base? Governments from the Constituent Assembly through the Bonapartist Consulate employed various schemes to manage this contradiction, by inducing those responsible for fees to perform a rachat. At long last, the Civil Code of 1804 institutionalized the Great Demarcation and, with it, “the autonomy of the sphere of property” (216).

Blaufarb has rendered an invaluable service to historians of the French Revolution and to legal historians of modern Europe more generally. It has been apparent since 1789 that the rights of man, including that to property, contained acute tensions—between abstraction and embodiment, Lockeanism and Rousseauianism, liberalism and communitarianism, the individual and the state, opportunities for and guarantees of ownership. Despite muting these antinomies, Blaufarb’s exceptional inquiry restores the constitutional dimensions of the project to dismantle the feudal edifice and deepens our understanding of the Revolution’s most sweeping enterprise.

This illumination has its blind spots. As a term of art, the Great Demarcation teleologizes the modern, conceding circuity but not contingency of political purpose. Blaufarb extols the rise of “free and equal citizenship,” while admitting in the epilogue, as an aside, that property “conveys power over other people and their things” (13, 222). The Revolutionaries, in ways he does not recognize, embraced the productive possibilities of their conceptual disarray by reproducing it compulsively, and even (as William Sewell argues in the case of Sieyès) unconsciously, in a litany of legislative acts—not all of which pointed toward the apotheosis of the individual proprietor. For instance, Robespierre held that collective subsistence trumped exclusive ownership, while the Convention passed measures confiscating the land of political suspects and redistributing it to the poor.

Blaufarb concludes on a speculative note, offering his book as a way out of a methodological impasse. Whereas intellectual and social historians have circumscribed the agency of political actors within linguistic and material forces, he discovers legal thinkers single-mindedly enacting a coherent “program” (221). In so doing, he understates the vacillations they inscribed in the heart of the constitutional order and overlooks the extent to which the capacities of the citizen remained as unsettled as the outcomes they sought to affect. The Revolution engendered intense speculation over the self, and whether it possessed either material belongings or even its ideas and actions apart from the body politic, to a degree that Blaufarb’s analysis, with its presumption of ideological consistency, cannot fully grasp. His account of modern property is predicated on an idealized terminus ad quem that in actuality conditioned the very legal minds who called it into being and continues to inform appraisals of their significance.

Charly Coleman

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The dramatic history of the Huguenot refugees escaping France in the wake of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 is well known. It is the story of zealous Protestants who, confronted with religious persecution orchestrated by the French state, abandoned everything for the sake of their conscience. Yet a growing number of historians have come to question this “Huguenot myth,” which is largely based on the heroic stories of suffering and escape told by the first generation of refugees and eagerly re-appropriated by Huguenot
descendants and scholars ever since. Recent scholarship has offered a more nuanced approach, showing that religious considerations alone cannot explain the refugees’ flight into exile; that most Huguenots in fact converted to Catholicism, while keeping alive their faith behind a façade of conformity; that exiles often suffered profound religious anguish, poverty, discrimination, and a loss of status; and that they purposefully narrated their flight as a heroic struggle to refashion their identity in exile.

In this meticulously researched book, Carolyn Lougee likewise seeks to question the “widely assumed features of the Huguenot story” (3), although curiously enough she does not acknowledge the very similar arguments advanced by other scholars working on the Huguenot diaspora. Facing the Revocation does therefore not live up to its promise of blazing a new trail in Huguenot studies, but Lougee’s focus on a single family—the noble Champagné from Saintonge—does offer a unique window on the fates and fortunes of French Protestants facing the Revocation. One of the perennial problems when exploring the Huguenot diaspora is the lack of personal sources that allow us to gauge the choices and experiences of individual refugees, but thanks to Lougee’s relentless archival digging this book succeeds like no other in capturing the human voice of the Huguenot exile experience.

Facing the Revocation is divided into four parts. Part 1, “The Champagné in Saintonge,” introduces the main protagonists: Marie de la Rochefoucauld, dame de Champagné, her husband Josias de Robillard, their children, and extended family. Lougee demonstrates that besides their desire for religious liberty it was their social, material, and financial circumstances that ultimately pushed them into exile. Like so many Huguenots Marie and Josias were ashamed of their conversion to Catholicism, but they also faced a series of debts and a claim to their family estate from Madelène de Solière, Marie’s aunt, who had converted to Catholicism already in the 1670s. In the wake of the Revocation many other members of the extended Champagné family also joined the ranks of the Catholic church (including Marie’s two sisters), either out of fear or to benefit from social advancement offered to so-called New Catholics. The Revocation thus shattered family bonds, alienating Marie from her family as well as from the world she knew. Ultimately, Lougee concludes, a “multiplicity of factors” (128) rather than a single cause led Marie, Josias, and their children into exile.

