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# THE HUGUENOTS OF SCOTLAND

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SCOTLAND never attracted a large number of Huguenot refugees, despite its Calvinist links with Protestant France. The reasons for this are various: there was no previously-established Huguenot community, as there was in London and other places in England; also geography and a lack of economic opportunities must have played a part in discouraging settlers. However, there was a significant Huguenot community in the city of Edinburgh, and an organised French church there from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup>

The whole topic of Huguenots in Scotland is a difficult one to research because, unlike England and Ireland, where Huguenot presence is well attested and well researched, most people are unaware that there were any Huguenots in Scotland. Furthermore, these French Protestants are often confused with Flemish migrants, of whom there were many in the Middle Ages and after. One big problem is lack of Huguenot documentation: a woman called Jeanne Carlier applied to the French Hospital (an old people's home) in London on July 12<sup>th</sup> 1799. She had a written statement from Simon Proy of Picardy, near Edinburgh.

This is to certify that Jean Carlier is a descendant of the French, a further proof could be given had not all the registers of the Descendants of the French hear been lost at the Death of Mr Du Pont, minister of the French church hear, (signed) Simon Proye Nov 6<sup>th</sup> 1799, Picardy near Edinburgh,<sup>2</sup>

Mr Pierre Du Pont had died in 1786, only 13 years before this statement, yet, if we are to believe Simon Proy, by 1799 all documentation produced by this congregation had disappeared. This

<sup>1</sup> Robin Gwynn, personal communication, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2015. See footnotes 6 and 9, below, for some bibliographical details.

<sup>2</sup> *Huguenot Society Quarto Series*, vol. 52, see entry for Jeanne Carlier.

is not a unique situation; there are many other Huguenot settlements in England and Ireland (for example Ipswich, Exeter, Waterford and Cork) for which we have no surviving registers, yet since the Edinburgh community was (as far as we know) the only Huguenot community in Scotland, this state of affairs is much to be regretted. Nevertheless, all is not lost. It is possible to piece together something of the story, using other records and previous research. Other examples of this detective approach are Alicia St Leger's work on the Huguenots of Cork, and Joyce Best's research on the Huguenots of Lisburn.<sup>3</sup>

Sadly though, a further problem is that a lot of the previous research is outdated and/or unreliable. For example the Rev. David Agnew's *Protestant Exiles from France* (first published in 1866, and again in 1874 and 1886) is a massive compilation of Huguenot material, including many extracts from church registers which at that point has not yet been published by anyone, since the Huguenot Society of London didn't come into existence until 1885. Agnew was himself a Scot, and included much Scottish information of value in this work, yet he also repeated some half-truths and myths which have had to be refuted by later historians.

However, the reader fares better with three articles from the *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London/Great Britain*.<sup>4</sup> David Easson's work, although over sixty years old now, is of value since it is carefully researched and deals with specific evidence from a legal case which occurred within the Edinburgh French congregation in the opening years of the eighteenth century. Anthony Springall's study of the linen weavers of the village of Picardy looks at an early

<sup>3</sup> A. St Leger, *Silver, Sails & Silk* (Cork: Cork Civic Trust, 1991); E. Joyce Best, *The Huguenots of Lisburn: The Story of the Lost Colony* (Lisburn: Lisburn Historical Society, 1997).

<sup>4</sup> D. E. Easson, 'French Protestants in Edinburgh', *Huguenot Society Proceedings* 18 (1950), pp. 325–344; Anthony Springall, 'A Huguenot Community in Scotland: the Weavers of Picardy', *Huguenot Society Proceedings* 27 (1998), pp. 97–109; Matthew Glozier, 'Huguenots and Scots: some 17<sup>th</sup>-century Theological, Social and Military Connexions', *Huguenot Society Proceedings* 27 (2002), pp. 692–704.

eighteenth century settlement in Edinburgh which is richly documented and links in with wider Huguenot history in France and London. Matthew Glozier's 2002 study of links between Scottish and French Calvinists profits from his wide knowledge of military history in the early modern period. Taken together, these three sources synthesize much of what we can know about the Huguenots of Scotland.

