to Marlborough, but de Vrigny goes on to regret the death of this lord: ‘I have lost a great intercessor by his death’. The only duke who fits the bill appears to be Ralph Montagu, 1st duke of Montagu, who had died 9 March 1709. Montagu’s son, John Montagu, had married Marlborough’s daughter Mary in 1705, which made John a brother-in-law to Sunderland. De Vrigny hopes that Sunderland can gain him a diplomatic posting at Ratisbon. A friend who speaks often to the Lord Treasurer (Godolphin) has told him that such a position was in the gift only of a Minister of State (Sunderland was Secretary of State for the Southern Department from 1706 to 1710). De Vrigny plaintively describes himself as ‘being useless in the world ... having no other patron’ but Sunderland. This sad letter goes a long way to explaining how it was that de Vrigny ended up taking a captain’s commission in the army at the age of thirty-nine or forty.

The revelation in the letter of the Montagu link lends further weight to the idea that de Vrigny might have been with Charles Montagu in Venice, because Charles was Ralph Montagu’s cousin, though a fairly distant one. Certainly de Vrigny seems to emphasize the importance of Ralph Montagu’s support, and there is further evidence of a connection revealed by Barbara Julien in a work on Huguenot networks. In uncovering the connections of the Huguenot exile Alexander Sasserie of Paris, London and Thorpe-le-Soken, she has shown that Sasserie was a key figure among London and Essex Huguenots, who seems to have begun to make connections in England even before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, probably through his relationship with the English ambassador in Paris, who was none other than Ralph Montagu. What makes this even more interesting from our point of view is that Sasserie was a kinsman of de Vrigny, having married Marie Beauchamp, the sister of de Vrigny’s mother, Elizabeth. Barbara Julien has found that Sasserie’s legal knowledge was much sought after, and has identified at least twelve Huguenot wills in which he is named as a trustee, executor or witness, including those of two of the children of his sister-in-law Elizabeth Beauchamp de Lacombe: Jane (Jeanne), and that of ‘Phillipp James ... alias James Phillipp’ (who is of course our Jacques Philippe). Citing the will of John

⁴⁷ For example, he writes: ‘can your Lordship want other opportunities if she is so well dispos’d towards me...’

(Jean) de Lacombe, de Vrigny's father, Julien notes that he requests Sasserie to look after the interests of his family in the absence of their mother, who remained in France until after her husband's death in 1702, because 'the kindness which he hath for me and my family do make me hope it from his friendship.'⁴⁸ Barbara Julien's research shows that the de Lacombe and the Beauchamps were well-connected and probably quite wealthy families, and this is corroborated by de Vrigny's subscription to the Million Act as noted above, and by the subscription of two of his mother's sisters to the new Bank of England in 1694, which was also created partly to fund William III's war against France.⁴⁹

Appendix: false attributions

The Bodleian Library has a copy of the second, English edition of de Vrigny's *Travels through Denmark*.⁵⁰ The English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC) record for this work creates a problem in having the author as '---- de la Combe de Urigny; also attributed to Baron de la Hontan'. It is not entirely clear where this second possible attribution originates. It was certainly a problem by the time of the publication of the great work of biography, *La France Protestante* in the mid-19th century, which introduces a further bibliographical conundrum. Here there is an entry for de Vrigny, in which it is stated that, as

secrétaire de l'envoyé d'Angleterre auprès de la cour de Danemark, nous est connu par sa *Relation en forme de journal d'un voyage fait en Danemark à la suite de M. l'envoyé d'Angleterre*, Rott., 1706 Outre cet ouvrage, dont d'autres regardent La Hontan comme l'auteur, Barbier lui attribue la *Défense du parlement d'Angleterre dans la cause de Jacques II*, Rott., 1692...⁵¹

La France Protestante, then, introduces the idea that de Vrigny was the author of another work, the *Défense du parlement d'Angleterre* of 1692, and cites Barbier as the source for this information. Antoine-Alexandre Barbier (1765–1825) was a librarian and bibliographer who compiled a directory of anonymous French works, the *Dictionnaire des*

⁴⁸ Barbara Julien, 'Alexander Sasserie of Paris, London and Thorpe-le-Soken', in Larminie, *Huguenot Networks*, pp. 123-136.

⁴⁹ Robin Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain*, vol. III (Liverpool University Press, 2023), p. 154, Table VII.2, West London women identified as Huguenots and initial subscribers to the Bank in 1694.

⁵⁰ 8^o Rawl. 366.

⁵¹ Haag and Haag, *La France protestante*, vol. VI, p. 179. 'secretary to the English envoy to the court of Denmark, is known to us by his *Relation in the form of a journal of a journey made to Denmark with Monsieur the English envoy*, Rott., 1706... . In addition to this work, of which others regard La Hontan as the author, Barbier attributes to him the *Defence of the Parliament of England in the Cause of James II*, Rott., 1692...].'

ouvrages anonymes.⁵² However, this work merely states that the *Défense* is ‘par de Vrigny’, which for reasons that will become apparent, leaves the possibility of misunderstanding wide open. The true identity of its author can be gleaned from the dedication at the beginning of the *Défense*, where the author glories in his descent from the French Protestant writer Mornay du Plessis (1549—1623)⁵³, addressing the ‘seigneurs’ of the States of Holland and West Friesland:

Neanmoins ayans l’honneur d’être descend de Monsieur du Plessis Mornay ... J’ai cru qu’en consideration de l’Ayeul dont la memoire ne vous est pas indifferente, vous supporteriez la hardiesse du petit fils, & que vous recevriez avec quelque bonté, les foibles marques du zele qu’il a herité de lui.⁵⁴

This remark has led several scholars to assume that our Lacombe de Vrigny was the grandson of Mornay du Plessis.⁵⁵ But the truth is that Jacques Philippe de Lacombe de Vrigny did not write the *Défense*, and it would have been extraordinary had he done so: the work was published in 1692 and reveals a detailed knowledge of the Dutch and English constitutions that our author (then aged around twenty-one) is very unlikely to have had at the time. The *Défense* should instead be ascribed to Philippe Le Clerc de Juigné, sieur de Vrigny, another Huguenot who was very active in this period (for instance, as part of a delegation of Huguenots at the negotiations that led to the Peace of Ryswick in 1697), and who was indeed descended from Mornay du Plessis (though in reality his great-grandson, not grandson).⁵⁶

⁵² Antoine-Alexandre Barbier, *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes et pseudonymes : composés, traduits ou publiés en français, avec les noms des auteurs, traducteurs et éditeurs; accompagné de notes historiques et critiques* (Paris, 1806-1809).

⁵³ Philippe de Mornay, known as Du-Plessis-Mornay or Mornay Du Plessis

⁵⁴ ‘Nevertheless, having the honour of being descended from Monsieur du Plessis Mornay ... I believed that in consideration of the Grandfather whose memory is not indifferent to you, you would support the boldness of the grandson, and that you would receive with some kindness, the weak marks of zeal that he inherited from him.’

⁵⁵ For example Guy Howard Dodge, *The Political theory of the Huguenots of the Dispersion* (New York, 1947), p. 130; Bethany Wiggin, *Novel Translations: The European Novel and the German Book, 1680–1730* (Cornell University Press, 2011), pp. 158-159 [Project MUSE. doi:10.1353/book.26238]; TILLET, Edouard. *La constitution anglaise au temps de Louis XIV: Discours polémiques et enjeux théoriques (1688-1715)* In: *La constitution anglaise, un modèle politique et institutionnel dans la France des lumières* [online]. Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires d’Aix-Marseille, 2001. Available online <<http://books.openedition.org/puam/1457>>.

⁵⁶ In another work, he correctly identifies himself as a great-grandson. A single sheet broadside, the *Illustrissimi Domini Roberti Boyle epitaphium. Hic jacet Robertus Boyle natus anno salutis M.DC.XXXVII. Januarii XXV* (London, 1692) ends with the following lines: ‘Hoc reverentiæ suæ omniumque Gallorum exulum grati animi monumentum inscripsit de Vrigny nobilis Gallus Plessiaci Mornaei pronepos.’, which translates approximately as ‘This memorial of his reverence and of the grateful spirit of all French exiles was inscribed by the noble Frenchman de Vrigny, great-grandson of Mornay du Plessis.’ For Le Clerc family connections, see "Famille Le Clerc de Juigné." Wikipédia, l’encyclopédie libre; see also F. van Deijk, ‘Elie Benoist (1640-1728), historiographer and politician after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes’, *Dutch Review of Church History*, 69

Several modern works have conflated Le Clerc with Lacombe de Vrigny, and understandably so given the similarity of names (down to the common use of Philippe as a first name) and the involvement of both in exiled Huguenot circles, but Le Clerc was considerably older than Lacombe de Vrigny: he had been thrown into the Bastille for his religion in 1685.⁵⁷

What I have discovered so far about Jacques Philippe de Lacombe de Vrigny, in providing an insight into his religious and political connections, and placing his life and work in the context of his other known publications and activities, makes an exploration of the journals a more meaningful and rewarding exercise. The journals are interesting for the light they shed on a number of subjects: the diplomatic negotiations in Vienna with the Hungarian rebels; the obscure military campaign in Spain in 1706; the ceremonies and entertainments of the Habsburg court; the hazards of travelling in Europe in wartime; and much else besides. These would have been interesting times for a traveller on the continent, with war raging in many theatres. But de Vrigny was no ordinary traveller: he saw things from the inside with the eye of a participant in events, and met key players, including Marlborough and the Emperor Joseph I. As one of the ‘parcel of notable Whigs’⁵⁸ that Sunderland was said to have brought on his 1705 embassy, he certainly had his own views on the events unfolding before him. In a future article I intend to discuss the contents of de Vrigny’s two journals in more detail.

(1989), p. 71, who correctly identifies Philippe Leclerc de Juigné, Sieur de Vrigny, as a Huguenot delegate at the Peace of Ryswick.

⁵⁷ This problem of identity was an issue as long ago as 1868, when a review in a French journal pointed out that there were two de Vrignys in *La France Protestante*, and that there were insufficient biographical details to distinguish them: Jules Chavannes, in *Bulletin Historique et Littéraire (Société de l’Histoire Du Protestantisme Français)*, vol. 17, no. 1, 1868, pp. 42–48. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24286033>.

⁵⁸ HMC, Hare MSS. 204, cited in H.L. Snyder, *op. cit.*, p. 38.