

**From Persecution to Commemoration – the French Protestant  
Community in Eighteenth Century Dublin, c. 1680 – c. 1815**

by

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## Introduction

This thesis discusses the French Protestant community in Dublin, which formed part of the French Protestant diaspora that existed from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> The French Protestant communities in Ireland were established during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> The French Protestant community in Dublin was by far the most substantial of these communities and was focused on the French Churches in the city. The French Churches provided the community with religious services and a place to record the baptisms, marriages and burials associated with their families. Religious services at the French Churches continued until the early nineteenth century, when the last baptisms were also recorded, marking the end of the formal French Protestant community in the city. Thereafter, an informal community was maintained amongst descendants of the original refugees through mutual charity and commemoration, as well as the continued burial of family members in the French Church burial grounds in Dublin. This thesis seeks to understand how this occurred by analysing the process of settlement, integration and assimilation experienced by the French Protestant community in Dublin between c. 1680 and c. 1815.

### *Historical Background – The Protestant Movement in Europe*

The French Protestant movement was a product of the sixteenth century reformations in Europe. The reformations had their roots in humanist criticisms of the late medieval church, though the humanists generally sought internal reform of the church rather than the establishment of churches outside the influence of Rome.<sup>3</sup> It was Martin Luther who provided the impetus for a break with Rome with his ninety-five theses against papal indulgences,<sup>4</sup> gaining support from some of the prince electors and free cities of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>5</sup> Luther's supporters became known as Protestants following their protest against the Emperor Charles V's decision to declare Luther an outlaw at the Diet of Worms in 1521, complementary to Luther's excommunication from the Church by Pope Leo X. In the years that followed, the

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<sup>1</sup> For a summary of the Protestant diasporas and academic research, see Eckart Birnstiel and Chrystel Bernat (eds), *La diaspora des huguenots : Les réfugiés protestants de France et leur dispersion dans le monde, XVIe-XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 2001), pp 15-25.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond Hylton, *Ireland's Huguenots and Their Refuge, 1662-1745 : an Unlikely Haven* (Brighton, 2005), pp 32-7.

<sup>3</sup> Greta Kroeker, 'Erasmus the Theologian' in *Church History & Religious Culture*, xcvi, no. 4 (2016), pp. 498–515.

<sup>4</sup> Peter Marshall, *1517. Martin Luther and the invention of the Reformation* (Oxford, 2017), pp 17-49.

<sup>5</sup> For a good overview of the complex motivations which led some Electors to support Luther's reformation movement see Scott Hendrix's study of Duke Ernest of Lüneburg, 'Loyalty, Piety, or Opportunism: German Princes and the Reformation' in *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, xxv, no. 2 (1994), pp 211-24.

Protestant states took control of the church in their territories, helping to establish the Evangelical, or Lutheran, confession in the Holy Roman Empire.

Figure 1: Map of Europe 1500<sup>6</sup>



Protestant ideas were influential outside the Holy Roman Empire, as for instance in England, where King Henry VIII took control of the church in 1532.<sup>7</sup> Early Protestants in France were often known by the pejorative term *Luthérien*,<sup>8</sup> and a significant French Protestant group formed around the then bishop of Meaux, Guillaume Briçonnet.<sup>9</sup> The bishop of Meaux

<sup>6</sup> (<https://i.pinimg.com/736x/52/4e/f8/524ef8cf848b57b08376898e015f27ef.jpg>) (18 October 2022).

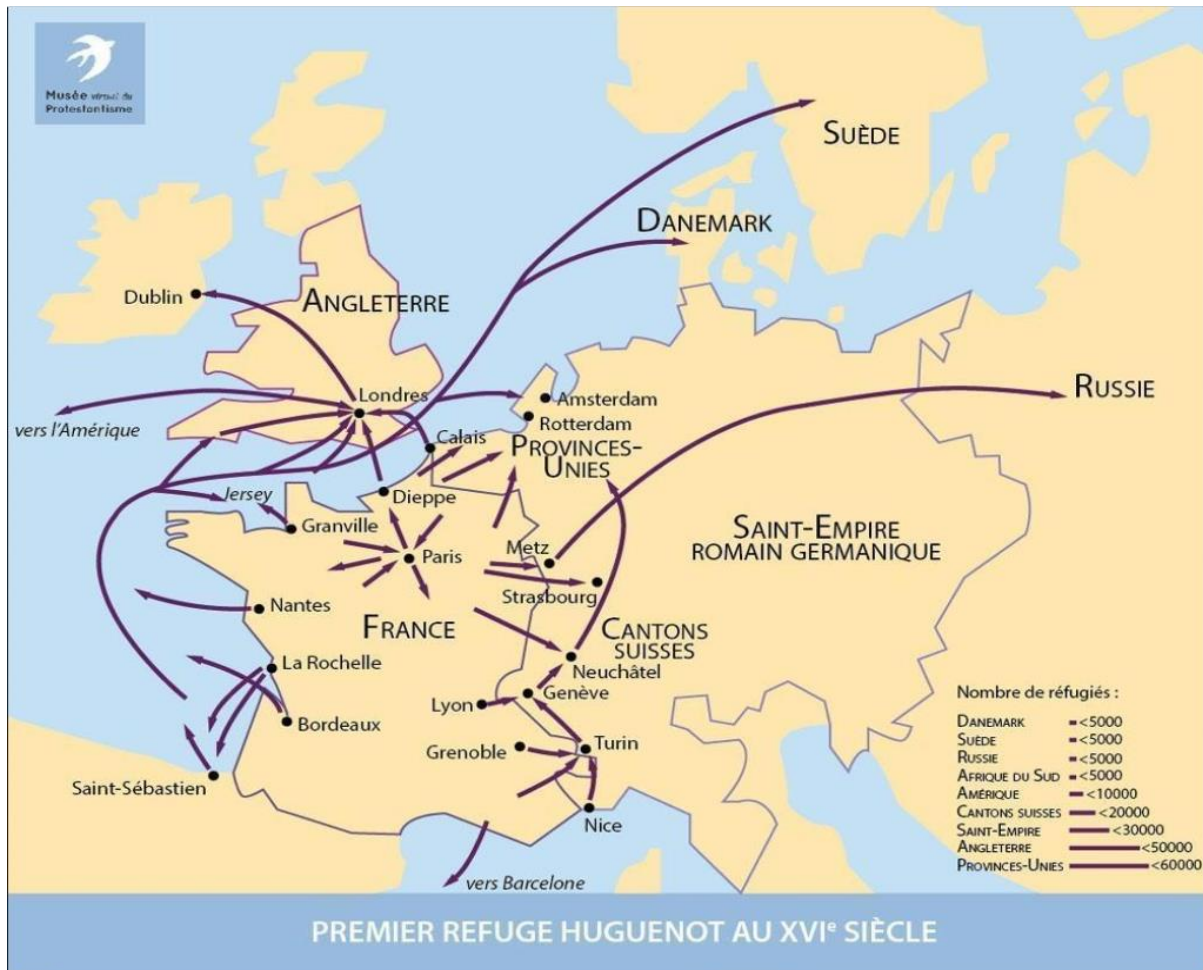
<sup>7</sup> For a recent discussion of the English Reformation under Henry VIII, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, *All things made new: writings on the Reformation* (London, 2016), pp 94-148.

<sup>8</sup> Janet Gray, 'The Origin of the Word Huguenot' in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, xiv, no. 3 (1983), pp 349-59, p. 353.

<sup>9</sup> For a recent overview of literature on the French reformation see Allan Tulchin, 'Church and State in the French Reformation' in *The Journal of Modern History*, lxxxvi, no. 4 (2014), pp 826-61, pp 828-31.

was the spiritual adviser of Marguerite d'Angoulême, sister of King François I. Combined with his geopolitical aspirations, Marguerite's influence initially led François to tolerate early French Protestants, but this changed after the Affair of the Placards on 17 October 1534.<sup>10</sup> Posters criticising the contemporary church were displayed in the major cities of France, with one hung on the bedroom door of the King. The audacity of this event led François I to publicly align himself with Rome, forcing many Protestants to leave France.

Figure 2: Map of French Protestant migrations during the sixteenth century.<sup>11</sup>



Amongst those religious refugees was Jean Calvin, a Protestant intellectual who eventually settled in Geneva in 1541. City states of the Swiss Alps had joined the Protestant movement in the early years, including Zurich, where the city council supported Huldrych Zwingli's programme of reform from 1519 onwards.<sup>12</sup> The Swiss reformers inspired the development of what came to be known as the Reformed confession, which differed markedly

<sup>10</sup> Tulchin, 'Church and State in the French Reformation', pp 831-34.

<sup>11</sup> (<https://museeprotestant.org/en/notice/le-refuge-huguenot/?parc=31903>) (18 October 2022).

<sup>12</sup> Peter Opitz, 'Huldrych Zwingli' in Paul Nimmo and David Fergusson (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Reformed Theology* (New York, 2016), pp 117-31.



from both the Roman Catholic and Evangelical confessions in areas such as eucharistic theology and ecclesiology.<sup>13</sup>

From Geneva, Jean Calvin had a significant influence on the Reformed confession, which was often termed Calvinist in the years that followed.<sup>14</sup> An important factor was the large community of religious exiles that settled in the city, who spread Calvin's ideas throughout Europe. Protestant exiles such as John Knox played an important role in the reform of the Churches of England and Scotland,<sup>15</sup> and Geneva had a pivotal role in the spread of Reformed ideas in France.<sup>16</sup> The French Protestant movement grew exponentially during the mid-sixteenth century, constituting a majority in provinces such as Languedoc.<sup>17</sup> A significant portion of the nobility joined the movement,<sup>18</sup> as did influential urban guild members in major cities such as Lyon<sup>19</sup> and Rouen.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> For a recent synopsis see Kenneth Appold, 'Lutheran-Reformed Relations: A Brief Historical Overview' in *The Journal of Presbyterian History*, xcv, no. 2 (2017), pp 52-61, pp 56-8 for discussion of differences in eucharistic theology.

<sup>14</sup> Bernard Cottret, *Calvin, A Biography* (London, 2003), p. 239.

<sup>15</sup> Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed, a Social History of Calvinism* (London, 2002), pp 157-62.

<sup>16</sup> Robert Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555-1563* (Geneva, 1956), pp 5-53.

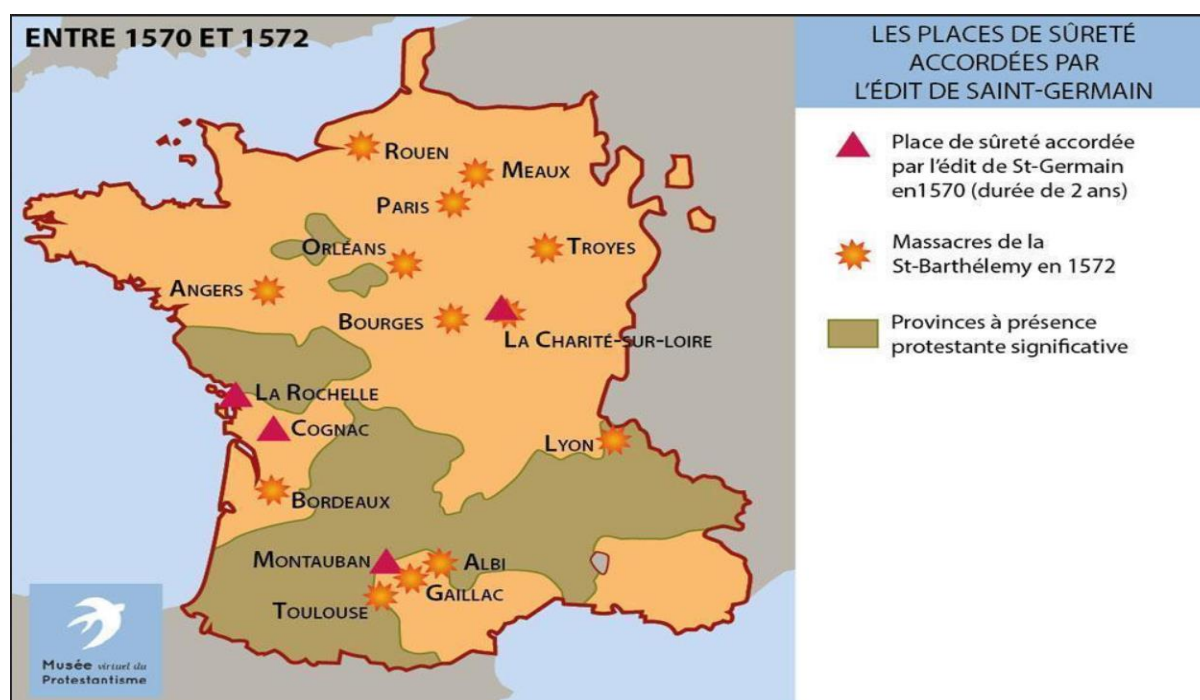
<sup>17</sup> Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed*, pp 133-9.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, pp 137-9.

<sup>19</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis spent much time on the Protestant movement in Lyon, see for instance; 'The Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth-Century Lyon', *Past & Present*, no. 90 (1981), pp 40-70. In pp 47-52 she discusses the social breakdown of the Protestant and Catholic movements.

<sup>20</sup> Philip Benedict, *Rouen During the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge, 1981), pp 47-53, 71-94.

Figure 3: Map showing areas of French Protestant numerical strength during the sixteenth century<sup>21</sup>



It was during this period of growth that the pejorative term Huguenot came into use, an insult reflective of the increasingly febrile atmosphere generated by the rapid growth of the French Protestant movement.<sup>22</sup> Combined with the untimely death of François I's brother and successor Henri II, frictions between Protestants and Catholics precipitated the French Wars of Religion in 1562.<sup>23</sup> The wars dominated the second half of the sixteenth century in France, and the monarchy negotiated numerous peace settlements to end the fighting.<sup>24</sup> Those agreements were not lasting, however, and both Natalie Zemon Davis and Barbara Diefendorf have demonstrated the ritual and communal nature of the violence that followed.<sup>25</sup> The wars continued until 1598, when terms were negotiated under which Catholics and Protestants would co-exist in France, as set out in the Edict of Nantes. The Edict of Nantes provided a basis for confessional co-existence in France during the first half of the seventeenth century, as discussed in the research of historians such as Gregory Hanlon.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> (<https://museeprotestant.org/en/notice/les-places-de-surete-protestantes-2/?parc=25505>) (18 October 2022).

<sup>22</sup> Janet Gray, 'The Origin of the Word Huguenot' in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, xiv, no. 3 (1983), pp 349-59, p. 357.

<sup>23</sup> Robert Knecht, *The French wars of religion, 1559-1598* (London, 1996), pp 1-34.

<sup>24</sup> Penny Roberts, *Peace and Authority during the French Religious Wars c.1560-1600* (London, 2013), pp 2-11.

<sup>25</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, 'The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France' in *Past & Present*, no. 59 (1973), pp 51-91; Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the cross: Catholics and Huguenots in sixteenth-century Paris* (Oxford, 1991), pp 93-106.

<sup>26</sup> Gregory Hanlon, *Confession and Community in Seventeenth-Century France: Catholic and Protestant Coexistence in Aquitaine* (Pennsylvania, 1993), pp 20-4.

This co-existence was temporary, however, and the Edict of Nantes was revoked by Louis XIV through the Edict of Fontainebleau in 1685. The Revocation was the culmination of a long-term royal policy to undermine the privileges granted to Protestants under the edict.<sup>27</sup> This process began under Louis XIII and his political adviser Cardinal Richelieu, who revoked the secret articles of the edict guaranteeing political and military freedoms to Protestants following a series of military conflicts that ended in 1629 with the Fall of La Rochelle.<sup>28</sup> While Louis XIII was content to neutralise the political and military threat presented by the Protestant movement, his son Louis XIV sought to eradicate the Protestant religion entirely.<sup>29</sup> The Edict of Nantes included complex guidelines on the permitted locations for Protestant worship, and any temples which did not meet the strictest possible interpretation of those guidelines were forced to close. Perhaps the most insidious legislative measure gave Catholic relatives of Protestant families the right to take their children from them to be raised as Catholics.<sup>30</sup>

In the years immediately preceding the Revocation more actively coercive measures were taken.<sup>31</sup> The royal troops were billeted on Protestant households in large numbers with the intent of forcing them to convert or face financial ruin. This measure was first implemented in the province of Poitou in 1680 and became known as a dragonnade.<sup>32</sup> The mass conversions generated through the dragonnades gave Louis XIV the confidence to revoke the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Despite legislation denying French Protestants the right to leave France without royal permission, approximately 200,000 Protestants eventually left.<sup>33</sup> Such a large movement of people could not happen in a short period of time and finding a place to permanently settle in exile was equally challenging. The interplay of these factors led to an extended period of migration and re-migration between c. 1680 and c. 1740.

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<sup>27</sup> Philip Benedict, 'Un roi, une loi, deux fois: Parameters for the History of Catholic-Reformed Coexistence in France, 1555-1685' in *The Faith and Fortunes of France's Huguenots, 1600-85* (Aldershot, 2001), pp 279-308, pp 297-8.

<sup>28</sup> Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed*, pp 369-71.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid*, pp 372-3.

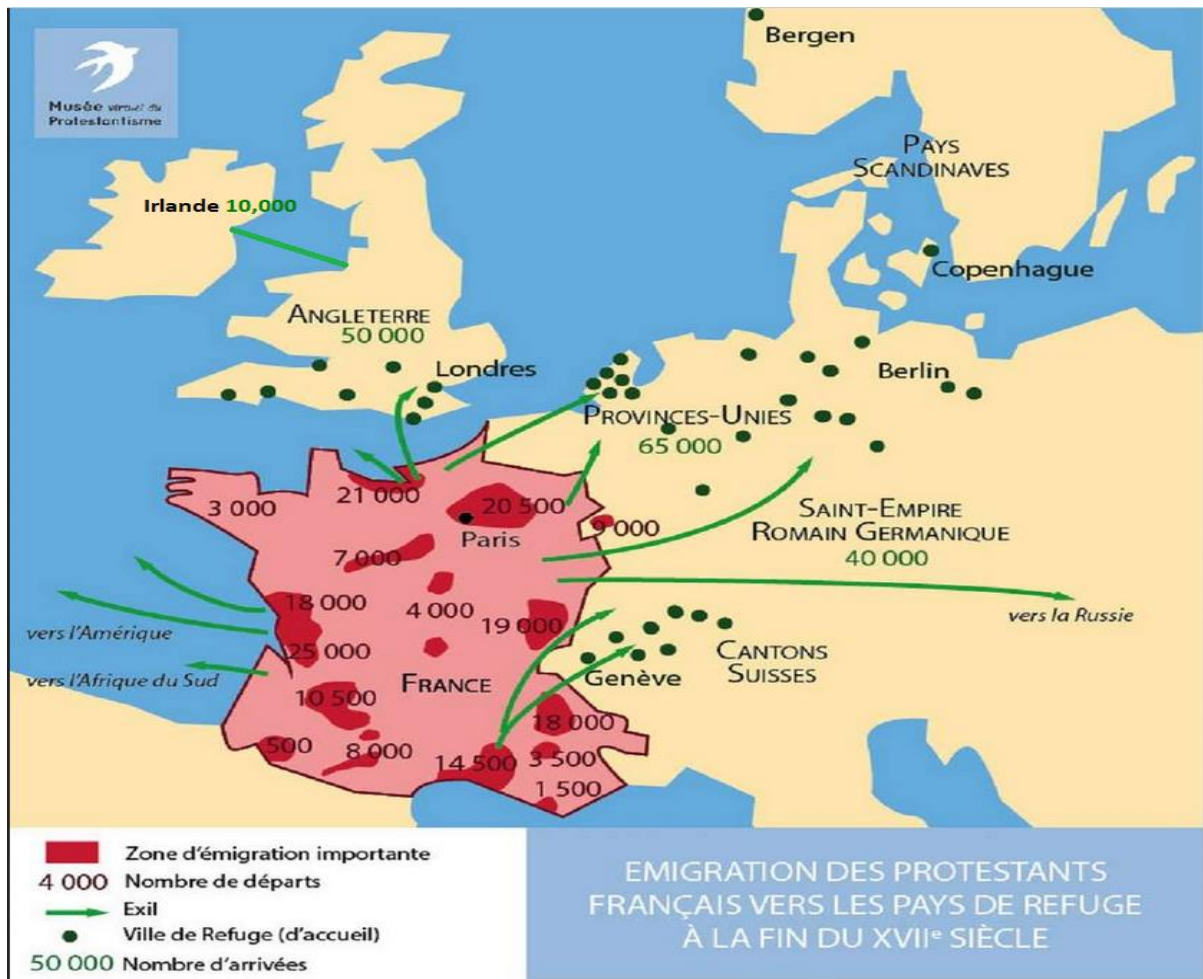
<sup>30</sup> Carolyn Lougee Chapelle, *Facing the Revocation: Huguenot Families, Faith and the King's Will* (Oxford, 2016), pp 30-8.

<sup>31</sup> Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed*, pp 373-4.

<sup>32</sup> Yves Krumenacker, 'Les dragonnades du Poitou : Leur écho dans les mémoires' in *Bulletin De La Société De L'Histoire Du Protestantisme Français*, cxxxii, (1985), pp 405-22.

<sup>33</sup> Robin Gwynn, 'Britain's significance in the Huguenot diaspora of the late 17th century' in *Huguenot Society Journal*, xxxii, (2019), pp 1-14.

Figure 4: Map of French Protestant migrations, seventeenth century<sup>34</sup>



As many as 10,000 French Protestants settled in Ireland as part of a second diaspora from established exile centres like London, Amsterdam and Geneva.<sup>35</sup> Major communities were established in Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Lisburn and Portarlinton, and surviving archives indicate the existence of other French Protestant communities in the kingdom.<sup>36</sup> Other Protestant Stranger communities founded during these years included German Lutherans from the Rhine valley, known as Palatines, who settled in communities in Limerick and Kilkenny.<sup>37</sup>

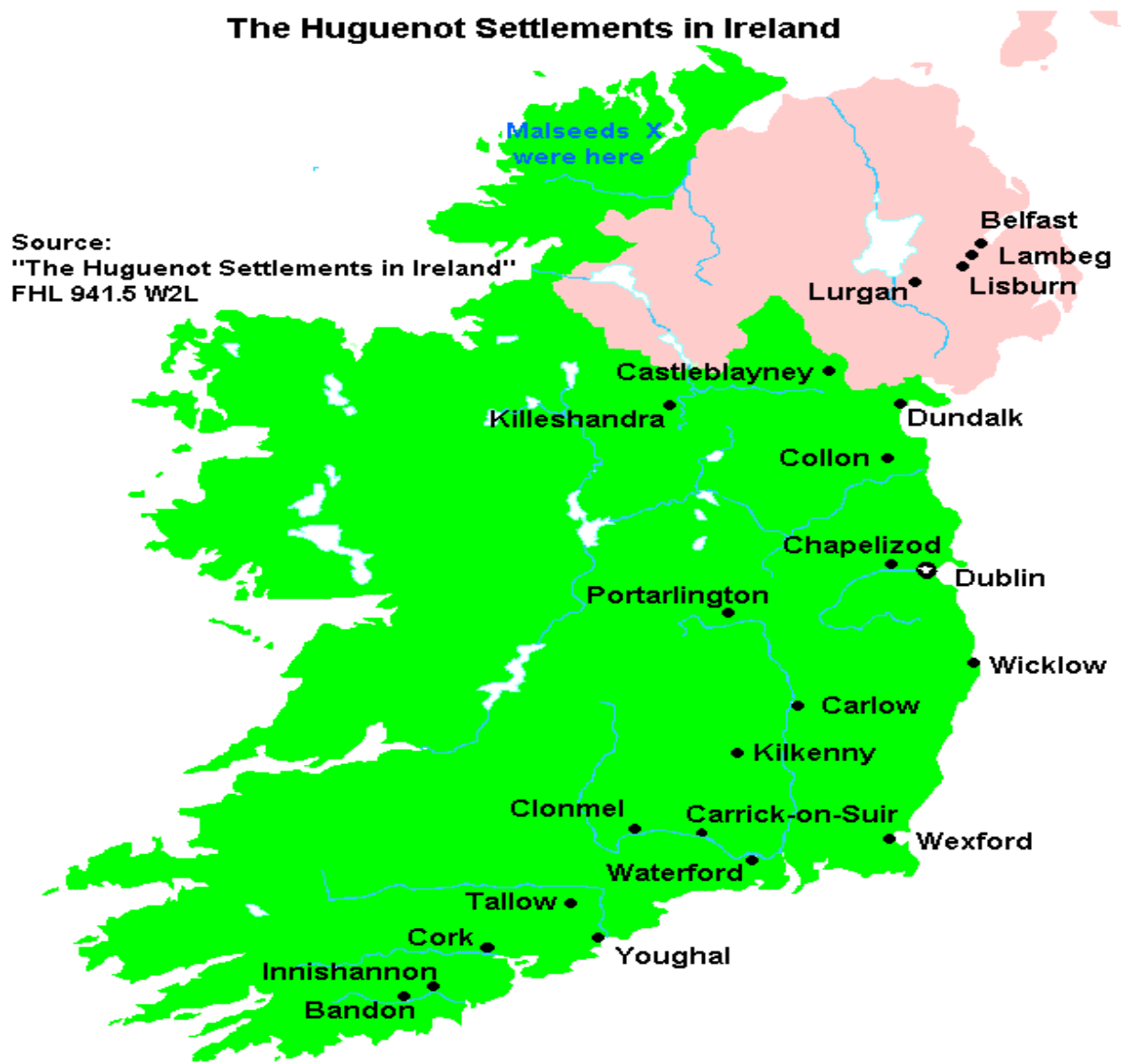
<sup>34</sup> (<https://museeprotestant.org/en/notice/le-refuge-huguenot/?parc=319030>) (18 October 2022).

<sup>35</sup> Owen Stanwood 'Between Eden and Empire: Huguenot Refugees and the Promise of New Worlds' in *The American Historical Review*, cxviii, no. 5 (2013), pp 1319-44, p. 1320.

<sup>36</sup> Vivien Costelloe, 'Researching Huguenot Settlers in Ireland' in *BYU Family Historian*, vi, (2007), pp 83-163, pp 95-145.

<sup>37</sup> Vivien Hick, 'The Palatine Settlement in Ireland: The Early Years' in *Eighteenth Century Ireland*, iv (1989), pp 113-31.

Figure 5: Map of French Protestant settlements in Ireland<sup>38</sup>



### *Literature Review*

The published history of the French Protestant communities in Ireland begins with articles on the community at Lisburn published in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* in 1853,<sup>39</sup> which awakened the imaginations of many descendants.<sup>40</sup> There followed a series of articles

<sup>38</sup> ([https://malseed.com/malseeds/origins/huguenot\\_info/huguenot\\_settlements.gif](https://malseed.com/malseeds/origins/huguenot_info/huguenot_settlements.gif)) (18 October 2022).

<sup>39</sup> Charles Nicholas De la Cherois Purdon: 'The French Settlers in Ireland. No. 1. The Huguenot Colony at Lisburn, County of Antrim', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, i (1853), pp 209–20; 'The French Settlers in Ireland. No. 2. The Huguenot Colony at Lisburn (Continued)', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, i (1853), pp 286–94; 'The French Settlers in Ireland. No. 3. The Huguenot Colony at Lisburn. (Concluded)', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, ii (1854), pp 167–81.

<sup>40</sup> 'The French Settlers in Ireland: Editors' Note', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, ii (1854), pp 66–7.

covering the communities at Youghal,<sup>41</sup> Portarlington,<sup>42</sup> Waterford,<sup>43</sup> and Belfast,<sup>44</sup> some of which are particularly valuable due to the access their authors had to historical documents that have not since survived. As well as articles in antiquarian journals, standalone publications providing an overview of the communities in Britain and Ireland began to appear. David Agnew provided a reference work on the many families who settled in Britain and Ireland,<sup>45</sup> as well as the different social status groups amongst the refugees.<sup>46</sup> Samuel Smiles focused on the French Protestant contribution to the Glorious Revolution,<sup>47</sup> as well as the economic development of England and Ireland.<sup>48</sup>

The Huguenot Society of London was founded on the bicentenary of the Revocation in 1885, and provided an outlet for research through its journal, the Huguenot Society Proceedings. Important articles include William Shaw's list of the officers from the Huguenot regiments of William III who were given pensions by the Irish state.<sup>49</sup> The Huguenot regiment veterans were an important part of the Irish refuge, and Shaw's work was supplemented in later volumes with works including Henry Wagner's list of Huguenot regiment pensioners for 1692,<sup>50</sup> and Charles Lart's article on the Huguenot regiments.<sup>51</sup> A particularly important contribution to knowledge was the article by Baron Alexandre de Chambrier on the project to colonise Ireland with French Protestants during the 1690s.<sup>52</sup> The research of Thomas Philip Le

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<sup>41</sup> Samuel Hayman, 'The French Settlers in Ireland: No. 4. The Settlement at Youghal, County Cork', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, ii (1854), pp 223–29.

<sup>42</sup> Erasmus Borrowes: 'The French Settlers in Ireland. No. 5. The Huguenot Colony at Portarlington, in the Queen's County', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, iii (1855), pp 56–67; 'The French Settlers in Ireland. No. 6. The Huguenot Colony at Portarlington, in the Queen's County (Continued)', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, iii (1855), pp 213–31; 'The French Settlers in Ireland: No. 8. The Huguenot Colony of Portarlington, (Continued)', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vi (1858), pp 327–46.

<sup>43</sup> Thomas Gimlette, 'The French Settlers in Ireland: No. 7. The Settlement in Waterford', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, iv (1856), pp 198–221.

<sup>44</sup> C. D. Purdon, 'The French Settlers in Ireland: No. 9. Belfast', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, ix, 1861, pp 142–4.

<sup>45</sup> David Agnew, *The Huguenot refugees and their descendants in Great Britain and Ireland*, (3 vols, London, 1871-1874), ii, pp 135-327.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, pp 328-73.

<sup>47</sup> Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots: Their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland* (London, 1889), pp 179-226.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*, pp 261-77, 292-317.

<sup>49</sup> William Shaw, 'The Irish Pensioners of William III's Huguenot Regiments, 1702', *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, vi (1898-1901), pp 295-327.

<sup>50</sup> Henry Wagner, 'A list of pensions to Huguenot Officers in 1692', *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, ix (1909-11), pp 581-8.

<sup>51</sup> Charles Lart, 'The Huguenot Regiments', *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, ix (1909-11), pp 476-529.

<sup>52</sup> Baron Alexandre de Chambrier, 'Projet de colonisation en Irlande par les réfugiés Français, 1692-1699', *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, vi (1898-1901), pp 370-402.

Fanu made a significant contribution to our knowledge with articles on the French Churches in Dublin and their ministers, the French Church at Portarlington and the Champagné family.<sup>53</sup>

The doctoral theses of Grace Lawless Lee and Albert Carré provided the first in-depth academic studies of the French Protestant communities in Ireland. Lee's work provided an overview of the communities, providing a good summary of the Dublin community's foundation, along with lists of ministers and summary biographies of major families.<sup>54</sup> Lee's work highlighted the interconnections between the various families that made up the French Protestant community in Ireland, as well as links to the wider French Protestant diaspora.<sup>55</sup> The work of Albert Carré complemented that of Lee by focusing on the communities around Lisburn, the Huguenot regiments in William of Orange's army,<sup>56</sup> and the contribution of the exiles to Ireland's economic and cultural development.<sup>57</sup>

This body of research paints a tranquil picture of the French Protestant communities in Ireland, peacefully settling in a kingdom where they were welcomed thanks to their contribution to its development. This interpretation is somewhat at odds with the historical record, however, as briefly noted by Carré in his discussion of the conflict generated by the relationship between the French Churches and the Church of Ireland.<sup>58</sup> During this period, the subjects of a given state were expected to follow the legal confession of the state, or the religion by law established as it was often called in Ireland. The Church of Ireland had been reformed along similar lines to the Church of England under Henry VIII,<sup>59</sup> and by the late seventeenth century was using the Anglican Book of Common Prayer as a guide for worship.<sup>60</sup> The majority

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<sup>53</sup> T.P. Le Fanu : 'Huguenot Churches in Dublin and their ministers', *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, viii (1905-08), pp 87-157; 'Archbishop Marsh and the Discipline of the French Church at St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin 1694', *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xii (1917-23), pp 245-63; 'Marie de la Rochefoucauld de Champagné and her escape from France in 1687', *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xiii (1923-29), pp 454-74; 'The Children of Marie de la Rochefoucauld de Champagné', *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xiii (1923-29), pp 560-79; 'Dumont du Bostaquet of Portarlington', *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xiv (1929-33), pp 211-28; 'The life and sufferings of Benjamin de Daillon', *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xiv (1929-33), pp 458-79; 'Livre de Caisse pour l'Eglise Française de Dublin suivant la Discipline des Eglises Reformées de France, recueillée proche Ste. Brigide', *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, Volume xv (1933-37), pp 149-90; 'Statements and Declarations of French Pensioners in Ireland', *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xvii (1942-6), pp 64-89.

<sup>54</sup> Grace Lawless Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland* (London, 1936), pp 215-55.

<sup>55</sup> Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, pp 216-7, where she discusses interlinks between the Boileau and Descury families; see also p. 222, where she notes links between French Patrick's and the Savoy French Protestant Church in London.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, pp 16-53.

<sup>57</sup> Albert Carré, *l'influence des Huguenots en Irlande au xvii<sup>e</sup> et xviii<sup>e</sup> siècles*, (Paris, 1937), pp 54-100.

<sup>58</sup> Carré, *l'influence des Huguenots en Irlande*, pp 112-18.

<sup>59</sup> Alan Ford, *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland 1590-1641* (Dublin, 1997), pp 7-20 summarises research on the reformation in Ireland up to the date of publication.

<sup>60</sup> Evie Monaghan, 'Eucharistic belief and practice in Ireland, 1660-1740' (PhD Thesis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth, 2014), p. 19.

of Ireland's inhabitants remained Roman Catholic, however,<sup>61</sup> and many Protestants in Ireland were members of alternative Protestant confessions, collectively known as Dissenters.<sup>62</sup>

For contemporaries, the logical consequence of this diverse confessional landscape was the institution of the penal laws, which attempted to limit full legal rights to members of the Anglican community.<sup>63</sup> In those circumstances, the freedom of worship contained in the 1692 Protestant strangers act went quite far, allowing other Protestant confessions to become lawfully established religions in Ireland.<sup>64</sup> This set a worrying precedent from the perspective of the Church of Ireland, whose episcopacy proactively used their power and influence to prevent French Protestants from establishing churches outside their supervision. More recent research has highlighted the divisions within the French Protestant community this caused.<sup>65</sup>

Despite having far more documentary evidence with which to consider those divisions, early research on the French Protestant communities in Ireland generally brushed over this topic, often suggesting that there was little or no conflict within the community.<sup>66</sup> In part, this reflected the commemorative nature of that early research, written as it often was by descendants of the original refugees, who formed what has been termed a 'post-romantic' narrative of the French Protestant community in Ireland.<sup>67</sup> Furthermore, this narrative reflected what Herbert Butterfield has termed the Whig interpretation of history, which presented a 'progressive' interpretation of the Glorious Revolution, and the constitutional monarchy that emerged from that historical event.<sup>68</sup> Many of the French Protestants who settled in Ireland made a significant contribution to the success of the Glorious Revolution,<sup>69</sup> and their families

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<sup>61</sup> Nicholas Canny, 'Why the Reformation Failed in Ireland: Une Question Mal Posée' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxx, no. 4 (1979).

<sup>62</sup> Phil Kilroy, *Protestant Dissent and Controversy in Ireland 1660-1714* (Cork, 1994), pp 2-12.

<sup>63</sup> Maureen Wall, *The penal laws, 1691-1760* (Dundalk, 1967), p. 3.

<sup>64</sup> Ruth Whelan, 'The Huguenots, the Crown and the Clergy: Ireland, 1704' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxvi (1994-97), p. 603, '... the French Reformed Church was also established by law in Ireland ....'.

<sup>65</sup> See for instance J. P. Pittion, 'The question of religious conformity and non-conformity in the Irish Refuge', in Pittion, Caldicott, Gough, (eds), *The Huguenots and Ireland* (Dublin, 1987), pp 285-97; G. A. Forrest, 'Schism and reconciliation: the French Church at St Mary's Abbey in Dublin, 1704-1716' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxvi, (1994-7), pp 199-212; Ruth Whelan, 'Points of view: Benjamin de Daillon, William Moreton and the Portarlinton affair' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxvi, (1994-7), pp 463-89.

<sup>66</sup> See for instance: Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, p. 227, 'There was little friction between the Conformed and Nonconformed Churches'; Le Fanu, 'Huguenot Churches in Dublin', p. 103, '... the terms Conformed and Nonconformist .... imply an antagonism which, so far as I can discover, did not exist between the French Churches of Dublin.'

<sup>67</sup> Henri Teisserenc, 'The 'Dubourdieu' and 'du Bourdieu' families in Ireland, Montpellier to Lisburn and Vitré to Waterford' in *Huguenot Society Journal*, xxxii, (2019), pp 67-81, p. 68, 'Within the British Isles, a sort of post-romantic nostalgia for the original identity of Huguenot ancestors was aroused ....'.

<sup>68</sup> Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (London, 1931), v.

<sup>69</sup> Matthew Glozier, *The Huguenot soldiers of William of Orange and the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688: the lions of Judah* (Brighton, 2002), pp 104-32.



went on to establish traditions of service to the Crown. Accordingly, their descendants were reluctant to reflect on evidence that highlighted conflicts within the cultural inheritance bequeathed to them by their ancestors. That cultural inheritance became bound up in the term Huguenot, and what had been a pejorative term intended to insult their ancestors during the sixteenth century became laudatory amongst descendants of the original refugees during the nineteenth century, tied to their family histories as champions of the constitutional monarchy of the United Kingdom.

This sentimental narrative of the French Protestant community in Ireland did not receive serious interrogation until the late twentieth century, when the tercentenary of the Revocation in 1985 inspired a high level of academic interest in the French Protestant diaspora. The tercentenary was marked by numerous conferences, including one held in Ireland, at which papers were presented that challenged previous understandings of the French Protestant community in Ireland.<sup>70</sup> Jean Paul Pittion presented a paper at the conference which analysed the controversy caused by the question of conformity to Anglican practice, and is to be thanked for placing this issue at the centre of subsequent academic discourse.<sup>71</sup> Pittion argued that conformity to Anglican practice by some French Churches in Dublin resulted in a strict separation from those who did not,<sup>72</sup> however, and this thesis shows that this was not the case. While the community was served by two separate churches, patterns in life event registrations, god parentage and recorded witnesses at marriages and burials clearly show that it was one French Protestant community.

Raymond Hylton presented a paper on the French Protestant community at Portarlinton during the conference in Dublin,<sup>73</sup> and he made a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the French Protestant communities in Dublin through his doctoral thesis.<sup>74</sup> Hylton provided us with an exhaustive study of French Protestant involvement in property development during the early eighteenth century, a time when the city was growing at an exponential rate,<sup>75</sup> and this thesis expands on Hylton's findings to identify where French Protestants households could be found in Dublin. Another important contribution from

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<sup>70</sup> The papers presented at the conference were published in J. P. Pittion, C. E. J. Caldicott, Hugh Gough, (eds), *The Huguenots and Ireland: Anatomy of a Migration* (Dublin, 1987).

<sup>71</sup> Pittion, 'The question of religious conformity and non-conformity in the Irish Refuge', pp 285-97.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 290-1.

<sup>73</sup> Raymond Hylton, 'The Huguenot Settlement in Portarlinton, 1692-1771' in *The Huguenots and Ireland*, pp 297-320.

<sup>74</sup> Raymond Hylton, 'The Huguenot Communities in Dublin, 1662-1745' (Ph.D. Thesis, University College Dublin, 1985); *Ireland's Huguenots and their refuge, 1662-1745: an unlikely haven* (Brighton, 2005).

<sup>75</sup> Hylton, 'The Huguenot Communities in Dublin', pp 124-30, pp 147-211.

Hylton's thesis was the collation of substantial data to quantify the size of the French Protestant community in Dublin, as well as provide broad statistics in terms of origins and occupations.<sup>76</sup> This thesis builds on Hylton's research by focusing on the core families associated with the French Churches to further investigate the trends Hylton identified in his research.

Helpful here is more recent research which has focused on occupational groupings within the community. This includes the work of Jessica Cunningham, who has highlighted the diaspora networks of trade and family amongst the French Protestant goldsmiths in Dublin.<sup>77</sup> Furthermore, Cunningham has shown that first generation refugee goldsmiths were largely employed by established native goldsmiths who were masters of the Dublin Goldsmith's Guild, and that the refugees produced their work under their master's name.<sup>78</sup> Cunningham's observations are reflected in the agitation of journeymen and apprentices against Protestants Strangers recently highlighted by Edward Whelan, showing that French Protestants settling in Dublin could not count on a warm welcome from those who felt threatened by their arrival.<sup>79</sup> This thesis expands our knowledge of relations between the French Protestant community, the city council and the trade guilds, shedding further light on the integration of French Protestants into the communal, occupational and municipal political structures of the city.

As noted above, many of the French Protestants who settled in Ireland were veterans of the Huguenot regiments, and their families established traditions of service in institutions of the confessional state in Britain and Ireland during the eighteenth century. Marie Léoutre's biography of Henri de Massue, Marquis de Ruvigny, a leader of the French Protestant movement in exile, has highlighted Ruvigny's contribution to consolidating the Protestant Interest in Ireland during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.<sup>80</sup> Léoutre's work contributes to research on French Protestant involvement in the politics of ancien régime Europe,<sup>81</sup> and this thesis contributes to this body of knowledge. The thesis builds on past research on French Protestants who pursued careers in the institutions of the confessional state in Britain and Ireland.

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<sup>76</sup> Hylton, 'The Huguenot Communities in Dublin', pp 34-49, pp 67-9.

<sup>77</sup> Jessica Cunningham, *Dublin's Huguenot Goldsmiths; The contribution of the Huguenots to the design, development and manufacture of Irish Silver, 1690-1750* (MA thesis, National College of Art and Design, 2008), pp 24-9.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid, pp 37-42.

<sup>79</sup> Edward Whelan, 'Native versus newcomer: Intolerance and harassment of foreign immigrants in Dublin, 1600-1800' in *Dublin Historical Record*, lxiii, no. 1 (2010), pp 68-80, pp 73-5.

<sup>80</sup> Marie Léoutre, *Serving France, Ireland and England; Ruvigny, Earl of Galway, 1648-1720* (London, 2018), pp 87-146, pp 200-25.