### *Huguenot Links*

In sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were close links between Scottish Calvinists and French Calvinists: this is hardly surprising since we should remember that Calvinism was a French invention. Jean Calvin was born in the town of Noyon in Picardy, northern France, and spent much of his adult life in French-speaking Geneva. It was he who gave French Protestantism its theology, and also its internal church organisation. The Scottish presbytery and the French consistory are more or less the same. These close links were not so much a reflection of 'the auld alliaunce' as an expression of the need for co-religionists to stick together. Indeed, if Marie de Guise and Mary Queen of Scots represented the auld alliaunce, then it was a Catholic connection. After 1560 Scotland was definitely a Calvinist country and was there was a keen awareness of events in France. An entry in the Aberdeen kirk register for 1572 curses the French king for his betrayal of the Protestants, the St Bartholomew massacre and the murder of Admiral Coligny:

Jaispart of Culleyne , grypt admerall of france, was cruelly murthered in paris onder colluir of frendschip at the kyng of Nawerin's brydell and onder nycht be the moost cursitt kyng of France, mansuir his bond..<sup>5</sup>  
(Gaspard de Coligny, great admiral of France, was cruelly murdered in Paris, under guise of friendship at the King of Navarre's wedding,

<sup>5</sup> Rev. D. A. Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France* (Edinburgh: privately published, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 1886), vol. 1, p. 101.

by no less than the most cursed King of France, in spite of his promise.)

Above all these links consisted of an interchange of people, mostly ministers and scholars. For example we know that Pierre de Marsilliers taught young Andrew Melville Greek at Montrose 1557–8. But there were also Scots who went to France, under differing circumstances. John Knox (*c.*1514–1572) was amongst a group of Scottish Protestants who took shelter in St Andrews castle, in April 1547. On 31<sup>st</sup> July the castle surrendered to the French forces of Marie de Guise. The men were taken prisoner and made galley slaves, a fate Huguenot prisoners would also suffer in the following centuries. Since a galley was the equivalent of a floating concentration camp, with harsh labour, severe punishments and short life expectancy, Knox was lucky to survive. In summer 1548 the galleys returned to Scotland and in February 1549 the Scots prisoners were released. John Knox subsequently spent a lot of time living and preaching in the French-speaking Calvinist ambience of Geneva.

Other Scottish divines played important roles as academics at Huguenot academies, and as ministers. These academies were founded at several places in France (or on its borders) principally to provide an education for young men destined for the pastorate. Andrew Melville (1545–1622), the ex-pupil of Pierre de Marsilliers, went to Paris in 1564 and was taught by Pierre de la Ramée (who was later killed in the 1572 massacre). In 1566 Melville went to Poitiers, then to Geneva. He spent the last eleven years of his life at the Academy of Sedan, which was then an important Protestant centre, situated in an independent principality, ruled by a Protestant ducal family. John Cameron (*c.*1579–1625) was born in Glasgow. He later went to Bordeaux, and was then offered the chair of Philosophy at Sedan (1602–4). He then taught in Paris and Geneva, was Professor of divinity at Saumur (1618–1622). He was later Professor of Divinity at Montauban (1624–5) He died 1625 in suspicious circumstances, possibly assassinated in the troubled religious upheavals of the 1620s. Gilbert Primerose: (*c.*1568–1642) was born in Edinburgh, and educated



at St Andrews. He crossed over to France and became minister of the Huguenot church at Mirambeau (Saintonge), then at Bordeaux. He had to leave France in 1623 because of an act forbidding foreign ministers to work there, so he became one of the ministers of the French church of London. He died in 1642. He knew John Cameron well.<sup>6</sup>

The 'auld alliaunce' did have some influence on our story, for its existence over some time meant that there was a settled population of merchants, soldiers and others in France of Scottish ancestry. A good example of this is the Kirke brothers (David, Louis and Thomas) from Dieppe, who had a Scottish father, and a French Huguenot mother. These bi-cultural individuals took part in the 1629 capture of Quebec from the French by English privateers, and were only forced to return the city to France when it was realised that a peace treaty had been signed one month before.<sup>7</sup> After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 some of these Scottish/ Frenchmen would have to take refuge in England, for example Elias Nisbet, born at Mirambeau near Bordeaux, of a Scots father, who was endenized in England in 1687. Louis de Ramsay, born at Luman near Orleans, endenized in 1688, and George Burnett, born at Epernay in Champagne, of Scots parents, who was naturalized in 1699.<sup>8</sup> There is also some evidence of some 'returnees' from this Scottish/French community participating in Huguenot life in England. During the period 1670-1690 three of the elders of the Threadneedle St French church in London were born at Pittenweem in Fifeshire.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Robin Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain—Crisis, Renewal and the Ministers' Dilemma* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2015), vol. 1, p. 382.

