



Gibbs shows that manorial officeholding was non-exclusive in England after the Black Death, with one in five men serving at least once in any given five-year period, although there was also a “core group” in most manors who dominated the major offices (95 and 96). He demonstrates that manorial offices were not occupied only by unfree tenants, although customary tenants did disproportionately serve in such offices (126). In chapters 5 and 6, he confirms that the same men often served in both manorial and parochial office. The same names crop up as reeves, jurors leet, constables, churchwardens, and beadles. This is as expected, given that there would have been a limited number of men in each locality with the willingness and requisite administrative competence to take on such jobs. Gibbs also shows that the manor and the parish effectively collaborated to govern effectively. The machinery of parish administration was good for collecting money, while the machinery of manorial administration was good for enforcing compliance, so the two systems became mutually dependent (196, 199).

The theoretical content of Gibbs’s book, such as the notion of state formation, sits uneasily with his details-driven approach. He does not seem entirely convinced by these ideas, but though he chips away at their edges, arguing for instance that “state formation through the parish does not seem to have dramatically changed village socio-political structures” (179), he still pays homage to them. Some might wish he had rejected these obstructive and frankly unhelpful concepts. The quantitative analysis—the tables, line graphs, averages, and quartiles—can be difficult for the numerically challenged to follow. The results are also of doubtful explanatory utility in some cases, given the idiosyncratic and non-statistical nature of the source material.

The book assumes rather a lot of prior knowledge. For instance, there is much discussion of reeves but no explanation of exactly what a reeve was or did. It will therefore be most useful to advanced scholars. Some of the technical vocabulary could have been glossed, such as “pinders” on page 74 (officers responsible for impounding strays); “tranters” on page 150 (which could refer to carriers, hawkers, or regraters); and “terrier” on page 155 (a register of real property). The discussions of the famous Swallowfield articles of 1596, which Gibbs uses to frame the book, might have to be modified in light of recent research into this subject by Ralph Houlbrooke. Houlbrooke has suggested that, contrary to claims made by other historians, the Swallowfield articles were not actually produced at a parish meeting. Admittedly, it would have been difficult for Gibbs to take Houlbrooke’s research into account, since at the time of writing it has only been presented in the form of conference and seminar papers. Overall, Gibbs’s book is a fascinating guide to manorial governance in the Middle Ages and early modern period, and one which suggests numerous avenues for future research by social and administrative historians.

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Robin Gwynn. *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain. Volume III: The Huguenots and the Defeat of Louis XIV’s France*

Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2023. Pp. 480. \$150.00 (cloth).

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Robin Gwynn will be familiar to readers of this journal as the leading expert of the Huguenot diaspora in early modern Britain. He may be less well-known for his crucial

role in transcribing the Roger Morrice Entering Book; he passed on his transcripts to Mark Goldie and myself in 1990 and they became the basis for the team-edited, multivolume edition of *The Entering Book of Roger Morrice, 1677–1691* published by The Boydell Press in 2007. Our debt to Gwynn's scholarship is thus profound. He has now brought together his wealth of knowledge accumulated over a lengthy career to produce a trilogy of books on *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain*; volume three, under review here, focuses on the 1680s and early 1690s, and draws on Morrice as well as numerous other archival and printed materials.

Gwynn's basic contention is that many more Huguenots came to Britain than previously thought, and that these refugees had a far greater impact on the course of British history than hitherto appreciated. Britain, not the Netherlands, Gwynn shows, emerged as the most populous Huguenot center outside of France. His main historiographical target is Warren Scoville's *The Persecution of Huguenots and French Economic Development 1680–1720*, first published in 1960, which seriously underestimated the negative impact the persecution had for Louis XIV's France. Scoville counted the exodus only from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, but in fact Huguenots started fleeing to Britain in 1681 in response to the dragonnades, with migration peaking in 1687 and continuing into the 1690s. Although French Protestants had settled in Britain before, now some 50,000 new Huguenot refugees arrived, founding forty-three new churches.