<sup>81</sup> Laurence Huey Boles, *The Huguenots, the Protestant interest, and the War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1714* (New York, 1997), pp 2-24.

## *Statement of Thesis*

To date, research on the French Protestant communities in Ireland has focused on the period of establishment during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The process of integration and assimilation they experienced during the eighteenth century has received less attention, however, with past research generally assuming that the community swiftly assimilated into Anglophone Protestant society at some point between c. 1730 to c. 1770.<sup>82</sup> In part, this timeline is predicated on the assumption that the community was established as a temporary refuge for French Protestant refugees who intended to return to France.<sup>83</sup> This analysis does not acknowledge the large-scale efforts made to settle French Protestants in Ireland as coherent and cohesive French Protestant communities with ministers and churches, however. Such efforts were periodically repeated right up to the 1750s,<sup>84</sup> and the French Churches in Dublin continued to hold French Protestant religious practices into the nineteenth century. The extent and durability of the French Protestant refuge in Ireland makes the argument for temporary refuge as its primary purpose untenable.

Another key factor in the narrative of swift assimilation were the conflicts within the community concerning the French Churches' relationship with the Church of Ireland.<sup>85</sup> According to this analysis, irreconcilable divisions between 'politique' and 'zealot' factions in the community exposed by the pressure to accept episcopal oversight doomed it to swift assimilation.<sup>86</sup> While their relationship with the Church of Ireland was a source of internal conflict in the early years, the French Churches in the city regularly cooperated with one another on issues such as poor relief for poor French Protestants,<sup>87</sup> and French Protestant ministers were often employed by the different French Churches, sometimes simultaneously.<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, as shown in chapter one of this thesis, there is significant evidence of interactions between the families who made up the congregations. The argument that irrevocable conflict

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<sup>82</sup> Hylton, *Ireland's Huguenots and their Refuge*, pp 175-96.

<sup>83</sup> Le Fanu, 'The Huguenot Churches of Dublin', p. 130, '...they spoke English, and had given up their hopes of returning to France.' Hylton, 'The Huguenot Communities in Dublin', p. 153.

<sup>84</sup> Susanne Lachenicht 'New Colonies in Ireland? Antoine Court and the Settlement of French Refugees in the 18th Century' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxix, no. 2 (2009), pp 227-37.

<sup>85</sup> Jean-Paul Pittion, "'They shall have and enjoy the free exercise of their religion ...': Huguenots in Ireland' in *Diasporas*, no. 18 (2011), pp 11-29.

<sup>86</sup> Hylton, *Ireland's Huguenots and their Refuge*, pp 177-96.

<sup>87</sup> Le Fanu, 'The Huguenot Churches of Dublin', pp 124-27.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, pp 129-31.

on the question of conformity to Anglican practice undermined the cohesion of the community and doomed it to swift assimilation is equally untenable.

Finally, it is worth noting that the narrative of temporary refuge and irreconcilable conflict leading to swift assimilation does not acknowledge the determination of French Protestants to perpetuate French Protestant religious practices in exile. If the community swiftly assimilated into Anglophone Protestant society during the mid-eighteenth century, it is difficult to understand why French Protestants continued to attend religious services and record baptisms as members of the French Churches in Dublin right into the early nineteenth century.<sup>89</sup> Even more difficult to understand were the periodic attempts made to reinstitute French Protestant religious services during the nineteenth century.<sup>90</sup> A key defining characteristic of French Protestantism was the consistorial model of church government, which operated throughout the eighteenth century at the St Patrick's French Church, which was nominally 'conformed'.<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, when French Protestant religious services ended at St Patrick's, the French Church consistory was not dissolved. Instead, it evolved into the administrative body for mutual charity amongst descendants of the refugees and continued in this role into the twentieth century.<sup>92</sup> The thesis of swift assimilation during the mid-eighteenth century presented in past research does little to explain these trends, and this thesis sheds further light on the processes of integration and assimilation experienced by the French Protestant community in Dublin.

The work of Joyce Goodfriend provides a helpful example of how to approach this question. Goodfriend studied the diverse ethno-religious communities of seventeenth New York, following its transfer from Dutch to English rule during the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>93</sup> Goodfriend demonstrated that, rather than a rapid 'Anglicization', the Dutch community perpetuated a distinct ethno-religious identity focused on the Dutch Reformed Church until the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>94</sup> To explain this trend, Goodfriend noted the key role of religion as the 'central expression of culture in early New York City',<sup>95</sup> citing its connection with language

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<sup>89</sup> *Registers of the French Conformed Churches of St Patrick and St Mary, Dublin*, ed. J. J. Digges La Touche (Dublin, 1893) (hereafter *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*), baptism of Suzanne Bessonnet, 1 September 1818, p. 89.

<sup>90</sup> Le Fanu, 'The Huguenot Churches of Dublin', p. 139.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 132-3.

<sup>93</sup> Joyce Goodfriend, *Before the melting pot: society and culture in colonial New York City, 1664-1730* (Princeton, 1992).

<sup>94</sup> Goodfriend, *Before the melting pot*, pp 5-7.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6

as a focus for ethno-religious communities in the city.<sup>96</sup> Descendants of the original Dutch settlers did not move from the Dutch Reformed Church to the Anglican church in New York in large number until the 1740s,<sup>97</sup> a trend that Goodfriend argued reflected loss of proficiency in Dutch as well as the greater opportunities that would be available for social advancement as members of the state religion.

The experience of the Dutch community in New York can be contrasted with that of the French Protestant community, which had ceased to worship at a distinct French Church during the early eighteenth century. The closure of the French Church in New York was catalysed by disputes within the congregation regarding their minister, and French Protestants joined the churches of the families into which they had been marrying since the late seventeenth century.<sup>98</sup> The experience of the French and Dutch Protestant communities in New York highlights the importance of language and religion as an anchor for ethno-linguistic identity during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Her research also highlights the importance of the relationship between these groups and the Anglican authorities, who allowed them to continue with their particular religious practices. Robert Kingdon was one of the first to comment on arrangements of this nature, noting that French Protestants in Anglophone countries were often willing to accept episcopal oversight, despite the fact that episcopacy was an institution of the Roman Church which Calvin and other theologians of the Reformed movement had roundly rejected.<sup>99</sup>

In the opinion of Myriam Yardeni, acceptance of episcopal oversight by French Protestants in exile was a sign of acculturation, the process whereby the practices of one group, in this case the Anglican community, influenced those of another, in this case the French Protestant community, while the two groups remained distinct.<sup>100</sup> Yardeni has given much time to the question of assimilation in the case of the French Protestant diaspora, arguing that ‘secularisation’, meaning a loss of commitment to Christianity, was a significant cause of the eventual closure of the French Churches during the later eighteenth century.<sup>101</sup> In support of this thesis, Yardeni cited a sermon given by a French Church minister in London, Charles

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<sup>96</sup> Goodfriend, *Before the melting pot*, pp 187-99

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid*, pp 199-208.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, pp 199-200.

<sup>99</sup> Robert Kingdon, ‘Pourquoi les réfugiés huguenots aux colonies américaines sont-ils devenus épiscopaliens’, *Bulletin de l’Histoire du Protestantisme Française*, cxv (1969), pp 487-609.

<sup>100</sup> Myriam Yardeni, ‘Pour une histoire de la mentalité et de la religion « réfugiés » : Quelques problèmes de méthode’, in *Le refuge Huguenot: assimilation et culture*, (Paris, 2002), pp 15-22.

<sup>101</sup> Yardeni, ‘Refuge et encadrement religieux de 1685 à 1715’, *Le refuge Huguenot*, pp 59-70.

Bertheau, published in Amsterdam in 1712.<sup>102</sup> To Yardeni, this sermon was somewhat prophetic, as she states that this effort on the part of French Protestant pastors to encourage their congregations to live in a spiritual city of God was *perdue en avance*, suggesting that a loss of religiosity, or as she terms it, secularisation, was at the heart of the closure of French Protestant Churches in the later eighteenth century.

The paradigm of secularisation does not adequately explain the eventual closure of the French Churches in Dublin, however. While descendants of French Protestant refugees living in Dublin eventually left the French Churches, they joined other Protestant churches when they did so. Goodfriend's observations on the close link between language and religion as a foundation for distinct ethno-religious communities during this period is more important. The perpetuation of French Protestant religious services in Dublin right into the early nineteenth century provides clear evidence of a continued sense of French Protestant identity amongst descendants of the original refugees. So too their relationship with the confessional state in Ireland, as French Protestants were given complete freedom of worship through the Protestant Strangers Act. In the circumstances of early modern Europe, this was an unusual, though not unprecedented, arrangement. The relationship between the French Churches in Dublin and the confessional state in Ireland is crucial to understanding both their longevity, and their eventual closure during the early nineteenth century.

The special status of French Protestants in Ireland was not unprecedented in Anglophone law, as can be seen in the case of the Protestant Stranger Churches in London, which were amongst the first exile Protestant communities established in Europe during the sixteenth century. Andrew Pettegree studied the London communities from their foundation during the sixteenth century, where they existed under a royal charter naming them a wholly separate corporate and political body within the city and the kingdom.<sup>103</sup> The work of Pettegree and Patrick Collinson has shown the importance of the Stranger Churches both as an opportunity for the nascent Reformed faith to develop in a safe environment, and as an influence on the development of Anglophone Protestantism.<sup>104</sup>

The special status of the Stranger Churches, and their influence on Anglophone Protestantism, were a cause for concern amongst the Church of England episcopacy, and Ole

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<sup>102</sup> Yardeni, 'Refuge et encadrement religieux de 1685 à 1715', *Le refuge Huguenot*, p. 60.

<sup>103</sup> Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant communities in sixteenth-century London* (Oxford, 1986), pp 23-45.

<sup>104</sup> Patrick Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans and the foreign reformed churches in London', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, xx (1958-64), pp 528-55.

Peter Grell has considered this issue from the perspective of the Dutch Church in London.<sup>105</sup> Grell has shown that the pressure to conform to Anglican practices during the 1630s had a galvanising effect on the community, who lobbied extensively and effectively to delay official efforts to bring them into the Church of England.<sup>106</sup> In fact, it was the uncertainty and division of the Interregnum, in the context of disputes between proponents of Presbyterian church government and complete religious toleration, that saw the Dutch community assimilate most completely into the Anglophone Protestant communities of the city.<sup>107</sup>

The examples cited above provide a valuable precedent for understanding interactions between ethnoreligious groups in an urban setting during this period, as well as highlighting the importance of ethno-religious practices for the perpetuation of minority group identities. The experience of the French Protestant community in Dublin furthers our understanding of this area of history, by contributing to our understanding of the complex reality of life under the confessional state. To assess the process of integration, acculturation and assimilation experienced by the French Protestant community in Dublin, this thesis focuses on the period between c. 1660, when the first Protestant Strangers Act was passed in the Irish Parliament, until c. 1815, when religious services ceased at the French Churches in the city.

The thesis builds on past research to identify the key families associated with each French Church congregation, their interactions with one another and with families outside the French Protestant community. It discusses the place of the French Protestant community in the city of Dublin, analysing their participation in the communal, occupational and municipal political structures of the city. The thesis discusses the relationship between the French Protestant community and the confessional state in Ireland, placing the French Protestant community in Dublin in the context of state religious policy in the early modern period. The thesis considers the religious and communal life of the community; identifying the community's leaders, showing how they maintained a cohesive and united community in the city, as well as the religious and communal practices that reinforced the cohesion of each congregation and the community as a whole.

The thesis analyses the growing bonds of spiritual and legal kinship between French and Anglophone Protestant families visible in the years between c. 1730 and c. 1770. Susanne

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<sup>105</sup> Ole Peter Grell, 'From uniformity to tolerance: the effects on the Dutch church in London of reverse patterns in English church policy, 1634-47' in Ole Peter Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England* (London, 1996), pp 74-94.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 75-84.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 86-94.

Lachenecht has commented on this high level of integration, noting that further research was needed to explain this pattern.<sup>108</sup> This thesis shows that, while the mid-eighteenth century was a period of integration and acculturation for the French Protestant community, it was not a period of assimilation. The French Protestant community maintained themselves as a distinct confessional community in the city throughout this period, as signified by their continued participation in religious services at the French Churches.

The thesis shows that a visible French Protestant community existed in Dublin until the early nineteenth century, when religious services at the French Churches came to an end. The thesis shows that the end of French Protestant religious services in Dublin reflected the dismantling of the confessional states of Europe during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As a result, the legal restrictions preventing the unlawful confessional communities such as Catholics and Dissenting Protestants from participating in the public life were progressively removed. This process undermined the privileged position of lawful confessional communities like the French Protestants, unleashing centrifugal forces of sectarianism and nationalism from which emerged the nation states of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The febrile atmosphere generated by this process led to the outbreak of the 1798 rebellion in Ireland and the subsequent union of the British and Irish parliaments in 1801. In those circumstances, perpetuating a visible French Protestant identity through participation in religious services at the French Churches lost relevance for members of the community. While French Church services ended during the early nineteenth century, the charitable function of the community was perpetuated until the twentieth century, and the French Church graveyards continued to be used by descendants of the original refugees. The thesis shows that the perpetuation of these functions of the French Churches reflected a continued sense of community amongst descendants of French Protestants living in Dublin, one which was sustained by inheritance, mutual charity and commemoration of their ancestors.

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<sup>108</sup> Susanne Lachenicht, 'Huguenot Immigrants and the Formation of National Identities, 1548-1787' in *The Historical Journal*, no. 2 (2007), pp 309-31, pp 324-25.



## Chapter One - The French Protestant Community in Dublin, c. 1680-1740

This chapter discusses the French Protestant community established in Dublin between c. 1680 and c. 1740. Past research has discussed the diverse French Protestant community that developed in Dublin during these years. This chapter contributes to this body of knowledge by analysing the congregations of the French Churches, identifying the key families in each congregation and discussing the links between the congregations. Analysis is based on the surviving French Church registers, which contain records of baptisms, marriages and burials associated with community members. This information is complemented by surviving data including occasional lists of congregation members, as well as the abjurations and reconnaissances of French Protestants arriving in Dublin. The chapter shows that the French Churches in Dublin, while separate institutions, served one French Protestant community, with evidence of significant links between the congregations.

### *Source Material*

As is the case with much of the Irish historical archive, many original French Church documents were lost in the fire at the Public Record Office of Ireland in 1922,<sup>1</sup> and we are fortunate that the registers of the French Churches in Dublin were published prior to the fire.<sup>2</sup> These documents provide the basis for a study of the French Protestant community, allowing us to identify the key families in each congregation. The most complete set of registers are those of the French Churches at St Patrick's Cathedral in the south of the city, and St Mary's Abbey north of the Liffey.<sup>3</sup> These French Churches accepted the supervision of the Protestant archbishop of Dublin and used a French translation of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer as a guide for worship. The first of these French Churches was established at St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin in 1666, and St Mary's was established as an extension of this French Church in 1701. These French Churches separated after a dispute concerning the appointment of a minister in 1704, reuniting to form the United French Churches of Dublin in 1716.

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<sup>1</sup> For details of the original documents lost in the fire see Herbert Wood, *A Guide to the Records Deposited in the Public Record Office of Ireland* (Dublin, 1919), pp 283-4.

<sup>2</sup> Vivien Costelloe, 'Researching Huguenot Settlers in Ireland' in *BYU Family Historian*, vi, (2007), pp 83-163, pp 90-91.

<sup>3</sup> *Registers of the French Conformed Churches of St Patrick and St Mary, Dublin*, ed. J. J. Digges La Touche (Dublin, 1893) (hereafter *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*).

As the 1692 Protestant Strangers Act granted French Protestant refugees complete freedom of worship, French Churches using the Ecclesiastical Discipline of the Reformed Churches of France were also established in Dublin. The first these French Churches was established at an address on Bride Street in 1692, with a second congregation established at an address on Wood Street in 1701.<sup>4</sup> These French Churches moved between a number of addresses before respectively settling at addresses on Lucy Lane north the Liffey in St Mary's Parish, and Peter Street south the Liffey in St Bride's Parish. A similar process of separation and reunion saw these French Churches become the French Reformed Churches of Dublin in 1707.

Figure 6: Map of Dublin by Herman Moll, 1714<sup>5</sup>



<sup>4</sup> *Registers of the French Non-Conformist Churches of Lucy Lane and Peter Street Dublin*, ed. T. P. Le Fanu (Aberdeen, 1901) (hereafter *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*), pp ix-x.

<sup>5</sup> (<http://onlinecollection.nationalgallery.ie/objects/1901/map-of-dublin-in-1714?ctx=e6171ac7-44ae-4bd7-8b3d-a0835a23fec8&idx=3>) (18 Oct. 2022).

The institution of church registers was an initiative of the state authorities in early modern Europe, who wished to quantify the numbers of their subjects.<sup>6</sup> The choice of the local church as the appropriate institution for keeping such records reflected the church's importance as a focus for the fertility cycle of the family.<sup>7</sup> For the families making these records, the institution of this practice allowed them to make official records of their family life events as proof of legitimate parentage to protect family property and facilitate inheritance. The institution of church registers facilitated what Sarah Hanley has described as the family state compact, through which parental authority over their children's choice of marriage partners was strengthened to protect family property from practices like clandestine marriage.<sup>8</sup> As a result, life event records made in church registers became important in safeguarding what Natalie Zemon Davis has described as the onward arrow of family fortunes in historical time.<sup>9</sup> These changes had the effect of reinforcing the tendency towards nuclear families prevalent in western Europe,<sup>10</sup> and Davis has noted the remarkable speed with which families responded to the legislative changes associated with this process.<sup>11</sup>

A corollary of this trend is the underrepresentation of poorer families and individuals in church registers. Marriage during this period was predicated on the assumption that the couple marrying had the resources to sustain a family,<sup>12</sup> meaning that those who either lacked the means to form a household or had children out of wedlock could go unrecorded. Accordingly, it is unfortunate that French Church records noted in Herbert Wood's catalogue of the Public Record Office of Ireland, such as the charitable minute book (1712-1717) for the French Churches at Lucy Lane and Peter Street, were lost in the Four Courts Fire.<sup>13</sup> Another caveat concerning these records is the lack of uniformity in record making.<sup>14</sup> Robin Gwynn has highlighted the observations of William and Susan Minet, who noted that entries made in the

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<sup>6</sup> Simon Szreter, 'Registration of Identities in Early Modern English Parishes and amongst the English Overseas', in Keith Breckenridge and Simon Szreter (eds), *Registration and Recognition: Documenting the Person in World History*, Proceedings of the British Academy, clxxxii, (Oxford, 2012), pp 67-92.

<sup>7</sup> John Bossy illustrates this point in his study of late medieval and early modern Christianity, focusing on the importance of rites such as baptism and marriage, in *Christianity in the West, 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1985), pp 14-34.

<sup>8</sup> Sarah Hanley, 'Engendering the State: Family Formation and State Building in Early Modern France' in *French Historical Studies*, xvi, no. 1 (1989), pp 4-27

<sup>9</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Ghosts, Kin, and Progeny: Some Features of Family Life in Early Modern France' in *Daedalus*, cvi, no. 2 (1977), pp 87-114, p. 92.

<sup>10</sup> Jack Goody, *The development of the family and marriage in Europe* (Cambridge, 1983), pp 1-5.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, pp 107-8.

<sup>12</sup> E A Wrigley and R S Schofield, *The population history of England 1541-1871: a reconstruction* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 158.

<sup>13</sup> Herbert Wood, *A Guide to the Records Deposited in the Public Record Office of Ireland* (Dublin, 1919), pp 283-4.

<sup>14</sup> Wrigley and Schofield, *The population history of England*, pp 3-5.

registers of the French Churches in England were often made in the wrong register or could be out of order, with significant variation in the spelling of names.<sup>15</sup> Evidence of this can be seen in the Dublin French Church registers, which fall out of order on occasion,<sup>16</sup> with some entries recorded twice,<sup>17</sup> inaccuracies occasionally attributed to the details being found amongst the papers of a minister who had passed away.<sup>18</sup> As well as the potential for missing entries, some documents were already missing when the registers were edited for publication, such as the baptismal register for the St Patrick's congregation from 1692-1716. In terms of the French Reformed Churches, we only have full registers for the Peter Street French Church between c. 1700 and c. 1730. No registers for the French Church that worshipped at addresses on Bride Street and subsequently Lucy Lane have survived, and the only other register is the burial register of Lucy Lane and Peter Street for the period c. 1770 – c. 1830.<sup>19</sup>

While the available evidence is incomplete, we have enough consistent data for a study of the French Protestant community in Dublin, if used carefully. The St Patrick's baptism register for 1692-1716 is the only missing register for the St Patrick's and St Mary's French Churches, which cover an overall period from c. 1660 – c. 1830.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, the Peter Street register entries between c. 1700 – c. 1730 are quite extensive, allowing for reasonably complete family reconstitutions. The information contained in the registers is complemented by the lists of the heads of the families, such as those who signed the terms of union between St Patrick's and St Mary's.<sup>21</sup> Le Fanu published an edition of the original St Patrick's Discipline which was signed by the ministers, elders and heads of families, though unfortunately the signatures are not accompanied by dates before 1727.<sup>22</sup> There are two lists of subscribers to the French Reformed Churches for 1725 and 1735, which were transcribed by Richard Caulfield prior to

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<sup>15</sup> Robin Gwynn, 'Britain's significance in the Huguenot diaspora of the late 17th century' in *Huguenot Society Journal*, xxxii, (2019), pp 1-14, pp 4-6.

<sup>16</sup> See for instance *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 34, footnote states that, 'These two entries were wafered onto page 3 of the MSS., out of their date, and were transferred here.' Also p. 35 for a 'wafered entry', p. 37 for an entry repeated, and p. 38 for an entry out of sequence.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*: p. 37, 18 June 1718, baptism of Pierre Hamond, repeat entry for entry on p. 35; p. 56 Gabriel de Villeneuve, 11 Nov. 1722, repeat entry for event recorded on p. 43; p. 52, Charles Guinebauld de la Milliere, repeat entry for event recorded on p. 51, 5 June 1729; p. 59 15 May 1729, Marianne Darquier, repeat entry for event recorded on p. 51; p. 56, 30 July 1732, Sarah Darquier, repeat entry for event recorded on p. 56; p. 230, 18 Oct. 1752, Martin du Clousy, full record p. 231; p. 230, unknown Hattenville, repeat record p. 231, 16 Mar. 1753.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p. 38, entry for 16 Oct. 1719.

<sup>19</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, p. xii.

<sup>20</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. iv.

<sup>21</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin (Marsh Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1viii, pp 1-5).

<sup>22</sup> T. P. Le Fanu, 'Archbishop Marsh and the Discipline of the French Church of St Patrick's, Dublin, 1694' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xii, no. 4 (1921), pp 245-62.

the loss of those documents.<sup>23</sup> Mona Germaine has compiled various information sources into a reference work for Peter Street,<sup>24</sup> and V. E. Smyth made transcriptions of the epitaphs from the cemeteries at Newmarket and Merrion Row which are reflected in Le Fanu's edition.<sup>25</sup>

The accuracy of entries in the French Church registers is confirmed by surviving family papers, such as the marriage licence of Scipio Duroure and Marguerite Vignoles, who were married at St Mary's Abbey on 6 April 1713.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, some couples made a second record of the marriages and baptisms related to their family at their local Church of Ireland parish church which confirm the related entries in the French Church registers.<sup>27</sup> A significant strength of the surviving records is the substantial personal information they contain in comparison to contemporary Church of Ireland records, as noted by Raymond Gillespie in a recent article focused on the Cossart family.<sup>28</sup> The baptism records in the French Church registers regularly recorded godparents, and marriage records often included dense genealogical and geographical detail on the origins of the bride and groom, as well as details of witnesses to the marriage.<sup>29</sup> The surviving records provide a wealth of detail concerning the families who recorded life events at the French Churches, allowing us to build a picture of the community associated with the French Churches in Dublin.

### ***Methodology***

To draw meaningful conclusions from the surviving registers, the thesis makes use of the family reconstitution methodology used by Wrigley and Schofield to exploit the substantial parish registers available for England.<sup>30</sup> This methodology is limited by the fact that not all families will record all their life events in one set of church registers.<sup>31</sup> This is particularly the

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<sup>23</sup> Copy records of the French Churches (Marsh's Library Dublin, Ms. Y3.5.10, pp 801-16).

<sup>24</sup> Mona Germaine, *Peter Street Cemetery, Non-Conformist French Huguenot Church and Cemetery 'French Peters', Dublin, 1711-1879* (Dublin, 2001).

<sup>25</sup> V. E. Smyth, 'Epitaphs in the French Nonconformist Cemeteries of Peter Street and Stephen's Green, Dublin' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, x, no. 1 (1911-14), pp 130-36.

<sup>26</sup> Marriage license for Scipion Duroure and Marguerite Desvignoles at St Mary's Abbey 6 Apr. 1713 (Huguenot Library London, Duroure/Vignoles papers, F.Dv 1/16). Corresponds with record in *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 120, marriage of Scipion Duroure and Marguerite Desvignoles, 6 Apr. 1713.

<sup>27</sup> See for instance: *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 112, marriage of Elizabeth Chaigneau and David Renoüard, 26 June 1710; *Marriage Entries from the Registers of the Parishes of St Andrew, St Anne, St Audoen and St Bride, Dublin, 1632-1800*, ed. D.A. Chart (Dublin, 1913), p. 130, marriage of Elizabeth Chaigneau and David Renoüard, 26 June 1710.

<sup>28</sup> Raymond Gillespie, 'The record of an event and its significance: the baptism of Salomon Cossart' in *The Huguenot Society Journal*, xxxi, (2017), pp 117-28.

<sup>29</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 90, marriage of Moyses Viridet and Françoise de Mazières, 28 Mar. 1683.

<sup>30</sup> Wrigley and Schofield, *The population history of England*, pp 1-12.

<sup>31</sup> These concerns are considered in Steven Ruggles, 'Migration, Marriage, and Mortality: Correcting Sources of Bias in English Family Reconstitutions', *Population Studies*, xlvi, no. 3 (1992), pp 507-22.

case for an exile community such as the French Protestants, who showed a high degree of mobility during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Wrigley has shown that the deviation between different families' experiences in English registers is not so substantial as to invalidate the observations made from a given parish register,<sup>32</sup> however, making the family reconstitution methodology a reliable one to follow.

### ***The French Churches at St Patrick's Cathedral and St Mary's Abbey***

The French Churches at St Patrick's Cathedral and St Mary's Abbey existed under the supervision of the archbishop of Dublin. In line with an agreement made with the then Archbishop Narcissus Marsh (1694-1703), the French Church at St Patrick's used an ecclesiastical discipline known as the St Patrick's Discipline, which represented a compromise between the ecclesiology of the Reformed Churches of France and the Church of Ireland. In return for accepting this compromise, these French Churches gained the use of Church of Ireland buildings, as well as access to the revenues of both church and state in Ireland.

#### ***The French Church at St Patrick's Cathedral c. 1660 – c. 1690***

The French Church at St Patrick's Cathedral was established in 1666,<sup>33</sup> following negotiations between the then lord lieutenant of Ireland James Butler, first duke of Ormond, and the then archbishop of Dublin Michael Boyle.<sup>34</sup> The official opening was reported in the London Gazette, the official journal of the Stuart monarchy,<sup>35</sup> which highlighted the presence of Ormond and Archbishop Boyle, as well as leading civic figures such as the lord mayor of Dublin Sir Daniel Bellingham. The publicity surrounding the official opening of the French Church at St Patrick's makes the paucity of recorded life events in the St Patrick's registers prior to 1680 somewhat puzzling. Evidence taken from other archives further highlights this anomaly, as Raymond Hylton found evidence for c. 100 French Protestants in Dublin in 1665,<sup>36</sup> with c. 200 French Protestants in Dublin by 1670.<sup>37</sup> Despite this growing French Protestant community, we find only four recorded baptisms in the St Patrick's registers during this period, all made between 1669 and 1672.<sup>38</sup> Those baptisms were related to the Comtesse and Cossart

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<sup>32</sup> E. A. Wrigley, 'The Effect of Migration on the Estimation of Marriage Age in Family Reconstitution Studies', *Population Studies*, xlviii, no. 1 (1994), pp 81-97.

<sup>33</sup> T.P. Le Fanu, 'Huguenot Churches in Dublin and their ministers', *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, viii (1905-08), pp 87-157, pp 93-6.

<sup>34</sup> Raymond Hylton, 'The Huguenot Communities in Dublin, 1662-1745' (Ph.D. Thesis, University College Dublin, 1985), pp 19-23.

<sup>35</sup> *London Gazette*, 17-21 May 1666.

<sup>36</sup> Hylton, 'The Huguenot Communities in Dublin', pp 18-19.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*, pp 22-4.

<sup>38</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 1.

families, and Raymond Gillespie has shown that the Cossart family were well established in Dublin during this period, with significant links to St John's Parish.<sup>39</sup>

It was not until the 1680s that we see substantial evidence of French Protestants recording life events at the St Patrick's French Church. This was associated with increasing religious persecution in France that culminated in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Hylton has used wider resources to show that the community grew to c. 400 members during the 1680s, with over 100 French Protestants gaining freedom, or citizenship, of the city during these years.<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately, the St Patrick's records end during the war between James II and William III, when members of the community were imprisoned and some families left Dublin for Chester.<sup>41</sup> Records recommence in 1692, and some families present during the 1680s do not appear in the registers during the 1690s. This makes it difficult to make complete family reconstitutions, and the partial reconstitutions which can be made are summarised in appendix 1.a.

The group of families named Perrot highlight the difficulties in reconstituting families during this period. A saddler named Jacobus Perrat received the freedom of Dublin as a French Protestant during the easter term of 1682,<sup>42</sup> and is likely to be the Jacques Perrot who, with his wife Catherine Ferré, recorded the baptisms of two daughters at St Patrick's.<sup>43</sup> A baker named Johes Perot received the freedom of the city as a French Protestant at Michaelmas 1682,<sup>44</sup> and Jean Perrot and Susanne Bremont had a son named Pierre baptised on 24 February 1683.<sup>45</sup> Jacques Perrot was a godparent to Pierre Perrot, making it possible that the two families were related. The paucity of records makes it difficult to be certain, however, as shown by the baptism of Elizabeth Perrot, daughter of Jean Perrot and Marie Perrot, on 12 February 1684.<sup>46</sup> Marie Perrot is likely to be the Marie Gautier who was a godparent of Jacques Perrot and Catherine Ferré's second child, a daughter baptised on 10 February 1684.<sup>47</sup> It is possible that Susanne Bremont died suddenly during the year that passed between the first and second

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<sup>39</sup> Raymond Gillespie, 'A Huguenot in late seventeenth-century Dublin: the world of David Cossart and his family' in *Dublin Historical Record*, lxxi, no. 1 (2018), pp 47-63, pp 50-3, pp 55-6.

<sup>40</sup> Hylton, *The Huguenot Communities in Dublin*, pp 40-1.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, pp 55-9.

<sup>42</sup> (<https://databases.dublincity.ie/freemen/viewdoc.php?freemenid=10529>) (24 Dec. 2021).

<sup>43</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*: p. 2, Françoise Perrot, 14 Jan. 1683; p. 3 unnamed child, 10 Feb. 1684; p. 134, Françoise Perrot, 15 Feb. 1683.

<sup>44</sup> Ancient Freeman of Dublin Database (<https://databases.dublincity.ie/freemen/viewdoc.php?freemenid=10534>) (24 Dec. 2021).

<sup>45</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 2, Pierre Perrot, 24 Feb. 1683.

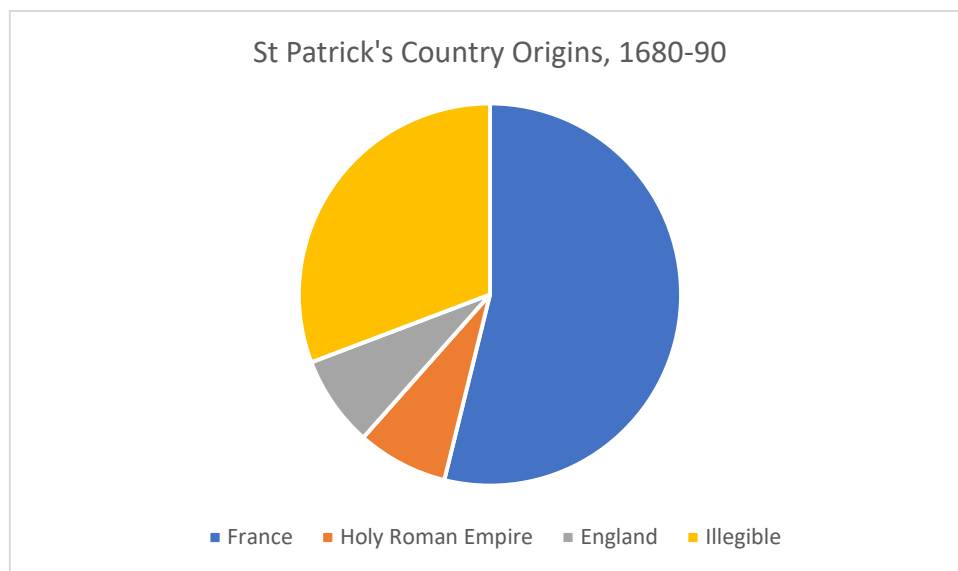
<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, p. 3, Elizabeth Perrot, 12 Feb. 1683.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*, p. 3, 10 Feb. 1684.

baptism, but we lack a corresponding burial record in the St Patrick's register to confirm this. Accordingly, it is possible that there were three, related, Perrot families recording life events at St Patrick's during these years.

This example highlights the difficulties posed in accurately reconstituting families caused by the break in records. The register entries made during this period are quite extensive, however, giving some insight into the community associated with St Patrick's during these years. We find 26 references to origins made in the St Patrick's registers during the 1680s, of which eight (31%) are illegible. Of the legible references, 14 references (54%) are to places in France, as displayed in the chart below.

Figure 7: Country of origin for families recording life events at St Patrick's French Church, 1680-90



It is interesting to note that 16% of stated origins were to places outside France. These included Jean Le Noir of London, godfather to Daniel Pierresené, who was baptised on 12 May 1680.<sup>48</sup> On 24 September 1682 Suzanne La Gée, a native of Mannheim in the Rhenish Palatinate of the Holy Roman Empire, was married to Guillaume Van Marque, a tailor from Rouen in Normandy.<sup>49</sup> The marriage of Elizabeth Cassel, from London, to Gilles Le Moine, from Languedoc in France, was recorded in the marriage register on 10 August 1687.<sup>50</sup> Gilles, or Egidius as his name was rendered in the freedom rolls, was noted as a weaver when he received freedom of the city in 1691,<sup>51</sup> and was noted as a merchant in his burial record, made

<sup>48</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 1.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, p. 90.

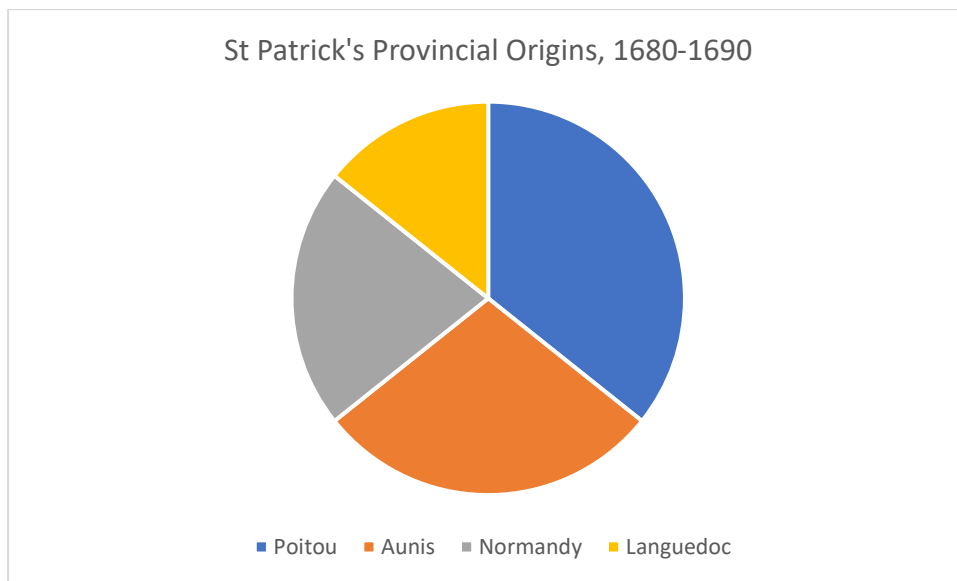
<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, p. 91.

<sup>51</sup> (<https://databases.dublincity.ie/freemen/viewdoc.php?freemenid=8735>) (18 Sept. 2022).



in the St Patrick's register on 1 December 1699.<sup>52</sup> Interestingly, the marriage record tells us that his mother, Eleonor Bitré Claset, was from Clande, near Liège in the Holy Roman Empire. Looking at wider sources, Bartholomew Van Homrigh, who was a godfather to Lambert Silvius on 24 December 1683,<sup>53</sup> gained naturalisation under the Protestant Strangers Act on 22 June 1689, with the record telling us that he came from Danzig in Prussia.<sup>54</sup> Evidence like this indicates that French Protestant refugees from religious persecution in France were joined in Dublin by people from Protestant exile communities across Europe.

Figure 8: Provincial origins of families recording life events at St Patrick's French Church, 1680-90



The majority of those with origins in France came from the neighbouring provinces of Poitou and Aunis in western France. Hylton characterised these provinces as 'southern', however, based on a broad dichotomy between France north and south of the Loire valley.<sup>55</sup> A French Protestant church outside Anglican supervision was established in Dublin during these years, and in Hylton's view, this reflected the more independent minded nature of 'southern' French Protestants vis-a-vis their less numerous co-religionists from the northern provinces.<sup>56</sup> Hylton's argument is predicated on French Protestants being a majority in all provinces south of the Loire, overlooking the fact that French Protestants were a minority in most provinces except Languedoc by the seventeenth century.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, Hylton's characterisation of northern

<sup>52</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 163.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>54</sup> *Letters Of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Ireland, 1603-1700*, ed. William Shaw (London, 1911), p. 216.

<sup>55</sup> *The Huguenot Communities in Dublin*, pp 124-7.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 47-52.

<sup>57</sup> Gregory Hanlon, *Confession and Community in Seventeenth-Century France, Catholic and Protestant Coexistence in Aquitaine* (Philadelphia, 1993), pp 19-24.

French Protestants as amenable to conformity overlooks examples such as the passive resistance to religious persecution shown by the Rouennais merchant who steadfastly refusing to convert to Catholicism while showing the troops billeted on him fine hospitality.<sup>58</sup> Hylton’s argument for a ‘zealot-apocalyptic’ strain of southern French Protestantism in places where they constituted a majority has some merit in the specific case of the Cevennes region of the upper Languedoc,<sup>59</sup> In his usage it oversimplifies the diverse regional origins of the French Protestants who settled in Dublin, however, as displayed in the map below.

Figure 9: Provinces of France.<sup>60</sup>



<sup>58</sup> Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed, a Social History of Calvinism* (London, 2002), p. 374.

<sup>59</sup> Lionel Laborie, 'The French Prophets: A Cultural History of Religious Enthusiasm in Post-Tolerance England (1689-1730)' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of East Anglia, 2010), pp 30-4.

<sup>60</sup> (<https://i.pinimg.com/736x/f3/b7/b6/f3b7b6a22802e0f1de80e67d99566c80--provinces-of-france-la-france.jpg>) (18 Oct. 2022).

The map above gives a sense of wide regional diversity in the French kingdom of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The complex regional origins of French Protestants in Dublin become particularly visible when one looks at the map of the synodal districts of the Reformed Churches of France below.

Figure 10: Synodal Districts of the Reformed Churches of France.<sup>61</sup>

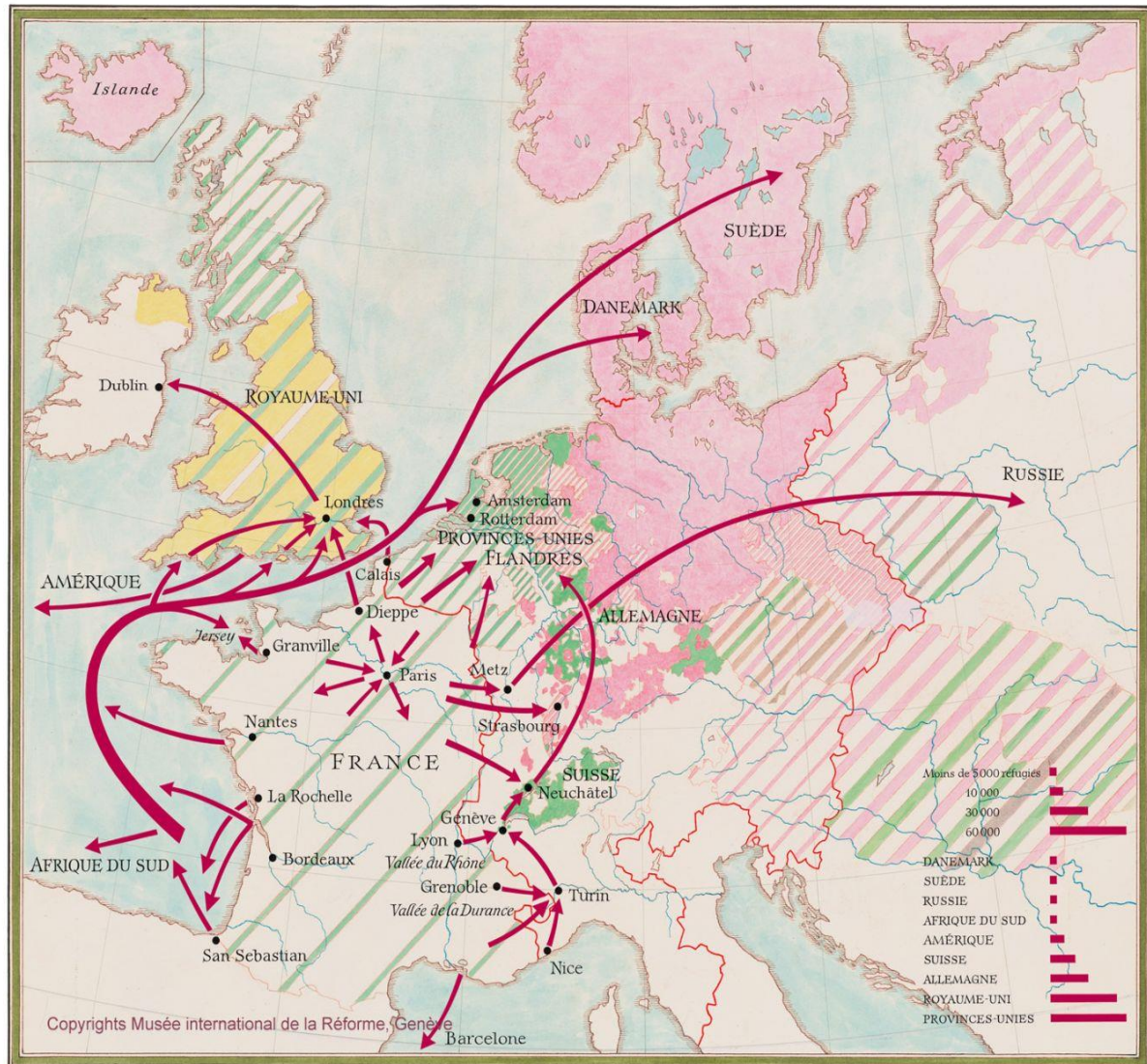


Rather than a broad dichotomy between north and south, what is more interesting is the predominance of references to the Atlantic maritime provinces, highlighting the importance of

<sup>61</sup> (<https://museeprotestant.org/en/notice/cartes-xviiie-siecle/>) (18 Oct. 2022).

the sea as a medium of escape from France. This is shown in surviving escape narratives of the Champagné family of Poitou,<sup>62</sup> Isaac Dumont du Bostaquet of Normandy,<sup>63</sup> and Jacques Fontaine of Saintonge, all of whom at least initially attempted to leave France on a merchant ship bound for England.<sup>64</sup>

Figure 11: Migration routes from France to exile<sup>65</sup>



<sup>62</sup> Carolyn Lougee Chappell, 'The Pains I Took to Save My/His Family': Escape Accounts by a Huguenot Mother and Daughter after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes' in *French Historical Studies*, xxii, no. 1 (1999), pp 1–64.