<sup>7</sup> Charles W. Baird, *Huguenot Emigration to America* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1966), vol. 1, p. 114.

<sup>8</sup> William A. Shaw, *Letters of Denization & Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Ireland, 1603-1700* (Huguenot Society of London Quarto Series, vol. XVIII, 1911).

<sup>9</sup> Robin Gwynn, *Officers of the French Church of London, 1650-1700* (unpublished monograph, 1968); *Huguenot Heritage* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), p. 209.

*Huguenots in 16<sup>th</sup>- and Early 17<sup>th</sup>-century Scotland*

To return to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, in 1586 King James of Scotland gave Royal Licence to French Protestants and ministers to live in Scotland, for example Joachim Du Moulin, a pastor from Orleans. In the same year the town council of Edinburgh welcomed French refugees and ministers. There was some talk of their having a separate church, but nothing eventuated. In fact they used the ordinary Scottish kirks, and they show up in their registers. Thus for example we find in the Edinburgh register for 6<sup>th</sup> August 1595 the baptism of William, son of Pasques Tollet (a marykin-maker) of Edinburgh. (The word 'marykin' comes from 'moroccan'—this man was a leather worker). Also on the 30<sup>th</sup> June 1601, again in Edinburgh, we find the marriage of Jacques de la Bare and Anna Damarris.<sup>10</sup>

Also, we know of French students at Scottish universities. Again, Agnew gives a list of French MAs at Edinburgh University. There is much evidence of French people as servants to the aristocracy and as teachers, dancing and fencing masters, especially in the Edinburgh Burgess rolls. However the question is, are all these people Protestants? Claude Bucellis, a French music teacher in Edinburgh in 1627 and Henry Chaſtain, servant to Sir Alexander Hay in 1611, are just names.<sup>11</sup>

Certainly there were some French Protestants living in Edinburgh. One family we know something about is that of L'Anglois (or Inglis). Esther L'Anglois was born in London 1571. She came to Edinburgh in 1574 with her father, Nicholas (a French schoolmaster) and mother, Marie Presot, who was a skilled calligrapher. She learnt from her mother and became expert in fancy handwriting. She had many aristocratic patrons and was described as 'L'unique et souveraine dame de la plume.' She married a Scot and died in 1624.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Agnew, *Exiles*, vol. 1, p. 256.

<sup>11</sup> David Dobson, *Huguenot and Scots Links, 1575-1775* (Baltimore: Clearfield Company, 2005).

<sup>12</sup> Agnew, *Exiles*, vol. 1, p. 102.

However, none of this evidence adds up to an actual Huguenot community in Scotland in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. These people emerge from the written records as isolated individuals or families, not as an organised whole.

*Huguenots in Edinburgh, late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.*

Organized French worship in Edinburgh began in 1682. Marie and Catherine Sochons presented a *témoignage* from Edinburgh to the French Church of London on the 19<sup>th</sup> April of that year.<sup>13</sup> In the same year the Provost, magistrates and Town Council allowed the use of Lady Yeſter's kirk in the High St Wynd for French worship. Agnew ſtates there were two miniſters: Francis Loumeau Du Pont and his father Philip Du Pont (from Sauzé in Poitou). In fact it ſeems the elder Du Pont never officiated in Edinburgh ſince he was granted an Anglican living in England ſoon after.<sup>14</sup>

In 1687 Lady Yeſter's Kirk was needed for the Scottish Canongate pariſhioners, ſo the French had to worſhip in Common Hall of the University. Agnew ſays a new church may have been built for them in the Canongate, but there is no proof of this. We do know, however, that two ſilver cups inſcribed '*Pour l'église Françoise d'Edimbourg*' were donated to Trinity College church in 1813.