Part 2, “Escaping from France,” explores the Champagné’s flight from France. The children were the first to leave in April 1687, followed by Marie in June, while Josias stayed behind with their last-born Thérèse, fleeing to Holland only in the spring of 1688. Lougee reminds us that exile was never a hasty decision and that most families did not leave together but in stages, scattering across Europe. Indeed, to finance their escape and new life abroad Marie first acquired several shipments of brandy, to be sold at a profit in Amsterdam, while her initial port of call was Exeter, before she and her children joined Josias in Holland.

Part 3, “Those Who Stayed,” is by far the most moving part of the book. It is often forgotten that the Revocation tore entire families apart, as some fled while others stayed behind. In the case of the Champagné, it was Thérèse, born five weeks before Marie escaped: the baby was left in Josias’s care, but when he fled in 1688 he entrusted her to his brother-in-law Casimir Prévost de Touchimbert, who stayed in France because of his refusal to abandon his three daughters, locked up in the Catholic school of St.-Cyr. Thérèse, too, became separated from her kin. Her vengeful aunt Madelène was quick to dispute Casimir’s guardianship as well as the sincerity of his conversion, and although she eventually lost her court case, Thérèse was transferred to a convent in Saintes, where she died aged eleven—she never saw her parents again.

Part 4, “Resettling Abroad,” takes up the story of the Champagné family in exile. Marie and Josias eventually settled in The Hague, where their sense of rupture was offset by the
new bonds they forged with refugee nobles as well as the French-speaking Walloon church. Their life in the Huguenot cocoon reminds us that early modern exiles often had little intention to integrate, as they prayed for a return to their abandoned homeland. Josias certainly did, enlisting in the expedition force that invaded England in 1688 to combat the spread of Catholicism. Upon his death Marie assumed the role of materfamilias, boasting in her accounts how she had successfully looked after her family, rebuilding their lives in exile and placing her children in advantageous positions. Yet in a lucid analysis of her daughter Susanne’s diary, Lougee shows that exile could also be narrated as a reverse tale of loss, disappointment, and broken family bonds, which forces us to question the heroic accounts so often reproduced by Huguenot historians.

Of course, this case study of the Champagné family “cannot be taken as typical, paradigmatic, or representative” (352) of the Huguenot response to the Revocation. Yet Lougee’s deeply moving account of their decisions and experiences provides an unparalleled and personal insight into the complexities faced by Huguenots that is so often lacking in current scholarship on early modern refugees.

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David van der Linden


Erin M. Greenwald’s Marc-Antoine Caillot and the Company of the Indies in Louisiana: Trade in the French Atlantic World embeds Louisiana’s history with the French Company of the Indies in a broader history of the company’s global trade network. Combining the methods of microhistory, institutional history, and Atlantic world history, Greenwald demonstrates how individuals and the company contributed to experimental hybrid (trade/agricultural) colonial ventures taking place around the Atlantic in the first three decades of the eighteenth century. Greenwald draws on a wealth of secondary and archival sources in the work, but the accounts of Marc-Antoine Caillot, a company clerk, provide the “structural backbone” (4) for the book’s six chapters that follow Caillot from Paris to the Louisiana colony between 1729 and 1731. Through this organization, Greenwald moves between analytical registers, highlighting how Caillot and some of his fellow clerks experienced life as employees of a company involved in international trade and also the many different locales connected, and affected, by the company’s overseas trade ventures.

Chapter 1 synthesizes scholarship on France’s seventeenth-century (failed) attempts to establish overseas trading companies and secondary work on the Louisiana colony prior to 1717. Greenwald then gives an institutional history of the company’s first decade, mapping out the twists and turns that led the French state to consolidate a handful of failing trading companies into the Company of the Indies in 1719. Most know of the company’s meteoric rise under John Law and its eventual collapse a year later after the public learned the Louisiana colony could not supply the wealth of minerals or unlimited tobacco Law had promised. Greenwald’s discussion of the company’s reorganization and expansion throughout the 1720s, however, highlights the company’s role as a new employer for men like Caillot who were forced to seek new professional opportunities due to shifting patron-client networks.