<sup>63</sup> Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet, *Mémoires d'Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet : sur les temps qui ont précédé et suivi la révocation de l'édit de Nantes, sur le refuge et les expéditions de Guillaume III en Angleterre et en Irlande*, ed. Michel Richard (Paris, 1968), pp 108-18.

<sup>64</sup> Jacques Fontaine, *Mémoires d'une famille huguenote: victime de la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, Bernard Cottret (ed.), (Montpellier, 1992) pp 127-32.

<sup>65</sup> (<https://www.musee-reforme.ch/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/les-routes-du-refuge.jpg>) (18 Oct. 2022).

Hylton has noted the importance of merchants in the community during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.<sup>66</sup> Ole Peter Grell has noted the importance of merchants and ministers in forming and consolidating Protestant exile communities during the sixteenth century reformations,<sup>67</sup> and by the late seventeenth century these communities formed part of what John Bosher termed a 'Protestant International'.<sup>68</sup> The available evidence suggests that the Dublin community formed part of what Bertrand van Ruymbeke characterised as an 'Atlantic' diaspora, based around the trading cities of the Atlantic Ocean.<sup>69</sup>

The Cossart family studied by Gillespie appears in John Bosher's study,<sup>70</sup> and Protestant Strangers in Dublin during the seventeenth century such as the Desminières family and Bartholomew Van Homrigh had links to the trading cities involved in this network.<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, Louis Cullen has found significant evidence for Dublin's integration into a French Protestant brandy trading network focused on western France during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>72</sup> Cullen downplayed the importance of the Revocation in the emergence of this trade network, however, stating that those involved were simply military officers who turned to trade 'when they had to abandon army service'.<sup>73</sup> This assessment overlooks the fact that many of these military officers expressly left France due to the Revocation and joined William of Orange's army to fight against Louis XIV's France,<sup>74</sup> hoping that the Edict of Nantes would be reinstated as part of subsequent peace negotiations.<sup>75</sup> Faith was just as important as occupational opportunities in the decisions of French Protestants to leave France during these years, and the confessional aspect of these migrations should not be overlooked.

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<sup>66</sup> Hylton, *The Huguenot Communities in Dublin*: pp 14-5, pp 34-5, pp 48-9; pp 58-9; pp 115-31.

<sup>67</sup> Ole Peter Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England* (London, 1996), pp 98-119.

<sup>68</sup> John Bosher, 'Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century' in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, lii, no. 1 (1995), pp 77-102.

<sup>69</sup> Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, 'Minority Survival: The Huguenot Paradigm in France and the Diaspora' in Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and R. J. Sparks (eds), *Memory and Identity, The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora* (Columbia, 2003), pp 1-26, pp 11-13.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*, pp 80-1, also p. 91.

<sup>71</sup> Hylton, *The Huguenot Communities in Dublin*, pp 10-14, 22, 35.

<sup>72</sup> Louis Cullen, 'The Huguenot Diaspora from the perspective of merchant networks of Western Europe (1680-1790): The example of the brandy trade' in Pittion, Caldicott, Gough, (eds), *The Huguenots and Ireland* (Dublin, 1987), pp 129-51.

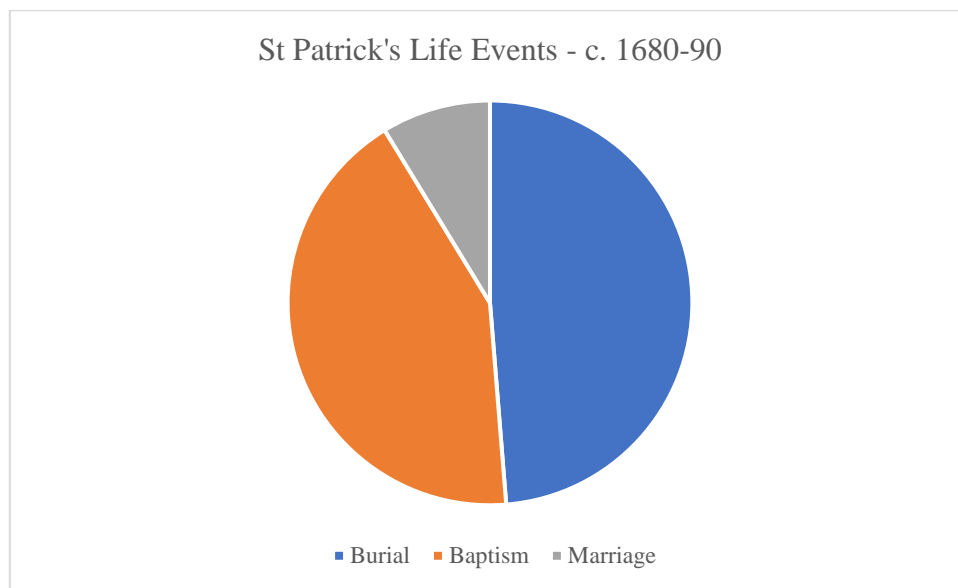
<sup>73</sup> Cullen, 'The Huguenot Diaspora from the perspective of merchant networks', p. 131.

<sup>74</sup> Matthew Glozier, *The Huguenot Soldiers of William of Orange and the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688, The Lions of Judah* (Brighton, 2002), pp 51-87.

<sup>75</sup> Laurence Huey Boles, *The Huguenots, the Protestant interest, and the War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1714* (New York, 1997), pp 195-209.

Cullen has noted that merchant families in southwest France often sent their sons abroad for business, indicating that French Protestants regularly travelled between France and Ireland.<sup>76</sup> This is interesting, as Jean-Pierre Pousseau has argued that Britain and Ireland were not the preferred destination for migrants from Aunis and Saintonge.<sup>77</sup> Pousseau's observations were based on the low proportion of French Protestants from these provinces who settled permanently in exile,<sup>78</sup> and he does acknowledge that there was a significant cohort from this region in Dublin.<sup>79</sup> Pousseau's observations may reflect regular migration between exile communities like Dublin and southwest France, and further research might investigate this possibility.

Figure 12: Life events recorded at St Patrick's French Church, c. 1680-90



The pie chart above shows a surfeit of recorded burials to baptisms in the life registers, with approximately five burials for every four baptisms, or 1.15 burials per baptism. This statistic reflects the high mortality rate in seventeenth century Dublin,<sup>80</sup> as highlighted by the experience of the Beliard de La Mozelle family. Three Petrus Beliards received the freedom of Dublin during easter 1682 and all three were serge weavers.<sup>81</sup> The baptism of Isaac Beliard, son of Pierre Beliard de la Mozelle and Jeanne Cougillard, was recorded at St Patrick's on 4

<sup>76</sup> Louis Cullen, *The brandy trade under the Ancien Régime : regional specialisation in the Charente* (Cambridge, 1998), pp 166-70.

<sup>77</sup> Jean-Pierre Pousseau, 'Approches pour une étude des Huguenots en provenance du Sud-Ouest et des Charente réfugiés sans les Iles Britanniques' in J. P. Pittion, C. E. J. Caldicott, Hugh Gough, (eds), *The Huguenots and Ireland: Anatomy of a Migration* (Dublin, 1987), pp 97-113, pp 106-9.

<sup>78</sup> Pousseau, 'Approches pour une étude des Huguenots en provenance du Sud-Ouest', p. 106.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, p. 102.

<sup>80</sup> Edward Whelan, 'The Dublin patriciate and the reception of migrants in the seventeenth century: civic politics and newcomers' (Ph. D. Thesis, Maynooth University, 2008), pp 16-32.

<sup>81</sup> Ancient Freeman of Dublin Database (<https://databases.dublincity.ie/freemen/viewdoc.php?freemenid=1857>) (24 Dec. 2021).

February 1682.<sup>82</sup> The St Patrick's burial register records the burials of Pierre and François Beliard, sons of Pierre Beliard, both of whom died during the summer of 1683.<sup>83</sup> The burial of their father Pierre Beliard was recorded on 16 May 1685, followed soon after by that of his son Isaac, recorded on 26 June 1685.<sup>84</sup> These records suggest that the entire family, aside from Jeanne Cougillard, had died within three years of arriving in Dublin.

While the experience of the Beliard family reflects the high mortality rate of seventeenth century Dublin, the overall ratio of burials to baptisms in the St Patrick's register was positive in comparison to the city as a whole. Thomas Jordan noted that the average ratio of burials to baptisms in Dublin for the years 1668-1680 was 3:2, or c. 1.5 burials per baptism,<sup>85</sup> and the ratio of recorded burials to baptisms at St Patrick's (1.2:1) during the 1680s was slightly better than this overall ratio. In the case of the Cossart family, Raymond Gillespie has noted that the number of recorded births was greater than the average for French Protestant families in Rouen.<sup>86</sup> These observations suggest that French Protestants coming to Dublin during these years may have had a slightly better standard of living than the average for Dublin, and possibly their places of origin.

Phil Benedict has charted the steady decline of the French Protestant population during the seventeenth century,<sup>87</sup> noting the impact of migration, war and famine, and not least the elevated mortality associated with urban areas during this period.<sup>88</sup> As well as these factors, Benedict also noted the restrictions imposed on Protestant participation in various occupations may have been a factor, particularly in comparison to the Catholic population.<sup>89</sup> Further research on the French Protestant diaspora might use the data in the church registers to assess the relative benefits gained by French Protestants by choosing to go into exile.

The surviving evidence indicates that a substantial French Protestant community developed in Dublin during the 1680s, with a wide variety of occupations associated with French Protestants settling in Dublin during this period.<sup>90</sup> Many came from the Atlantic

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<sup>82</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 1.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*: p. 134; 19 Aug. 1683, burial of Pierre Beliard; 13 Sept. 1683, burial of François Beliard.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, p. 136.

<sup>85</sup> Thomas Jordan, 'Dublin's Seventeenth Century Parishes and the Quality of Life' in *Social Indicators Research*, cxviii, no. 2 (2014), pp 819-833, p. 820.

<sup>86</sup> Gillespie, 'David Cossart and his family', p. 53.

<sup>87</sup> Philip Benedict, *The Faith and Fortunes of France's Huguenots, 1600-85* (London, 2001), pp 9-121.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, pp 59-95.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid*, pp 18-33, pp 74-5.

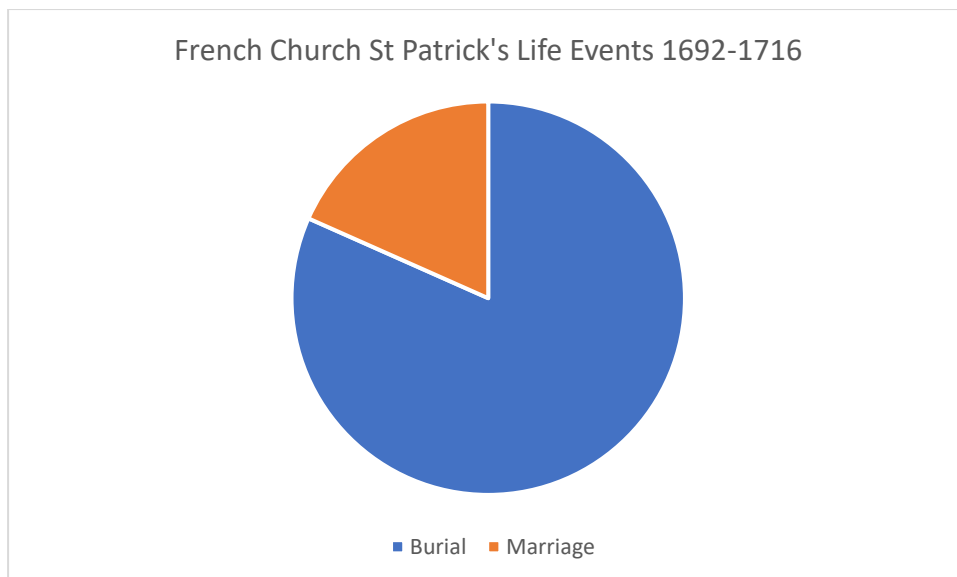
<sup>90</sup> Hylton, *The Huguenot Communities in Dublin*, pp 48-9.

maritime provinces of France, and they were joined by French Protestants who came to Dublin from elsewhere in Protestant Europe. Not all of the French Protestants identified by Hylton and others in the municipal and state archives were recorded in the church registers during this period, however, and many French Protestants who were in Dublin during the 1680s were not recorded in the registers during the 1690s. Further research might seek to understand whether they remained in Dublin attending other churches, left Dublin for other refugee centres like London, or indeed returned to France.

### ***French Church at St Patrick's Cathedral c. 1690 – c. 1716***

The St Patrick's registers recommence in 1692 after the defeat of James II by William III. During that year, the Irish Parliament was convened by William following his victory over James, and one of its first acts was to renew the 1662 Protestant Strangers Act, amended to include a provision granting Protestant Strangers complete freedom of worship. Passage of the 1692 Protestant Strangers Act marked the period of greatest migration of Protestant Strangers to Ireland, and the Dublin community grew exponentially. Hylton identified as many as 900 French Protestant families in Dublin from c. 1690 – c. 1720, as part of a community of c. 4,000 individuals.<sup>91</sup> The population of Dublin grew from c. 50,000 to c. 120,000 during this period,<sup>92</sup> making French Protestants a notable minority Protestant confessional group in the city.

Figure 13 – Life Events



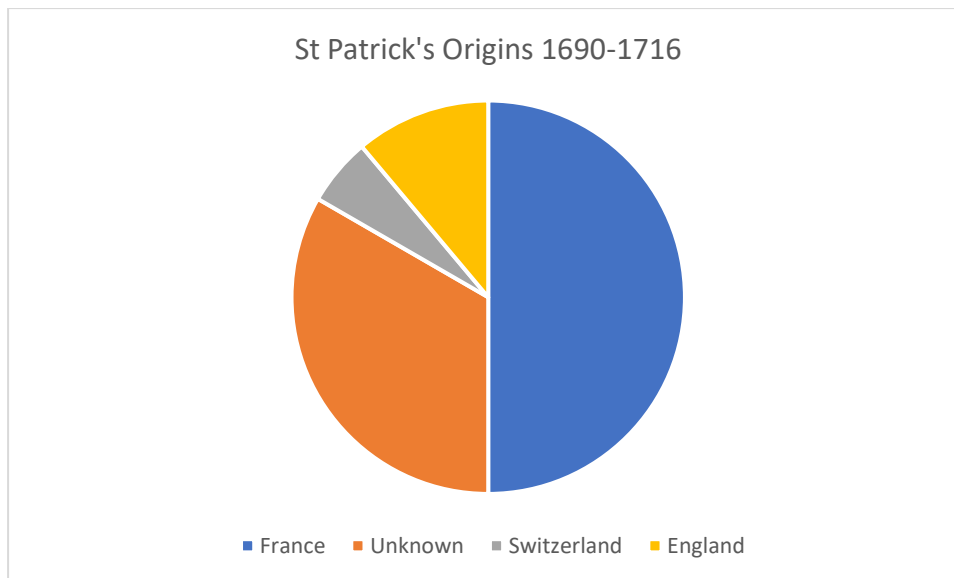
<sup>91</sup> Hylton, *The Huguenot Communities in Dublin*, p. 64.

<sup>92</sup> Patrick Fagan, 'The Population of Dublin in the Eighteenth Century with Particular Reference to the Proportions of Protestants and Catholics' in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, vi, (1991), pp 121-56, pp 125-39.



Unfortunately, the St Patrick’s baptism register for this period has not survived, and the life events recorded in the marriage and burial registers are summarised in the table above. Eighteen family groups representing c. 40 nuclear families can be isolated from the surviving records, as summarised in [Appendix 1.b](#). As well as the c. 40 families we can identify in the surviving registers, Le Fanu’s edition of the original St Patrick’s Discipline includes c. 100 signatures up to that of the French Church minister Pierre Bouquet de St Paul, who first appears in the records during 1716.<sup>93</sup> Four (c. 22%) of the families recording life events at St Patrick’s during this period were present during the 1680s, including the Chaigneau and Vivien families, and the Cassel and Gautier families had recorded life events during the 1680s. These figures point to a high degree of change in the composition of the St Patrick’s congregation when it was re-established during the 1690s.

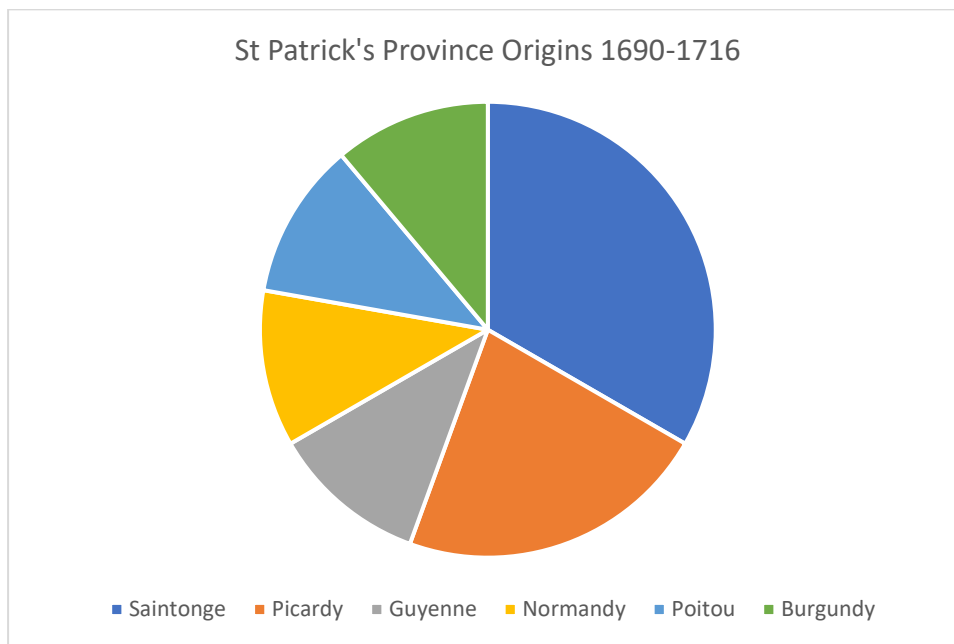
Figure 14 – Country Origins of families recording life events at St. Patrick’s French Church, c. 1690-1716



Looking at the recorded origins of these families, 50% had specified origins in France, and the origins of a third are unknown or uncertain. As in the previous cohort, c. 17% had origins in other exile communities, and for the 50% of the sample whose origins in France are known, Atlantic maritime provinces like Saintonge and Picardy continued to be the most common place of origin.

<sup>93</sup> Fagan, ‘The Population of Dublin in the Eighteenth Century’, p. 261.

Figure 13: Provincial origins of families recording life events at St Patrick's French Church, c. 1690-1716



Perhaps most interesting are the c. 17% who had origins outside of France. The Gendrin family came from London,<sup>94</sup> while the Cannel family came from Canterbury.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, while the Cassel family were from Calais in the Picardy region of France,<sup>96</sup> there are a number of references to London indicating that the family also had roots in that city.<sup>97</sup> The Martinet family were from the Vaud region of Switzerland,<sup>98</sup> and Louis Quartier, a minister at St Patrick's, was the son of Jacques Quartier, a French Church minister based in Groningen in the Netherlands.<sup>99</sup> Of the families whose origins are uncertain, Thomas Gautier may be related to the French minister Thomas Gautier who was a professor of theology in Marburg in the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>100</sup> These examples highlight the diverse origins of the community, which included French Protestants from exile communities elsewhere in Protestant Europe as well as French Protestant refugees from France. Combined with families who already had a presence in Dublin, this brings the total number of families associated with St Patrick's who had lived outside France prior to joining the community during the 1690s to c. 1/3 of the sample. Their

<sup>94</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 177, burial of Anne Gendrin.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid*: p. 160, burial of Jacques Cannel; p. 173, burial of Elizabeth Cannel.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid*, p. 111, Marriage of François Clarice and Anne le Roux.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid*: p. 91, marriage of Gille Le Moine and Elizabeth Cassel; p. 102, marriage of Charles Rougissard and Elizabeth Cassel.

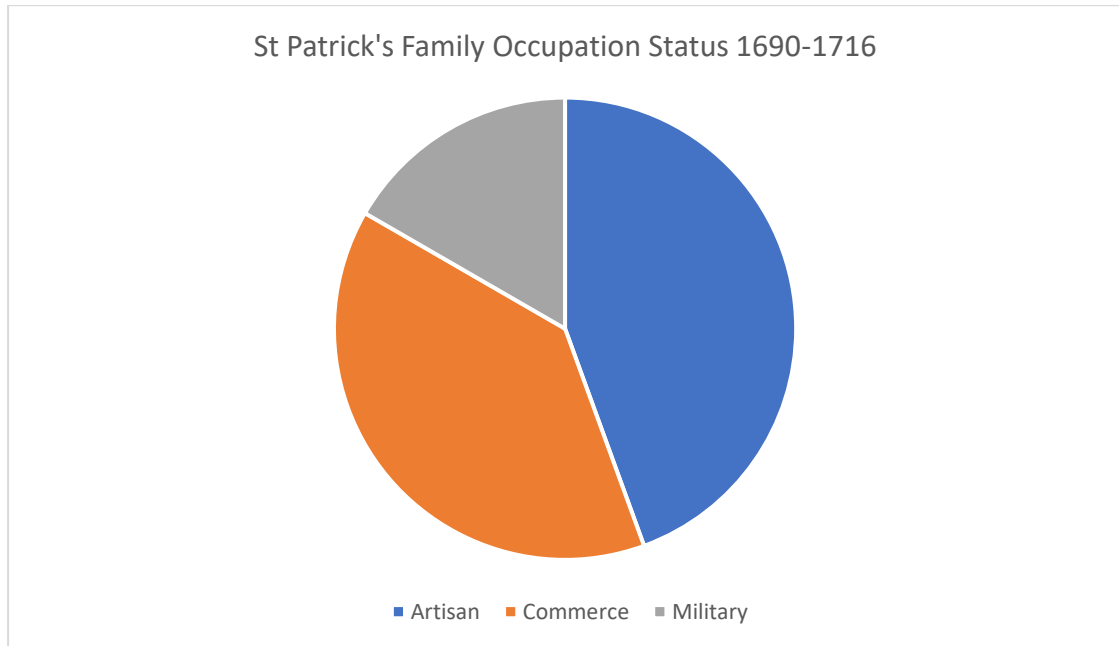
<sup>98</sup> *Ibid*, p. 182, burial of Olivier Martinet.

<sup>99</sup> Le Fanu, 'The Huguenot Churches of Dublin', pp 115-6.

<sup>100</sup> Ulrich Niggeman, 'Huguenot Attitudes to Church Administration in Brandenburg-Prussia and Hesse-Kassel' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxix, no. 1 (2008), pp 93-104, pp 98-9.

prominence in the St Patrick's registers may reflect a greater willingness to accept at least outward conformity to the state religion to ease their establishment in a foreign city.

Figure 14: Occupational status group for families associated with St Patrick's French Church, c. 1690-1716

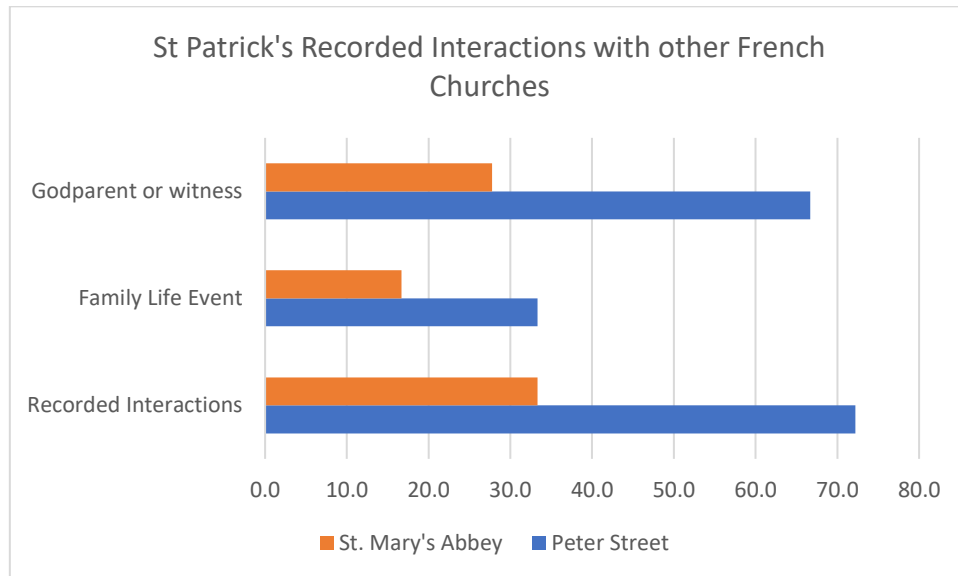


We have much more complete information on the occupations of these families, which have been classified into the status groups for ease of analysis. The category of 'commerce' includes the merchants of the community. The 'artisan' designation covers the various trades such as weaver, barber and surgeon, which were regulated by the craft guilds of the city. While merchants were members of the Holy Trinity, or Merchant's Guild, membership of that guild reflected an elevated social status with regards the members of other guilds, meaning that a distinction should be drawn between merchants and other guild regulated occupations. The designation 'military' covers the military officers of the community, largely though not solely comprised of Huguenot Regiment Veterans.

Chart 6 shows that artisans (44%) are the largest group, including clothworkers like the Cannel and Gendrin families. The Jamar family from Picardy was associated with shoe and carpet making, while the Regnier and Perrault families were barbers and surgeons with roots in Poitou and Burgundy, respectively. Commerce (39%) is the second largest group and these families had roots across the Atlantic maritime provinces of France. The Boivin family were from Normandy, the Bertin family had roots in Guyenne, and the Chaigneau and Adrien families came from Saintonge. Three families can be associated with the Huguenot regiments, namely the Allenet family from Saintonge, the Cassel family from Picardy and the Pascal family, whose origins are currently unknown. The particular concentration of merchants and

clothworkers likely reflects the business opportunities these families expected to find in Dublin as the capital city of the Irish kingdom, a topic to which this thesis will return in the second chapter.

Figure 15: Interactions of families associated with St Patrick's French Church with other French Churches



Perhaps most interesting is the evidence of links to the other French Churches. Of the 18 family groups in the St Patrick's sample, over two thirds (72.2%) appear in the Peter Street French Church registers, with c. 67% attending life events as witnesses or godparents, and one third recording family life events such as a baptism, marriage or burial at the Peter Street French Church. Conversely, one third of this sample were recorded as present at life events at St Mary's Abbey, with c. 28% recorded as witnesses and godparents, and c. 17% recording their families' baptisms, marriages and/or burials at St Mary's Abbey.

Given that the Peter Street records (1701 - 1730) cover more than double the time period of the St Mary's Abbey records (1705 - 1716), and the greater proximity of Peter Street to St Patrick's in comparison to St Mary's, one cannot definitively state that there were greater links between Peter Street and St Patrick's. What these figures do tell us is that links between the congregations were quite common, with families recording life events at different French Churches at different times for different reasons. This evidence contradicts the observations of past researchers like Jean Paul Pittion, who has repeatedly suggested that a 'thin line' separated the two French Churches in Dublin.<sup>101</sup> Pittion has further argued that the separation between

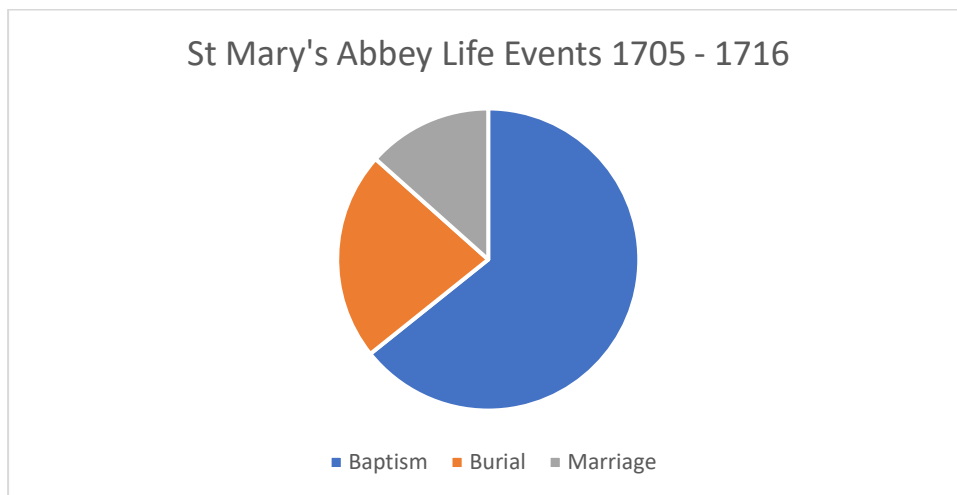
<sup>101</sup> Jean-Paul Pittion, 'The French Protestants and the Edict of Nantes (1549-1685): a chronology based on material in Marsh's Library, Dublin' in C. E. J. Caldicott, Hugh Gough and J. P. Pittion, *The Huguenots and Ireland: Anatomy of an Emigration* (Dublin, 1987), pp 37-66, p. 64.

the congregations were facilitated their swift assimilation into the receiving society.<sup>102</sup> While it is true that there were two distinct French Church institutions in the city, the evidence of interactions between the French Church congregations shows that the French Churches in Dublin served one French Protestant community.

### ***St Mary's Abbey 1705 – 1716***

While we lack complete records for St Patrick's during this period, we have a complete set of registers for the St Mary's Abbey congregation, which maintained a separate registers between 1705-1716. While these registers were only kept for a limited period of time, the information in the baptism register allows us to make more concrete conclusions about the make-up of that congregation.

*Figure 16: Life events recorded at St Mary's Abbey French Church, 1705-1716*



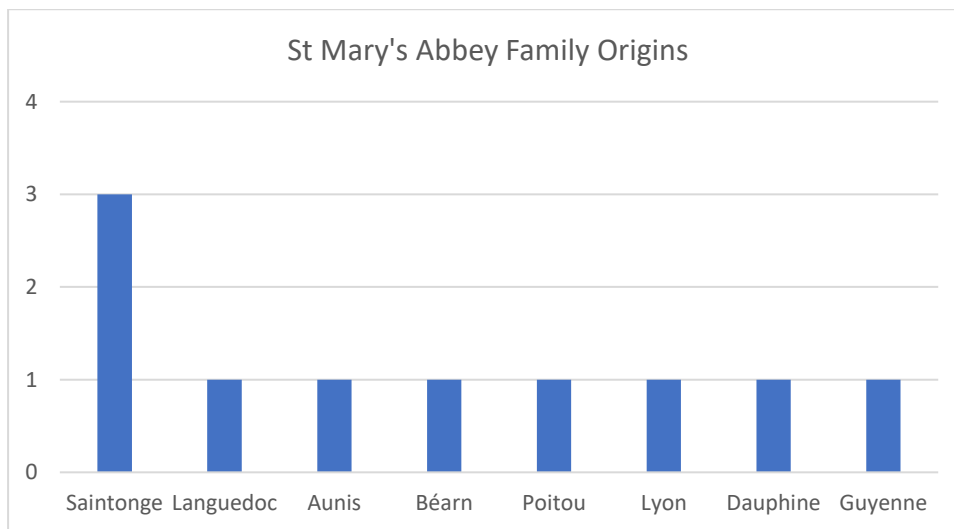
Perhaps the most striking statistic for this cohort is the significant surfeit of baptisms over burials, with 0.35 burials to baptisms. In a letter to Pierre Dégalenière, minister of St Mary's, the Archbishop of Dublin William King stated that he understood 'that the richest most substantial men are on your side'.<sup>103</sup> This statistic suggests that this observation was true, and that the congregation at St Mary's contained the wealthiest members of the French Protestant community in Dublin. Fourteen family names are associated with at least five life events in the registers of St Mary's Abbey, allowing us to isolate 18 nuclear families in 14 family groups, as detailed in appendix 1.c. Only the Chaigneau and Roy families, or c. 14% of the sample, were recorded at St Patrick's during the 1680s, once again indicating a high degree of turnover

<sup>102</sup> Jean-Paul Pittion, "They shall have and enjoy the free exercise of their religion ...": Huguenots in Ireland' in *Diasporas*, no. 18 (2011), pp 11-29, pp 22-3, pp 27-8.

<sup>103</sup> King to Dégalenière PallMall 6 Feb. 1704 (TCD, King Correspondence, Ms. 750/3/1/84)

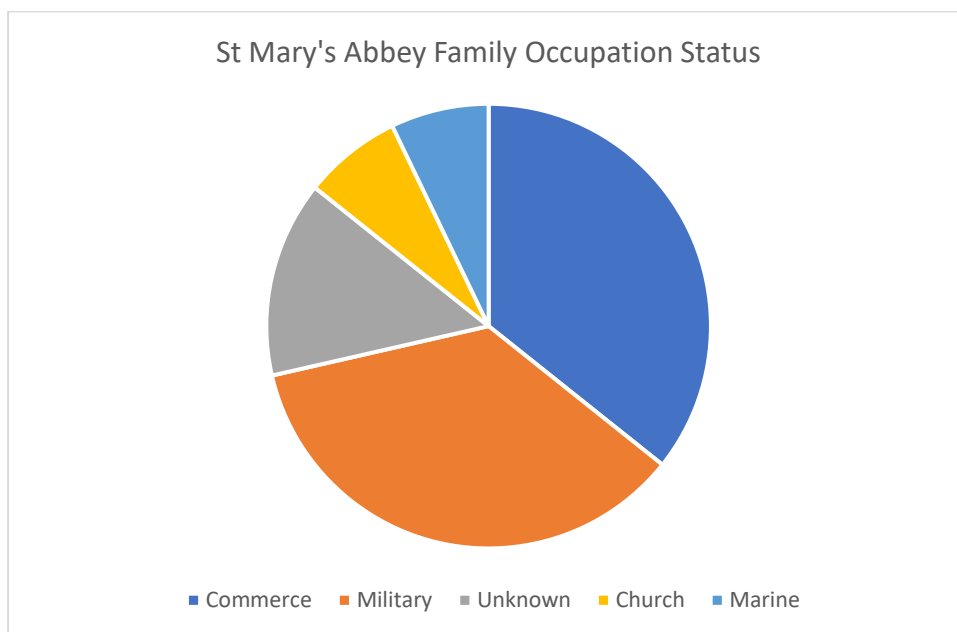
in the community. Looking at the origins of these families, four of the sample (c. 29%) are unknown, and the other ten (c. 70%) are all references to regions in France. Only two of these families (c. 14%), the Chaigneau and Roy families, had been recorded at St Patrick's during the 1680s. This suggests that the vast majority of the families recording life events at St Mary's were first generation refugees. Therefore, it is possible that the willingness of this congregation to challenge episcopal authority partly reflected their lack of experience of living abroad as exiles in a minority confessional community.

Figure 17: Provincial origins of families recording life events at St Mary's French Church



The presence of families from southern provinces like Languedoc and eastern provinces like Dauphiné and the Lyonnais is interesting. While French Protestants from the Atlantic maritime provinces often went into exile via the sea, French Protestants from these provinces usually travelled overland to Geneva and other Protestant cities in the Alps and the Rhine valley to escape France. It seems likely that they came to Dublin as part of the large-scale resettlement programmes pursued during the 1690s. Their willingness to defy episcopal authority during the dispute with St Patrick's may have reflected their disappointment that the freedom of worship promised to them should they come to Ireland was being actively undermined by the Church of Ireland episcopacy.

Figure 18: Occupational status groups of families recording life events at St Mary's French Church



The chart above shows that Huguenot regiment veterans (36%) and merchants (36%) each represented a third of the sample, and the preponderance of Huguenot regiment veterans supports the conclusion that they catalysed the division that occurred between St Patrick's and St Mary's in 1705.<sup>104</sup> One such family was that of Hector Chataignier de Cramahé, a leader of St Mary's during the separation with St Patrick's. Hector was from Aunis in western France and served as a captain during campaigns in Holland, Ireland and Flanders. He was a close confidant of Henri de Massue, marquis de Ruvigny and lord Galway, a significant leader of the French Protestants in exile.<sup>105</sup> Cramahé acted as Galway's aide de camp during the campaigns that gave William of Orange the British and Irish kingdoms.

Merchants remained the backbone of the congregation, however, including Jean Porter, an Irish Protestant merchant from Waterford,<sup>106</sup> whose marriage to Marianne Macarell was recorded at St Patrick's in 1706, and this couple baptised four children at St Mary's Abbey.<sup>107</sup> Jean Porter was one of the elders of St Mary's Abbey who negotiated the union with St

<sup>104</sup> G.A. Forrest, 'Schism and reconciliation: the French Church at St Mary's Abbey in Dublin, 1704-1716' in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, xxvi, (1994-7), pp 201-3.

<sup>105</sup> T. P. Le Fanu and W. H. Manchee, *Dublin and Portarlington veterans, King William III's Huguenot army* (hereafter 'Dublin and Portarlington Veterans') (London, 1946), p. 27.

<sup>106</sup> Jean Paul Pittion, "'They shall have and enjoy the free exercise of their religion ...': Huguenots in Ireland" in *Diasporas*, 18, (2011), pp 11-29, p. 27.

<sup>107</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 110, marriage of Jean Porter and Marianne Macarell, 1706; p. 10, baptism of Marie Porter, 30 July 1707; p. 13, baptism of Jean Porter, 10 Apr. 1709; p. 15, baptism of Marianne Porter, 21 Sept. 1710; p. 18, baptism of David Porter, 27 June 1712; p. 214, burial of Marianne Porter, 1 Oct. 1710.

Patrick's,<sup>108</sup> and may have been the tailor of that name who received the freedom of Dublin at Christmas 1714. Another important merchant family was formed by the marriage of Nicholas Gruber and Margaret Moore, recorded in the St Patrick's registers on 19 May 1703.<sup>109</sup> Gruber was from Lyon, and with his father, Daniel, gained naturalisation in England during 1685,<sup>110</sup> and went on to establish a gunpowder business.<sup>111</sup> Nicholas Gruber was one of the heads of families from the St Mary's Abbey congregation who signed the terms of reunion between St. Patrick's and St Mary's Abbey, and served as an elder of the United Churches between 1716 and 1723.<sup>112</sup> Gruber's wife Margaret Moore was the daughter of Reverend William Moore,<sup>113</sup> and their marriage was solemnised by Pierre Degalenière, whom Gruber supported in the disputes with St. Patrick's.<sup>114</sup>

The marriage of Nicholas Gruber and Margaret Moore was witnessed by Mr and Mrs Boubers, an aristocratic family who held the title Vicômte, or Viscount, de Bernatre.<sup>115</sup> The recorded baptisms of the Gruber family provide further evidence of their links to both significant families in the French Protestant community and Anglophone Protestants. The godparents of their son, Nicolas, included one Mr Price, François Gruber and Ms West<sup>116</sup> The godparents of their daughter, Elizabeth Gruber, were Louis Chaigneau, Judith Ricord and Susanne Gruber.<sup>117</sup> Judith Ricord could not be present at the baptism, however, and Bessy Moore, a relative of Margaret, stood as godmother in her place. Their daughter Susanne Gruber was baptised by Abraham Viridet, and her godparents were Pierre Degalenière, one Mr Ward, and Mrs's Macarell and Boyd.<sup>118</sup> François Gruber was baptised by Pierre Degalenière, and his

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<sup>108</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin, 29 Apr. 1716 (Marsh Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1viii, p. 4).

<sup>109</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 107, 19 May 1703.

<sup>110</sup> William Shaw (ed.), *Letters Of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Ireland, 1603-1700* (London, 1911) (hereafter '*Denization and Naturalization, 1603-1700*'), p. 170.

<sup>111</sup> J. C. Combe, 'Huguenots in the Ministry of the Churches of Ireland – Their Place and Contribution' (Ph. D. Thesis, Queen's University Belfast, 1970), pp 390-4.

<sup>112</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin (Marsh Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1viii) p. 4, Heads of families for St Mary's Abbey, 22 Apr. 1716; p. 6, Elder, 22 July 1716; p. 50, Elder, 14 Mar. 1723.

<sup>113</sup> Combe, 'Huguenots in the Ministry of the Churches of Ireland', pp 390-4.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107, 19 May 1703.

<sup>115</sup> *Dublin and Portarlington Veterans*, p. 19.