*Ministers*

In 1693 the Miniſters' ſalaries were financed by an official duty of 2d per pint on wine and beer. This amounted to 2,000 merks Scots p.a. (£111/2/2d).<sup>15</sup> François Loumeau Du Pont (who died 1726) and his ſon,

<sup>13</sup> William & Susan Minet (eds), *Livre des Témoignages de l'Eglise de Threadneedle St, 1669-1789* (London: Huguenot Society of London Quarto Series Vol. XXI, 1909), p. 247.

<sup>14</sup> Gwynn, *Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain*, p. 277.

<sup>15</sup> Agnew, *Exiles*, vol. 2, p. 518.

Pierre Loumeau Du Pont (who died in 1786, at 87 years of age) served this church for the whole of its existence. Since there were officially two ministers, they served alongside others, namely: Jean Le Fevre (1693–d.1712), Joseph Brumeau Moulinar (1714–1723), Jean Rodolphe Tarin (1725–d.1741), and Jean Baptiste Beuzeville (1741–d.1771). Things were not always harmonious: in 1701 two wealthy members of the congregation, (James Leblanc and Pierre Petit) indicted the Pastors before Presbytery, accusing Le Fevre of drunkenness and unseemly behaviour with a young woman and complaining of Du Pont's Anglican re-ordination. However it blew over; Le Fevre served till his death in 1712, and Petit left money to the church at his death in 1711. Francois Du Pont died in 1726.<sup>16</sup>

The last minister, Pierre Du Pont, outlived all his congregation. His death in 1786 saw the end of the church. James Boswell said of him 'The old minister's orthodoxy seemed narrow, but his piety and worth were valuable.'<sup>17</sup>

### *The Congregation*

We learn about the congregation from municipal records, apprenticeship records, naturalisations, burial records and occasional mentions in Huguenot records in England. Many seem to have been skilled craftsmen, attracted to Edinburgh by the presence of a market for their products amongst the Scottish aristocracy and gentry. This community seems to have been more like a miniature Westminster than a little Spitalfields, although there were a few weavers. Trades represented include feltmakers and hatters, watchmakers, periwig-makers, gilders and japanners, and at least one confectioner, a perfumer, a jeweller, a gunsmith, an upholsterer, several fringe-

<sup>16</sup> D. E. Easson, 'French Protestants in Edinburgh', *Huguenot Society Proceedings* 18 (1950), pp. 325–344.

<sup>17</sup> Easson, p. 344, quoting *Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle*, vol. 14 (Mount Vernon, N. Y.: William E. Rudge, 1932), p. 153.

makers, a furrier, a vintner, a button-maker, a surgeon, a sailmaker, a tailor and a cook.

The legal papers connected with the 1701 complaint against the ministers also yield quite a few names from the congregation, including one of the elders, Abraham Quesney.<sup>18</sup>

The burial records of Grey Friar's Kirkyard contain many French names. It seems there was a 'Frenchman's ground'—part of the kirkyard reserved for French burials.<sup>19</sup> Amongst the burials we find:

16<sup>th</sup> March 1694 Paul Roumieu, watchmaker

23<sup>rd</sup> January 1703 a child of Daniel Lashagett, a Frenchman

9<sup>th</sup> May 1712 Mr John La Ferre, French Minister of the Gospel in Edinburgh. (This is the Jean Le Fevre of the legal case, mentioned above)

26<sup>th</sup> December 1713 Mr Peter Cherintone, Lt in Strathnaver's regiment. 'Buried in the Frenchman's ground'

8<sup>th</sup> December 1726 Mr Francis Dupont, minister of the French church. 'Buried in the Frenchmen's ground'.

### *Military Records:*

It is obvious that (as in England and Ireland) many Huguenot refugees served in Scottish regiments. Glozier points out that Scottish and Huguenot soldiers served alongside each other in the Anglo-Dutch brigade in the Netherlands under William of Orange. William used the Anglo-Dutch brigade against Jacobites in the Highlands in 1689, but in fact the four specifically Huguenot regiments were used in Ireland, for example at the battle of the Boyne in 1690. Lots of these soldiers are mentioned in David Dobson's 2005 book *Huguenot and Scots Links, 1575–1775* and at least ten Huguenot officers are

<sup>18</sup> Easson, p. 340.