This large influx, Gwynn maintains, had significant consequences for both Britain and France. He focuses on three areas: the political revolution that overthrew the Catholic James II; the Irish wars of 1689–92; and the financial revolution of the 1690s. To understand why the revolution of 1688–89 happened, Gwynn insists, we need to answer why Tories chose to put loyalty to the Church of England before loyalty to their monarch and why so many English Dissenters were unwilling to grasp the olive branch of toleration offered by James II in 1687; "a key component of the answers to both questions," Gwynn believes, is "Louis's treatment of the Huguenots in France" (61). The persecution had a deep influence on public opinion in England, causing people to fear for the security of the Protestant religion in the face of the threat of Catholic absolutism. James II's initial response to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes made many doubt whether his subsequent professions of belief in liberty of conscience were sincere: James delayed the issuing of the brief in support of the Huguenot refugees; he wanted to confine relief to conformist refugees; he ordered the public burning of a book published abroad in 1686 by the Huguenot minister Jean Claude, detailing the sufferings of the Protestants in France (James believed kings should stick together, quoting the English proverb that dogs defended each other when attacked); and he even contemplated issuing *Quo Warranto* proceedings against the French Huguenot Church in London (though the project was abandoned because the Church shared its charter with the Dutch Church of London). Gwynn concludes part one by endorsing the earlier opinions of Jules Michelet and E. S. de Beer that the Glorious Revolution "was in many respects the English answer to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes" (62).

Part two documents the significant contribution made by Huguenots to William III's victory over Jacobite forces in Ireland. Gwynn offers a compelling reassessment of the military leadership of the Duke of Schomberg—himself an exile from France following the Revocation—who far from being the "tired old man" of recent historical accounts was an energetic professional who made many sensible decisions in challenging circumstances, and who for Huguenots was "a great man" and "hero" (94). In all, some 500 Huguenot officers took part in the reduction of Ireland, together with numerous more ordinary Huguenot soldiers (precise numbers are impossible to determine); well trained and professional, they were among the most reliable of the Williamite forces. In part three, Gwynn explores the part Huguenots played in the setting up of the Bank of England. Descendants of earlier Protestant refugees and the new arrivals between them subscribed to over 15.5% of the Bank's initial funds, with the recent refugees comprising 11% of the contributors. But perhaps more important than the money they contributed, Gwynn suggests, was

their unwavering support for the venture, and the leadership provided by the Houblons and their associates, without which the Bank might not have succeeded. The volume concludes with three lengthy appendices listing Huguenot army offices in the service of the crown in the later Stuart period, some of the rank-and-file Huguenot soldiers, and elders and deacons of the French Church in Threadneedle Street, London, 1640–1713.

There is much of value here. I am not totally convinced that previous historians have been as blind to the importance of the Huguenot factor as Gwynn alleges; and if they have not undertaken more research themselves on the Huguenots in Britain, it has been in deference to Gwynn and his ongoing scholarship, which few would feel comfortable competing with. I am also inclined to think the Glorious Revolution would have happened without the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, though at the same time I feel such counterfactual speculation is pointless, since the Revocation did happen and thus inevitably was a factor. Gwynn makes enough references to his findings in volumes one and two that volume three can be read on its own, though many will want to revisit the rest of the trilogy in the light of what is uncovered here.

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Bruce Holsinger. *On Parchment: Animals, Archives, and the Making of Culture from Herodotus to the Digital Age*

New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022. Pp. 448. \$40.00 (cloth).

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The production and use of parchment has a long and fascinating history, which continues into the present day. This attractively designed publication provides a different take on this history and the material's impact on the cultures that used it. As Bruce Holsinger explains in the Introduction, "My aim in what follows is to defamiliarize the animal medium in ways that allow us to examine it both up close and from a distance, and thus to avoid easy generalizations about historical conceptions of parchment that could be quite diverse in their moral, theological, and practical resonance" (5). This publication also stands apart in that it includes a significant stage for the author, who weaves himself into the narrative in a pronounced manner: "I wrote *On Parchment* in part as an attempt to explore my own enduring enchantment with a medium I have come to know ... as a student ... literary scholar ... occasional editor ... teacher ... and as a novelist" (7). The author aims to reach an audience of both specialists and readers who have never "read from, seen, or smelled a parchment book" (7).

The volume consists of three parts. The first is titled "The Medium and Its Making" and touches on familiar aspects in the study of parchment: its production (chapter 3: "Gristle, Stink, Skin"), animalic origins as visible on the page (chapter 4: "The Flayed Folio"), vellum made from unborn animals (chapter 5: "Uterine Vellum and the Page Unborn"), and a quantitative discussion of the number of animals that were turned into books (chapter 6: "Questions of Quantity: Membrane and Archival Scale"). The discussion in these chapters covers Antiquity and the Middle Ages, with an emphasis on the latter period. In addition, in chapter 1 ("The Book of the Dun Cow") the author reflects on parchment as it was