<sup>116</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 7, 15 June 1705.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9, 28 July 1706.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11, 25 Dec. 1707.



godparents were Charles Malet, Dazeus Price and Marie Ward.<sup>119</sup> Arthur Gruber was also baptised by Degalenière, and his godparents were Pierre Ludlow, Mr Booth and Mrs Davis.<sup>120</sup>

The choice of spiritual kin for the children of the Gruber family suggest that they were linked to other merchant families of the Protestant International. As noted above, John Porter was married to Marianne Macarell, and the record of their marriage tells us that her father was a merchant.<sup>121</sup> The Boyd family were merchants of Scottish origin who had roots in western France, who had come to Dublin via the North American colony of South Carolina.<sup>122</sup> Boshier has observed similar links amongst the French Protestant merchants included in his study, stating that ‘religion was stronger than nationality’ for the Protestant merchants of this period.<sup>123</sup> Also interesting are the links to families of landowners and public office holders, such as the Boubiers de Bernatre family. Other examples include the marriage of Elizabeth Boyd to Jacob de Pechels, which was recorded at St Mary’s during 1714.<sup>124</sup> Jacob Pechels came from a family who had been property owners and public office holders prior to the revocation.<sup>125</sup>

The links to families of landowners and public office holders is interesting, as Boshier has argued that the ‘Catholic International’ was more generally composed of military officers, lawyers and bureaucrats than the Protestant International, where Boshier felt merchants were predominant.<sup>126</sup> Grell has made similar observations, noting the central importance of merchants and ministers to spread of Reformed ideas during the second half of the sixteenth century is widely recognised.<sup>127</sup> Phil Benedict has noted a greater proportion of merchants amongst the French Protestant community in the French city of Alençon during the seventeenth century, a trend that Benedict ascribed to legal restrictions on Protestant participation in state, legal and municipal institutions,<sup>128</sup> and Maureen Wall has made similar observations about

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119 *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 12, 1 Jan. 1709.

120 *Ibid.*, p. 21, 20 Oct. 1713.

121 *Ibid.*, p. 110.

122 Dianne Ressaging, Harriot Cheves Leland and Vivien Costello, ‘The Boyd Family: Global Huguenot Merchants’ in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxix, no. 2 (2009), pp 168-79, p. 168.

123 Boshier, ‘Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International’, p. 93.

124 *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, 5 Jan. 1714, p. 120.

125 Ressaging, Cheves Leland and Costello, ‘The Boyd Family’, p. 174-7.

126 Boshier, ‘Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International’, pp 99-100.

127 Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England*, p. 98.

128 Benedict, *The Faith and Fortunes of France’s Huguenots*, pp 27-33.

Catholics in Ireland.<sup>129</sup> Legal restrictions on participation in public office may have been an important factor in explaining the mercantile traditions of at least some French Protestant families, and the surviving evidence shows movement between the occupational and status groupings of merchant and military officer, indicating that opportunities became open to French Protestants in exile that were closed to them in France.

Jane McKee has noted the greater tendency of these families to marry within their occupational cohort during this period, particularly in comparison to the merchant families.<sup>130</sup> Jane McKee has noted the degree of overlap between merchant and Huguenot regiment families, however, with families like the La Touche moving from military service into trade as they settled in exile.<sup>131</sup> The evidence points towards families of French Protestant merchants, landowners and officer holders forming links with one another families based on their shared Protestantism. Further research into the family groupings that can be identified using French Church registers and other sources might shed further light on the trends identified in the case of Dublin. Comparative research using the surviving archives of the other French Protestant exile communities in cities such as London and Amsterdam would help to contextualise this observation. Also interesting are the links to Anglophone Protestant families, and further research might investigate links between ethnolinguistic groups fostered by faith during the reformation period.

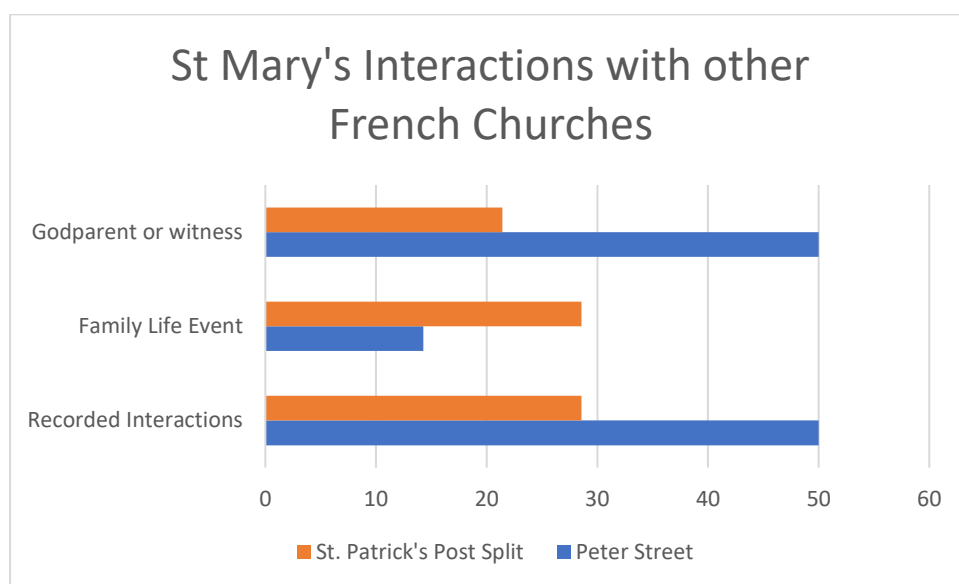
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<sup>129</sup> Maureen Wall, 'The Rise of a Catholic Middle Class in Eighteenth Century Ireland' in Gerard O'Brien (ed.), *Catholic Ireland in the Eighteenth Century: The Collected Essays of Maureen Wall* (Dublin, 1989), pp 73-84.

<sup>130</sup> Jane McKee, 'The early Huguenot community of Dublin and its networks' in Vivien Larmine (ed.), *Huguenot Networks, 1560-1780, the interactions and impact of a Protestant minority in Europe* (London, 2018), pp 187-201, pp 194-8.

<sup>131</sup> McKee, 'The early Huguenot community of Dublin' pp 194-5.

Figure 19: Interactions of families recording life events at St Mary's French Church with other French Churches



What is perhaps most interesting is the surviving evidence of families associated with St Mary's attending and recording life events at St Patrick's and Peter Street. In the case of Peter Street, 50% of families associated with St Mary's appeared in the Peter Street records. This figure is lower than the figure for St Patrick's, though the limited duration of the St Mary's Abbey registers means we cannot draw too much from this distinction. What is clearer is the significantly lower number of recorded interactions between families associated with St Mary's and St Patrick's after the split between the congregations. Only four of the fourteen families in the sample, or c. 29%, are recorded in the St Patrick's registers after the split, a similar percentage for the families associated with St Patrick's who appear in the St Mary's registers. This trend suggests that the split between St Patrick's and St Mary's Abbey reflected a more significant division between the congregations. It is unfortunate that there are no surviving documents related to the Lucy Lane French Church, which was also on the north side of the Liffey, as these would have helped to further test these observations.

#### ***United French Churches c. 1716 – c. 1740***

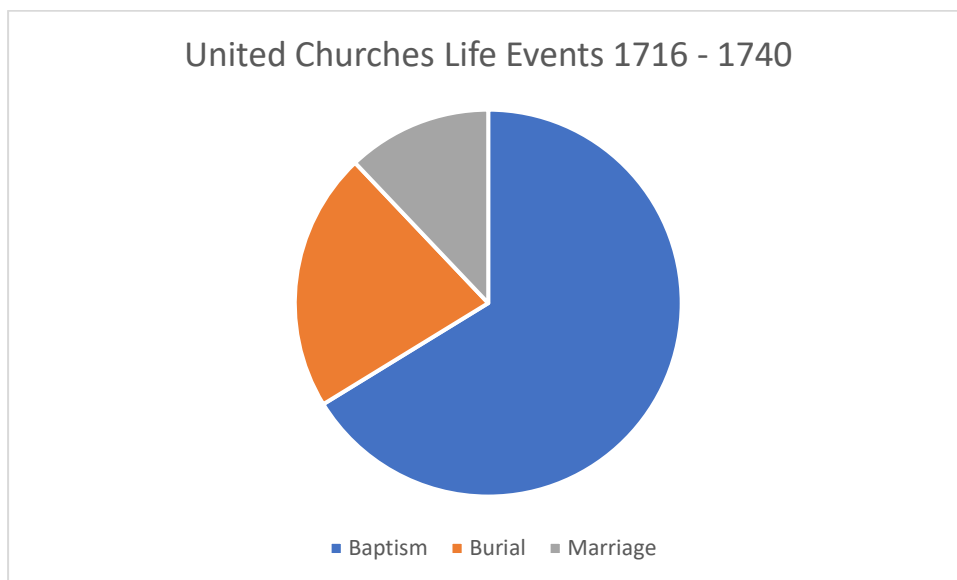
The French Churches at St Patrick's and St Mary's reunited in 1716. The terms of union between St Patrick's and St Mary's were signed by the heads of families of the two congregations, as noted in the United Churches consistory book,<sup>132</sup> and they are summarised in appendix 1.d. 22 heads of families signed the terms of union at St Mary's Abbey, the occupations of sixteen can easily be identified, and eleven of them had served in the army. This

<sup>132</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin, 22 Apr. 1716 (Marsh Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1viii, pp 4-5).

is significantly greater than the proportion of families recording life events at St Mary's with links to the Huguenot regiments, again demonstrating the importance of the veterans in that congregation. Of those heads of household who had not served in the army, Jean Darquier is noted as a surgeon, and Louis Chaigneau, Jean Aigoin and Nicolas Gruber are all noted as merchants.

There is another group of signatures by heads of families to the actual terms, but it is not explicitly stated which French Church those heads of families were from. Looking at the entire group of heads of families who signed the terms of union we find a total of 69 heads of families. Occupations can be identified for 45, and of those, 29 had served in the military at some point or another. Without a really thorough set of data, it is impossible to be certain, but the available evidence does show that the families of Huguenot regiment veterans provided a disproportionate number of the heads of households by 1716. This tallies with the fact that many French Protestants arrived in Ireland during the Williamite wars as part of William's armies, and Hylton has noted their significant influence on the community during these years.<sup>133</sup> What had been a merchant led community during the late seventeenth century became one led by families who pursued careers in the institutions of the confessional state in Ireland during the early eighteenth century.

Figure 20: Life events recorded at the United French Churches of St Patrick's and St Mary's, 1716-40

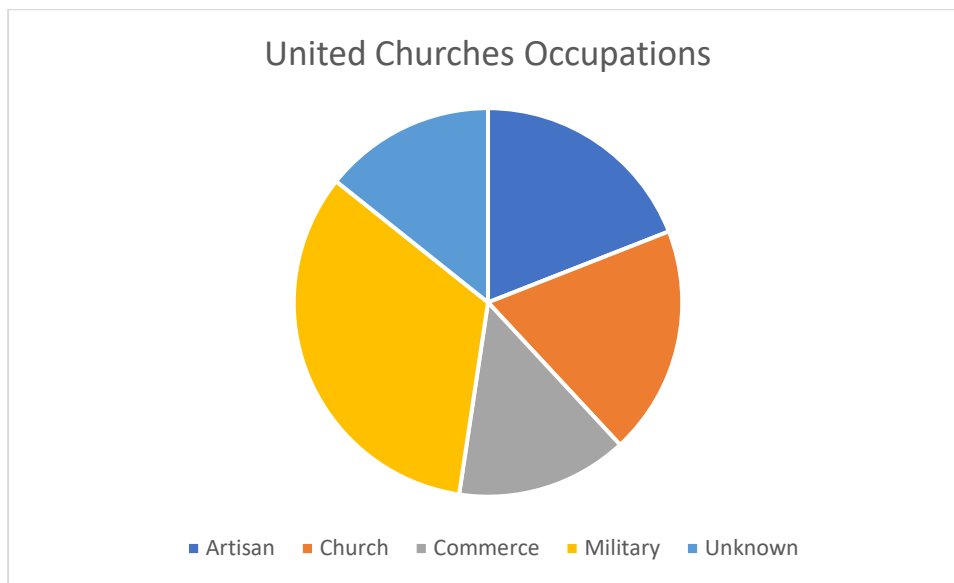


The community opened new life registers following the reunion, meaning that we have complete baptism, marriage and burial registers for the United Churches from 1716 onwards.

<sup>133</sup> Hylton, *Ireland's Huguenots and their refuge*, pp 117-135.

The proportion of baptisms, burials and marriages are summarised in the pie chart above, which is heavily weighted towards baptisms. There are 0.33 burials to baptisms, reflective of the ratio for St Mary’s in the preceding period, a further sign that the families in the sample enjoyed a good standard of living by the standards of the time. 21 families recorded five or more life events between 1716 and 1740, as summarised in appendix 1.e. All but four family names (19%) had appeared in previous registers, indicating a much more settled and stable community.

Figure 21: Occupational status groups of the families recording life events at the United Churches



As we can see, families associated with the military are the single biggest grouping. These families often went on to establish traditions of service in the confessional states of Britain and Ireland and displayed a high degree of endogamy in their choice of marriage partners during the following years. Take for example the Guinebauld de La Millière family, who were originally from Nantes in north-western France.<sup>134</sup> Florent Guinebauld de La Millière and Marianne de Proisy brought their family to Dublin as part of the cohort associated with the Huguenot regiments, and the marriages of their children provide us with a cross section of the military-aristocratic strata of the French Church community. Their daughter, Marianne Guinebauld de La Millière married Jean Trapaud at St Mary’s Abbey on 14 May 1711.<sup>135</sup> Jean Trapaud was born at Chastillon in the Dordogne region of France and was a colonel when he retired to settle in Dublin.<sup>136</sup> As well as serving in the Huguenot regiments, many of these

<sup>134</sup> *Dublin and Portarlington Veterans*, p. 53.

<sup>135</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 119, 14 May 1711.

<sup>136</sup> *Dublin and Portarlington Veterans*, p. 69.

families often established traditions of service to the Hanoverian dynasty, as shown by the example of the Trapaud family. Alexander Trapaud was baptised on 29 June 1714 at St Mary's Abbey,<sup>137</sup> and became Captain of an infantry regiment.<sup>138</sup> Cyrus Trapaud was baptised at St Mary's Abbey on 29 August 1715<sup>139</sup> and also followed a military career, rising to the rank of colonel.<sup>140</sup> Their son Balthazar was born on 3 February 1721<sup>141</sup> and was a captain in the British army, again emphasising the military tradition established by this family.<sup>142</sup>

An interesting cohort is provided by the ministers of the community, which provided four of the families who recorded a significant number of life events in the registers of the United Churches. These included Anthoine Fleury, a minister of the United Churches, whose marriage to Julie Brunet de Rochebrune was recorded in the United Churches register on 2 July 1730,<sup>143</sup> along with the baptisms of five children between 1731-36.<sup>144</sup> Julie Brunet was a daughter of Paul Brunet de Rochebrune, a Huguenot regiment veteran who had served as a colonel, and settled in Dublin with his wife, Elizabeth de Bernatre and two daughters Susanne and Julie.<sup>145</sup> Susanne married Henri Guinebauld de la Milliere on 19 March 1723,<sup>146</sup> and this couple baptised two children at the United Churches.<sup>147</sup> This gives a sense of the dense social bonding between the families of Huguenot regiment veterans and French Church ministers. The record of the baptism of their daughter, Elizabeth, on the 14 May 1731, shows that these families were also including families associated with the confessional state in Ireland in their social circle.<sup>148</sup> The child's godparents were Lionel Sackville and Elizabeth Colyear, the duke and duchess of Dorset. Sackville was lord lieutenant of Ireland at that time, and this example shows the connections being made by French Protestants such as the Fleury and Brunet de Rochebrune families.

The fact that more family names were being repeated from previous cohorts indicates that this was a period of stability and growth for the community, as can be seen in the case of

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<sup>137</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 23, 29 June 1714.

<sup>138</sup> *Dublin and Portarlington Veterans*, p. 69.

<sup>139</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 26, 29 Aug. 1715.

<sup>140</sup> *Dublin and Portarlington Veterans*, p. 69.

<sup>141</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 41, 3 Feb. 1721.

<sup>142</sup> *Dublin and Portarlington Veterans*, p. 69.

<sup>143</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 127.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid*, pp 53, 55, 57, 58, 60.

<sup>145</sup> *Dublin and Portarlington Veterans*, p. 61.

<sup>146</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 129.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid*, pp 44, 49.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid*, p. 53, 14 May 1731.

the family formed by the marriage of Guillaume Darquier and Jeanne Boursiquot on 21 October 1725.<sup>149</sup> No parents are specifically mentioned for this couple, but Jean Darquier and Jacques Boursiquot - both long-time community members - are named as witnesses to their marriage, and are presumably the parents of the groom and bride respectively. Guillaume Darquier was described as a merchant when he granted freedom of the city by Dublin city council on midsummer 1725.<sup>150</sup> Darquier gained significant social status in Dublin during the mid-eighteenth century and was described as an *échevin* – an alderman - in the burial records of his daughters during the 1780s.<sup>151</sup>

The Chaigneau family included the family of Pierre Chaigneau and Marie Malet, whose marriage was recorded in the United Churches marriage register on 29 May 1729.<sup>152</sup> The baptism of their first child, Abraham, was recorded at Peter Street on 25 December 1730,<sup>153</sup> and this family recorded the baptisms of twelve other children in the United Churches baptism register between 1731 and 1747.<sup>154</sup> Peter Chaigneau received the freedom of Dublin as a merchant on Easter 1748,<sup>155</sup> and his wife Marie was buried in the Peter Street graveyard on 18 March 1779.<sup>156</sup> By the early eighteenth century, the Chaigneau had established themselves as army agents, merchants who handled the administration of regiments in the King's army. A number of the French Protestant families in Dublin were army agents, reinforcing the move from a mercantile community to one led by families associated with the confessional state in Ireland.

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<sup>149</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 126, 21 Oct. 1725.

<sup>150</sup> Dublin Freeman Records (<https://databases.dublincity.ie/freemen/viewdoc.php?freemenid=6615>) (accessed 31 Aug. 2021).

<sup>151</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*: p. 249, Jeanne Canning, née Darquier, 29 Jan. 1783; p. 252, Elizabeth Butler, née Darquier, 24 Jan. 1788.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

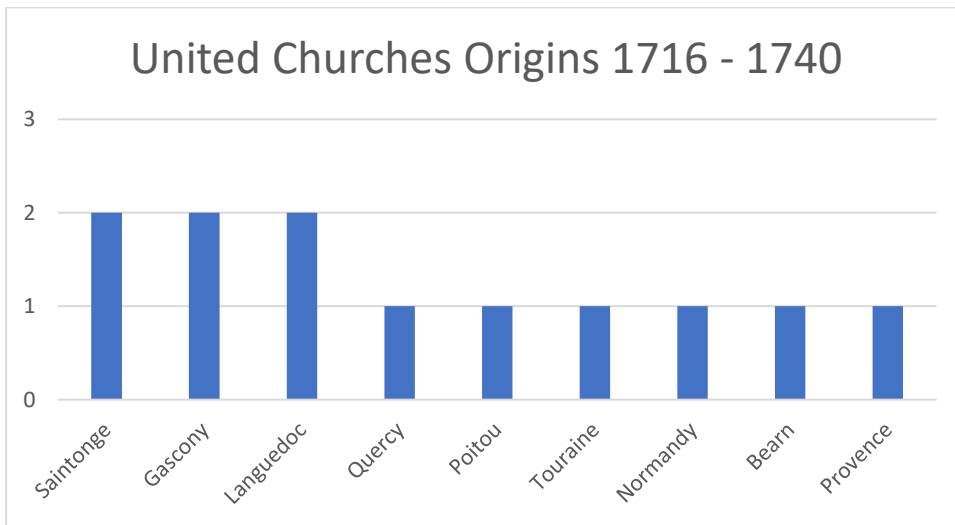
<sup>153</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, p. 84.

<sup>154</sup> For example, *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*: 6 Dec. 1731, baptism of Pierre Chaigneau, p. 128; 23 Mar. 1747, baptism of Isaac Chaigneau, p. 70.

<sup>155</sup> Dublin Freeman Records (<https://databases.dublincity.ie/freemen/viewdoc.php?freemenid=5141>) (accessed 31 Aug. 2021).

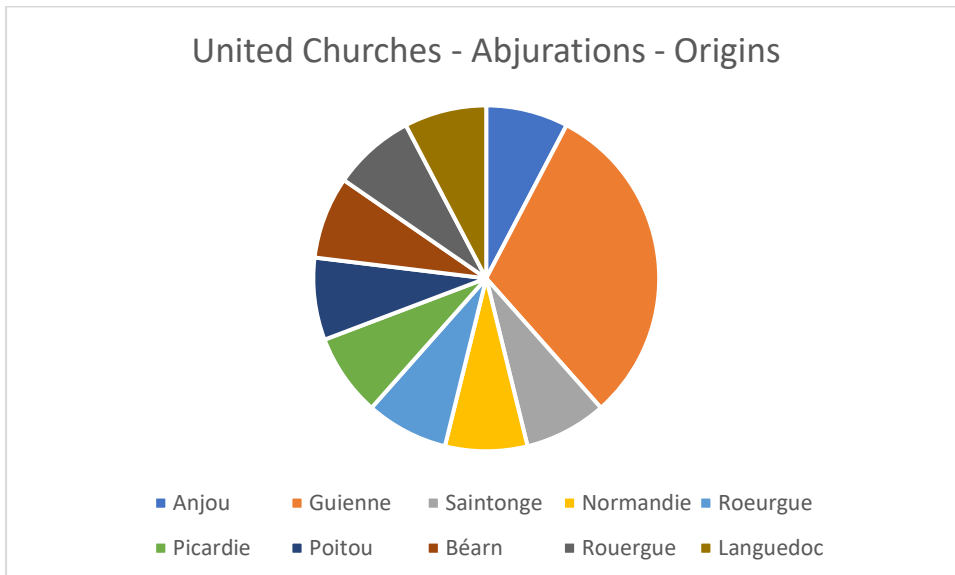
<sup>156</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, p. 121, 18 Mar. 1779.

Figure 22: Provincial origins of families recording life events at the United Churches



Unfortunately, the origins of eight families are either unknown or uncertain. For the others, 12 had origins in France, while one, the Corneille family, had origins in the Netherlands. For the families with origins in France, what is most remarkable is the wide spread of origins in the French provinces, with only Saintonge, Gascony and Languedoc represented by more than one family. Looking at the 24 records of French Protestants making abjurations and reconnaissances at the United Churches between 1716 and 1740, the origins of fourteen are known, four of whom came from Gascony.

Figure 23: Provincial origins of French Protestants making abjurations or reconnaissances at the United Churches





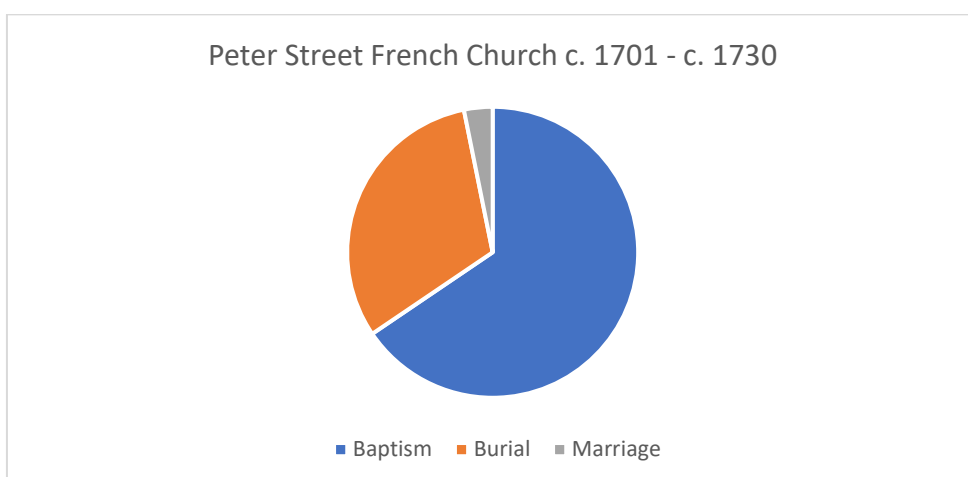
### ***The French Reformed Churches of Dublin, c. 1700 – c. 1730***

The 1692 Protestant Strangers Act gave Protestant Strangers like French Protestants freedom of worship in Ireland, and a French Church using the Ecclesiastical Discipline of the French Reformed Churches was established on Bride Street in Dublin during the same year. This congregation moved to Lucy Lane in 1697, and a second French Church using the French Reformed Discipline was founded on Wood Street in 1701. These French Churches united as the United French Reformed Churches of Dublin in 1707. The Wood Street French Church moved to an address on Peter Street in 1711, and the only surviving French Church Registers associated with this institution are of what became the Peter Street French Church.

#### ***Peter Street French Church c. 1700 – c. 1730***

The Peter Street registers begin in 1701 and give us 30 years of unbroken records, allowing for reasonably complete family reconstitutions. If we reduce the sample of families for analysis to those with more than eight life events, we find 25 family groups, as detailed in appendix 1.f. Of those families, three (c. 13%), namely the Barré, De Souches and Girard families, were present in the records of St Patrick's during the 1680s. Interestingly, they all recorded family life events during that period, indicating that they were well established in Dublin by the time the Peter Street registers began in 1701. The overall percentage of families who had a presence in Dublin during the 1680s is reflective of the percentages noted in the St Mary's sample, and less than the St Patrick's sample. Given that these records begin in 1701, no definitive statements can be made, but the evidence does suggest a greater proportion of new arrivals in the St Mary's and Peter Street congregations. Further research would be needed to prove the point conclusively, but the higher proportion of first-generation refugees amongst these congregations may help to explain their greater willingness to resist episcopal supervision.

Figure 24: Life events recorded at the Peter Street French Church, 1701-30



Looking at the ratio of burials to baptisms, we see that there were 0.48 burials to baptisms. The ratio is slightly worse than that for the St Mary's Abbey congregation (0.35) and the United Churches (0.33), potentially a sign that the standard of living for the congregation at Peter Street was slightly worse than that for the congregations at St Mary's and St Patrick's. More interesting is the ratio of recorded baptisms per recorded marriage (20.2). At St. Patrick's in the 1680s, there were approximately 5.1 baptisms per marriage, while at St Mary's Abbey (1705-1716) there were 4.8. There were four times as many baptisms per marriage recorded at Peter Street, quite a remarkable statistic which cannot be explained by super-fecundity on the part of those families.

In fact, this ratio reflected the fact that members of the Peter Street French Church often registered their marriages at St. Patrick's and St Mary's Abbey. As noted by Jane McKee, this trend reflected a concern to ensure the legal validity of their marriage, as it might be invalid if not solemnised by a minister with Anglican ordination.<sup>157</sup> Take for example Jean Audoyer and Jeanne Jamar, whose marriage was recorded at St. Patrick's on 21 May 1702.<sup>158</sup> This couple recorded the baptisms of seven children at the French Churches in Dublin,<sup>159</sup> beginning with the baptism of Jean Pierre Audoyer, recorded at the French Reformed Churches on 7 February 1703. Interestingly, the next recorded baptism related to this family, a second Jean, was recorded at St Mary's Abbey on 3 May 1705, and the following five baptisms were all recorded at the French Reformed Churches, between 1706-19.

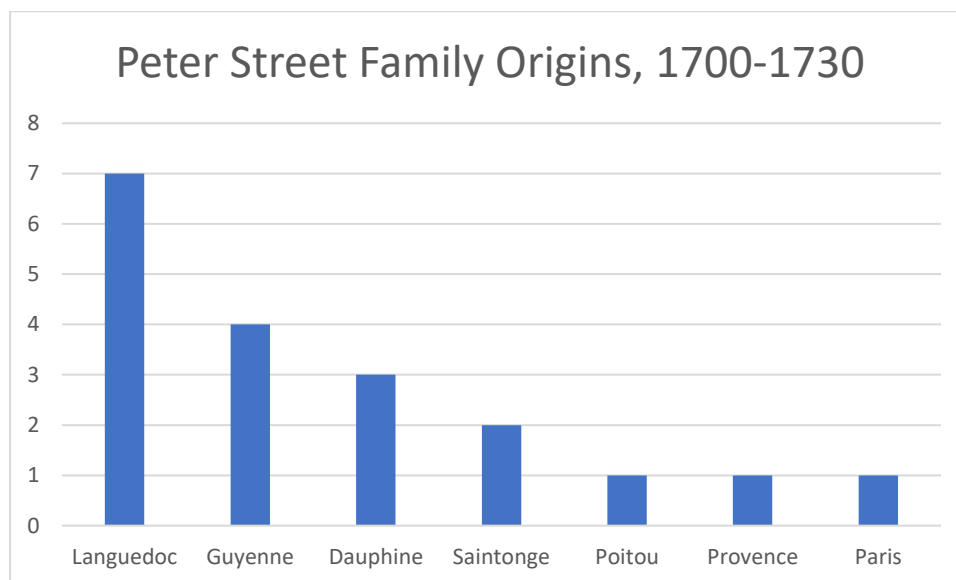
<sup>157</sup> Jane McKee, 'The early Huguenot community of Dublin', pp 189-90.

<sup>158</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 105, 21 May 1702.

<sup>159</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*: p. 5, 7 Feb. 1703; p. 16, 2 June 1706; p. 28, 28 Dec. 1709; p. 34, 24 Oct. 1711; p. 42, 20 Dec. 1713; p. 57, 28 June 1719. *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 7, 3 May 1705.

Another example is the family of Jacques de Souches and Anne Bruneau, whose marriage was recorded at St Mary’s Abbey on 7 March 1709.<sup>160</sup> Anne Bruneau passed away at some point, as Jacques recorded the baptisms of seven children at the French Reformed Churches with an Esther de Souches between 1713-27.<sup>161</sup> The marriage of Isaac de Souches and Magdelaine Goujon on 21 July 1713 at St. Patrick’s,<sup>162</sup> and this couple baptised seven children at the French Reformed Churches between 1714-25.<sup>163</sup> The regularity with which these families recorded marriages at St Patrick’s and St Mary’s makes the regularity with which their children were baptised at Peter Street an interesting trend. Karen Spierling has discussed the importance of baptism as a marker of the child’s entrance into the ‘community of the faithful’ for Reformed Protestants in sixteenth century Geneva.<sup>164</sup> It seems likely that these patterns in life event registration are reflective of the importance they placed on baptism as a marker of membership of the appropriate confessional community.

Figure 25: Provincial origins of families recording life events at Peter Street French Church



Looking at the origins of this group, unfortunately the origins of five families (c. 21%) are currently unknown or uncertain. For those that are known, all had origins in France, with

<sup>160</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 118.

<sup>161</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*: p. 40, Claude de Souches, 13 Sept. 1713; p. 45, Jacques de Souches, 10 Apr. 1715; p. 50, Isaac de Souches, 19 Sept. 1716; p. 60, Esther de Souches, 17 Apr. 1720; p. 64, Anne de Souches, 8 Apr. 1722; p. 72, Isaac Anthoine de Souches, 23 Sept. 1724; p. 78, Joseph de Souches, 18 June 1727.

<sup>162</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 113.

<sup>163</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*: p. 43, Isaac de Souches, 19 Sept. 1714; p. 48, Esther de Souches, 8 Apr. 1716; p. 54, Isaiah de Souches, 13 Apr. 1718; p. 58, Samuel de Souches, 6 Sept. 1719; p. 65, Jeanne de Souches, 22 Apr. 1722; p. 69, Marie Madeleine de Souches, 21 Apr. 1723; p. 73, Jacques de Souches, 24 Feb. 1725

<sup>164</sup> Karen Spierling, *Infant Baptism in Reformation Geneva: The shaping of a community, 1536-1564* (London, 2005), p. 33.

the greatest proportion of references to the province of Languedoc. Here we have clear evidence to support Hylton’s assertion, that French Protestants from southern provinces were more likely to show opposition to Anglican conformity. The evidence of the family reconstitutions is somewhat contradicted by c. 80 abjurations and reconnaissances recorded at Peter Street, however. The provincial origins of 17 are uncertain, and for those that are recorded, 21 came from Saintonge, 18 from Gascony and seven from the Languedoc. The concentration of references to the southwest somewhat contradicts the evidence taken from the family reconstitutions, and further research might seek to understand this contradiction.

Figure 26: Provincial origins of French Protestants making abjurations or reconnaissances at the Peter Street French Church

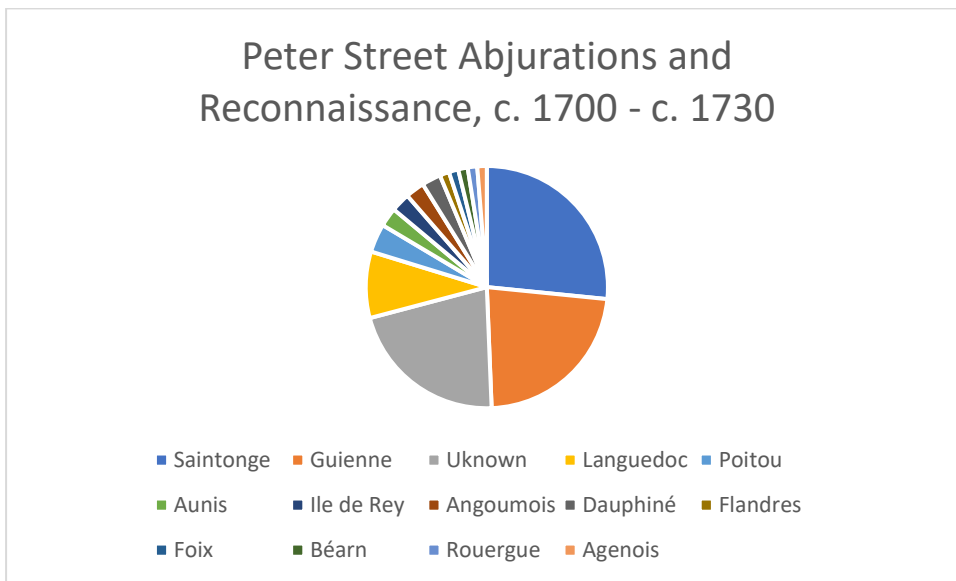
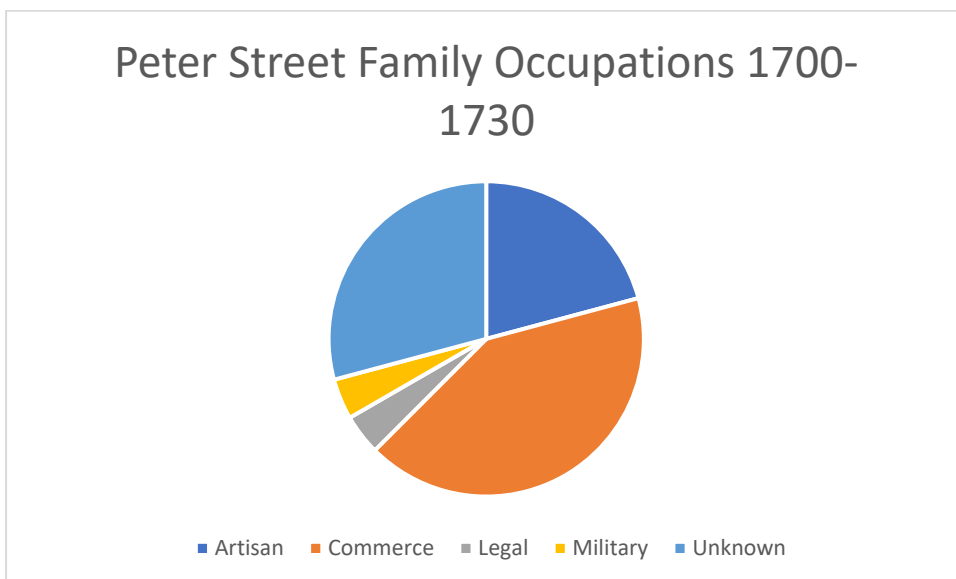
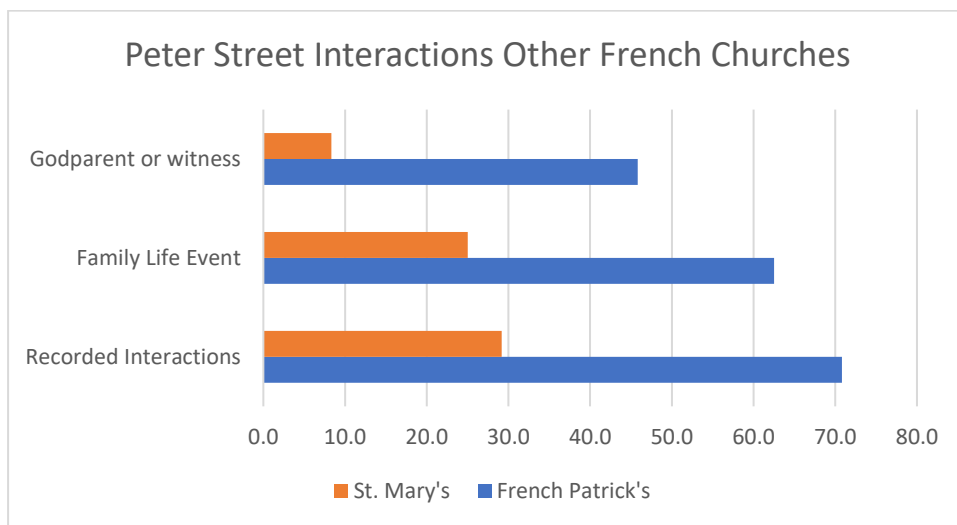


Figure 27: Occupational status groups of families recording life events at the Peter Street French Church



In terms of occupations, we lack reliable data on seven families (29%), and for the remaining 17 families, the most significant occupational grouping were merchants. Artisans were the next most important group (21%), and one family of Huguenot regiment veterans is included in the sample. Perhaps more interesting is the family of Jean Pomarede and Marie Benigne Brethé, whose marriage was registered at St Patrick’s on 16 January 1706.<sup>165</sup> Jean Pomarede was the son of Pierre Pomarede, an advocate, or lawyer, at the Bordeaux Parlement.<sup>166</sup> The marriage was witnessed by René de la Doüespe, sieur de Lestablere, and Isaac Duval, a merchant whose marriage with Anne Coudere was also registered at St Patrick’s on 28 April 1702.<sup>167</sup>

Figure 28: Interactions between families associated with Peter Street French Church and the other French Churches



Looking at evidence of the families associated with Peter Street in the other French Church registers, we see that c. 71% of these families had some interaction with the French Church at St Patrick’s Cathedral. In terms of St Mary’s, the available evidence indicates a much lower level of interaction, with c. 23% of the families in the sample appearing in the records of St Mary’s. Interestingly, c. 13% of those records involved the baptism of a family member. These percentages confirm the trends noted in the St Patrick’s and St Mary’s registers, and it is unfortunate that the standalone Lucy Lane registers have been lost, as comparison with the trends noted above might shed further light on the nature of links between the congregations.

<sup>165</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 110.

<sup>166</sup> *Dublin and Portarlinton Veterans*, p. 48.

<sup>167</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, pp 104-105.

The evidence in the surviving registers is complemented by subscription lists for 1725 and 1735 compiled by Richard Caulfield, which are preserved at Marsh's Library in Dublin,<sup>168</sup> and are summarised in appendix 1.g. The 1725 list includes 217 names associated with 190 families, with the Audoin, De Souches and Barré families providing the greatest number of subscribers. As the list was recording families who were paying subscription fees to the French Church, the family name alone was often the only name recorded, meaning we cannot determine the gender of the person in c. 18% of the entries. Of those where a gender can be identified men constituted the greatest proportion of subscribers (c. 55%), and women accounted for c. 27% of subscribers in 1725. The 1735 list includes 202 family names, associated with 180 names, showing a similar split between men (c. 66%) and women (c. 33%). The c. 30% of female subscribers indicates that women subscribed to the French Church in their own right, and potentially as heads of their own households.

### ***Conclusion***

The available evidence shows that the French Churches served one French Protestant community. That community was large and diverse, both in terms of origin and occupation, and was the result of progressive waves of migration occurring between c. 1660 and c. 1740. The surviving evidence indicates that what had been a merchant led community during the late seventeenth century became one led by families associated with the confessional state in Ireland during the early eighteenth century. The evidence indicates that the families recording life events at the St Patrick's French Church were broadly reflective of the community as a whole, while the St Mary's French Church appears to have catered to a wealthier congregation largely composed of Huguenot regiment veterans and merchants. Families who recorded the baptisms of their children as members of the Peter Street French Church often registered their marriages at St Patrick's and St Mary's. This trend speaks volumes about the complex decision making made by these families, which reflected both a concern for the sacrament of baptism to be properly administered and protect the patrimony of the family.

The registers of St Patrick's and St Mary's had a greater proportion of families from the Atlantic maritime provinces of France, while the Peter Street registers shows a greater proportion of families from the Languedoc. Interestingly, however, a far greater number of abjurations and reconnaissances were recorded at the French Reformed Churches, and those records show a high proportion of individuals coming from the southwest Atlantic maritime

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<sup>168</sup> Copy records of the French Churches (Marsh's Library Dublin, Ms. Y3.5.10, pp 801-16).

provinces. What evidence there is of division can be seen in the level of recorded interaction between the St Patrick's and St Mary's French Churches during the period when they separated. While Peter Street maintained itself as a separate institution, the significant evidence of interactions with both the other French Churches shows that the congregation did not hold itself aloof from the wider community. Coupled with the evidence showing that families participated in life events recorded in multiple French Church registers, these trends point to the essential unity of the community. The French Protestant community in Dublin was one community served by two distinct French Church institutions. The patterns in life event registration noted in this chapter point to the conscious and complex decision making behind each family's choice of place to record their family's life events. Further research might look more closely at these trends to tell us what they reveal about each family's place in the French Protestant community in Dublin.

## Chapter Two - The French Protestants and the City of Dublin, c. 1680-1740

This chapter considers the French Protestant community in the context of eighteenth-century Dublin. The chapter analyses the relationship between the French Protestant community and the city council, discussing the support of the municipal authorities for the settlement of Protestant Strangers in the city. The chapter analyses evidence of French Protestant involvement in the trade corporations, or guilds, which regulated the business activity of the city. It shows that their involvement in the occupational political structures focused on the trade guilds led to involvement in municipal political structures focused on the city council. The chapter discusses the surviving evidence of interactions with the other confessional communities in the city, including unlawful confessional communities such as the Presbyterians and Roman Catholics. The chapter uses surviving archives to shed further light on the patterns of property speculation identified by Hylton to identify the parishes with the greatest concentrations of French Protestant households. It shows that they were concentrated in the southern parishes, where the greatest number of Protestant households could be found, though even there they were dispersed amongst their Anglophone Protestant neighbours. The chapter shows that French Protestants living in Dublin were at once integrated and separate, deeply involved in the political structures of the city and the communal life of their local parish while remaining part of a distinct confessional community.

### *Source Material*

This chapter uses a wide variety of primary source material to assess French Protestant interactions with their neighbours in the city of Dublin. A key archive is the Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin, which contains records of quarterly meetings of the city council.<sup>1</sup> Another important source are the freedom rolls, which record the entry of individuals into the city franchise as freemen, or citizens of Dublin. Freedom of the city gave the recipient trading privileges, as well as the right to vote in municipal and parliamentary elections, and was usually only gained through birth, marriage or payment of a substantial fee.<sup>2</sup> The freedom records are quite extensive, and we are fortunate that they are available through an online database,<sup>3</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup> J. T. and R. M. Gilbert (eds.), *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin, in Possession of the Municipal Corporation of that City ('C.A.R.D.')* (19 vols.; Dublin, 1889–1944).