<sup>19</sup> Agnew, *Exiles*, vol. 2, p. 522.

amongst those naturalised in 1707. These include Henry Verrière (Lt Col. HM Regt of Foot Guards), John Cadour (Captain in Maitland's regt. 1702), Theodore Dury, Daniel Charlot (Brig of Life Guards 1702) John Burgaud (Captain in Colonel Grant's regiment.) James Cavalier (Lieutenant in the Royal Scots Dragoons, 1694) and several others.<sup>20</sup>

### *The Linen-Weavers of Picardy*

It is ironic that, despite the lack of documentation of Huguenots in Edinburgh, there is one aspect of their history which is well recorded. This information comes from minutes, letters and reports of the 'Board of Trustees for the Improvement of Manufactures and Fisheries', discovered by John Mason in a cupboard and published in 1945. This account relies heavily on Anthony Springhall's 1998 article, which brings this material to life.<sup>21</sup> The survival of this documentation is an accident of history.

There is a group of villages north west of the town of St Quentin in Picardy, which includes Templeux le Guérard. After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 around 500 Protestants continued to maintain their identity in this area. This did not go unnoticed by the authorities, who continued to harass them. In 1716 soldiers broke into Protestant houses and pillaged them, and people were arrested. The soldiers instigated another riot in 1717 and the wife of Nicholas Dassonville was shot in the melee. In 1724 two men from Templeux le Guérard, Claude Polain and François Bouchard, arrived at the Threadneedle Street church in London with *témoignages* from the Protestant 'Barrier church' at Tournai.

In 1727 the Board of Trustees was set up in Scotland to encourage the country's economic development. The Board was desirous to bring over skilled cambric weavers from France to improve Scottish

<sup>20</sup> Cornelius Hallen, 'Huguenots in Scotland', *Huguenot Society Proceedings* 2 (1886), p. 176.

<sup>21</sup> Springhall, 'Weavers of Picardy', p. 97, citing John Mason, 'The Weavers of Picardy', *Book of Old Edinburgh Club* 25 (1945), pp. 1-33.

linen. Perhaps they were aware of the improving effect that Louis Crommelin and other Huguenots were having on the Ulster linen industry.<sup>22</sup> Negotiations were begun with Nicholas Dassauville of Templeux (perhaps the same man whose wife had been shot in 1717) to bring over a number of families from France skilled in ‘making Cambricks & Looms etc, and in Bleaching, in order to introduce these manufactures into this country.’

Nicholas Dassauville was a shrewd negotiator. He got a good deal for the French weavers: they were to receive travelling and freight costs, a house and garden for each family, freedom from local taxation, financial support until they were up and running, and materials for the construction of four looms. Dassauville would receive five pounds sterling for each master weaver and family that he could bring over, and fifty shillings for each unmarried master weaver. In return, each master was to take a local apprentice every five years, and ‘shall teach them their whole art and trade, concealing nothing of the same from them.’ The Board were obviously keen that these French skills should be passed on to the local community.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> October 1729 the first five families arrived at the port of Leith, near Edinburgh, having travelled via Tournai and Rotterdam. These were the reedmaker Charles Proy, his wife Margaret Bochart and children; weaver Thomas Carlier, his wife Marion Proy and children; weaver James Charlet, his wife Margaret Fleming and children; weaver John Dassauville, and his wife Françoise Carlier, who had married at Tournai on the journey; and a widow, Anne Dassauville, with her children, Katherine and Anne (both spinners) and son Jacob (a learner weaver).

In December 1729 the remainder of the party arrived at Leith, having been collected from London by Nicholas Dassauville. This group consisted of two married weavers, Francois Bochart and Claude Polain with their wives and families, and two bachelors: John Delat and John Bochart. A glance at the surnames of these people

<sup>22</sup> Lisburn Museum, *The Huguenots and Ulster, 1685–1985: Exhibition Catalogue* (Lisburn, 1985).

reveal how interconnected they were. Obviously they all came from a small, rural Protestant community where endogamy was the rule.