<sup>2</sup> Dublin City Archives, 'Freedom of the City of Dublin' in *Dublin Historical Record*, liii, no. 1 (2000), pp 33-7.

<sup>3</sup> (<https://databases.dublincity.ie/freemen/advanced.php>) (21 Sept. 2022).



Petra Coffey produced a list of Protestant Strangers who received the freedom of Dublin during this period.<sup>4</sup>

Freedom of the city gave the opportunity to become a member of the city's trade corporations, or guilds, a necessary step towards both establishing a substantial enterprise in the city and entering municipal politics.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, many documents related to the Dublin trade guilds were lost in the Four Courts Fire of 1922.<sup>6</sup> Records have survived for the Merchants' and Weavers' Guilds, however, and many of the families associated with the French Churches discussed in chapter one were associated those occupations. Accordingly, this chapter focuses on the surviving records of these guilds, to understand how French Protestants were integrated into the occupational political structures of the city. Another key archive is formed by the surviving records of the Church of Ireland parishes of Dublin. Under the Parish Watch Act of 1715,<sup>7</sup> the Church of Ireland parishes of Dublin effectively became units of local government in the Irish confessional state.<sup>8</sup> Local community leaders regularly met at the parish vestry, or council, to arrange the provision of public services for their parish.<sup>9</sup> As a result, the vestry records are quite substantial, and a significant body of these records has survived, allowing us to study the interactions of French Protestants with their local Church of Ireland parish.

The French Protestant community in Dublin was not the only confessional community outside of the Church of Ireland parish structure that existed in eighteenth-century Dublin. There were also other Protestant Stranger Churches who gained protection from the 1692 Protestant Strangers Act, such as Lutherans.<sup>10</sup> Anglophone Protestant Churches outside the Church of Ireland included Presbyterians and Quakers, collectively known as Dissenters.<sup>11</sup> Presbyterians were the largest group of Dissenters in Dublin, and Hylton has shown that there

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<sup>4</sup> Petra Coffey, 'Huguenot Freemen in the City of Dublin' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxvi, (1994-97), pp 635-49.

<sup>5</sup> Raymond Refaüssé and Mary Clark (eds), *Directory of Historic Dublin Guilds* (Dublin, 1993), pp 7, 11-13 provides a brief summary of the European urban guild system, as well as its establishment in Dublin. For a nice summary of the guild system in Europe, see Anthony Black, *Guilds and Civil Society in European Political Thought from the Twelfth Century to the present* (London, 1984), pp 3-31.

<sup>6</sup> Raymond Refaüssé and Mary Clark (eds), *Directory of Historic Dublin Guilds* (Dublin, 1993), pp 13-31 for details of the surviving records.

<sup>7</sup> 2 Geo. I c. 10 [Irl.].

<sup>8</sup> Rowena Dudley, 'Dublin's Parishes 1660-1729: The Church of Ireland Parishes and their Role in the Civic Administration of the City' (Ph. D. Thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1995), pp 16-19.

<sup>9</sup> See Ruth Lavelle and Paull Huggard, 'The Parish Poor of St Mark's' in David Dickson (ed.), *The Gorgeous Mask: Dublin 1700-1850* (Dublin, 1987), pp 87-89. Neal Garnham, 'Police and Public Order in Eighteenth-Century Dublin', in Peter Clark & Raymond Gillespie (eds), *Two Capitals: London and Dublin 1500-1840, Proceedings of the British Academy*, cvii (2001), p. 81.

<sup>10</sup> Smyrl, *Dictionary of Dublin dissent*, pp 176-95.

<sup>11</sup> For a recent summary of the various non-Anglican Protestant churches in Dublin see Steven Smyrl, *Dictionary of Dublin dissent : Dublin's protestant dissenting meeting houses, 1660-1920* (Dublin, 2009); Presbyterians, pp 14-77; Others, pp 130-233.

were links between French Protestants and Presbyterians during the 1680s.<sup>12</sup> Steven Smyrl has compiled details of the surviving documentation from non-Anglican Protestant churches in Dublin during this period in his *Dictionary of Dublin Dissent*.<sup>13</sup> The Royal Irish Academy houses surviving archives going back to the seventeenth century,<sup>14</sup> and both the Abbey and Clontarf Road Presbyterian Churches have documents beginning in the early eighteenth century.<sup>15</sup> As well as these Protestant confessions, Catholics constituted a strong minority by at least the early eighteenth century, becoming the majority during the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>16</sup> As discussed below, the surviving French Church archive provides evidence of interactions with Catholics, which will be discussed in this chapter.

### **Methodology**

To exploit these resources, the chapter uses a methodology known as record linkage, which social historians have used to exploit a wide range of archives to find evidence related to a single group or community. Pier Paolo Viazzo used this methodology to show that the villages of the upper Alps were not necessarily isolated, homogenous self-sufficient communities, as had previously been assumed.<sup>17</sup> Keith Wrightson and David Levine studied the village of Terling in Essex, showing how political centralisation, religious reformation and educational opportunities gave ‘a new edge to the existing stratification of rural communities’.<sup>18</sup> In the case of Neckerhausen in Baden-Württemberg, David Warren Sabeau discussed patterns in marital relations, kinship and inheritance against the backdrop of a village deeply enmeshed in regional and national markets for labour and goods.<sup>19</sup> Research for this chapter has taken a similar approach, working through the surviving archives to identify families associated with the French Churches in those records.

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<sup>12</sup> Raymond Hylton, ‘The Huguenot Communities in Dublin, 1662-1745’ (Ph.D. Thesis, University College Dublin, 1985), pp 50-2.

<sup>13</sup> Steven Smyrl, *Dictionary of Dublin dissent : Dublin's protestant dissenting meeting houses, 1660-1920* (Dublin, 2009).

<sup>14</sup> (<https://www.ria.ie/node/88183>)

<sup>15</sup> Smyrl, *Dictionary of Dublin Dissent*, pp 286, 289-90.

<sup>16</sup> Patrick Fagan, ‘The Population of Dublin in the Eighteenth Century with Particular Reference to the Proportions of Protestants and Catholics’ in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, vi (1991), pp 121-56, 128-43 for Fagan’s assessment of the available evidence and the changes in the confessional proportions of the population.

<sup>17</sup> P. P. Viazzo, *Upland communities: environment, population, and social structure in the Alps since the sixteenth century* (Cambridge, 1989), pp 129-31.

<sup>18</sup> Keith Wrightson and David Levine, *Poverty and piety in an English village: Terling, 1525-1700* (London, 1979), p. 18.

<sup>19</sup> David Warren Sabeau, *Property, production, and family in Neckerhausen, 1700-1870* (Cambridge, 1990), pp 28-37.

## ***French Protestants and Dublin City Corporation***

Like most European cities of this period, Dublin was governed by a city corporation, or council, which gained its legal status from a royal charter originally granted during the medieval period. Dublin had resisted the Tudor reformation during the sixteenth century,<sup>20</sup> becoming a Protestant city during the mid-seventeenth century under the regime of Oliver Cromwell.<sup>21</sup> Following the restoration of monarchy in 1660, Charles II embarked on a policy of reducing the autonomy of the urban corporations in England and Ireland, with a view to enhancing royal authority in the kingdoms.<sup>22</sup> Dublin's medieval charter rights were limited through the implementation of a set of rules issued in 1672, which made key municipal appointments subject to approval of the Crown administration in Dublin Castle.<sup>23</sup> The 1672 Rules provided for freedom to be available to all tradesmen in the city, foreign, stranger, alien, and those who were not Protestant, potentially opening the franchise to Catholics.<sup>24</sup> Subsequent changes in both royal and corporation policy led to the freedom of the city being restricted largely, though not wholly, to Anglican Protestants, however.<sup>25</sup>

### ***French Protestants and the City Council***

The arrival of Protestant Strangers in Dublin during the seventeenth century helped to consolidate Protestant predominance in the city. Families such as the Boileau and Desminières families had been in Dublin since the early seventeenth century,<sup>26</sup> and there were official efforts to attract Protestant Strangers to Dublin under Cromwell during the 1650s.<sup>27</sup> The 1662 Protestant Strangers Act helped to catalyse Protestant migration to the city, with approximately 250 male Protestant Strangers gaining the freedom of Dublin during the 1660s and 1670s.<sup>28</sup> As noted in the previous chapter, French Protestants were amongst this group, with c. 40 French Protestant families in Dublin between 1662-1680.<sup>29</sup> Brigid O'Mullane has shown that the citizens of Dublin were hostile to the privileges being offered to Protestant Strangers under the

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<sup>20</sup> James Murray, *Enforcing the English Reformation in Ireland: Clerical Resistance and Political Conflict in the Diocese of Dublin, 1534–1590* (Cambridge, 2009), pp 8-19.

<sup>21</sup> Jacqueline Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists: Dublin Civic Politics and Irish Protestant Patriotism, 1660-1840* (Oxford, 1997), p. 20.

<sup>22</sup> Sean Murphy, 'The Corporation of Dublin 1660 – 1760' in *Dublin Historical Record*, xxxviii, no. 1 (1984), pp 22-35, pp 22-5.

<sup>23</sup> Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists*, pp 45-70.

<sup>24</sup> Murphy, 'The Corporation of Dublin 1660 – 1760', p. 25.

<sup>25</sup> Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists*, pp 32-8.

<sup>26</sup> Raymond Hylton, 'The Huguenot Communities in Dublin, 1662-1745' (Ph.D. Thesis, University College Dublin, 1985), pp 6-10.

<sup>27</sup> Brigid O'Mullane, 'The Huguenots in Dublin: Part I' in *Dublin Historical Record*, viii, no. 3 (1946), pp 110-20, pp 111-12.

<sup>28</sup> Raymond Gillespie, 'Planned Migration to Ireland in the seventeenth century' in Patrick Duffy and Gerard Moran (eds), *To and from Ireland: Planned Migration Schemes c. 1600-2000*, (Dublin, 2004), pp 39-56, p. 51.

<sup>29</sup> Hylton, 'The Huguenot Communities in Dublin', pp 34-7.

1662 Protestant Strangers Act, and petitioned the Irish Parliament against it.<sup>30</sup> Accordingly, the lack of a recorded French Church congregation in Dublin during these years may have reflected local opposition to the generous terms of settlement being offered to them. It is interesting to note that the few baptisms registered during this period were registered at the time the 1672 Rules were being formulated, and further research might shed more light on this coincidence.

The civic authorities were generally supportive of the settlement of Protestant Strangers in Dublin, particularly after the French state embarked on a campaign of active repression of French Protestantism during the 1680s.<sup>31</sup> In 1681, Dublin City Council issued a municipal order explicitly exempting Protestant Strangers fleeing persecution in France from paying the usual fees and city taxes to gain freedom of the city. Opposition to these generous terms of settlement culminated in a riot on May Day 1682 that required military intervention to disperse.<sup>32</sup> Such xenophobia towards French Protestant refugees in exile was not uncommon, as shown by Jacques Fontaine's experiences in England,<sup>33</sup> and the experiences of refugee craftsmen in London.<sup>34</sup> Despite such hostility, the French Protestant community in Dublin grew steadily during these years.<sup>35</sup>

The sympathy shown by the municipal authorities for the plight of French Protestant refugees likely reflected their own anxiety concerning the possibility of a Catholic monarch in the person of James Stuart, legitimate heir to his brother, Charles II. James II was crowned in 1685, the same year the Edict of Nantes was revoked, and James II intensified the policy of undermining the autonomy of urban corporations in England and Ireland which began under his brother.<sup>36</sup> It was in this context that Dublin City Council renewed the 1681 Municipal Order for seven years in 1686, extending it to give Protestant refugees free entry to the trade corporations.<sup>37</sup> The political tensions generated by the rule of a Catholic monarch over an ostensibly Protestant people soon led to the replacement of James II with William III as king of England as part of the Glorious Revolution of 1688. James remained king of Ireland,

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<sup>30</sup> O'Mullane, 'The Huguenots in Dublin: Part I', pp 111-13.

<sup>31</sup> Edward Whelan, 'Poverty, War, Intolerance and Vested Interests: Challenges to the Dublin Refuge, 1680-1702' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxix, no. 3 (2010), pp 397-407, p. 397.

<sup>32</sup> Whelan, 'Challenges to the Dublin Refuge', pp 400-02.

<sup>33</sup> Jacques Fontaine, *Mémoires d'une famille huguenote : victime de la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, ed. Bernard Cottret, pp 150-4.

<sup>34</sup> Tessa Murdoch, 'Huguenot Artists, Designers and Craftsmen in Great Britain and Ireland, 1680-1760' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1982), pp 18-19.

<sup>35</sup> Raymond Hylton, *The Huguenot Communities in Dublin, 1662-1745* (Ph.D. Thesis, University College Dublin, 1985), pp 38-41.

<sup>36</sup> Murphy, 'The Corporation of Dublin 1660 - 1760', p. 25.

<sup>37</sup> Mullane, 'The Huguenots in Dublin: Part I', p. 114.

however, and landed in Ireland with French support in 1689, precipitating an armed conflict between supporters of James, known as Jacobites, and supporters of William, known as Williamites.

The conflict ended with defeat for the Jacobites in 1691, and French Protestants coming to Dublin in the years following the Williamite victory continued to enjoy the privileges granted in the 1686 Municipal Order. The city council renewed the municipal order for a further two years during 1693, and the record in the council minutes included the names of 30 French Protestants who had been recommended for admission to freedom by the Williamite government.<sup>38</sup> Details of these French Protestants are provided in appendix 2.a, and show that skimmers, bakers and carpenters the most numerous amongst them, an interesting trend given the preponderance of merchants and weavers in the French Church records. When we cross reference the list of names against the French Church registers we find that the 17 appear at least once, meaning that 13 names cannot be confidently linked to the surviving French Church registers. This is a persistent theme when reviewing wider archives and was also noted by Petra Coffey in her list of Protestant Strangers who received freedom of the city.<sup>39</sup> These trends highlight how much we have yet to learn about the French Protestant community in Dublin during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Of the 17 names that can be linked to the French Church registers, 11 (c. 33% of the total) can be linked to St Patrick's, seven (c. 25%) to Peter Street, while only one, John Maillet, came from a family that can be linked to St Mary's. Looking at the French Protestants who can be linked to St Patrick's we find Isaac Votau, or Vauteau, noted as a tanner in the city council minutes, whom Hylton has shown to have engaged in significant property speculation in Dublin.<sup>40</sup> The burial of his daughter, Marie, was recorded at St Patrick's on 2 December 1710, and the burial of Isaac Vauteau was recorded on 16 March 1717.<sup>41</sup> Other French Protestants who went on to be associated with the United Churches included Pierre Michel, whose marriage to Rachel Belfort had been registered at St Patrick's in May 1693.<sup>42</sup> Michel was recorded as a witness to five burials recorded at St Patrick's between 1699-1710,<sup>43</sup> and as

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<sup>38</sup> C.A.R.D., vi, pp 40-4.

<sup>39</sup> Petra Coffey, 'Huguenot Freemen of the City of Dublin, 1660-1729' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxvi, no. 5 (1997), pp 635-49, p. 635.

<sup>40</sup> Hylton, *The Huguenot Communities in Dublin*, p. 160.

<sup>41</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 224.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid*, p. 92.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*: pp 158, 160, 164, 173, 205.

godfather to a total of four children in the United Churches register between 1716-23,<sup>44</sup> as well as one child whose baptism was registered at the Peter Street French Church.<sup>45</sup> This pattern of recorded instances of Pierre Michel witnessing burials and acting as godparent to many children indicates that he was a community leader in the French Protestant community, with links to both French Church institutions.

Looking at the French Protestants closely associated with the Peter Street French Church we find Theodore Vincens, or Vincent, noted as a cloth worker in the city council record. The burial of one of his children was recorded at Peter Street in 1702, and the baptism of Jeanne Vincent, his daughter with Marie Vincent, was recorded on 26 March 1704.<sup>46</sup> Theodore Vincent was recorded as a godparent to five children at Peter Street between 1704 and 1706, indicating that he was an important figure in the congregation.<sup>47</sup> Paul Espinasse was amongst the French Protestants admitted to the freedom of the city at the 1693 city council meeting. Hylton has shown that Espinasse had a significant business in taverns and brewing, and Espinasse was also associated with the Peter Street congregation.<sup>48</sup> With his wife, Françoise Estoud, Paul Espinasse recorded the baptisms of two children at Peter Street: Paul, baptised on 2 December 1701; and Suzanne, baptised on 31 December 1704.<sup>49</sup> Françoise Estoud was a godparent to Françoise Thiour de La Montagne, whose baptism was recorded at St Mary's on 31 March 1709.<sup>50</sup> Paul Espinasse was godparent to Helene Nobileau, whose baptism was recorded at St Mary's on 4 February 1712,<sup>51</sup> showing the links they had to families who recorded their baptisms at St Mary's.

A group of seven French Protestant grocers gained freedom at a meeting held on 19 July 1695, two of whom, one Mr Marquise and David Le Gagneur, had family names closely associated with St. Patrick's.<sup>52</sup> Given that the meeting occurred within the two-year limit identified at the 1693 meeting, it is interesting to note that the city corporation limited their freedom to three years. This may have reflected concerns regarding the veracity of the claims

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<sup>44</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*: pp 30, 35, 41, 44.

<sup>45</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, p. 3.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*: p. 85, 22 July 1702; p. 8, 26 Mar. 1704.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*: p. 8, baptism of Elizabeth Triboulet, 2 Jan. 1704, baptism of David Jausseau 6 Feb. 1704; p. 10, baptism of Jeanne Bringuier, 2 July 1704; p. 15, baptism of Madelaine Le Blanc 31 Mar. 1706, baptism of Christine Faure, 21 Apr. 1706.

<sup>48</sup> Hylton, *The Huguenot Communities in Dublin, 1662-1745* (Ph.D. Thesis, University College Dublin, 1985), pp. 161-2.

<sup>49</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, p. 2, p. 11.

<sup>50</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 13.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, p. 17.

<sup>52</sup> C.A.R.D., vi, pp 103-20.

being made to avail of the privileges being offered to French Protestant refugees by the city council. Edward Whelan has shown that the city council traditionally scrutinised applications for freedom quite carefully, and French royal agents had been caught masquerading as French Protestant refugees to travel in the kingdom.<sup>53</sup> Such concerns were also common in England, as shown by William O'Reilly concerning English attitudes towards refugees between c. 1680 and c. 1710.<sup>54</sup>

References to the danger of French and Jacobite interference in Dublin regularly recur in the council records in years that followed. A council meeting held in January 1698 considered a petition from the commons accusing freemen Simon Archbold and Patrick Cleer of treason and seeking their disenfranchisement.<sup>55</sup> Patrick Cleer was stated to have been employed by the French king, and both were promptly disenfranchised by the city council. The commitment of the city council to William of Orange and the Protestant Interest was shown by a subsequent entry made in October 1701.<sup>56</sup> The council noted the danger of Jacobite insurgency amongst those who were 'ill effected to his majesties government and the Protestant established religion' following the death of James II and the designation of the 'pretended prince of Wales' as his heir by Louis XIV. An entry made on 16 April 1704 notes that two French privateers that had been disturbing the city's merchants in their overseas trade were captured by Captain Saunders, and that the commons had petitioned the council for Saunders to be duly rewarded.<sup>57</sup>

Entries like these show that the danger of a French supported Jacobite invasion was ever present in the minds of the Protestant freemen of Dublin. Accordingly, French Protestant refugees in Dublin were fortunate that the city council did not conflate them with the perceived French Catholic and Jacobite menace. Rather, they were seen as victims of the arbitrary and oppressive form of government associated with the French and Catholic Bourbon monarchy and received significant sympathy from the municipal authorities as a result. It is in this light that the financial support given by Dublin City Council to the French Churches should be seen.

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<sup>53</sup> Whelan, 'Challenges to the Dublin Refuge', pp 402-04.

<sup>54</sup> William O'Reilly, 'Strangers Come to Devour the Land: Changing Views of Foreign Migrants in Early Eighteenth Century England' in *Journal of Modern History*, (2016), pp 1-35.

<sup>55</sup> C.A.R.D., vi, p. 188.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, p. 254.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid*, pp 302-06

Entries made in July 1707,<sup>58</sup> May 1709,<sup>59</sup> and October 1711<sup>60</sup> record a regular payment of £10 to the ‘French conformist churches in Dublin’. At a meeting on 15 December 1721, which noted that the city council had granted £50 repairs to St. Patrick’s, on receipt of a petition from the ‘ministers and churchwardens’.<sup>61</sup>

French Protestants were not the only Protestant Strangers that the city council sought to attract to the city. In a meeting on 16 July 1725, the council discussed details of the establishment of a Lutheran Church on Poolbeg Street, noting their hope that it would attract German and Danish Lutherans, as well as other Protestant Strangers, to the city.<sup>62</sup> Further evidence of the link between their support for the settlement of Protestant Strangers in the city with the Protestant Interest in both Ireland and Europe can be seen in an entry for a meeting on 11 February 1726, which records an address made to the then King George I on the appointment of Lord Carteret as lord lieutenant of Ireland.<sup>63</sup> The address comments on the King’s ‘tender compassion for the distressed Protestants abroad’ which the council felt should be appreciated by all who cared for the ‘security of the Protestant religion’. Entries like these show that the council saw the settlement of Protestant Strangers in Dublin as crucial to protecting the Protestant Interest in Ireland, and their support for the French Protestant community in Dublin should be seen in this light.

### ***French Protestants in the Trade Guilds and City Council***

Dublin was an important industrial centre in seventeenth and eighteenth century Ireland,<sup>64</sup> and the French Protestant contribution to the city’s industrial development is well documented.<sup>65</sup> Hylton has examined the contribution of French Protestants to property development,<sup>66</sup> as well as the hospitality and related brewing and distilling sectors,<sup>67</sup> and Louis Cullen has shown that French Protestants played a key role in establishing the brandy trade in

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<sup>58</sup> C.A.R.D., vi, pp 368-9.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid, pp 397-8.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid, pp 441-4.

<sup>61</sup> C.A.R.D., vii, pp 176-82.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, pp 297-308.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, pp 330-9.

<sup>64</sup> Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists*, p. 21.

<sup>65</sup> David Dickson, ‘Huguenots in the urban economy of eighteenth-century Dublin and Cork’ in C. E. J. Caldicott, Hugh Gough and J. P. Pittion, *The Huguenots and Ireland: Anatomy of an Emigration* (Dublin, 1987), pp 321-32.

<sup>66</sup> Hylton, ‘The Huguenot Communities in Dublin’, pp 124-30, pp 147-211.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, pp 161-5.



Britain and Ireland.<sup>68</sup> The evidence highlighted by Cullen and Hylton points to an integrated commerce based on the produce of southwestern France that was being sold wholesale and retail by the French Protestant merchants and tavern keepers of the city. The history of Huguenot hospitality in Dublin remains to be written and would provide a fruitful line of enquiry for future research.

This chapter focuses on French Protestant involvement in the occupational and municipal political structures of the city, entry to which began through membership of one of the trade guilds of the city. Dublin was typical of an early modern city in this regard, with the occupations of the city organised into trade corporations, or guilds, which regulated the business of the city on behalf of the civic corporation and the monarchy that granted them their legal status through royal charters.<sup>69</sup> Involvement in the guilds led to involvement in the municipal political structures of the city, and this chapter shows that French Protestants and other Protestant Strangers had a significant involvement in municipal politics during this period.<sup>70</sup> Research on French Protestant involvement in the city's guilds includes Jessica Cunningham's work on the Goldsmiths' Guild in Dublin.<sup>71</sup> This chapter expands on this research to further our knowledge of French Protestant involvement in the guilds of Dublin. To do so, the chapter looks at the involvement of French Protestants in the guilds related to the most common occupations amongst the core families of the community, namely the Weavers' and Merchants' Guilds.

### ***French Protestants in the Merchants' Guild***

As noted in the first chapter, many of the families associated with the French Churches in Dublin were merchants, whose business activities were regulated by the Trinity, or Merchants', Guild in Dublin. This was the most influential guild in the city, providing a significant number of members to the common council, the lower of the two councils that composed Dublin City Council.<sup>72</sup> Looking at the list of those made free of the Merchants'

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<sup>68</sup> L. M. Cullen, 'The Huguenots from the perspective of the merchant networks of W. Europe (1680-1790): the example of the brandy trade' in Caldicott, Gough and Pittion, *The Huguenots and Ireland*, pp 129-51.

<sup>69</sup> A useful summary of the guild system as it operated in Dublin can be found in Colin Toomey, 'The guild of Dublin: a study of the goldsmiths' guild, the weavers' guild, the barber-surgeons' guild, and the guild of the cutlers, painters-stainers and stationers during the period 1660-1760' (M.A. Thesis, Maynooth University, 2002), pp 6-10.

<sup>70</sup> For the role of the guilds in Dublin municipal politics see Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists*, pp 24-32.

<sup>71</sup> Jessica Cunningham, *Dublin's Huguenot Goldsmiths; The contribution of the Huguenots to the design, development and manufacture of Irish Silver, 1690-1750* (MA thesis, National College of Art and Design, 2008), pp 33-42.

<sup>72</sup> Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists*, p. 29.

Guild from 1700-40,<sup>73</sup> we find c. 75 individuals from c. 60 families associated with the French Churches, as summarised in appendix 2.b. Hill has noted that membership of the Merchants' Guild reached c. 600 by 1750,<sup>74</sup> meaning that French Protestants likely constituted c. 10% of guild members during the early eighteenth century. Of the 60 French Protestant families identified in the Merchants' Guild records, c. 60% had recorded a family life event at St Patrick's, c. 30% at St Mary's, and c. 24% at the Peter Street French Church, with 33% belonging to families recording life events at the United Churches. Core families included the Chaigneau, Darquier and Vareilles families, references to all of whom can be found in the surviving French Church records, an indication of how central these families were to the community.

The significant number of families associated with the French Churches in the Merchants' Guild is interesting, given the decline of merchants as a proportion of families associated with the French Churches during this period. Jacqueline Hill has noted the triumph of landed capital over merchant capital in Dublin during the early eighteenth century, and cited the absence of an institution like a Bank of Ireland in this process.<sup>75</sup> Vivien Costello has highlighted French Protestant contributions to attempts to establish a national Bank of Ireland during these years, noting the involvement of the Chaigneau family in this project.<sup>76</sup> French Protestants were significant contributors to the original Bank of England,<sup>77</sup> and Grell has noted the significant loans made by the Stranger merchants to support the Tudor and Stuart monarchies during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.<sup>78</sup> Grell suggested that the Star Chamber Case of 1619, during which a group of Stranger merchants were accused of smuggling gold bullion, was instigated by the Stuart monarchy in an attempt to clear its debts to the Stranger merchants.<sup>79</sup>

The prevalence of wealthy Reformed merchant bankers in north-western Europe during the early seventeenth century was remarkable,<sup>80</sup> and by the late seventeenth century this faith based trade network had evolved into a system of credit and exchange so sophisticated as to be

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<sup>73</sup> Merchant's Guild list of freemen, 1700-1841 (NLI Ms. 3019, ff 3-140).

<sup>74</sup> Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists*, p. 26.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>76</sup> Vivien Costelloe, 'Pensioners, Barbers, Valets or Markees': Jonathan Swift and Huguenot Bank Investors in Ireland, 1721' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxix, no. 1 (2008), pp 62-92.

<sup>77</sup> F. M. Crouzet, 'Walloons, Huguenots and the Bank of England' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxv, no. 2 (1989), pp 167-78.

<sup>78</sup> Ole Peter Grell, *Dutch Calvinists in Early Stuart London: The Dutch Church in Austin Friars, 1603-1642* (Leiden, 1989), pp 155-6

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 149-75.

<sup>80</sup> Ole Peter Grell, *Brethren in Christ, A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 302.

called a 'Protestant Bank' by Herbert Lüthy.<sup>81</sup> The research of Grell, Bosher and Lüthy and others gives us a sense of the significant capital available to French Protestant merchants through the Protestant trading networks of the early modern period. Given the importance of the Bank of England in establishing merchant capital as a financial and political force in London, it may be that the absence of a similar financial architecture in Dublin led some merchant families to pursue opportunities in other Protestant cities from the early eighteenth century onwards. Furthermore, it is possible that some merchant families took advantage of the opportunity to invest their capital in ways that had been denied to them in France. Future research might focus on the reasons why merchant families like the Chaigneau remained in Dublin, and why some families moved elsewhere, to analyse the range of opportunities that might draw them to the other cities of Protestant Europe.

### ***French Protestants in the Weavers' Guild***

Some of the families recording life events at the French Churches were noted as weavers and clothmakers, whose trade was regulated by the Weavers', or St John's, Guild. The surviving archives of the Weavers' Guild include membership lists which begin in 1693.<sup>82</sup> Between then and 1740 we find c. 20 French Protestants from families associated with the French Churches, all of whom remained members until their deaths. Hylton has noted that c. 20 French Protestants arriving in Dublin during the 1680s had occupations associated with clothmaking and was able to identify ten families of clothworkers during the 1690s.<sup>83</sup> The evidence noted above suggest that weavers constituted a larger portion of the community than Hylton identified. Looking at their links to the French Churches, we find c. 70% had an association with St Patrick's, c. 43% with St Mary's, and c. 38% had an association with Peter Street. French Protestants like Olivier Dugast, a woolworker,<sup>84</sup> David Guion and David Grou were amongst eight, or c. 38%, who had a relationship with more than one French Church.

Five French Protestants were recorded as members of the Weavers' Guild in 1693, when total membership was c. 100.<sup>85</sup> They included Louis Le Roux, a silk weaver from Lyon,<sup>86</sup> Gille le Moyne and Abraham Tabois, both of whom were noted as merchants in the French

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<sup>81</sup> Herbert Lüthy, *La Banque Protestante en France de la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes à la Révolution : Dispersion et Regroupement (1685-1730)* (2 vols, Paris, 1959-61).

<sup>82</sup> Book of Brothers, Guild of Weavers, 1693-1722, (R.S.A.I., BV/WVRS/05, 47), Book of Brothers, Guild of Weavers, 1722-1743 (R.S.A.I., /BV/WVRS/09, 48).

<sup>83</sup> Hylton, *The Huguenot Communities in Dublin*, pp 119-20.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 113.

<sup>85</sup> Book of Brothers, Guild of Weavers, 1693-1722, (R.S.A.I., BV/WVRS/05, 47, ff 3-5).

<sup>86</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 218.

Church registers.<sup>87</sup> Louis Le Roux was named a warden of the guild for 1693, a senior position in the guild, along with George Medcalfe, James Leathley and Isaac Sale. The wardens were assistants to the guild's master, or leader, and Andrew Didridge was named master for 1693. Another French Protestant in the Weavers' Guild was François Le Tore, who was named warden of the guild for 1694,<sup>88</sup> serving as master, or leader, of the guild for 1699.<sup>89</sup> French Protestants continued to join the guild thereafter, including well known individuals like David Digges de La Touche, Isaac and James de Souches amongst others.

It is interesting to note that no French Protestants served as master or warden after François Le Tore in 1699, however. This was the year that the Wool Act was passed in the English Parliament, which prohibited the production of woollen cloth for export in Ireland.<sup>90</sup> The evidence suggests that the potential for a substantial French Protestant weaver community in Dublin may have been stifled by passage of the Wool Act. This contradicts the observations of Kathleen Breathnach, who has suggested that there were few, if any, French Protestants in the Weavers' Guild, and that their contribution to silkweaving in Dublin was minimal.<sup>91</sup> While a small proportion of the Weavers' Guild membership, French Protestants were a consistent minority, and held high office during the 1690s. Furthermore, the La Touche family established a significant cloth business in Dublin during the early eighteenth century.<sup>92</sup> The evidence suggests that the French Protestants impact on weaving in Dublin was disproportionate to their membership of the Weavers' Guild and deserves further research.

### ***French Protestants in Dublin City Council***

Membership of the guilds provided French Protestants with the opportunity to participate in municipal politics. Dublin City Council operated on a bi-cameral model, with the mayor and 24 aldermen constituting the high council, while two sheriffs, 48 sheriffs' peers and 96 representatives of the trade guilds constituted the common council.<sup>93</sup> Well known French Protestants like Jean and Louis Desminières acted as lord mayor of Dublin during the 1660s,<sup>94</sup> and Bartholomew Van Homrigh served as lord mayor during 1697.<sup>95</sup> Protestant Strangers were

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<sup>87</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, pp 143, 163.

<sup>88</sup> Book of Brothers, Guild of Weavers, 1693-1722 (R.S.A.I., BV/WVRS/05, 47, f. 6 recto).

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 21 recto.

<sup>90</sup> 10 Will III. c. 16 [Eng.] (1698) ([https://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol7/pp\\_524-528#h3-0003](https://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol7/pp_524-528#h3-0003)) (accessed 4 Sept. 2022).

<sup>91</sup> Kathleen Breathnach, 'The Last of the Dublin Silk Weavers' in *Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, (1991), pp 134-43, pp 134-5.

<sup>92</sup> Hylton, 'The Huguenot Communities in Dublin', pp 152-3.

<sup>93</sup> Sean Murphy, *Dublin Historical Record*, xxxviii, no. 1 (1984), pp 22-35, p. 22.

<sup>94</sup> Hylton, 'The Huguenot Communities in Dublin', pp 123-7.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 58-9, pp 137-8. C.A.R.D., vi, p. 188.

not the only lord mayors of Dublin with roots in the cities of Northern Europe. John Rogerson was lord mayor in 1693 and was born in Amsterdam, a major Protestant trading city during the early modern period.<sup>96</sup> These examples provide further evidence linking Dublin to the major trading cities of Protestant Europe that deserve further research.

The trend of French Protestants taking an active role in municipal politics continued into the early eighteenth century.<sup>97</sup> Looking at French Protestants associated with the French Churches we find David Cossart, who is recorded as an aldermen at meetings in October 1696 and 1697,<sup>98</sup> as was Louis Chaigneau in October 1700.<sup>99</sup> On 29 July 1701, Pierre Vatable was amongst the aldermen appointed to a committee overseeing the city water revenues, and to the committee for auditing the city's accounts in October 1701.<sup>100</sup> On a list of guild representatives to the common council for 1714 we find that Nicholas Gruber, John Porter and Louis Chaigneau were amongst c. 30 representatives of the Merchants' Guild at the city council, and Israel Jalabert was one of four representatives of the Bakers' Guild.<sup>101</sup> Council elections occurred every three years, and John Porter was replaced as one of the merchant representatives in the 1717 elections by John Macarell, whose marriage to Elizabeth Theroud was recorded at St Patrick's on 3 June 1718.<sup>102</sup> By 1720, the number of French Protestant city council members had increased to eight, with Paul Espinasse joining as a representative of the Brewers' Guild. French Protestant representation of the Merchants' Guild increased to five out of c. 30 members, including Nicholas Gruber, Jean Vareilles, and John Rieusset.

John Porter's replacement as a Merchants' Guild representative to the common council during the 1717 elections reflected his swift advancement to senior municipal office. At a meeting in January 1715, Porter was appointed as alderman in the place of Daniel Falkiner, tasked with overseeing the work of the Ballast Office, which maintained the waterways of the city.<sup>103</sup> At a meeting on 14 October 1715, Porter was noted as one of the city's sheriffs to discuss the work of keeping the waterways free for navigation.<sup>104</sup> The council lists for 1723 tell us that John Porter was elected as lord mayor, with Joseph Macarell and David Chaigneau

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<sup>96</sup> (<https://www.dib.ie/biography/rogerson-sir-john-i-a7778>) (18 Sept. 2022).

<sup>97</sup> Brigid O'Mullane, 'The Huguenots in Dublin: Part II' in *Dublin Historical Record*, viii, no. 4 (1946), pp 121-34, p. 133.

<sup>98</sup> C.A.R.D., vi: pp 158-64; p. 182.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 251-4.

<sup>101</sup> C.A.R.D., vii, pp 573-4.

<sup>102</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 123.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 506-16.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 547-9.

elected as sheriff's peers. French Protestant representation on the common council remained at eight members, representing the Merchants', Bakers' and Brewers' Guilds. New members included John Sican, who appeared as a godparent at the United Churches in 1736,<sup>105</sup> and Jean Aigoin, who was an elder at the United Churches during the same period.<sup>106</sup>

French Protestant participation at Dublin City Council remained remarkably consistent during this period, with eight members on the common council and three in the high council until 1728. During that election French Protestants accounted for only two common council members and three senior officials, before rising again to seven council members and three senior officials in the 1732 and 1738 elections. John Macarell was elected lord mayor in 1738, with John Porter continuing as alderman, while Charles Roussell and David Chaigneau were appointed as sheriff's peers. David and James Digges de La Touche were representatives of the Merchants' Guild along with Anthoine Vareilles, Anthoine Perrier and Jean Audibert representing the Bakers' Guild, and Noah Vialas and John Espinasse represented the Goldsmiths' and Brewers' Guilds, respectively. The continuity of French Protestant involvement in municipal politics, as well as the guilds they represented, deserves further research, as does the evidence of links to continental trading cities like Amsterdam. It would appear that both Dublin and the French Protestant community in the city formed an integral part of the seventeenth century Protestant International, a subject which deserves further research.

### ***French Protestants and the other confessional communities in the city***

The French Protestant community in Dublin was not the only confessional community in the city during this period, making it important to investigate the surviving records of the other confessional communities outside the Church of Ireland. The work of Gregory Hanlon on French Protestants in seventeenth century Aquitaine provides us with a helpful precedent for examining evidence of confessional co-existence during this period. As noted by Hanlon, his research was focused on peaceful interactions and confessional coexistence 'in a time and place most noted for intolerance'.<sup>107</sup> Despite this, Hanlon found substantial evidence of peaceful coexistence between Protestants and Catholics in Leyrac, the town he selected as the

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<sup>105</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 60

<sup>106</sup> United Churches Consistory Book, (Marsh Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers FHF.II.1.viii, pp 43, 50)

<sup>107</sup> Gregory Hanlon, *Confession and Community in Seventeenth-Century France, Catholic and Protestant Coexistence in Aquitaine* (Philadelphia, 1993), p. 1.

subject of his study.<sup>108</sup> To highlight the complex reality of confessional Europe, Hanlon noted the importance of the proportionate size in the survival of French Protestant communities in France,<sup>109</sup> as well as the persistence of Catholics in England despite the wealth of legislation aimed at eradicating the Catholic confession in England.<sup>110</sup>

Hanlon's research contributed to the body of research that has highlighted the remarkable lack of confessional uniformity during this period, and this chapter contributes to this body of research in the case of Dublin. French Protestants in Dublin lived as a small minority and could chose to worship at either the French Churches at St Patrick's and St Mary's, which compromised with Anglican practices, or at the French Churches at Lucy Lane and Peter Street, which remained faithful to the French Protestant religious practices. As shown in chapter one, there is ample evidence to show regular participation by members of one congregation in the life events recorded at another, and French Protestants could, and did, participate in the religious and communal life of other confessional communities in Dublin. This chapter makes use of Hanlon's approach to understand interactions between French Protestants and the various confessional communities of the city.

### ***French Protestants and the Presbyterian Community***

Presbyterians were the largest group of Dissenting Protestants in Dublin, and past research has shown that there were substantial links between French Protestants and Presbyterians during the 1680s.<sup>111</sup> A baptism register for the New Row Presbyterian Church covering the period 1653 – 1737 is held the Royal Irish Academy.<sup>112</sup> While there are some interesting names that might be those of Protestant Strangers in the city,<sup>113</sup> there are no names that can be definitively linked to the French Churches. Records related to the Plunkett Street Presbyterian Church can be found at the Clontarf Road Presbyterian Church.<sup>114</sup> These include session minutes which begin in 1725, though unfortunately there is no obvious evidence of French Protestant involvement in that Presbyterian Church.<sup>115</sup> The archive held at the Abbey Presbyterian Church on Parnell Square in Dublin includes an account book for the Mary's

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<sup>108</sup> Hanlon, *Confession and Community in Seventeenth-Century France*, pp 91-116.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid*, pp 263-7.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid*, pp 275-80.

<sup>111</sup> Hylton, 'The Huguenot Communities in Dublin', pp 50-2.

<sup>112</sup> (<https://www.ria.ie/node/88183>)

<sup>113</sup> New Row Congregation Baptism Register 1653-1737, 6 Sept. 1685, baptism of Dorothy Peeters, (RIA/DUC/3/NEW/1, p. 9)

<sup>114</sup> Smyrl, *Dictionary of Dublin Dissent*, pp 289-90.

<sup>115</sup> Plunket Street Presbyterian Church Session Minutes 1725 - 1763 (Clontarf Road Presbyterian Church, B/02/1)

Abbey Presbyterian Church beginning in 1725,<sup>116</sup> which includes subscription lists for those contributing to the Capel Street charity school.<sup>117</sup> Abraham Le Febure, from a family associated with both the St Patrick's and Peter Street French Churches, was amongst c. 50 contributors to funds for the school in 1725 and 1726,<sup>118</sup> and Gaspard Erck, associated with the United and Reformed Churches, is noted as contributing in 1742.<sup>119</sup> These examples, though isolated, point to interactions between French Protestants and the Presbyterian congregations, a topic we will return to in more detail in chapter five.

### ***Other Protestant Dissenter Communities***

As well as Presbyterians, there were Baptists and Quakers in Dublin during these years. These groups rejected theological dogmas that were shared by the Anglican, Presbyterian and French Protestant confessions such as infant baptism. At first glance, it might seem unlikely that links between French Protestants and these groups would exist, but there is evidence of interactions with those groups in the St Patrick's consistory book. On 22 March 1705, Hugues Manion expressed regret for having joined the Quakers in Bristol.<sup>120</sup> On 24 June 1708, Charles Fromaget and Marie Grand expressed regret at having joined an Anabaptist congregation.<sup>121</sup> These examples are all the more interesting given the example of the French Prophets in London.<sup>122</sup> The Prophets had links to the Quakers, and have been described as bridging the gap between groups like the Quakers and the Methodists.<sup>123</sup> Given that Jean Cavalier, one of the three original Prophets, eventually settled in Dublin, research into the existence of relations between French Protestants and Dissenters like the Quakers and Baptists might be a very interesting line of enquiry. The archives of the Quakers are quite substantial, and there are some documents related to the Baptists.<sup>124</sup> The question of French Protestant interactions with groups like the Baptists and Quakers will, for now, remain unanswered, and might prove a very fruitful line of enquiry in the future.

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<sup>116</sup> Smyrl, *Dictionary of Dublin Dissent*, p. 286.

<sup>117</sup> Mary's Abbey Accounts School Cash Book and Minutes 1725 – 1799 (Parnell Square Presbyterian Church).

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid*: List One, 4 June 1725; List Two, 24 Dec 1725; List Three 4 Sept. 1726.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid*, List 23.

<sup>120</sup> St Patrick's Consistory Book Notes, 22 Mar. 1705 (Marsh Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.ix, p. 17).

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid*, p. 18, 24 June 1708.

<sup>122</sup> Lionel Laborie, 'The French Prophets: A Cultural History of Religious Enthusiasm in Post-Toleration England (1689-1730)' (Ph.D. Thesis, University of East Anglia, 2010), pp 151-236.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid*, p. 20.

<sup>124</sup> Smyrl, *Dictionary of Dublin dissent*, pp 304-8.



### ***French Protestants and the Catholic Community in Dublin***

As noted in chapter one, over 100 French Protestants are recorded as abjuring or making a reconnaissance at the French Churches in Dublin during this period. This indicates that interactions with Catholicism was a regular experience for French Protestants in Dublin. Furthermore, the instances of French Catholics masquerading as French Protestants noted above shows that Catholics as well as Protestants were coming to Ireland from France during this period. The United Churches burial register includes the burial of Louise Dillon, recorded on 5 February 1731, and the entry tells us that she was born in France to a member of the Dillon family, who were Jacobites and had gone into exile with James II.<sup>125</sup> In Dublin, Catholics likely accounted for a third of the population, or one in three inhabitants, meaning that it was highly unlikely that there was no contact between French Protestants and Catholics in Dublin.<sup>126</sup>

The French Reformed consistory include details concerning a French Protestant woman who had married a Catholic in Dublin.<sup>127</sup> The consistory called the father and daughter before them to discuss this issue, and a subsequent entry indicates two female congregation members were suspended for attending the Catholic baptism of the child.<sup>128</sup> As we can see, at an official level interactions were strictly frowned upon, though the examples noted above show that interactions between French Protestants and Catholics outside the observation of the French Church consistories were likely to have been quite frequent. An interesting reflection of the personal sentiments of French Protestant with regards Catholics can be seen in the places where the greatest proportion of French Protestant households in Dublin could be found, as discussed later in this chapter.

### ***French Protestants and the Church of Ireland parishes of Dublin***

As previously noted, the single largest confessional community in Dublin was the Anglican community. As well as being a focus for the religious life of the Anglican community, the Church of Ireland parishes of Dublin acted as units of local government in the confessional state in Ireland.<sup>129</sup> This role left the parishes with a high degree of independence from outside interference, and local community leaders regularly met at the parish vestry, or council, to

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<sup>125</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 223.

<sup>126</sup> Patrick Fagan, 'The Population of Dublin in the Eighteenth Century', pp 121-56, pp 130-1.

<sup>127</sup> Extracts from the Consistory Books of the nonconformist churches 1703, 13 Dec. 1713 (Marsh's Library, Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.iv, p. 3).

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid*, 14 Dec. 1714, p. 3.

<sup>129</sup> See Neal Garnham, 'Police and Public Order in Eighteenth-Century Dublin', in Peter Clark & Raymond Gillespie (eds), *Two Capitals: London and Dublin 1500–1840*, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, cvii (2001), p. 81.

arrange the provision of public services for their community.<sup>130</sup> These included policing, education, poor relief and public works, to name but a few of the local issues addressed by the local community at their local Church of Ireland parish vestry.<sup>131</sup>

Unfortunately, some parish vestry records were lost in the Public Record Office Fire of 1922,<sup>132</sup> though many documents survived, and others had been published by the Parish Register Society in the years before the fire. This advantage comes with the problem of how to limit the bounds of research, as it would be unfeasible to look through every volume. Florence Layard's article on French names in the register of St John's parish highlights the difficulties of this process.<sup>133</sup> In her article, Layard claims that the parish church of St John's was significantly enlarged during the sixteenth century to allow for a significant influx of French Protestants, though she offers no evidence to support this assertion.<sup>134</sup> Furthermore, the links between some names in Layard's article and the French Churches are questionable. Examples include William Slavin and Margaret Slevin,<sup>135</sup> names which do not appear in the French Church records and are likely to be of Irish origin.<sup>136</sup>

Hylton undertook extensive research in the surviving Church of Ireland archives, noting the presence of French Protestants in those records from the seventeenth century onwards.<sup>137</sup> His research provides a useful summary of French Protestant interactions with the Church of Ireland parishes during the first half of the eighteenth century,<sup>138</sup> citing St Bride's as a particular centre of French Protestant involvement.<sup>139</sup> To test Hylton's observations, I have taken advantage of the fact that some families associated with the French Churches registered their marriages at both the French Church and their local Church of Ireland parish church. Looking at the parishes in which marriages involving families associated with the French Churches were

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<sup>130</sup> For details of secular parish offices such as churchwarden and the vestry see Dudley, 'Dublin's Parishes 1660-1729', pp 69-83, 90-7.

<sup>131</sup> The role and working of the parish vestry in eighteenth-century Dublin is well summarised in Ruth Lavelle and Paull Huggard, 'The Parish Poor of St Mark's' in David Dickson (ed.), *The Gorgeous Mask: Dublin 1700-1850* (Dublin, 1987), pp 87-9.

<sup>132</sup> For a summary see Herbert Wood, *A Guide to the Records Deposited in the Public Record Office of Ireland* (Dublin, 1919), pp 241-3.

<sup>133</sup> Florence Layard, 'French Names in the Registers of St John's Church, Dublin' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, i, no. 4 (1886), pp 329-38.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 329-30.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 333.

<sup>136</sup> Patrick Hanks, *Dictionary of American Family Names* (Oxford, 2003),

(<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195081374.001.0001/acref-9780195081374-e-58563?rskkey=tBKR5d&result=1>)

(6 Nov. 2021).

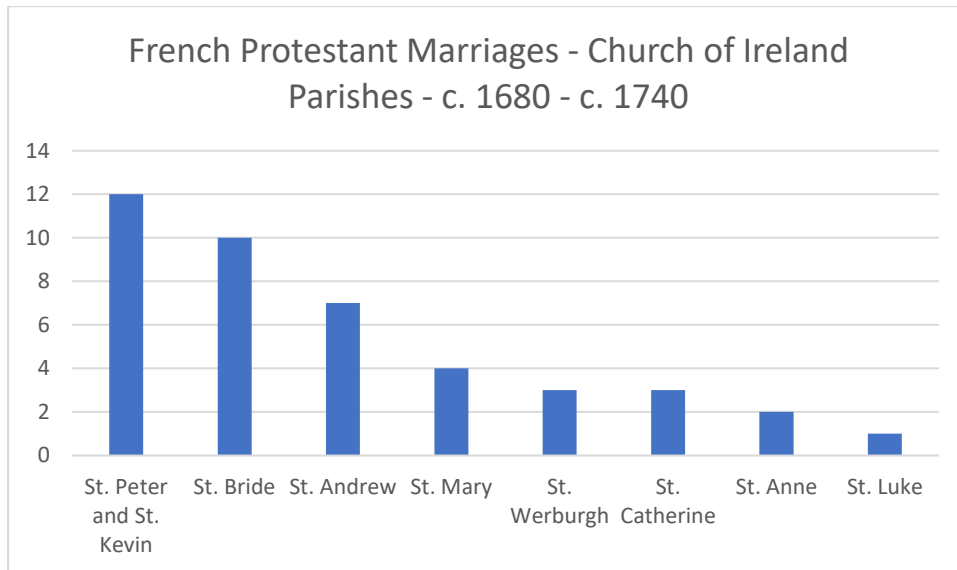
<sup>137</sup> Hylton, 'The Huguenot Communities in Dublin', pp 140-5.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 211-24.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 219-20.

registered during the period under study, it is clear that they were concentrated in a small number of parishes, as can be seen in the table below.

Figure 29: French Protestant marriages registered at Church of Ireland parish churches, 1680-1740



The above table shows that French Protestants associated with the French Churches registered most marriages at the parishes of St Peter and St Kevin’s, followed by St Bride’s. At that time, these adjoining parishes included the southern suburbs of eighteenth-century Dublin. The St. Patrick’s congregation worshipped at St Patrick’s Cathedral, which was contained within the ‘Liberty’ of St Patrick’s Cathedral, next to St Peter’s parish, and the Peter Street French Reformed Church could be found on Peter street in St Bride’s parish. Perhaps more interestingly, the parish in which the French Churches at St Mary’s Abbey and Lucy Lane, St Mary’s, has one of the lowest percentages of marriages recorded at the Church of Ireland parish Church. This suggests that the French Churches north of the Liffey were not associated with a significant French Protestant community in their immediate vicinity.

### ***French Protestants and St Peter’s Parish***

The prevalence of St Peter’s in the table above is interesting, as Hylton stated that references to French Protestants ‘were few and scattered’.<sup>140</sup> On the contrary, the surviving evidence shows that French Protestants had a deep and abiding relationship with the parish. In 1698, when the French Church at St Patrick’s was in search of additional space for worship, the vestry of St Peter’s offered the use of the former St Kevin’s parish church as a chapel of

<sup>140</sup> Hylton, ‘The Huguenot Communities in Dublin’, p. 224.

ease.<sup>141</sup> St Peter's and St Kevin's encompassed much of the area to the southern suburbs of the city, bounded by the Liberties of St Sepulchre and St Patrick's to the west, as well as St Bride's and St Anne's parishes to the north.

Louis Le Roux served as a churchwarden of St Peter's, a role somewhat analogous to that of an elder in the French Church.<sup>142</sup> He was first elected to the role on 7 April 1697, along with Patrick Farrell, a wheelwright, and the signatures of witnesses to the meeting include Messrs' Bulkeley, Kiernan, Chalke and Robson.<sup>143</sup> Louis Le Roux was also an elder at St Patrick's during this period, acting as a witness to marriages and burials on 35 occasions.<sup>144</sup> This pattern continued throughout the early eighteenth century, as shown by the example of David Aubrespy, who was an elder of the United Churches between 1722 and 1732.<sup>145</sup> In February 1721 he attended vestry meetings of the St Peter's parish vestry concerning the establishment of the parish watch committee. Mr Aubrespy was amongst fifteen householders appointed to the committee on 21 February 1721, along with Pierre Malié, a French Protestant loosely associated with the United Churches, and Anglophone householders such as Joseph Leeson, William Smith and Charles Baldwin.<sup>146</sup> On 28 February 1721 a second meeting was held to establish the details of the parish watch, which was to have four constables and nine watchmen.<sup>147</sup> Nine men were appointed watchmen for the year, and all had names such as McDowell, Griffith and Harris. As members of the watch committee, Messrs Aubrespy and Malié interacted with these men, as well as the other committee members, all of whom came from Anglophone, and presumably Protestant, households of the parish.

French Church ministers sometimes officiated at life events recorded at St Peter's. Records of this begin in the 1720s, some of which reflect marriages involving French Church members registered at both the French Churches and at the Church of Ireland parish church. More interesting are the events which involved Anglophone Protestants. For example, there is the marriage of John Young and Jeanne Garche, registered at St Peter's parish church on 27

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<sup>141</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1686-1736: 2 June 1698; 2 Jan. 1699 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.01, pp 107, 109).

<sup>142</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1686-1736, (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.01, pp 98-108).

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

<sup>144</sup> See for instance *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*: p. 95, 17 Sept. 1696, marriage of Benjamin Cannel and Sarah de Cassell; p. 96, 9 Dec. 1697, marriage of Jacques Brion and Marie Trebuchet; p. 151, 3 Mar. 1697 burial of Jacques Boivin; p. 156, 22 Sept. 1698, burial of Guy Chauvegrain.

<sup>145</sup> For example, Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin (Marsh's Library, Dublin French Huguenot Fund Papers. FHF.II.1viii: p. 43, 24 Feb. 1722; p. 58, 21 June 1726; p. 68, 22 Sept. 1728; p. 81, 18 June 1732.

<sup>146</sup> St Peter and St Kevin Vestry Book 1686-1736, 21 Feb. 1721 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.01, p. 207).

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208, 28 Feb. 1721.

December 1727.<sup>148</sup> In this case, Abraham Viridet oversaw the marriage, which involved a woman from a French Protestant family, though not one which was central to the French Church congregations. Viridet also officiated at the marriage William Oulton and Lucia Prosser, neither of whom appear in the surviving records of the French Churches, at St Bride's parish church on 19 November 1731.<sup>149</sup>

### ***The French Protestant Community in Dublin – Concentration of Households***

The research of Raymond Pierre Hylton into French Protestant property holding in Dublin from 1708-38 has provided us with an overview of patterns in French Protestant property holding in the city.<sup>150</sup> French Protestants had a significant involvement in developing the Georgian city in well-known areas like St Stephen's Green,<sup>151</sup> and families such as the La Touche family made significant profits through developing the Longford<sup>152</sup> and Jervis estates.<sup>153</sup> To contextualise Hylton's findings, this chapter uses the surviving Church of Ireland parishes records to identify the parishes where the most significant concentration of French Protestants households could be found. As the parish was the key unit of local government, its officers made regular collections from the inhabitants of the parish to pay for various public services. While the list of names and addresses which one can glean from the parish records cannot be considered a definitive guide to the location of all the families associated with the French Churches in Dublin, these collections do give us several random samples with which to gain a deeper understanding of the trends in the property holdings identified in Hylton's research.

#### ***Southern Parishes***

The marriage records cited above show that by far the greatest proportion of French Protestant marriages registered in Church of Ireland life registers were registered at St Peter and St Kevin's parish church. St Bride's parish bordered St Peter's to the north, and Hylton's research found a significant number of events involving French Protestants in St Bride's registers.<sup>154</sup> Unfortunately, the complete records for St Bride's parish have not survived,

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<sup>148</sup> James Mills and Gertrude Thrift, *The register of the parish of St Peter and S. Kevin, Dublin, 1669-1761 Dublin* (Dublin, 1911) (hereafter '*Register of St Peter and St Kevin*'), p. 319.

<sup>149</sup> D. A. Chart (ed.), *Marriage Entries from the Registers of the Parishes of St Andrew, St Anne, St Audoen and St Bride, Dublin, 1632-1800* (Dublin, 1913) (hereafter '*Marriage Registers of St Andrew, St Audoen and St Bride*'), p. 138.

<sup>150</sup> Hylton, 'The Huguenot communities in Dublin', pp 147-211.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 166-8.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 153-9.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 205-9.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 219-20.

particularly the parish cess lists and minister's money assessments which give us the best evidence for residence in the parish, meaning that it is difficult to corroborate the evidence provided by the Church of Ireland marriage records from other Church of Ireland records. However, it should be noted that the French Reformed Church on Peter Street was in this parish, as noted in a survey of the parish streets made by the parish in 1751.<sup>155</sup> Louis Chaigneau, attended a number of vestry meetings at St Bride's parish as a witness in 1706, and acted as an auditor of the parish's accounts in 1707.<sup>156</sup> Combined with Hylton's observations taken from the church registers, it seems likely that French Protestants were living in the parish, and further research might investigate French Protestant involvement in St Bride's parish.

Looking at the collections made in St Peter's parish, we see that Pierre Nau and one Mr Le Roux were amongst sixteen contributors on Stephen Street to a collection for the city guard in 1692.<sup>157</sup> Lord Galway was amongst thirteen other contributors on Aungier Street, including Lady Cuffe.<sup>158</sup> The record of a charity school collection for St Peter's parish made on 23 August 1721 had a much larger body of French Protestant contributors spread right across the parish.<sup>159</sup> Philippe Morel and Solomon de Blosset were amongst twenty subscribers on Stephen's Green West, and Captain Nicolas was amongst nine contributors to the charity school collection on Stephen's Green South, alongside Messrs' Woods and Knight, and Colonel Erwin. Captain Charles Nicolas and his wife Charlotte de Vignoles were living on Stephen's Green when they recorded the baptism of their daughter, Marguerite Nicolas, on 23 February 1721.<sup>160</sup>

A much fuller list of names and addresses can be found in an undated parish collection found at the beginning of the St Peter's vestry book for 1737-1774.<sup>161</sup> The record was made sometime between October 1736, when the previous vestry book ended, and September 1737, when another collection was recorded.<sup>162</sup> A subsequent entry includes a parish collection dated

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<sup>155</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Bride, Dublin, 1742-1780, 6 Feb. 1751 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0327.05.02, p. 187).

<sup>156</sup> *The Vestry Records of the Parishes of St Bride, St Michael Le Pole and St Stephen, Dublin, 1662-1742*, W.J.R. Wallace (ed.) (Dublin, 2011) (hereafter '*Vestry Records of St Bride, St Michael and St Stephen*'); p. 176, 25 May 1706; p. 177, 13 May 1706; p. 178, 14 Apr. 1707; p. 182, 29 Dec. 1707.

<sup>157</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, 1686-1736 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.01, pp 8-15) (hereafter '*St Peter and St Kevin Vestry Book, 1686-1736*').

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 201-02, 23 Aug. 1721.

<sup>160</sup> *Register of St Peter and St Kevin*, p. 227, 23 Feb. 1721.

<sup>161</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1737-1774, undated assessment (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.02, pp i-xxi).

<sup>162</sup> *St Peter and St Kevin Vestry Book 1686-1736*, last entry dated 12 Oct. 1736 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.01, p. 381). Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1737-1774, record of assessment made on the 12 Sept. 1737 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.02, pp xxii-xxv).

17 September 1743, and these collections were for ‘minister’s money’, used to fund the Church of Ireland minister of the parish.<sup>163</sup> The rate assessment for minister’s money was based on a given property’s value, and an act of parliament passed in 1723 officially sanctioned the ministers’ money assessment to assess collections to fund the public services provided by the parish, often called a parish ‘assessment’ or ‘cess’. We are fortunate that the ministers’ money collections were made in the St Peter’s vestry book, as the parish cess book has not survived.

### *Stephen’s Green*

The ministers’ money collections tell us that Mr Pomarede, a member of the French Reformed Churches, was amongst 23 properties assessed on Stephen’s Green North, along with those of Anglophone householders such as Captain Hardgrave.<sup>164</sup> Thirty properties were assessed on Stephen’s Green West, including those of Lieutenant Arabin, Captain Bernatre and Major Morel, all associated with the United Churches. Stephen’s Green South shows a high proportion of French Protestant households, including the properties of Dean Louis Saurin of the Church of Ireland, Alexandre de Susy of the United Churches, and Mr de St Feriol, from a family associated with the French Reformed Churches. Mrs Faviere, as well as Messrs Nicolas and Le Roux, Colonel de Rochebrune and Captain Corneille, were amongst 28 houses assessed on this part of the Green. This contradicts Hylton’s assumption that the west side of the Green must have had the greatest concentration as it was known as ‘French Walk’ in the map made by La Roque during the 1750s.<sup>165</sup> In all, families associated with the French Churches accounted for approximately 29% of properties assessed on South Stephen’s Green at the time of this assessment.

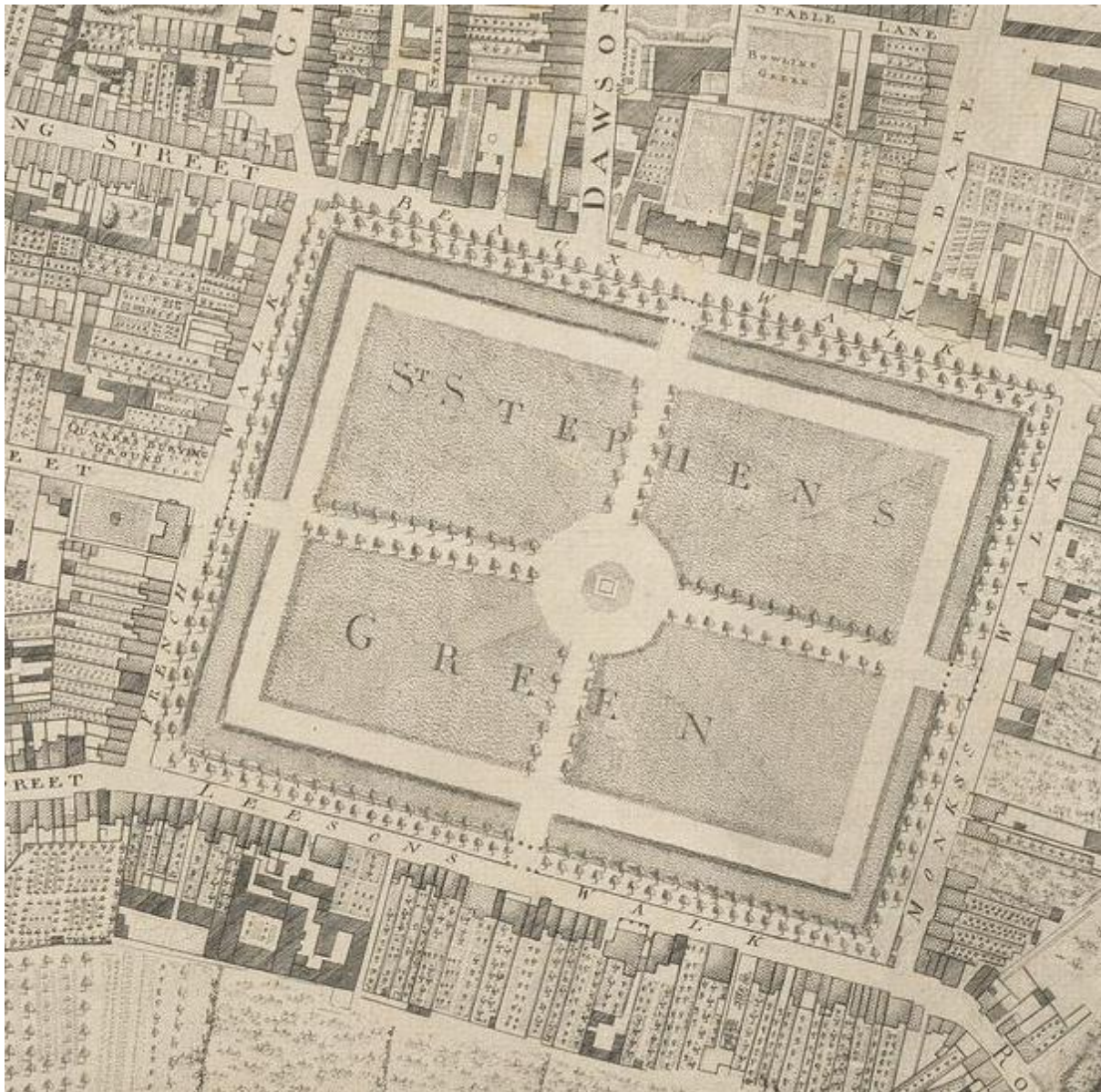
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<sup>163</sup> T. P. Power, ‘A Minister’s Money Account for Clonmel, 1703’ in *Analecta Hibernica*, xxxiv (1987), p. 185.

<sup>164</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1737-1774, undated assessment (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.02, pp xxii-xxv): pp i-ii, v, Stephen’s Green South; pp iii-iv, Stephen’s Green West; pp vii-viii, York Street North; p. ix, Glover’s Alley.

<sup>165</sup> Hylton, ‘The Huguenot communities in Dublin’, pp 167-8.

Figure 30: Stephen's Green<sup>166</sup>



### *Aungier Street*

Aungier Street was a major thoroughfare through St Peter's parish, running on a north to south axis from Great George's Street to Redmond's Hill. The parish records indicate that families associated with the French Churches were a minority of inhabitants in this area. The undated minister's money assessment tells us that David Dignes de La Touche, as well as Messrs' Vignoles and Chaigneau, were amongst 56 householders noted on Aungier Street, alongside Anglophone householders such as Councillor Hassett and Messrs' Ridge, Smurfit, Kennedy and Hall.<sup>167</sup> Jacques Pelletreau, a minister of the United Churches, was amongst

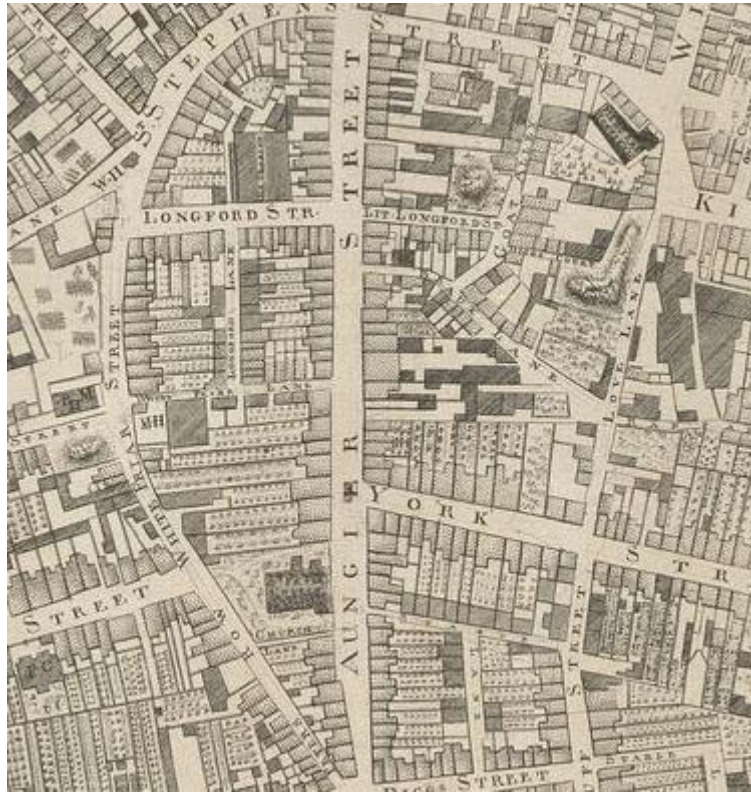
<sup>166</sup> ([https://www.ria.ie/sites/default/files/map\\_5\\_rocque.jpg](https://www.ria.ie/sites/default/files/map_5_rocque.jpg)) (18 Oct. 2022).

<sup>167</sup> St Peter and St Kevin Vestry Book 1737-1774, pp x-xi.



thirteen householders assessed on Whitefriar's lane, just off Aungier Street heading towards St Patrick's Cathedral.<sup>168</sup>

Figure 31: Aungier Street<sup>169</sup>



### ***Stephen's Green to Aungier Street***

The area between St Stephen's Green and Aungier Street was made up of many streets and alleys connecting these two main thoroughfares, and one could find French Protestants living amongst the Anglophone households in this area throughout the eighteenth century. York street ran east to west through the middle of this area, going from St Stephen's Green through Mercer Street to Aungier Street. Captain Maximilien de Faviere and Major Jean Allenet, associated with St. Patrick's, were amongst 30 subscribers on York street recorded in the 1721 collection for the parish charity school.<sup>170</sup> The undated minister's money assessment recorded 35 householders on York street, including the Reverend Fleury of the United Churches.<sup>171</sup> Louis Scoffier, a minister of St. Patrick's, was amongst eleven householders who had houses on York street valued on 17 September 1743.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> St Peter and St Kevin Vestry Book 1737-1774, p. xxv.

<sup>169</sup> ([https://www.ria.ie/sites/default/files/map\\_5\\_rocque.jpg](https://www.ria.ie/sites/default/files/map_5_rocque.jpg)) (18 Oct. 2022).

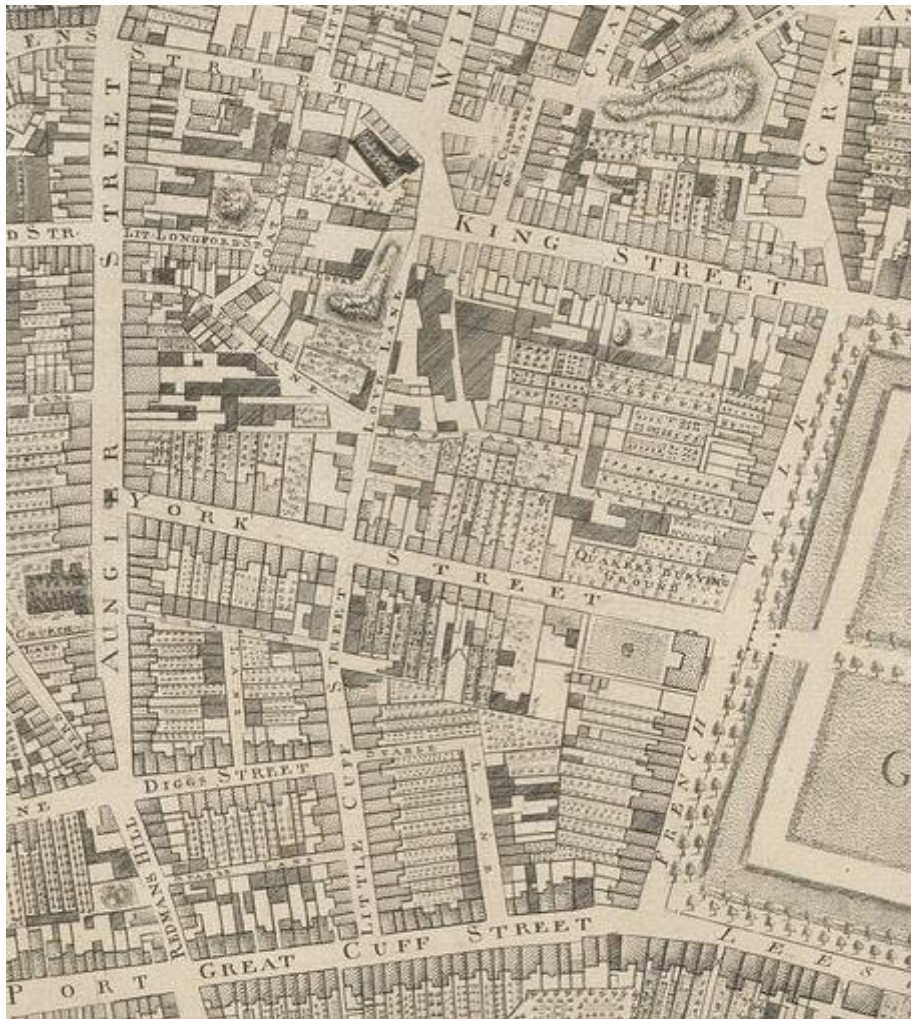
<sup>170</sup> St Peter and St Kevin Vestry Book 1686-1736, p. 201, 23 Aug. 1721.

<sup>171</sup> St Peter and St Kevin Vestry Book 1737-1774, pp i-xxi.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid, p. xxv.

Cuffe street formed the southern boundary of St Peter's parish during this period, running west from Stephen's Green to Redmond's Hill. Charles Boileau de Castelnau, from a family associated with the United Churches, was amongst 23 householders on Cuffe street recorded in the undated minister's money collection. Mr Duchesne, from a family associated with the French Reformed Churches, was amongst fourteen householders recorded on Cuffe street in September 1737 collection, along with Anglophone householders such as Councillor Dean and Mr Eales.

Figure 32: Stephen's Green to Aungier Street<sup>173</sup>



### ***North St Peter's Parish***

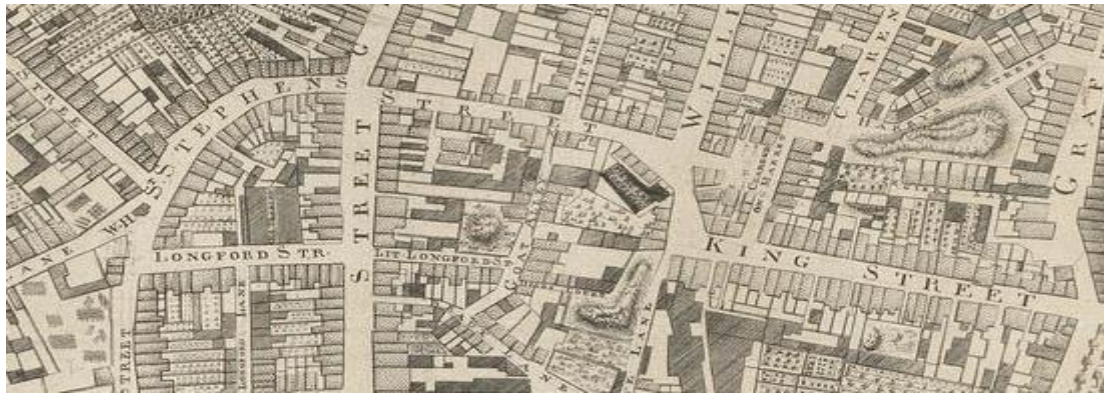
The northern edge of St Peter's was formed around an area then known as Clarendon Market. Moÿse Viridet, minister to St. Patrick's, and his wife Françoise De Mezières were living on King Street when their son Moÿse was born on 19 February 1684.<sup>174</sup> When the charity

<sup>173</sup> ([https://www.ria.ie/sites/default/files/map\\_5\\_rocque.jpg](https://www.ria.ie/sites/default/files/map_5_rocque.jpg)) (18 Oct. 2022).

<sup>174</sup> Ibid, p. 86, 19 Feb. 1684.

school collection was made on 23 August 1721, Jean Ducros, from a family associated with St Mary's Abbey, and Charles de St Feriol, from a family associated with the French Reformed Churches, were amongst ten contributing households on King street.<sup>175</sup> Mr Le Roux and Etienne Saurin de Marrault were amongst 34 householders recorded in the undated collection list, including Anglophone names such as Huddleston and Halter.<sup>176</sup>

Figure 33: North St Peter's Parish<sup>177</sup>



As we can see, the available evidence indicates St Peter's was an important centre for families associated with the French Churches. Combined with the evidence Hylton found for significant numbers of French Protestants recording life events at St Bride's registers, it seems likely that the French Protestant community was concentrated in these parishes. In the case of St Peter's, however, it is important to note that they were not established in an exclusively French Protestant neighbourhood in the parish. While a particular concentration is evident on the southside of St Stephen's Green, even here they were not the majority, constituting approximately a third of all households assessed at the time of the minister's money assessments cited in this chapter. French Protestants living in the many streets and alleys between Stephen's Green and Aungier Street lived in neighbourhoods composed almost exclusively of Anglophone Protestant households. This evidence indicates that French Protestants living in Dublin did not live in an exclusively French Protestant community in Dublin. The dispersed nature of the community points to the importance of the French Churches as a focus for a distinct French Protestant community in Dublin.

<sup>175</sup> *Register of St Peter and St Kevin*, p. 86, 23 Aug. 1721.

<sup>176</sup> *St Peter and St Kevin Vestry Book 1737-1774*, pp i-xxi.

<sup>177</sup> ([https://www.ria.ie/sites/default/files/map\\_5\\_rocque.jpg](https://www.ria.ie/sites/default/files/map_5_rocque.jpg)) (18 Oct. 2022).

### *Northern Parishes*

The St Mary's Abbey and Lucy Lane French Churches were on the north side of the Liffey. The north bank of the Liffey was developed as an urban area from the late seventeenth century, and Hylton's research has an elevated number of property transactions involving French Protestants in this area.<sup>178</sup> There were two parishes on the north bank of the Liffey during this period; St Mary's and St Michan's. St Mary's parish was carved out of the old St Michan's parish in 1697, as a result of the expansion of the city onto the North Bank of the Liffey in the late seventeenth century.<sup>179</sup> It was bounded to the south by the Liffey, to the west by the new St Michan's parish, from there taking in all the land running north and east in the diocese of Dublin, until St George's parish was created from its eastern side in the late eighteenth century.

*Figure 34: Dublin north of the Liffey*<sup>180</sup>



French Protestants served as curates to St Mary's, including Pascal Ducasse, who served as curate in 1722.<sup>181</sup> Nicolas Gruber, one of the elders for St Mary's Abbey during the

<sup>178</sup> Hylton, 'The Huguenot communities in Dublin', pp 205-7.

<sup>179</sup> *Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough*, p. 202.

<sup>180</sup> ([https://www.ria.ie/sites/default/files/map\\_5\\_rocque.jpg](https://www.ria.ie/sites/default/files/map_5_rocque.jpg)) (18 Oct. 2022).

<sup>181</sup> *Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough*, p. 203.

split with St. Patrick's, was an auditor of accounts for St Mary's parish in 1708, and was elected a sidesman in 1714.<sup>182</sup> The St Mary's Abbey French Church had the use of St Mary's Abbey, on the border between St Mary's and St Michan's parishes, and the Lucy Lane French Church could be found near the river in St Michan's parish.

Unfortunately, records of parish collections for St Mary's parish have not survived. Full cess lists have survived for St Michan's parish, and they contain some names associated with the French Protestant community, though not the same concentration one finds in the St Peter's records. Using the St Michan's cess lists for 1736-37 to compare to the house valuations made in St Peter's during the same period,<sup>183</sup> we see that the number of households associated with the French Churches in St Peter's parish is approximately 5% of all households noted in the assessment. For St Michan's there are c. 15 addresses, not even accounting for 1% of the total number of households assessed. This was a similar proportion to those found in the cess list for 1711,<sup>184</sup> despite substantial growth in the urbanised area of the parish during the intervening period. Combined with the more significant proportion of French Protestants in the surviving records for St Peter's Parish, this suggests that French Protestants were leaving the northern parishes over the course of the early eighteenth century.

### *Conclusion*

The evidence reviewed in this chapter shows that the French Protestants in Dublin actively participated in the communal, occupational and municipal political structures of the city from the late seventeenth century. French Protestants served as churchwardens in their local Church of Ireland vestry, and wardens in the trade guilds associated with their chosen occupations. The choice of French Protestants as guild representatives on the common council of Dublin City Council indicates that they were trusted to represent their fellow tradesmen in municipal politics. Further research might investigate French Protestant involvement in the guilds they represented on the common council, to identify their contribution to those organisations. The service of some as aldermen and lord mayors shows indicates that they were trusted to manage municipal affairs, and further research might investigate their political careers in greater detail.

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<sup>182</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Mary, Dublin, 1699-1739 (Representative Church Body Library, P. 277.5.1): p. 56, 5 Apr. 1708; p. 93, 29 Mar. 1714.

<sup>183</sup> St Michan's Cess Book 1736-7 (R.C.B. Library, P.0276.10.II, pp 1-31)

<sup>184</sup> St Michan's Cess Book 1711-25 (R.C.B. Library, P.0276.10.I, pp 1-16)

The evidence concerning their interactions with the other confessional communities of the city suggests they regularly interacted with Catholics and Dissenters, though the official record only retains isolated examples. The marked absence of records of involvement in the Presbyterian Churches, outside of innocuous occasions such as supporting a charity school, suggests they were scrupulous about not being visibly involved in what was at that time an unlawful confessional community. The occasional references to interactions with Baptists and Quakers, combined with the presence of Jean Cavalier, one of the French Prophets in London, suggests that greater links might have existed, something which might provide a very interesting line of enquiry for future researchers.

The surviving Church of Ireland parish records discussed above indicate that the French Protestant community was concentrated in St Peter's and St Bride's parishes south of the Liffey. The evidence indicates that it did not constitute an exclusively French Protestant community, however, reflecting Marie Léoutre's observation, that Lord Galway had cited the acquisition of sufficient land on which to establish an exclusively French Protestant community as a particular problem in Ireland, as all land was already owned.<sup>185</sup> This helps to contextualise the findings of Hylton, indicating that the property speculation by French Protestants north of the Liffey identified in his research may not have been complemented by significant French Protestants settlement in St Mary's and St Michan's parishes. This trend is supported by the fact that Protestant denominations outside of the Church of Ireland were concentrated in the south side of the city during the early eighteenth century.<sup>186</sup> Furthermore, it is worth noting that the southern parishes had the highest proportion of Protestant inhabitants, while the northern parishes had the highest proportions of Catholics.<sup>187</sup> The move away from the northern parishes noted above may have reflected an aversion on the part of French Protestants to living in Catholic majority neighbourhoods that deserves further research.

The evidence that shows the community did not exist in an exclusively French Protestant neighbourhood in Dublin reinforces the importance of the French Churches as a focus for a distinct French Protestant confessional identity in the city. The existence of a French Protestant community in Dublin does not appear to have resulted from any type of ghettoization on the part of French Protestants. The community was bound together through spiritual and legal affinity, as well as shared participation in French Protestant religious practices. The

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<sup>185</sup> Marie Léoutre, 'Huguenot Property in Ireland' in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, xxx (2013-17), pp 346-57, p. 348.

<sup>186</sup> Colm Lennon, 'Dublin, Part II, 1610 to 1756' in *Irish Historic Towns Atlas*, no. 19, (Dublin, 2008), p. 8.

<sup>187</sup> Fagan, 'The Population of Dublin in the Eighteenth Century', pp 128-43.

perpetuation of the French Protestant community in Dublin throughout the eighteenth century reflected the fact that the French Protestant community in Dublin was one defined above all else in confessional terms, as an exile Protestant community in a Protestant city.

## Chapter Three - The French Protestant community in Dublin and the confessional state in Ireland, c. 1680-1740

This chapter considers the relationship between the French Protestant community in Dublin and the confessional state in Ireland. Confessional states like the Irish kingdom were a product of the sixteenth century reformations, which led the territorial states of Europe to define loyalty and reliability in their subjects through membership of the lawful state confession. Periodic attempts to enforce confessional uniformity within a given territorial state often resulted in the formation of exile communities such as the French Protestant community in Dublin. As noted in the previous chapters, the skills, knowledge, experience and capital for investment religious exiles brought with them were highly prized. Accordingly, states across Europe offered inducements such as residency rights and exemptions from taxation to entice these migrants to settle in their territories. In the case of Ireland, an additional advantage was the expected increase in the Protestant ‘Interest’, or population, which would result if they settled in the kingdom. This led the Irish government to offer Protestant Strangers who settled in Ireland complete freedom of worship, and this chapter considers the relationship between the French Protestant community in Dublin and the confessional state in Ireland.

### *Archive*

Our key archives include the various editions of the Protestant Strangers acts, as well as the Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland, both of which can be found in digitised format on websites such as Gale Primary Sources.<sup>1</sup> Another key archive is formed by the transcriptions of letters of denization and acts of naturalisation granting French Protestants residency rights in England and Ireland made by William Shaw.<sup>2</sup> French Protestant participation in the armies of William of Orange is the subject of a significant body of reference material, including the prosopography of Huguenot Regiment Veterans produced by T. P. Le Fanu and W. H. Manchee.<sup>3</sup> This chapter uses this source documentation to consider the relationship between the French Protestant community in Dublin and the confessional state in Ireland.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://go.gale.com/ps/dispatchBasicSearch.do?userGroupName=nuim&prodId=ECCO>

<sup>2</sup> William Shaw (ed.) *Letters Of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Ireland, 1603-1700*, (London, 1911) (hereafter ‘*Denization and Naturalization, 1603-1700*’); *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Ireland 1701-1800*, (Manchester, 1923) (hereafter ‘*Denization and Naturalization, 1700-1800*’).