Each family was provided with basic household equipment, and weekly allowance (10/6 for larger families, 4/- for single men) until they could be self-supporting. A local Edinburgh cutler was commissioned to make tools for the reedmaker. Reeds were used to make the delicate part of the loom which is used to separate the warp threads, so reedmaking was a detailed and necessary skill for a weaving community. A local wheelwright made spinning wheels for the women. Buildings were built to the weavers' specifications near Carlton Hill, on the north side of what is now the city centre, but would then have been an outer suburb, on the edge of the country. A terrace block of thirteen units, each with a kitchen, bedroom, weaving vault, garret (for storing yarn and apprentices) and a garden. This was situated just north of the modern street called Picardy Place.

The spinning skills of the women were just as important to the Scottish economy as their menfolk's weaving techniques, and the women went on a successful tour of Glasgow and Paisley to teach spinning methods. Anne Dassauville and her daughter Anne Fleming became spinning-mistresses at a salary of £15 p.a. No doubt they used the hand powered 'Picardy' spinning wheel, rather than the traditional Old Irish or Dutch foot-driven wheel.<sup>23</sup>

In April 1730 the French weavers started to take apprentices; some were their own sons, but most were Scottish. Peter Garo, the son of a Spitalfields silkweaver, was taken on as an apprentice and also an interpreter. In August of the same year all the adult male immigrants from Picardy were made burgesses and guild brethren of the city of Edinburgh, an important consideration if they were to do business and prosper in an established economic environment. However, not everything in Scotland was to their liking: they brought over a French baker to provide the kind of bread to which they were accustomed.

<sup>23</sup> *Lisburn Exhibition Catalogue*, items 17 & 18.



The Board of Trustees continued its good services to the weavers: in 1732 it gave them an annual allowance of £6 p.a. because they were not making enough profit from the sale of their cambric. The Trustees also paid medical expenses at first. In 1733 another weaver, Charles Antoine Charlet, arrived from Templeux le Guérard to bolster the small community's numbers.

It is sad to say that eventually the venture proved unsuccessful. The cambric weavers encountered one problem after another, mostly in the fields of production and marketing. For example, Agnew states that the linen could not be bleached successfully in Scotland, and had to be sent to Holland for this process. Over time, several of the weavers left Edinburgh to join the weaving community of Spitalfields in London's East End, including Francois Bochard and his family in 1736, Charles Antoine Charlet in 1737, and Claude Polain and family in 1748. As early as 1732 Bochard and Polain had written to London to say they wished to rejoin that congregation, though whether their dissatisfaction with the situation in Edinburgh was social or economic, we cannot say.<sup>24</sup> The little community was also diminished by ill-health and mortality: John Dassauville died in 1738 and in the same year it was reported that John Delat had scurvy and swollen legs and couldn't work.

By 1762 Charles Proy and James Charlet were the only original Picardy weavers surviving. In that year Anne Dassauville, one of the original spinners, was blind and living on a pension of £10 p.a. Other heirs of original settlers were John Carlier, Daniel Dellat, Duncan D'Assaville, Nicholas D'Assaville and Mary Polain. It was said in 1776 that all the original immigrants were dead. Eventually even the specially provided buildings vanished, for the weavers' cottages were all demolished in 1800. Thus ended a well-intended but fruitless attempt to establish a Huguenot weaving colony on the outskirts of Edinburgh. A few of the descendants of these weavers may have stayed in Scotland, but most are to be found elsewhere. Some of the Carlier family descendants eventually ended up in South Australia.

<sup>24</sup> Agnew, *Exiles*, vol. 2, p. 519.

When did the French church of Edinburgh actually cease? It is difficult to say exactly. It appears that the congregation stopped using the room in the university in 1763.<sup>25</sup> As we have said, it is probable the last minister had outlived his congregation by the time of his death in 1786. This would follow the pattern of other Huguenot communities in England and Ireland, which were fading away through assimilation towards the end of the eighteenth century. Ironic that we have so little documentation for the church, but a lot for the Picardy weavers – survival of evidence is a haphazard thing.

<sup>25</sup> Hallen 'Huguenots in Scotland', p. 176, footnote 1.