<sup>3</sup> T. P. Le Fanu and W. H. Manchee, *Dublin and Portarlington veterans, King William III's Huguenot army* (London, 1946).



## *The Confessional States of Europe*

The confessional states of Europe were founded on the close association between religious orthodoxy and political legitimacy during this period. This was shown at the Diet of Worms in 1521, when the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V declared Martin Luther an outlaw, complementary to his excommunication from the Church by the Pope. Conflict between Protestants and Catholics was a key factor in subsequent military conflicts such as the Schmalkaldic Wars in the Holy Roman Empire (1546-55), the French Wars of Religion (1562-98) and the Dutch Revolt (1566-48) in the Netherlands. The Peace of Augsburg brought the Schmalkaldic Wars to an end in 1555, based on the principle that the subjects of a given realm should follow the confession of their ruler.<sup>4</sup> This led to a process now known as confessionalisation,<sup>5</sup> which reinforced the link between confession and political reliability in Europe. Wolfgang Reinhard saw this process as beginning with the Luther in the sixteenth century and ending during the early eighteenth century with the consolidation of Catholic states in France and Austria, and of Protestant states in Britain and Ireland.<sup>6</sup>

While territorial states began to define themselves in terms of confession during this period, attempts to enforce confessional uniformity within a given state were often shown to be impractical.<sup>7</sup> Resistance to these efforts was a major factor in political and military conflicts such as the Huguenot rebellions in France (1620-29), the Thirty Years War in the Holy Roman Empire (1618-48), or the War of the Three Kingdoms in England, Ireland and Scotland (1639-53). The principle of confessional uniformity remained a legitimate maxim of state policy throughout this period, however. It underpinned the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV in 1685 and justified the replacement of James II with William III during the Glorious Revolution of 1688 in England. It is in the context of the confessional state that the French

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<sup>4</sup> Hans Knippenberg, 'The political geography of religion: historical state-church relations in Europe and recent challenges' in *GeoJournal*, lxxvii, no. 2 (2007), pp 253-65, p. 253.

<sup>5</sup> R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550-1750* (London, 1992), see especially pp 1-4 of the introduction, where he discusses the historiography of the confessionalisation concept.

<sup>6</sup> Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State; A Reassessment' in *The Catholic Historical Review*, lxxv, pp 383-404, p. 390.

<sup>7</sup> For discussions of the applicability of the confessionalisation paradigm in France, Ireland and England, see: Phil Benedict, 'Confessionalization in France? Critical Reflections on New Evidence' in *The Faith and Fortunes of France's Huguenots, 1600-1685* (London, 2001), pp 309-26; Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, 'The Confessionalisation of Ireland? Assessment of a Paradigm' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxii, no. 128 (2001), pp 567-78; J. C. D. Clark 'England's Ancien Regime as a Confessional State' in *Albion*, xxi, no. 3 (1989), pp 450-74.

Protestant community in Dublin should be analysed, and this chapter places the community in this context.

### ***The Confessional States of England and Ireland***

The confessional states of England and Ireland had their origins in the Tudor reformations, which began when Henry VIII declared himself supreme head of the Churches of England and Ireland during the early sixteenth century. Scholarship now understands the reformation in England as a long process through which late medieval religious beliefs and practices were progressively replaced with the beliefs and behaviours associated with the Anglican confession.<sup>8</sup> Conversely, historical research on the reformation in Ireland has focused on questions of success or failure, focusing on the fact that the majority of the population remained Catholic,<sup>9</sup> despite evidence for internal movements towards Protestantism.<sup>10</sup> More recent research has investigated this complex question,<sup>11</sup> showing that, while not inevitable, it quickly became unlikely that the Church of Ireland would count the majority of the population amongst its members.<sup>12</sup>

It was in this context that Tudor and Stuart state policy for Ireland turned to migration as a solution to the problem of governing an ostensibly Protestant kingdom with a Catholic population. This led to the ‘plantations’ of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, during which Anglophone Protestant ‘settlers’ were given land confiscated from Catholics.<sup>13</sup> This policy further complicated the confessional landscape of Ireland, however, as many of these migrants were Protestants who opposed the Anglican confession, known as Dissenters.<sup>14</sup> They included Protestants from Scotland, where conflict between supporters of episcopacy and presbytery continued throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>15</sup> The complex confessional situation in the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland was a key factor in the

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<sup>8</sup> For a recent review article see Peter Marshall, ‘(Re)defining the English Reformation’ in *Journal of British Studies*, xlviii, no. 3 (2009), pp 564-86.

<sup>9</sup> B.I. Bradshaw, ‘Sword, word and strategy in the reformation in Ireland’ in *Historical Journal*, xxi (1978), pp 475-502.

<sup>10</sup> Nicholas Canny, ‘Why the Reformation Failed in Ireland: Une Question Mal Posée’ in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxx, no. 4 (1979), pp 423-50.

<sup>11</sup> Alan Ford, *The Protestant Reformation in Ireland 1590-1641* (Dublin, 1997), pp 7-20 summarises research on the reformation in Ireland up to the date of publication.

<sup>12</sup> Henry Jefferies, *The Irish Church and the Tudor Reformations* (Dublin, 2010), p. 11.

<sup>13</sup> Nicholas Canny, ‘The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America’, *William and Mary Quarterly*, xxx no. 4 (1973), pp 575-98.

<sup>14</sup> Phil Kilroy, *Protestant dissent and controversy in Ireland, 1660-1714* (Cork, 1994), pp 1-82.

<sup>15</sup> Phil Benedict, *Christ’s Churches Purely Reformed, a social history of Calvinism* (London, 2002), pp 152-72.

outbreak of the War of the Three Kings during the 1640s.<sup>16</sup> The English Parliament, led by Oliver Cromwell, eventually defeated Charles I and his followers, abolishing monarchy and episcopacy in England and Ireland during the Interregnum of the 1650s.

Following the death of Cromwell and the collapse of the Commonwealth, monarchy and episcopacy were re-established under Charles II, son of Charles I.<sup>17</sup> The Anglican confession was re-established in England through the Act of Uniformity (1662), and political power was reserved to members of the Anglican confession through the Corporation Act (1661) and the Sacramental Test Act (1673). Episcopacy had been imposed on the Church of Scotland as part of this process before it returned to the Presbyterian structure in 1690 under William III.<sup>18</sup> Episcopacy was re-established in the Church of Ireland through an Act of Uniformity passed in the Irish Parliament during 1666. It is notable that there was no Irish equivalent of the English Conventicle Act (1664), however, which had effectively banned Dissenting Protestants from gathering for worship in England. By the late seventeenth century, Catholics were the majority in practically every county in Ireland, with Scots Presbyterians a majority in parts of Ulster, and Anglicans only constituting a majority in Dublin.<sup>19</sup>

It was in this complex confessional landscape that the French Protestant communities in Ireland were established during the late seventeenth century. By then, the kingdom of Ireland was administered by the royal administration based in Dublin Castle, made up of the privy council and the lord lieutenant, the crown's representative in Ireland.<sup>20</sup> The Irish Parliament established itself as a key institution during the 1690s, through judicious use of its right to approve or refuse budgets proposed by the crown administration in Dublin Castle. The Irish Parliament was subordinate to the English Parliament under a law known as Poynings' Law, which gave the English Parliament the right to legislate for Ireland. The Irish Parliament could still pass legislation for the kingdom, however, including the Protestant Strangers Acts which facilitated the establishment of the French Protestant community in Dublin. Another crucial institution was the Church of Ireland, which had substantial resources at its disposal, including

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<sup>16</sup> David Scott, *Politics and War in the Three Stuart Kingdoms, 1637-49* (London, 2017), pp 1-36.

<sup>17</sup> Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and his kingdoms, 1660-1685* (London, 2006), pp 43-55.

<sup>18</sup> Alasdair Raffae, 'Presbyterians and Episcopalians: the Formation of Confessional Culture in Scotland, 1660-1715' in *The English Historical Review*, cxxv, no. 514 (2010), pp 570-98.

<sup>19</sup> S. J. Connolly, *Religion, law, and power : the making of Protestant Ireland, 1660-1760* (Oxford, 1992), pp 144-9.

<sup>20</sup> C. I. McGrath, *The Making of the Eighteenth-Century Irish Constitution: Government, Parliament and the Revenue, 1692-1714* (Dublin, 2000), pp 16-23.

land, church buildings and substantial revenues from the tithes paid by the inhabitants of its parishes.

### ***The Stranger Churches in England***

The Stranger Churches in England provide an important precedent for the establishment of the French Churches in Ireland, as shown by Raymond Gillespie with regards the 1662 Protestant Strangers Act.<sup>21</sup> An early experiment in the reformation of belief and behaviour, the Stranger Churches were initially given complete independence from the jurisdiction of the Church of England on their foundation in 1550.<sup>22</sup> In the eyes of some English reformers, the autonomy granted to the Stranger Churches reflected their role as an inspiration for further reform of the Church of England.<sup>23</sup> As a result, ministers of the Stranger Churches were often drawn into early religious controversies that became central to the disputes between Anglicans and Dissenters.<sup>24</sup> Threatened by this interference, the Church of England episcopacy did what they could to bring the Stranger Churches under their supervision, providing a precedent for the experience of the French Churches in Ireland.<sup>25</sup>

State policy towards the Stranger Churches continued to evolve under the Stuart monarchy,<sup>26</sup> and they experienced significant pressure to join the Church of England as part of the archbishop of Canterbury William Laud's campaign to enforce conformity during the 1630s.<sup>27</sup> Laud's conformity drive was one of many factors precipitating the English Civil Wars of the 1640s, and Protestant Strangers were drawn into this conflict.<sup>28</sup> On the restoration of monarchy in 1660, Charles II continued to pursue a policy of integration with regards the Stranger Churches, as part of a wider policy intended to bring all Protestant denominations in England under the umbrella of one Protestant Church.<sup>29</sup> This approach was codified at the

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<sup>21</sup> Raymond Gillespie, 'Planned Migration to Ireland in the seventeenth century' in Patrick Duffy and Gerard Moran (eds), *To and from Ireland: Planned Migration Schemes c. 1600-2000* (Dublin, 2004), pp 39-56, p. 49.

<sup>22</sup> Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford, 1986), pp 25-36.

<sup>23</sup> Patrick Collinson, 'The Elizabethan Puritans and the foreign reformed churches in London' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xx, no. 5 (1963), pp 528-55.

<sup>24</sup> Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London*, pp 40-3.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 37-45.

<sup>26</sup> Ole Peter Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England* (London, 1996), pp 34-52.

<sup>27</sup> Robin Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain, Volume I – Crisis, Renewal and the Ministers' Dilemma* (3 vols, London, 2015), i, pp 25-50.

<sup>28</sup> Bernard Cottret, *The Huguenots in England, Immigration and Settlement, c. 1550-1700* (Cambridge, 1991), pp 119-48.

<sup>29</sup> Robin Gwynn, 'Government policy towards Huguenot immigration and settlement in England and Ireland' in C. E. J. Caldicott, Hugh Gough and J. P. Pittion (eds) *The Huguenots and Ireland, Anatomy of an Emigration* (Dublin, 1987), pp 205-24.

Savoy Chapel in London,<sup>30</sup> and the French Church at St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin was founded based on this model.<sup>31</sup>

### *The Protestant Strangers Acts*

The first Protestant Strangers act was passed in the Irish Parliament in 1662,<sup>32</sup> as part of a project promoted by James Butler, the first duke of Ormond and then lord lieutenant of Ireland to settle Protestant Strangers in the kingdom.<sup>33</sup> The initiative to attract Protestant Strangers to settle in Ireland was made as part of the restoration of monarchy and episcopacy under Charles II.<sup>34</sup> This is reflected in the opening paragraph of the act, which cites the impact of war on the kingdom as a key justification for encouraging Protestant migration. The act required that all Protestant Strangers seeking naturalisation take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which required that one swear allegiance to the monarch and recognise them as supreme head of the Church of Ireland. In return, the act offered accelerated naturalisation as a subject of the kingdom, exemption from taxation and a discount on the cost of purchasing freedom of the kingdom's urban corporations.

A French Church was established at St Patrick's Cathedral in 1666, some years after the 1662 Protestant Strangers Act was passed.<sup>35</sup> There is little recorded evidence of a French Church congregation at St Patrick's during the 1670s, however, and only a handful of naturalisations made under the 1662 Act can be connected with the French Churches.<sup>36</sup> This observation is supported by the research of Raymond Gillespie, who has shown that the 1662 act was most successful in attracting Anglophone Protestant Strangers, with c. 61% of those recorded as availing of the act coming from Britain.<sup>37</sup> The 1662 Protestant Strangers Act was limited for seven years, and could not be renewed when it lapsed in 1669 as the Irish Parliament was prorogued in 1666. The state authorities extended the inducements offered to Protestant Strangers in Dublin as part of the 1672 Rules for Dublin city corporation, however. As noted

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<sup>30</sup> Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain, Volume I*, pp 113-41.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, pp 118-24.

<sup>32</sup> 14 Chas II, c. 13 [Ire.] (1662).

<sup>33</sup> Raymond Hylton, *Ireland's Huguenots and Their Refuge, 1662-1745: an Unlikely Haven* (Brighton, 2005), pp 19-31.

<sup>34</sup> S. J. Connolly, *Religion, Law and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland 1660-1760* (Oxford, 1992), pp 5-17, summarises this process in Ireland.

<sup>35</sup> Le Fanu, 'The Huguenot Churches of Dublin' pp 95-6.

<sup>36</sup> *Denization and Naturalization, 1603-1700*, pp 338-46: p. 340, 9 March 1666, naturalisation of Jacques Hierome; p. 342, 1 December 1668, naturalisation of Jean Comtesse; p. 343, 3 November 1670, naturalisation of David Cossart; p. 346, 22 June 1678, naturalisation of Moses Viridet.

<sup>37</sup> Raymond Gillespie, 'Planned Migration to Ireland in the seventeenth century' in Patrick Duffy and Gerard Moran (eds), *To and from Ireland: Planned Migration Schemes c. 1600-2000* (Dublin, 2004), pp 39-56, p. 51.

in chapter one, the few baptisms recorded in the French Church registers were recorded around this time. Further research might look for evidence of negotiations between French Protestants and the crown administration concerning this issue to shed further light on this interesting coincidence.

French Protestants came to Ireland in significant numbers during the 1680s, with just under 50 denizations that can be associated with St Patrick's during that period, as summarised in appendix 3.a.<sup>38</sup> While there was no Irish Parliament called that would renew the Protestant Strangers Act during these years, Ruth Whelan has shown that there was an official state sponsored advertising campaign to attract French Protestants to Ireland during the 1680s.<sup>39</sup> The 1680s saw an attempt to establish a French Protestant congregation outside the Church of Ireland, and Hylton has shown that the duke of Ormond and his son, the earl of Arran, assisted the then French Church minister, Moses Viridet, in suppressing these efforts.<sup>40</sup> It is interesting to note that the French Protestant minister who formed this congregation, Jean Jacques, believed that he had not broken the law by forming the congregation.<sup>41</sup> This may reflect the lack of an Irish equivalent of the English conventicle act, providing an interesting precedent for the freedom of worship expressly granted to Protestant Strangers in Ireland in later years.

Charles II passed away in 1685, and was succeeded by his brother, James II, who was a Catholic. As noted by Tim Harris, James II's reign seemed to confirm the anxieties of some in England concerning the arbitrary rule one might expect from a Catholic monarch.<sup>42</sup> In Ireland, the Ormond family were replaced as lords lieutenant by political figures who were supportive of James.<sup>43</sup> Tensions were exacerbated when James II's wife gave birth to an heir in 1688, leading a group of significant English political figures to invite William of Orange to come to England. When William's army landed in November 1688, the royal army deserted James II, who fled the country. The English Parliament considered that James had effectively abdicated, and William of Orange was appointed king as part of what is now known as the Glorious Revolution.<sup>44</sup> James II went into exile in France, eventually coming to Ireland in an attempt to re-establish his monarchy as part of the conflict that has become known as the

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<sup>38</sup> Shaw, *Denization and Naturalization, 1603-1700*, pp 147-216.

<sup>39</sup> Ruth Whelan, 'The Huguenots and the imaginative geography of Ireland: a planned immigration scheme in the 1680s' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxv, no. 140 (2007), pp 479-83.

<sup>40</sup> Hylton, 'The Huguenot Communities in Dublin', pp 49-54.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 253.

<sup>42</sup> Tim Harris, *Politics Under the Later Stuarts, Party Conflict in a Divided Society, 1660-1715* (London, 1993), p. 117.

<sup>43</sup> J. G. Simms, *Jacobite Ireland, 1685-91* (Dublin, 2000), pp 17-18.

<sup>44</sup> James Hertzler, 'Who Dubbed It "The Glorious Revolution?"' in *Albion*, xix, no. 4 (1987), pp 579-85.

Williamite War in Ireland (1688-1691).<sup>45</sup> William of Orange would emerge victorious from those wars as William III of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the following years were focused on consolidating his rule in the three kingdoms.

### ***1692 Protestant Strangers Act***

These changing political circumstances meant that the Protestant Strangers act was not renewed until 1692, when a parliament was called by William III following his victory over James II.<sup>46</sup> James McGuire has shown that the 1692 Irish Parliament, though it only met for one month, had a profound impact on the nature of politics in Ireland during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>47</sup> The 1692 parliament was largely composed of Protestants suspicious of the leniency shown towards the Catholic aristocracy in the terms of the peace treaty that ended the war in Ireland. Now known as the Treaty of Limerick, the terms granted freedom of worship and retention of their property to Irish Catholics who gave allegiance to William as king. Fearful of the treaty's implications for their political power, the 1692 parliament set about establishing a precedent for regular sessions of parliament by opposing six out of ten bills proposed by the crown's representatives, eventually putting time limits on money bills to ensure that regular parliaments would have to be called.<sup>48</sup>

It was this parliament that renewed the Protestant Strangers act, amended to grant Protestant Strangers complete freedom of worship in the kingdom. The bill for the act was first read before the Commons on 29 October 1692 and was pushed forward for further consideration a number of times before finally passing on 2 November 1692, with no one in the Commons contradicting.<sup>49</sup> The bill received the Lord Lieutenant's assent in his role as the King's Viceroy on 3 November 1692,<sup>50</sup> making it law as the 1692 Protestant Strangers Act, indicating that the bill had also passed through the House of Lords. The 1692 Protestant Strangers Act was amended to give explicit freedom of worship to Protestant Strangers coming to Ireland. As well granting Protestant Strangers complete freedom of worship, the 1692 Act substituted simplified oaths of allegiance that allowed for Protestants who did not subscribe to the Anglican confession to swear allegiance to the crown without betraying their principles. As

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<sup>45</sup> John Childs, *The Williamite Wars in Ireland, 1688-91* (London, 2007), pp 53-4.

<sup>46</sup> 4 Will. III, c. 2 [Ire.] (November 1692).

<sup>47</sup> James McGuire, 'The Irish Parliament of 1692' in *Penal Era and Golden Age, Essays in Irish History, 1690-1800* (Belfast, 1979), pp 1-31.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*, pp 15-16.

<sup>49</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland*, ii, pp 651, 653.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, p. 656.

noted by Ruth Whelan, the oath of supremacy, in particular, was problematic for Protestant Strangers like the French Protestants, and its removal from the 1692 Act was likely intended to promote Protestant migration to the kingdom.<sup>51</sup>

Given that there was no recorded opposition to the bill in the commons journal, McGuire described the 1692 Protestant Strangers Act as ‘uncontentious’.<sup>52</sup> The numerous re-readings of the act suggest it was the subject of some debate, however, and it is unfortunate that the substance of any debates are not recorded in the commons journal. It is possible that the freedom of worship offered to Protestant Strangers, which was similar to that offered to Irish Catholics under the Treaty of Limerick, was a cause of concern. Scottish Presbyterians could, in principle, be considered Protestant Strangers in Ireland, meaning that they could potentially seek freedom of worship under the 1692 Protestant Strangers Act. It is remarkable that the records do not contain any evidence of debate concerning this aspect of the 1692 Protestant Strangers Act, and further research might shed further light on the process of its approval.

### ***1697 Amendment to the Protestant Strangers Act***

The records of the Irish House of Commons indicate that the 1692 Act was amended in 1697 to extend its provisions for ten more years.<sup>53</sup> The extension was made in response to an address made by the crown administration to the Commons in July 1697, which implicitly linked the safety and security of the Protestant Interest in Ireland with the encouragement of Protestant migration into the kingdom.<sup>54</sup> The Commons also recommended that foreign Protestant ministers be established in every parish with 50 or more Protestant Strangers, who should be allowed to bring their moveable assets into the country without paying any duty.<sup>55</sup> This reference to providing Protestant Stranger ministers in each parish with 50 or more Protestant Strangers is interesting, as the Commons had previously amended a bill seeking assistance for poor Protestant Strangers in Ireland to limit such assistance to ministers who conformed to ‘the liturgy of the Church of England’.<sup>56</sup> Whelan has noted that a subsequent petition made by Virazel explicitly stated that the amendment limiting assistance to

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<sup>51</sup> Ruth Whelan, ‘Liberté de culte, liberté de conscience? Les Huguenots en Irlande 1662–1702’ in Jens Häselser and Antony McKenna (eds), *La Vie intellectuelle aux Refuges protestants ; Actes de la Table ronde de Münster du 25 juillet 1995* (Paris, 1999), pp 69-83, pp 70-1.

<sup>52</sup> McGuire, ‘The Irish Parliament of 1692’, p. 16.

<sup>53</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland*, ii, pp 798, 802, 807, 810, 817, 819-20, 826.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 776.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 820.

<sup>56</sup> Whelan, ‘Liberté de culte, liberté de conscience?’, pp 76-8.



‘conformed’ French Protestant ministers was the initiative of one interested party, as opposed to the Commons as a whole, pointing to the unrecorded intrigues that surrounded these legislative processes.

Some restrictions were proposed to limit the franchise to Protestant Strangers who had been in Ireland for at least seven years, and restrict their right to freedom of a given town or city to the duration of their stay.<sup>57</sup> While the amendments limited the freedom and voting rights of Protestant Strangers, the Commons’ support for the establishment of foreign Protestant clergy, as well as the exemption from customs duties, shows they supported the continued migration of Protestant Strangers to Ireland. Perhaps most importantly, the freedom of worship written into the act in 1692 was not amended. This was a sign that the Commons, at least, was comfortable with this provision of the act. The renewed act continued to encourage Protestant Strangers to settle in Ireland, while reserving political rights for Protestant Strangers who settled in the kingdom.

#### ***1704 Amendment to the Protestant Strangers Act***

Following Queen Anne’s accession in 1702, the Protestant Strangers Act was once again amended, renewing its provisions for five years, along with some other amendments.<sup>58</sup> The reign of Queen Anne (1702-1714) was marked by the union of the English and Scottish kingdoms through the acts of union passed in the English and Scottish Parliaments in 1706 and 1707, respectively, creating the Kingdom of Great Britain in 1707.<sup>59</sup> It is important to note that union of the kingdoms was not attended by union of the Churches of England and Scotland, however. Queen Anne’s reign was marked by significant political conflicts between supporters of monarchy and episcopacy, often termed ‘Tories’, and supporters of parliament and Protestant dissent, often termed ‘Whigs’.<sup>60</sup> These interest groups had their origins in England, and similar sentiments and groupings existed in Ireland.<sup>61</sup> The Tory faction gained great influence under Queen Anne, who was a committed Anglican, and appointed James Butler, the second duke of Ormond,<sup>62</sup> to be her lord lieutenant in Ireland in 1703.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Whelan, ‘Liberté de culte, liberté de conscience?’, p. 810.

<sup>58</sup> 2 Anne [Ire.] c.14 (1704).

<sup>59</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons, Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London, 2009), p. 12.

<sup>60</sup> Connolly, *Religion, Law and Power*, pp 74-84 for a discussion of Irish politics between 1691-1714, pp 78-80 for party politics and religion.

<sup>61</sup> McGuire, ‘The Irish Parliament of 1692’, pp 14-15.

<sup>62</sup> David Hayton, ‘Butler, James’ in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (<https://www.dib.ie/biography/butler-james-a1260>) (3 May 2021).

<sup>63</sup> Connolly, *Religion, Law and Power*, p. 78.

The appointment of Ormond as lord lieutenant led to a much more partisan political atmosphere in Ireland, one in which the supremacy of the Anglican confession was emphasised. Take for example the passage of the Sacramental Test Act in the Irish Parliament in 1704, which required evidence of having received communion according to the Anglican rite to participate in public office.<sup>64</sup> It was in this tense political environment that the provision of the Protestant Strangers Act granting naturalisation to Protestant Strangers who settled in Ireland was renewed for five years in 1704. The commons journal indicates that the extension of the act was the subject of extended debate, though unfortunately the specifics of those debates went unrecorded.<sup>65</sup> Only minor amendments were made, however, and they were intended to ensure that Protestant Strangers settling in Ireland were loyal to the Protestant monarchy of Queen Anne and rejected the exiled Jacobite ‘Pretender’. The oath of supremacy was not reinstated, meaning that Protestant Strangers did not have to recognise the monarch as supreme head of the Church. Furthermore, the freedom of worship explicitly written into the 1692 Act was once again preserved. French Protestants continued to arrive in Ireland during this period, as shown by the c. 250 instances of individuals who can be linked to the French Churches gaining residency rights in Ireland between 1690-1717, as detailed in appendix 3.b.

The Church of Ireland episcopacy was not supportive of the freedom of worship granted to Protestant Strangers under the act, however, and brought the French Churches under their supervision where possible, as occurred in Portarlinton in 1702.<sup>66</sup> Events like this were a significant factor in the split between the French Churches at St Mary’s Abbey and St Patrick’s in 1705.<sup>67</sup> The division between St Patrick’s and St Mary’s emerged from a dispute concerning the allocation of a salary Queen Anne granted to St Mary’s in 1704.<sup>68</sup> Under the terms of the 1694 St Patrick’s Discipline, the French Churches at St Patrick’s and St Mary’s came under the supervision of the then Protestant Archbishop of Dublin William King, who was called in

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<sup>64</sup> 2 Anne c. 6 [Ire.] (1704).

<sup>65</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland*, ii, pp 955, 960, 964, 978, 981, 1024, 1025, 1028, 1029, 1033, 1035.

<sup>66</sup> Ruth Whelan, ‘Points of view: Benjamin de Daillon, William Moreton and the Portarlinton affair’ in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, xxvi (1996), pp 463-89, pp 464-6 for details of how the Church of Ireland used legal ambiguities to bring the Portarlinton French Church into conformity with Anglican practice.

<sup>67</sup> G.A. Forrest, ‘Schism and reconciliation: the ‘Nouvelle Eglise de Ste Marie’, Dublin, 1705-16’ in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, xxvi (1994-1997), pp 199-212, p. 212.

<sup>68</sup> Forrest, ‘Schism and reconciliation’, pp 199-201.

to arbitrate the dispute.<sup>69</sup> This only served to inflame the situation further, however, and Degaleniere and his supporters took control of St Mary's Abbey in 1705.<sup>70</sup>

King was a convert from Scottish Presbyterianism with a clear vision of the importance of a strong and united Church of Ireland as the state church of the Irish kingdom,<sup>71</sup> for whom the Stranger Churches were a means towards the end of bringing Protestant Strangers into the Church of Ireland. His correspondence includes many references to projects for translating Anglican liturgical documents into the various languages spoken on the island, including a German version for the Palatine refugee community.<sup>72</sup> His place within the Protestant Interest in Europe is shown by his correspondence with important figures in the Reformed Church of Geneva and the Stranger Churches in London concerning the French Churches in Dublin,<sup>73</sup> as well as with like-minded individuals in the Church of England and in Europe.<sup>74</sup>

While the separation between St Patrick's and St Mary's had its genesis in a mundane dispute concerning seniority and salary, the actions of influential figures in Church and State such as King were a significant catalysing factor. Ruth Whelan has highlighted the coincidence between implementation of the Sacramental Test Act during 1704 and the division between St Patrick's and St Mary's.<sup>75</sup> A letter written by King to Gabriel Barbier in 1705 displays the influential figures in church and state who took an interest in the French Protestant community in Dublin.<sup>76</sup> In the letter, King states that he had been unable to write his opinion of the dispute to Mr Southwell, as he had not yet seen the bishop of London. The Southwell in question was Edward Southwell,<sup>77</sup> secretary to the duke of Ormond, and the bishop of London was Henry

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<sup>69</sup> Notes made from the *Livre pour les actes consistoriaux de L'Eglise Françoise de Dublin St Patrick's* 17 April 1692 (Marsh's Library, Dublin French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.ix, pp 14-16)

<sup>70</sup> St Mary's Consistory Book Notes 1705-1716, 1 January 1705 (Representative Church Body Library, Dublin, MS 128, p. 1).

<sup>71</sup> Philip O'Regan, *Archbishop William King of Dublin (1650-1729) and the constitution in church and state* (Dublin, 2000), pp 2-3.

<sup>72</sup> Letter concerning the Palatines and a German translation of the Book of Common Prayer, 18 Feb 1710 (T.C.D. Lyons Ms. 1995-2008/1353); Copy of a letter from John Lowman to Daniel Hintz, a merchant in Dublin, concerning German translation of the Book of Common Prayer, London, 9 May 1711, (T.C.D Lyons 1995-2008/1403). Palatine Book of Common Prayer not yet ready (T.C.D. Archbishop King Letter books, Ms.750/11/1/131).

<sup>73</sup> Louis Osterwald to King, Neuchatel 27 October 1706 (T.C.D. Lyons Ms. 1995-2008/1229); Claude Grostete de La Mothe to Archbishop King 23 August 1707 (T.C.D. Lyons Ms. 1995-2008/1268).

<sup>74</sup> Henry Compton, Bishop of London to King, London 29 April 1708 (T.C.D. Lyons Ms. 1995-2008/1292); Samuel Haliday to King, Paris, 20 August 1715 (T.C.D. Lyons Ms. 1995-2008/1705).

<sup>75</sup> Ruth Whelan, 'The Huguenots, the Crown and the Clergy: Ireland, 1704' in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, xxvi, no.5 (1997), pp 601-10, p. 606 'By the end of the year, the French Episcopalian Church ..... experienced a schism which, I believe, was not unrelated to the months of May.'

<sup>76</sup> King to Barbier, PallMall 6 February 1704/05, (TCD Ms. 750/3/1/84-85, p. 85).

<sup>77</sup> Patrick A. Walsh, 'Southwell, Edward' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009). (<https://www.dib.ie/biography/southwell-edward-a8198>) (3 May 2021)

Compton, who had been a significant supporter of William III and the Glorious Revolution.<sup>78</sup> Compton had worked to bring the various Protestant confessions in England under the supervision of the Church of England, including the Protestant Strangers under his jurisdiction as bishop of London,<sup>79</sup> and his involvement in the dispute between St Patrick's and St Mary's should be seen in this light.

Compton was already aware of the disputes in Ireland over the question of conformity, having received a letter from Daillon about events at Portarlington, where the French Church had been forced into conformity by the local Church of Ireland bishop.<sup>80</sup> After they separated from St Patrick's, St Mary's tried to call Claude Grostête de La Mothe to serve their church in January of 1705.<sup>81</sup> La Mothe was the minister whose appointment they had originally opposed, and the surviving evidence shows that they chose to call La Mothe as he had been suggested to them by the bishop of London. In correspondence with St Mary's about this matter, King told Dégalière that he had not been able to persuade La Mothe to come to Dublin but hoped to do so after seeing the bishop of London.<sup>82</sup> All of this shows the interest that Compton was taking in the issues dividing the French Protestant community in Dublin.

The surviving evidence indicates a misalignment between the actions of church figures like Compton and King and state figures like the then lord lieutenant the duke of Ormond. This can be seen in an entry made in the St Mary's consistory book, which indicates that a consistory meeting took place at the house of the Baron de Virazel on 19 March 1705.<sup>83</sup> Virazel informed them that Ormond had assigned the letter of patent for a French Church minister's salary issued by Queen Anne to St Mary's. According to the entry, the minister was to be nominated by Ormond, and the consistory sent a deputation to Ormond seeking that Dégalière be given the

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<sup>78</sup> A. M. Coleby, 'Compton, Henry (1631/2–1713), bishop of London.' in H. C. G. Matthew and B. H. Harrison (eds), *Oxford dictionary of national biography : in association with the British Academy : from the earliest times to the year 2000* (Oxford, 2004). (<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-6032>) (3 May 2021)

<sup>79</sup> Sugiko Nishikawa, 'Henry Compton, Bishop of London (1676-1713) and foreign Protestants' in Randolphe Vigne and Charles Littleton (eds) *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550-1750* (London, 2001), pp 359-65.

<sup>80</sup> Ruth Whelan, 'Points of view: Benjamin de Daillon, William Moreton and the Portarlington affair', *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxvi, no. 4 (1996), pp 463-89.

<sup>81</sup> St Mary's Consistory Book Notes 1705-1716 (Representative Church Body Library, Dublin, p. 4).

<sup>82</sup> King to Dégalière PallMall 6 February 1705 (T.C.D. Ms.750/3/1/84).

<sup>83</sup> St Mary's Consistory Book Notes 1705-1716 (Representative Church Body Library, Dublin, pp 7-8).

salary. Louis Quartier informed King of St Mary's petition to the lord lieutenant on 24 March 1705,<sup>84</sup> and King wrote to Southwell to petition against St Mary's.<sup>85</sup>

Soon after, St Mary's wrote to King proposing that they form a union with Lucy Lane, stating that the government supported them as they felt such a union would lead to the union of all French Churches in Dublin.<sup>86</sup> In a letter to Quartier dated 27 April 1705,<sup>87</sup> King noted that he was 'startled' by the letter received from St Mary's, and informed Quartier that he had written to Southwell to once more petition against St Mary's.<sup>88</sup> On 8 May 1705, Auguste Le Goux de Laspois, a Huguenot Regiment veteran, informed King that Ormond had granted the salary patent to St Mary's.<sup>89</sup> King responded to Laspois on 19 July 1705, indicating that the patent had indeed been assigned to St Mary's, and informing Laspois that Ormond had given King the right to nominate a suitable candidate.<sup>90</sup>

On 29 August 1705, King wrote to Southwell thanking Southwell for his assistance in addressing this issue, suggesting that King's intervention had prevented St Mary's from gaining absolute liberty in assigning the salary patent.<sup>91</sup> Despite this, Ormond's apparent support for St Mary's and their proposed union with the Lucy Lane French Church poses significant questions. It is possible that Ormond considered supporting St Mary's as he saw their proposed relationship with the Church of Ireland episcopacy as a means through which to unite the Protestant Interest in Ireland. Further research amongst the surviving archives of state figures like Ormond might shed further light on this interesting possibility.

### ***1717 Amendment to the Protestant Strangers Act***

The Protestant Strangers Act was amended once more under George I in 1717 to make the act was made perpetual, other than the clause exempting Protestant Strangers from paying the excise tax.<sup>92</sup> The final act noted the 'good advantage' to the kingdom that had resulted from the migration of Protestant Strangers, indicating that such migration was, on the whole, well received. Furthermore, the commons journal shows little evidence of parliamentary debates

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<sup>84</sup> King to Quartier 24 March 1704 (T.C.D. Ms. 750/3/1/123).

<sup>85</sup> King to Southwell 24 March 1705 (T.C.D. Ms. 750/3/1/121).

<sup>86</sup> St Mary's Consistory to King, March 1705 (T.C.D. Lyons Ms. 1995-2008/1203).

<sup>87</sup> King to Quartier, 27 April 1705 (T.C.D. Ms. 750/3/1/137).

<sup>88</sup> King to Southwell 7 April 1705 (T.C.D. Ms. 750/3/1/138-9).

<sup>89</sup> Augustus Laspois to King, 8 May 1705 (T.C.D. Lyons Ms. 1995-2008/1156).

<sup>90</sup> King to Laspois, 19 July 1705 (T.C.D. Ms. 750/3/1/201-2).

<sup>91</sup> King to Southwell, 29 August 1705 (T.C.D. Ms. 750/3/1/24-7).

<sup>92</sup> 4 Geo I [Ire.] c.9 (1717).

around renewal of the act, the minutes simply stating that the law should be renewed.<sup>93</sup> The act applied to all Protestant Strangers who took the usual oaths of supremacy and declaration against transubstantiation, setting the bar for Protestant Strangers to settle in Ireland at a level that required acceptance of the Protestant Succession in return for freedom of worship.

The act was made perpetual during the years immediately after the accession of George, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneberg and Elector of Hanover, as King of Britain and Ireland. The appointment of George I occurred under the auspices of the Act of Settlement passed in the English Parliament in 1701, which prohibited anyone who was a Roman Catholic from becoming king. The Hanoverian monarchy became synonymous with the Protestant Interest it was established to protect.<sup>94</sup> Popular sentiment was often violently opposed to the newly installed Hanoverian monarchy, however, as displayed by the rioting that accompanied George's coronation at Westminster Abbey in 1714.<sup>95</sup> Many Tories, including the second duke of Ormond, left for the continent in protest when George I was crowned. Many joined the Stuart court in exile, which provided the focus for subversive activities in Britain and Ireland for many years thereafter.

In those circumstances, the security of the Protestant Interest in Britain and Ireland was a paramount political concern, and the ease with which the Protestant Strangers Act was made perpetual reflected the contribution of Protestant Strangers to securing the Protestant Interest in Ireland. While Ruth Whelan has suggested that Irish Parliament regretted passing the 1692 Act,<sup>96</sup> the evidence just reviewed paints a different picture. Whelan is correct to state that the Act was limited in various ways as it was amended, but these amendments served to reinforce the requirement of loyalty to the Protestant Succession and restrict franchise and residency rights to Protestant Strangers who settled in Ireland. The freedom of worship written into the 1692 Act was preserved unchanged at various renewals before being made perpetual in 1717.

What is most interesting is the misalignment on this question between the Church of Ireland episcopacy on the one hand, and both the Irish Parliament and Dublin Castle on the other. Whelan noted that the English House of Commons opposed an amendment to the 1702 Act of Resumption proposed by the Church of Ireland, which would have imposed Anglican

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<sup>93</sup> *Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland*, iii, p. 125.

<sup>94</sup> Hannah Smith *Georgian Monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714–1760* (Cambridge, 2006), pp 8-16.

<sup>95</sup> Nicholas Rogers, 'Riot and Popular Jacobitism in Early Hanoverian England', in Eveline Cruickshanks (ed.), *Ideology and Conspiracy: Aspects of Jacobitism, 1689-1759* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp 70–88.

<sup>96</sup> Whelan, 'Points of view: Benjamin de Daillon, William Moreton and the Portarlington affair', p. 472.

worship on the French Church at Portarlington.<sup>97</sup> The support of the English and Irish Commons, combined with the apparent support of Ormond for St Mary's Abbey, suggests that some political figures were open to alternatives to the strict confessional test for political reliability on which the confessional state was based.

### ***French Protestants and the Confessional State in Ireland***

As noted above, a key justification for the freedom of worship written into the Protestant Strangers Act was the benefit that would accrue to the Protestant Interest in the kingdom. Nowhere was this benefit better demonstrated than in the contribution of French Protestants to William's victory over James II.<sup>98</sup> Their involvement in the Williamite War in Ireland formed part of their contribution to the wider conflict between Louis XIV's absolutist French regime and the coalition of Catholic and Protestant states brought together from a mutual interest in limiting Louis XIV's expansion of the French kingdom. As noted by Robert Gwynn, French Protestants had an outsize influence on the political events of this period, as soldiers, politicians, financiers and intellectuals, helping shape the political order of Europe for much of the eighteenth century.<sup>99</sup> Not only did they take an active role in moulding the confessional states of Europe, they were also recipients of significant support from the states in which they settled. In the case of Britain and Ireland, regular collections were made to support needy Protestants, including the Royal Bounty in England,<sup>100</sup> and pensions paid from the tax revenues of the Irish state.<sup>101</sup> Accordingly, this chapter reviews the relationship between the French Protestant community in Dublin and the confessional state in Ireland, both as officers of that state and as recipients of its largesse in the form of pensions and other payments.

#### ***The French Churches and their Ministers***

The French Churches were the recipients of significant support from the confessional state in Ireland, not least in the form of ministerial salaries. Take for instance a letter sent to the crown administration of Ireland during 1690 by Daniel Finch, the then earl of Nottingham, in his role as secretary of state for King William III.<sup>102</sup> In the letter, Finch noted that the king

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<sup>97</sup> Whelan, 'Points of view: Benjamin de Daillon, William Moreton and the Portarlington affair', p. 465.

<sup>98</sup> Matthew Glozier, *The Huguenot Soldiers of William of Orange and the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688, The Lions of Judah* (Brighton, 2002), pp 116-32.

<sup>99</sup> Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain, Volume I*, p. 1.

<sup>100</sup> R. Smith, *Records of the Royal Bounty and connected funds, the Burn Donation, and the Savoy church in the Huguenot Library*, University College, (London, 1974). K. Le May, 'London records of Poor Relief for French Protestants, 1750- 1850', *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxvi, (1994), pp 71-82.

<sup>101</sup> Marie Léoutre, *Serving France, Ireland and England: Ruvigny, Earl of Galway, 1648-1720* (Oxford, 2018), pp 131-4, pp 215-19.

<sup>102</sup> Earl of Nottingham to Lords Justices of Ireland, 2 December 1690 (P.R.O.N.I. D638/11/2).

wished for a settlement to be made for the French Church and Mr Roussel, then the French Church minister at St Patrick's. Further evidence of state support can be seen in the payments made from the tax revenues of the Irish kingdom to French Protestant ministers during the early eighteenth century.<sup>103</sup> Jean Baptiste Renault was paid £30 per annum as French Church minister at Carlow, Pierre Dégalière £50 p.a. as the French minister at St Patrick's, while Alexandre de Susy received £50 p.a. as minister of St Mary's.<sup>104</sup> A record in the United Churches consistory book tells us that they received £100 from the government each year, as well as £100 from the chapter of St Patrick's Cathedral, £50 from Dublin city council, and £45 from a number of Church of Ireland bishops during 1722.<sup>105</sup>

At first glance, it might seem that the French Churches at Lucy Lane and Peter Street were excluded from such payments. However, Whelan has noted that Benjamin de Daillon, who left the Portarlington French Church after it was forced to conform to the Anglican liturgy, received a pension of £50 p. a. through Galway's patronage during the 1690s.<sup>106</sup> Such payments were also being made during the 1720s, as shown by payments made from King George II's personal funds for the period 1727 to 1731 noted in the King's pocketbook, which is preserved at the British Library.<sup>107</sup> The pocketbook includes a list of payments made exclusively to French Protestants, and individual French Protestants also appeared on the other pension lists noted in the pocketbook.<sup>108</sup> These include Jean de Durand, a minister of the French Reformed Churches, who received £80 on the two lists included in the pocketbook, for 1727 and 1731.<sup>109</sup>

These payments were not the only ones made from state revenues to churches outside the Church of Ireland, as shown by the payments of £1,200 to the Presbyterian ministers between 1691 and 1699.<sup>110</sup> The Palatine refugees also received payments under the pensions heading, totalling £624 over the 14 years to 1720, and commissions were also issued for collections for the Palatines during the reign of Queen Anne.<sup>111</sup> Details like this point to the importance placed by the government on supporting the Protestant Interest in Ireland. The

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<sup>103</sup> List of officers on the civil and military establishment, and ecclesiastical dignitaries, 1688-1729 (N.A.I M2537)

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 69-71.

<sup>105</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin (Marsh Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1viii, pp 54-5).

<sup>106</sup> Whelan, 'Liberté de culte, liberté de conscience?', p. 80.

<sup>107</sup> King George II Pocketbook (British Library, Add Ms 74792).

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*: Establishment dated 31 October 1727, list of pensions 'Payable by Jacob de la Mothe Blagny' ff 11-14; Establishment dated 25 March 1731, ff 17-43.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*: Establishment dated 31 October 1727, f. 12; Establishment dated 25 March 1731, f. 20.

<sup>110</sup> List of officers on the civil and military establishment, and ecclesiastical dignitaries, 1688-1729 (N.A.I M2537, pp 205-06).

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 214-15.



payments to Presbyterian ministers, in particular, are interesting when one considers the support given by Galway and Ormond to periodic attempts to unite the French Churches in Dublin. While the Church of Ireland was the state church, and the Anglican confession was the religion by law established, both Dublin Castle and the House of Commons regularly supported Protestant confessional groups outside the Church of Ireland. Further research might investigate the extent of this support, to deepen our understanding of the complex interactions between the confessional state in Ireland and the Protestant churches outside the Church of Ireland.

### ***French Protestant Pensioners***

Huguenot Regiment veterans were significant recipients of the state pensions during the early eighteenth century. Léoutre has shown that the scale of pension payments to demobilised French Protestant soldiers was a subject of constant debate, with regular assessments of the amounts paid and imposition of residency in Ireland to receive payment.<sup>112</sup> To fund these payments, Lord Galway took 10% from the salaries of Irish infantry officers to fund pensions for the Huguenot Regiment veterans, a practice which continued into the 1750s.<sup>113</sup> The burden these payments represented to the Irish state was a topic of constant debate, leading to numerous reports and lists of pensions. These lists give a sense of the sheer number of Huguenot Regiment veterans on the Irish civil list, and many settled permanently in Ireland. Take for example a 1702 report by Charles Dering, the then Auditor General of Ireland, a transcription of which was published by Shaw.<sup>114</sup> Dering's report found that there were 590 French Protestant pensioners on the civil list in 1702, of whom 414 were living in Ireland.

David La Touche compiled an index of pensions from amongst the exchequer archive in the Public Record Office of Ireland which includes two lists, one for 1703 which includes 687 names of pensioners, and another with 305 names which is undated.<sup>115</sup> A list made in 1706 includes details of c. 120 Huguenot Regiment pensioners who had been remobilised to fight in the War of the Spanish Succession and subsequently found unfit for service, and so returned to the pension list.<sup>116</sup> The prosopography of Huguenot Regiment veterans produced by Le Fanu

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<sup>112</sup> Marie Léoutre, *Serving France, Ireland and England : Ruvigny, Earl of Galway, 1648-1720* (London, 2018), pp 130-4.

<sup>113</sup> Memorial of the Majors in the Irish Foot regiments to Bedford, 21 January 1758 (P.R.O.N.I. T3019/3309).

<sup>114</sup> William Shaw, 'The Irish Pensioners in William III's Huguenot Regiments, 1702' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, vi, no. 3 (1899), pp 295-326.

<sup>115</sup> Index List of French Pensioners, (N.A.I. M/4977/448/29).

<sup>116</sup> List of French Regiment Officers restored to pensions 25 March 1706 (N.A.I. M2461, f. 139)

and Manchee counted 288 veterans who settled in Dublin and Portarlington,<sup>117</sup> and Le Fanu subsequently produced an article which found that 165 veterans settled permanently in Dublin.<sup>118</sup> As noted in the first chapter, the families of the Huguenot Regiment veterans constituted c. 50% of the heads of households who signed the terms of union between St Patrick's and St Mary's, and their importance in the French Protestant community cannot be understated.

The ability of French Protestants to access the considerable financial resources of the Hanoverian State was remarkable, and Archbishop William King was applied to for patronage by many individual French Protestants.<sup>119</sup> These included Elie Bouhéreau, on whose behalf John Stearne, then dean of St Patrick's, requested King's assistance in March 1710.<sup>120</sup> Stearne was also writing on behalf of the widow of Henri de Rocheblave, a former minister of St Patrick's, and needed King's assistance to intercede with the Queen on her behalf. King's response shows that the French Protestants could rely on the support of many figures throughout the Anglican church and state to intercede on their behalf with the ruling monarch. The Archbishop wrote to Stearne on the 20 March 1710, stating that he was aware of the case but wished to refrain from applying to Queen Anne, as he had already placed the petitions of two other ladies before her.<sup>121</sup>

Instead, King wrote to Thomas Tension, then archbishop of Canterbury, on Mrs. Rocheblave's behalf on 12 September 1710.<sup>122</sup> In his letter to Tension, King explained that Rocheblave's widow had a pension on the English establishment which she was not allowed to collect as she was living in Ireland with her three children. King claimed that she was extremely infirm and therefore incapable of travelling, and that she had friends in Ireland to care for her. Accordingly, King hoped that 'she will not be comprehended under a general rule since her case is so particular' and referred the matter to the archbishop of Canterbury's significant influence. These examples show that the French Protestant community in Dublin could rely on the power and influence of figures such as King to advance their cases for patronage and

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<sup>117</sup> Le Fanu and Manchee, *Dublin and Portarlington veterans*, pp 11-72.

<sup>118</sup> T. P. Le Fanu, 'Huguenot Veterans in Dublin' in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xii, no. 2 (1942), pp. 64-70

<sup>119</sup> See for instance: John Stearne, Dean of St Patricks to William King, 14 March 1710 (T.C.D. Lyons Ms 1995-2008/1358) 'Mr. Booket a French gentleman Mr of Arts and a good scholar and a good man'; Stearne to King 18 April 1710, (T.C.D. Lyons Ms.1995-2008/1363) Bouquet; Southwell to King, London, 6 Dec 1718 (T.C.D. Lyons Ms.1995-2008/1895), recommending a French Gentleman; King to Edward Southwell, Dublin 7 January 1706 (TCD Ms 750/3/2/84).

<sup>120</sup> Rev. John Stearne, to William King 11 March 1710 (T.C.D. Lyons Ms 1995-2008/1357).

<sup>121</sup> King to Stearne, Bath 20 March 1709 (T.C.D. Ms 750/11/1/162 (transcript Ms 2531)).

<sup>122</sup> King to Thomas Tension, Archbishop of Canterbury, Dublin, 2 September 1710 (T.C.D. Ms 750/11/1/202).

advancement, a reflection of the importance of the Protestant Interest as a commonality which served to align their interests.

It would appear that the sheer number of applications from French Protestants for assistance led King to question the wisdom of this charity, however. The first indication of King's concerns are contained in a letter he wrote to Joseph Addison, chief secretary to Lord Wharton, the then lord lieutenant of Ireland, on the 25 August 1715.<sup>123</sup> The letter is concerned with the relative financial burdens on the Irish and English establishments, and King notes that, while he cannot be sure, it appears that the French Protestant pensioners accounted for around 10% of all pensions from the Irish establishment, potentially accounting for half of all military pensions and 20% of all civil pensions. An undated list of French pensioners indicates that King went to the trouble of listing the pensions being paid to the French during his analysis of the burden on the Irish establishment.<sup>124</sup> King was not alone in viewing pension payments to French Protestants with scepticism. The topic was the subject of significant scrutiny in the Irish Parliament during 1715-16,<sup>125</sup> and the details contained in King's letter archive likely related to this process.

Sometime after this, King wrote to Southwell on 11 January 1723, stating that the Catholic relatives of French Protestants exiles were gaining access to the estates the exiles had left behind in France, while those same French Protestants were barred from accessing the estates of their French Catholic relatives by French legislation.<sup>126</sup> Subsequently, on 4 February 1723, King and the other chief justices of Ireland forwarded a petition concerning the Protestant Strangers Act to then lord lieutenant Lord Grafton in London.<sup>127</sup> In the petition, the authors claimed that the act was injurious to the Protestant Interest in Ireland as it was ambiguous concerning the rights of Catholic subjects of Britain and Ireland in foreign kingdoms. The evidence above suggests that King was considering the possibility of addressing the financial burden created by the existence of a large French Protestant exile community in Ireland through a transfer of assets with the Jacobite exile community in Europe.

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<sup>123</sup> King to Joseph Addison, Secretary to Lord Wharton, Dublin 25 August 1715 (T.C.D. Ms 750/4/65-66).

<sup>124</sup> List of French Protestant Pensioners (TCD Lyons Ms 1995-2008/2398).

<sup>125</sup> Léoutre, *Ruvigny, Earl of Galway*, pp 215-19.

<sup>126</sup> King to Edward Southwell, Dublin 11 January 1723 (T.C.D. Ms 750/14/53-56 (Transcript Ms 2537).

<sup>127</sup> Petition of the Chief Justices to the Lord Lieutenant, Dublin Castle 4 February 1722/3 (National Archives, Kew, State Papers 63/380/770H, ff 163-167).

### *French Protestant Military Officers*

The army was a highly politicised institution in Britain and Ireland during this period, subject to regular purges of politically undesirable elements.<sup>128</sup> Under William III, foreign generals accounted for the majority of William's general staff during the Irish campaign of 1690-2.<sup>129</sup> Numerous articles have discussed the role of French Protestants in the English and British armies,<sup>130</sup> and Hayes has shown that they continued to constitute a notable minority of senior officers in the British army, constituting c. 30 out of a total of c. 375 colonels.<sup>131</sup> Hayes noted that French Protestants formed an important professional core within the officer class, with family traditions of military service established during this period.<sup>132</sup>

Take for example the family of Charles de Vignoles and his first wife, Marthe du Roure, whom he married at Nîmes in 1684. Born in 1645, Vignoles served as a Captain in one of William's Dutch regiments during the Glorious Revolution of 1688, and later in Cambon's Huguenot regiment until the end of the War of the Two Kings in 1692.<sup>133</sup> Marguerite de Vignoles, daughter of Charles and Marthe du Roure, married Scipio Duroure at St Mary's Abbey on 6 April 1713.<sup>134</sup> Along with his brother François, Scipio formed part of a family of French Protestant officers who served the British Crown for many years. Other Protestant Strangers forging careers in military service include Rudolph Corneille, born in Medemblik, Holland.<sup>135</sup> Rudolph Corneille arrived in Ireland as an engineer in William III's army during the War of the Two Kings and was given the position of second engineer on the Irish establishment in 1692.

In the furtherance of his career, Rudolph Corneille relied on the patronage of the second Duke of Ormond, as can be seen in correspondence between Rudolph Corneille and Edward

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<sup>128</sup> Hannah Smith, *Armies and Political Change in Britain, 1660-1750* (Oxford, 2021), p. 4.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>130</sup> W. H. Manchee, 'Huguenot soldiers and their conditions of service in the English army' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xvi, no. 1 (1937), pp 248-78; Paul Minet, 'The Huguenot contribution to the British Army in the Marlborough wars: some remarks' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxvii, no. 4 (1999), pp 485-96.

<sup>131</sup> James W. Hayes, 'The Social and Professional Background of Officers of the British Army, 1714-1763' (M.A. Thesis, University of London, 1956), pp 69-70.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 99-100.

<sup>133</sup> *Dublin and Portarlington Veterans*, p. 71.

<sup>134</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 120, 6 April 1713.

<sup>135</sup> *Dublin and Portarlington veterans*, p. 29; for further details of Rudolph Corneille see, Burdy-Czira 'Rudolph Corneille' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, ii (Cambridge, 2009), 861. (<https://www.dib.ie/biography/corneille-rudolph-a9215>) (3 May 2021).

Southwell, secretary to Ormond.<sup>136</sup> Through the patronage of Ormond, Corneille was building a place for his family as army engineers, as can be seen in a letter Corneille wrote to Southwell on the 16 March 1705.<sup>137</sup> In the letter, Corneille stated that Southwell could let him know another time what was intended for his son, Jean Corneille. Jean Corneille succeeded his father as second engineer on the Irish establishment in 1716.<sup>138</sup> It is apparent that Rudolph, as Jean's father, was preparing the way for his son to follow in his footsteps, showing again the importance placed on the acquisition and retention of substantial patrons by Protestant Strangers in eighteenth century Ireland.

### ***French Protestant Army Agents***

Many French Protestant merchants in Dublin made a living as state contractors, serving what some historians now call the contractor state.<sup>139</sup> Take for instance the Chaigneau family, one of the core families in the French Protestant community in Dublin. The family established themselves as suppliers to the army during the Nine Years War, as can be seen in correspondence between John Chaigneau and Richard Hill, an English statesman who held various positions in government during that period.<sup>140</sup> Hill had served as Queen Anne's envoy to the duke of Savoy during the Camisard Revolt in the Cevennes, actively supporting the rebels in their struggle against the French monarchy.<sup>141</sup>

In his role as an army agent, Chaigneau wrote to Hill on 8 October 1695, sending a bill for provisioning William's army in Flanders. With his brother, William, John Chaigneau ran a firm of army agents based in Dublin, as shown by the copious correspondence between the Chaigneau firm and Sir Robert Wilmot, secretary to the Duke of Devonshire during Devonshire's time as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.<sup>142</sup> Another French Protestant acting as an army agent was Theophile Desbrisay, who regularly corresponded with Dublin Castle as part

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136 Corneille to Southwell, Londonderry, 2 March 1705; (British Library, Southwell Papers: ii, Add. Ms 34774, f. 159; Vol XIX, Add. Ms 38712, f. 30).

137 Corneille to Southwell, Londonderry, 16 March 1705 (British Library, Southwell Correspondence xix Add Ms 38712, f. 30).

138 List of officers on the civil and military establishment, and ecclesiastical dignitaries, 1688-1729 (N.A.I M2537, p. 161)

139 Richard Harding and Sergio Solbes Ferri (eds), *The Contractor State and Its Implications, 1659-1815* (Las Palmas, 2012), p. 7, 'The relationship between private enterprise and the state has been one of the master narratives of European history'.

140 Blathwayt to Richard Hill, 8 October 1695, details of forage to be delivered to army under contract (Shropshire Record Office, Attingham Collection, Att/112/1/1639).

141 Laurence Huey Boles, *The Huguenots, the Protestant interest, and the War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1714* (New York, 1997), pp 109-15.

142 For example, John Chaigneau to Robert Wilmot, Dublin 9 May 1769 (Derbyshire Record Office, Wilmot-Horton Correspondence, D3155/C4706)

of his role as a private contractor to army regiments.<sup>143</sup> Not only was Desbrisay an army agent, he was also an agent for French Protestant pensions,<sup>144</sup> and an officer holder as a Lieutenant in the Battle-axe Guards during 1713 and 1717.<sup>145</sup>

### ***French Protestant Ministers in the Churches of England and Ireland***

Another major institution of the confessional state in Ireland was the Church of Ireland, and many French Protestants pursued careers as Church of Ireland ministers. John Combe noted the significant proportion of French Protestants in significant positions in the Church of Ireland during the early eighteenth century.<sup>146</sup> There were three French Protestant deans by 1700; namely Pierre Drelincourt in Armagh, Jean Icard in Achonry, and Jacques Abbadie in Killaloe. By 1727 William Denis was archdeacon at Lismore, and there were five French Protestant deans, namely Peter Maturin in Killala, Paschall Ducasse in Ferns, and Louis Saurin in Armagh, who joined John Icard and Jacques Abbadie in positions of influence in the Church of Ireland. Combe noted that French Protestants regularly in demand as preachers, stating that they appear to have been ‘held in special veneration’,<sup>147</sup> and citing Gaspard Caillard as a notable example.<sup>148</sup>

Combe also noted the missionary endeavour shown by French Protestants like François Le Jau, who oversaw the burial of Marie Rubins and Guillaume Tordreau at St Patrick’s on the 5 March 1694.<sup>149</sup> Born in Angers in 1665, Le Jau took full advantage of the opportunities afforded to him as a Protestant minister in a Protestant kingdom, becoming Castleknock vicar at St Patrick’s Cathedral in Dublin in 1696.<sup>150</sup> By 1699 he had become precentor’s vicar and vicar choral at Christ Church, receiving a doctor of divinity from Trinity College Dublin in 1700.<sup>151</sup> Soon after this he left Ireland for the American colonies as a missionary with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, an Anglican group dedicated to spreading the Protestant faith in the colonies.<sup>152</sup> He was licenced as a missionary to St Kitt’s by the Henry

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<sup>143</sup> See for example Theophilus Desbrisay to R Wilmot, Dublin 22d November 1750 (Derbyshire Record Office, Wilmot-Horton Correspondence, D3155/C/1188).

<sup>144</sup> List of officers on the civil and military establishment, and ecclesiastical dignitaries, 1688-1729 (N.A.I M2537, p. 198)

<sup>145</sup> Ibid, pp 196-7.

<sup>146</sup> J. C. Combe, ‘Huguenots in the Ministry of the Churches of Ireland – Their Place and Contribution’ (Ph. D. Thesis, Queen’s University Belfast, 1970), pp 370-1.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid, p. 405.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid, pp 376-9.

<sup>149</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 142, 5 March 1694.

<sup>150</sup> Combe, ‘Huguenots in the Ministry of the Churches of Ireland’, pp 380-2.

<sup>151</sup> J. B. Leslie, W. J. R. Wallace (eds), *Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough, biographical succession lists* (Dublin, 2001), p. 814.

<sup>152</sup> Robert Matteson, ‘Francis Le Jau in Ireland’ in *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, lxxviii, no. 2 (1977), pp. 83-91

Compton, the bishop of London, returning to London in 1704 as minor canon at St Paul's Cathedral, before returning to the colonies as a missionary at Cooper River from 1706 until 1717, when he passed away.

Pierre Maturin carved out a substantial position for his family in the Church of Ireland.<sup>153</sup> Maturin came to Ireland from Utrecht, where he had been a French Church minister.<sup>154</sup> Combe assumes that Maturin had first arrived in Dublin by 16 July 1719, but a French Protestant minister named Pierre Maturin was also in Dublin during the 1690s. This Pierre Maturin officiated at the burials of Jean Bale on 31 January 1699 and Pierre Marriage on 13 February 1699.<sup>155</sup> On 28 April 1701, Maturin officiated at the marriage of Jean Molié and Suzanne Philpot, daughter of James Philpot, a church minister, and Suzanne Ricostier.<sup>156</sup> On 19 July 1717, Pierre Maturin accepted the reconnaissance made by Jeanne d'Esquirac de Foissac and her daughter, Marianne,<sup>157</sup> and on 23 March 1718 he oversaw the baptisms of Pierre Taveau and David Taureau.<sup>158</sup> Combe tells us that Pierre Maturin studied at Trinity College Dublin, matriculating in 1722, when he was appointed prebendary of Rosserkbeg in the Diocese of Killala, going on to become Dean of Killala.<sup>159</sup>

Amongst the families discussed in Combe's thesis with a significant recorded association with the French Churches in Dublin was the Saurin family.<sup>160</sup> Combe noted that the family had its origins in Nîmes, a city in the province of Languedoc in southern France, and traced the path into exile in Geneva of Jean Saurin, a lawyer, and his wife Hippolyte de Tournière.<sup>161</sup> From Geneva, Louis Saurin came to Ireland, becoming dean of Ardagh in the Anglican province of Armagh.<sup>162</sup> Before taking a position in the Church of Ireland, Louis Saurin had been a minister at the Savoy French Church in London.<sup>163</sup> He received a doctor of divinity from Oxford University in 1734, and was precentor at Christ Church Cathedral and dean of Ardagh from 1727 until 1749, also holding the post of archdeacon of Derry from 1736

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<sup>153</sup> Combe, 'Huguenots in the Ministry of the Churches of Ireland', pp 257-314.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, p. 259.

<sup>155</sup> J. J. Digges La Touche, *Registers of the French Conformed Churches of St Patrick and St Mary, Dublin* (Dublin, 1893), p. 158.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid, p. 103.

<sup>157</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin (Marsh Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1viii, p. 32).

<sup>158</sup> La Touche, *Registers of the French Conformed Churches*, pp 35-6.

<sup>159</sup> Combe, 'Huguenots in the Ministry of the Churches of Ireland', pp 259-60.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid, pp 76-105, p. 76

<sup>161</sup> Ibid, pp 76-77.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid, pp 78-81.

<sup>163</sup> *Registres des Eglises de la Savoye, de Spring Gardens, et des Grecs, 1684-1900*, eds William Minet, Susan Minet (Manchester, 1922) p. viii.

until 1749, when he was buried at the graveyard of St Anne's Church of Ireland parish in Dublin.<sup>164</sup>

As noted by Combes, Louis Saurin officiated at thirteen baptisms at the United Churches between 1729 and 1746,<sup>165</sup> and he also stood as godparent at two baptisms.<sup>166</sup> Further evidence of his involvement in the French Protestant community in Dublin come from the Church of Ireland records, which show that he also officiated at the marriages such as that of Guillaume Le Fanu and Henriette Raboteau, recorded at St Peter's on 28 May 1733.<sup>167</sup> On 19 August 1743 he officiated at the marriage of Pierre Besnard and Suzanne Poncet, recorded in the St Anne's parish register.<sup>168</sup> In cases such as that of Louis Saurin, ministers of the French Protestant community moved easily between the French Church and Church of Ireland, serving as a link between the two institutions. His regular involvement in the life events of families like the Le Fanu point to the dense social bonds on which the French Protestant community in Dublin was based and is reflective of the trends noted in chapter one.

### ***French Protestants and the Hanoverian Monarchy***

The significant involvement of French Protestants in the confessional state led to a relationship of mutual obligation and loyalty between the monarchy and the French Protestant community in Dublin. As noted by Linda Colley, widespread loyalty to the Hanoverian monarchy only manifested itself in the second half of that century, during the reign of George III.<sup>169</sup> Hannah Smith has shown that the widespread loyalty expressed during the reign of George III was the product of a sustained campaign of relationship building during the first half of the eighteenth century, noting the role of the army and the Church of England in this process.<sup>170</sup> Ruth Whelan has discussed the support shown for the confessional state in Ireland by Gaspard Caillard in two sermons he gave at the Peter Street French Church,<sup>171</sup> noting that the subscription list for the published version included many names, French and Anglophone

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<sup>164</sup> *Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough*, p. 1035.

<sup>165</sup> For example, *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*: p. 51, baptism of Marie Corneille; p. 70, baptism of Henry Le Fanu.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid*: p. 49, Louis François Des Vories, godparent; p. 49, March 1728; Susanne Elizabeth de Gually, godparent.

<sup>167</sup> James Mills, Gertrude Thrift (eds) *The Register of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1669-1761* (London, 1911), p. 321.

<sup>168</sup> D.A. Chart (ed), *Marriage Entries from the Registers of the Parishes of St Andrew, St Anne, St Audoen and St Bride, Dublin, 1632-1800* (Exeter, 1913), p. 49.

<sup>169</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons*, see especially pp 209-21.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid*, pp 161-92.

<sup>171</sup> Ruth Whelan, 'Repressive toleration: the Huguenots in early eighteenth-century Dublin' in Ruth Whelan and Carol Baxter (eds), *Toleration and religious identity: The Edict of Nantes and its implications in France, Britain and Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp179-98, pp 187-95.



Protestant, that pointed to a ‘high degree of social assimilation to Protestant circles in Ireland’.<sup>172</sup> Given the strong association between the French Protestant community in Dublin and the institutions of the confessional state in Ireland, the role of French Protestants in promoting loyalty to the Protestant Succession deserves further research.

Some sense of the complex motivations that led French Protestants who pursued careers in the institutions of the confessional states of Europe to choose Britain and Ireland over and above the alternatives available to them can be seen in the example of Scipio Duroure. The son of François Duroure and Catherine de Rieutort, Scipio Duroure married Marguerite de Vignoles, daughter of Charles de Vignoles and Marthe du Roure, at St Mary’s Abbey on 6 April 1713.<sup>173</sup> Prior to his marriage to Marguerite de Vignoles Scipio had served a military apprenticeship of sorts, entering the Prussian service during the War of the Spanish Succession before later joining the English army. While in London, Scipio began to receive letters from his cousin Saintipolite and one Mr D’Ausin in Berlin, offering him a position as an officer in the Prussian service on very generous terms.

Scipio turned to his father, François, for advice on this topic, discussing the pros and cons of this possibility in a series of letters written in December 1721. The first of these letters was sent by Scipio to François, containing copies of the letters Scipio had received from Berlin.<sup>174</sup> François was then living in Southampton, where he had retired with his wife, two sisters Anne and Suzanne, and Scipio’s young family. While his father advised him to accept the offer, Scipio was not inclined to do so, as he went on to discuss in his own letter. Scipio’s initial response to the suggestion that he return to the Prussian army was a ‘repugnance’ for what was being proposed to him. The offer would ensure the family’s financial security, but Scipio had no desire to take a position as an engineer. Furthermore, Scipio was reluctant to take his family to a country where they might fall from favour with powerful individuals after the death of one or two patrons.

Here, we see the importance of Scipio’s concern for the wellbeing of his family in his final decision, as well as his preference for life under the Hanoverian monarchy. He had many contacts in Britain and Ireland, both in the French Protestant community and amongst the Anglophone Protestant patrons of both Scipio and the French Protestant community. Leaving this wide network of support for Berlin, where he trusted very few people, particularly amongst

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<sup>172</sup> Whelan, ‘Repressive toleration: the Huguenots in early eighteenth-century Dublin’, pp 183-4.

<sup>173</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 120.

<sup>174</sup> Scipio Duroure to François Duroure, December 1721 (Huguenot Library, London, F/DV/3/1).

the Prussian aristocracy, meant that he was disinclined to accept the offer. A large French Protestant community existed in Berlin, including relatives of Scipio and his wife, Magdelaine. Those relatives enjoyed the patronage of the Prussian monarchy and aristocracy, meaning that Scipio's personal opinion of Prussia speaks volumes of his preference for the professional environment of the confessional states of Britain and Ireland.

As well as their role as financiers, suppliers and administrators, the merchants of the French Protestant diaspora contributed to securing the Protestant Interest in Britain and Ireland through their access to the information networks on which their trade was based. Take for example the correspondence between Etienne Caillaud and Horatio Walpole, held at the British Library.<sup>175</sup> Horatio Walpole was a brother of Robert Walpole, the first prime minister of England and leader of the Whig faction in parliament, and Horatio Walpole served in various positions in the English government during the early eighteenth century. Etienne Caillaud was a French Protestant merchant based in Rotterdam, and members of his family were based in Dublin, where he acted as godparent to Pierrette Trulyé, daughter of Louis Trulyé and Marie Burgeau, baptised at the French Reformed Church on 9 April 1712.<sup>176</sup>

The correspondence between Caillaud and Walpole occurred regularly during Walpole's time in government between 1716-38, when Walpole was acting as a diplomatic representative of the English government at the Hague, seat of government of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. Walpole and Caillaud kept up this correspondence as Caillaud was coordinating a correspondence network established in the late seventeenth century at the behest of Pierre Jurieu, a French Protestant minister, to provide information about events in France and elsewhere. This correspondence network gave Caillaud access to a remarkable body of information coming in weekly from cities across Europe, and his reasons for putting that network at the disposal of Walpole, and the English government, were deeply associated with the Protestant Interest the network was initially established to serve.

### *Conclusion*

The French Protestant community in Dublin had extensive relations with the confessional states of Britain and Ireland. The Protestant Stranger Act was renewed on several occasions to facilitate the settlement of Protestant Strangers in Ireland, and while the freedom of worship introduced in the 1692 Act was controversial with the Church of Ireland, it was

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<sup>175</sup> (British Library, Add Ms 73998).

<sup>176</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, p. 35.

never revoked. The concessions made to the French Protestants reflected their perceived importance to the Protestant Interest in Ireland, and they received significant financial support from the revenues of the Irish and British kingdoms, as well as the Church of Ireland and Dublin City Council.

French Protestants were active participants in the confessional states of Britain and Ireland, serving as military officers, merchant contractors and ministers of the Church of Ireland. French Protestants who pursued careers in the institutions of the confessional state often maintained a constant involvement in the French Churches, showing that their professional careers in no way precluded their involvement in the French Protestant community. It was as French Protestants they were known by their patrons in Church and State, and it was as French Protestants that those patrons supported them financially and furthered their careers. The support of those patrons was based on their shared commitment to the Protestant Interest in Europe, and Protestant Strangers like the French Protestants were encouraged to settle in Ireland to bolster the Protestant Interest in the kingdom.

## Chapter Four - The religious and communal life of the French Protestant community in Dublin, c. 1680-1740

This chapter discusses the leadership of each French Church, as reflected in the consistory, a church council with responsibility for overseeing the religious and communal life of the community. The chapter discusses the process of separation and reconciliation that led to the establishment of the United French Churches at St Patrick's and St Mary's ('United Churches'), and the French Reformed Churches at Peter Street and Lucy Lane ('French Reformed Churches'), respectively. The chapter discusses the community's interactions with Anglican religious practices and highlights the importance of poor relief in the surviving records of the consistories.

### *Archive*

Unfortunately, the surviving archive for these institutions is somewhat limited. The only extant consistory book is that of the United Churches, which begins in 1716. Thankfully, the registers for these French Churches are largely complete, and we have notes and transcripts from the consistory books of the preceding consistories. The archive for the French Reformed Churches is much more limited. There are no surviving consistory books for the Peter Street and Lucy Lane French Churches, though notes and transcriptions from those documents are held at Marsh's Library. The archive at Marsh's also holds some notes and transcriptions taken from the documents of the *Société Charitable des François Protestants Réfugiés á Dublin*, ('Charitable Society'), which was founded in 1722.<sup>1</sup> This was one of at least two charitable societies for the French Protestant refugees in the city, though unfortunately records for the other society have not survived.<sup>2</sup> Details of these documents, with complementary information drawn from other sources to fill in the gaps, can be found in T. P. Le Fanu's article on the French Churches and their ministers,<sup>3</sup> as well as Vivien Costelloe's more recent article on research the French Protestant communities in Ireland.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Extracts of the minute books of the Societé Charitable de Réfugiés François, Articles of the Charitable Society (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers FHF.II.1.ii.1 pp 1-6).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid: 25 Oct. 1753, '*la Société pour les Protestants Étrangers*' in charge of some children; 12 June 1754 '*Société pour les Protestants Réfugiés*' offer £100 to help raise school, (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers FHF.II.1.ii.2; pp 4-5).

<sup>3</sup> T. P. Le Fanu, 'The Huguenot Churches of Dublin and their Ministers' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, viii, no. 1 (1905), pp 87-139.

<sup>4</sup> Vivien Costelloe, 'Researching Huguenot Settlers in Ireland' in *The BYU Family Historian*, vi, (2007), pp 83-163, pp 103-06.

## ***The Leadership of the French Protestant Community in Dublin***

The leadership of the French Churches was formed by the consistory, whose key role was the administration of moral and religious discipline for the church community.<sup>5</sup> The institution of this body was a major ecclesiological innovation made as part of Jean Calvin's programme of reform in Geneva,<sup>6</sup> and became one of the defining characteristics of a Reformed church.<sup>7</sup> The Reformed Churches of France took significant inspiration from Calvin's Geneva, though they diverged from the Genevan model by maintaining the principle of equality between the various churches that made up the Reformed Churches of France.<sup>8</sup> This led to the establishment of a synodal system of regional and national councils, with a national synod as final arbitrator on questions of religious doctrine and ecclesiological discipline. The decisions of the national synod were codified in a document known as the *Discipline Ecclésiastique des Eglises Reformées de France*, ('French Reformed Discipline') to facilitate unity of doctrine and discipline amongst the Reformed Churches of France.<sup>9</sup>

### ***The French Church at St Patrick's Cathedral c. 1660–80***

The first French Church in Dublin was established at St Patrick's Cathedral in 1666, following negotiations involving a committee representing French Protestants in the city, the duke of Ormond, the archbishop of Dublin, and the dean and chapter of St Patrick's Cathedral.<sup>10</sup> The committee representing French Protestants included Jacques Hierome, a church minister, Elias de Ruinat, John Hérault and Jacques Fontaine, as well as Anglophone Protestants like Dudley Loftus, Peter Harvey and Edward Denham. John Hérault gained naturalisation under the 1662 Act on 25 March 1667, the entry noting that he was a gentleman from Ile de Oléron, near La Rochelle in western France.<sup>11</sup> Jacques Fontaine was surgeon general of Ireland during

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<sup>5</sup> Jeffrey Watt, *The Consistory and Social Discipline in Calvin's Geneva* (London, 2020), p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Raymond Mentzer, Françoise Moreil and Philippe Chareyre, *Dire l'interdit, The Vocabulary of Censure and Exclusion in the Early Modern Reformed Tradition* (Leiden, 2010), pp 1-2.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Kingdon, 'Calvin and the establishment of consistory discipline in Geneva: the institution and the men who directed it' in *Dutch Review of Church History*, lxx, no. 2 (1990), pp 158-72, pp 160-1.

<sup>8</sup> Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (London, 2002), pp 154-5.

<sup>9</sup> Bernard Roussel, 'Un nouvel exemplaire manuscrit d'une Discipline du XVIIe siècle (BPF Ms 1757)' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, cxlix, no. 4 (2003), pp 741-52, pp 742-3.

<sup>10</sup> T. P. Le Fanu, 'The Huguenot Churches of Dublin', pp 93-4.

<sup>11</sup> William Shaw, *Letters Of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Ireland, 1603-1700* (London, 1911), p. 340.

the 1680s,<sup>12</sup> and was godfather to two children whose baptisms were recorded at St Patrick's in 1669 and 1672.<sup>13</sup>

While we have no surviving documentary evidence for a consistory at the French Church at St Patrick's ('St Patrick's') during this period, the registers provide some evidence with which to consider the leadership of the community. Kevin Robbins has shown how important families in seventeenth century La Rochelle used marriage and god parentage to consolidate social, political and occupational bonds.<sup>14</sup> This trend is also visible in the St Patrick's registers during the 1680s, as summarised in appendix 4.a. The Cossart family acted as godparents to eleven children, and Jacques Fontaine was a godparent on two occasions during this period.<sup>15</sup> More recent arrivals to these records also acted as multiple godparents including Pierre Bonnin, a surgeon, who was godfather to three children in 1682, and one in 1683.<sup>16</sup> Merchants were prominent amongst multiple godparents, including Isaac Bonouvrier, who was godfather to four children between 1682-5,<sup>17</sup> and Daniel Hays, who was godfather to four children between 1680-3.<sup>18</sup> Louis Le Roux, noted variously as a silk worker and a merchant, was a godfather on three occasions. The prevalence of merchants amongst multiple godparents is notable and reinforces the importance of this occupational grouping as leaders of the community during the seventeenth century.

The ministers of the St Patrick's French Church were also community leaders, and their participation at the life events recorded at St Patrick's during these years is summarised in appendix 4.b. Jacques Hierome was the first minister at St Patrick's,<sup>19</sup> serving from 1666-77.<sup>20</sup> Hierome was from Sedan in France and helped to establish the Savoy French Church in

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<sup>12</sup> List of officers on the civil and military establishment, and ecclesiastical dignitaries, 1688-1729 (N.A.I M2537, p. 145)

<sup>13</sup> J. J. Digges La Touche (ed.), *Registers of the French Conformed Churches of St Patrick and St Mary, Dublin*, (Dublin, 1893) (hereafter *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*), p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Kevin C. Robbins, *City on the Ocean Sea, La Rochelle, 1530-1650, urban society, religion, and politics on the French Atlantic frontier* (Leiden, 1997): pp 93-106, pp 222-41, pp 253-97, pp 307-53, pp 367-85.

<sup>15</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, pp 1-2.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*: p. 2, baptism of Marie Mousnier, 2 July 1682; baptism of Rouffeau, 21 Nov. 1682; François Riorteau, 17 Dec. 1682; p. 3, baptism of Marie Savy, 21 Nov. 1683.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1, baptism of Isaac Beliard de la Mozelle, 4 Feb. 1682; p. 2, baptism of Françoise Perrot, 14 Jan. 1683; p. 2, baptism of Matard, 1 Apr. 1683; p. 4, baptism of Silvius, 7 Jan. 1685.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1: baptism of Daniel Pierresené, 12 May 1680; baptism of Jacques Guery, 15 Jan. 1682; p. 2, baptism of Daniel Picard, 25 Feb. 1683; p. 3, baptism of Lambert Silvius, 24 Dec. 1683.

<sup>19</sup> Copy of lease of St Mary's chapel and burial ground at St Patrick's cathedral Dublin, 26 June 1681 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.iiia, f 1 recto).

<sup>20</sup> Le Fanu, 'The Huguenot Churches of Dublin', pp 91-9.

London,<sup>21</sup> which was founded with the intent of finding common ground between French Protestant and Anglican religious practices.<sup>22</sup> Hierome came to Dublin as a domestic chaplain of the Duke of Ormond, who had been present at the Savoy Church's opening.<sup>23</sup> His appointment as minister at St Patrick's was a clear signal of intent with regards the future direction of the French Church at St Patrick's Cathedral.

Hierome was replaced by Moÿse Viridet, a French Protestant minister from Grosmenil in Normandy, who came to Dublin from the Threadneedle Street French Church in London.<sup>24</sup> Threadneedle Street was one of the original Stranger Churches in London and did not compromise with Anglican religious practices, instead using an ecclesiastical discipline developed by Nicolas de Gallars during the early seventeenth century.<sup>25</sup> While Viridet was associated with Threadneedle Street, his commitment to compromise with the Anglican confession was shown during the early 1680s, when he worked with the state authorities to suppress efforts to establish a French Church in Dublin outside Anglican supervision.<sup>26</sup> Josué Roussell, a French Protestant minister from Dauphiné in southwestern France, replaced Viridet during 1685.<sup>27</sup> Roussell became involved in Irish politics during the late 1680s, leading to his imprisonment by the Jacobite authorities during the War of the Two Kings.<sup>28</sup>

The available evidence indicates that the leadership of the French Church at St Patrick's during the 1680s was broadly reflective of the congregation as a whole. Merchants, surgeons and weavers can be identified as godparents to numerous children with no obvious links to their families, marking them out as community leaders during these years. The ministers had a wide array of origins, with some associated with the Savoy Church in London, and some with Threadneedle Street. Their willingness to work with the Church of Ireland is a key point of commonality between them, however. The French Church at St Patrick's was established as a French Church in communion with the Church of Ireland and subject to its canons and discipline.

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<sup>21</sup> Robin Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain, Vol. 1 : Crisis, Renewal and the Ministers' Dilemma* (3 vols, London, 2015), p. 310.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, pp 114-8.

<sup>23</sup> Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain, Vol. 1*, p. 95.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p. 421.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, pp 51-3.

<sup>26</sup> Raymond Hylton, 'The Huguenot Communities in Dublin, 1662-1745' (Ph.D. Thesis, University College Dublin, 1985), pp 49-50.

<sup>27</sup> Raymond Hylton, *Ireland's Huguenots and their Refuge, 1662-1745, An Unlikely Haven* (Brighton, 2005), pp 39-42.

<sup>28</sup> Hylton, 'The Huguenot Communities in Dublin', pp 55-8.

### *French Church at St Patrick's Cathedral 1692 – 1716*

The French Church at St Patrick's Cathedral was re-established in 1692 following the war between William of Orange and James II. The surviving evidence clearly indicates the existence of a consistory during these years, though unfortunately the original consistory book has not survived. However, a transcript of the original document for the period 1692-5,<sup>29</sup> as well as notes covering 1692-1716,<sup>30</sup> are preserved at Marsh's Library in Dublin. These documents tell us that Louis Chaigneau, Jean Favre and Jean Allenet were elders of the community during 1692, along with Pierre Rondeau and Nicolas Le Febvre.<sup>31</sup> Louis Chaigneau was recorded as a merchant at the burial of his wife, Elizabeth de Coudre, in 1707,<sup>32</sup> and Pierre Rondeau was noted as a merchant in the record of his burial on 23 January 1701.<sup>33</sup> Jean Allenet was noted as being an army major at the marriage of his daughter, Jeanne, to Pierre Garesché on 1 April 1695.<sup>34</sup>

The occupational profile of the elders noted above provides further evidence of the change in the community's occupational makeup noted in previous chapters. What had been a merchant led community during the seventeenth century became one led by families who pursued careers in the institutions of the confessional state during the eighteenth century. This was not a takeover of the consistory by a 'Ruvignac' party, however, as suggested by Hylton.<sup>35</sup> The choice of elders suggests a reasonably proportional representation of the occupational groupings in the congregation, based on the trends noted in the changing occupational profile of the community during this period noted in chapter one. While the Huguenot regiment veterans went on to dominate the consistory during the early eighteenth century, this was a gradual process rather than a sudden change, occurring over the period from c. 1690 – 1715.

The surviving consistory book notes tell us that elders were expected to attend life events celebrated by community members from their assigned neighbourhood, reinforcing the

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<sup>29</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French Church of Dublin meeting at St Patrick's, 17 Apr. 1692 – 11 Aug. 1695 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.x).

<sup>30</sup> Notes made from the Livre pour les actes consistoriaux de L'Eglise Française de Dublin St Patrick's, 17 Apr. 1692 – 1 July 1716 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.ix).

<sup>31</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French Church of Dublin meeting at St Patrick's, 17 Apr. 1692 – 11 Aug. 1695 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.x, p. 1).

<sup>32</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 193.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 169

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>35</sup> Hylton, *Ireland's Huguenots and their Refuge*, p. 186-7.



usefulness of the registers in identifying community leaders.<sup>36</sup> Take for example Pierre Guerin and Isaac Boesnier, elected as elders on 31 July 1692,<sup>37</sup> who were witnesses to 26 events and 19 events, respectively, between 1692-1710. The marriage record of Henry Bringuier and Marie Dupin tells us that Pierre Guerin was an attorney,<sup>38</sup> and the burial record of Adrian Parfait tells us that Isaac Boesnier was an apothecary.<sup>39</sup> Huguenot regiment veterans like Japhet Geraud de Puychenin attended ten life events as a witness, and Jean de Tailleur, seigneur de Questebrune, who attended twelve life events as a witness between 1693-1711.

The French Protestant ministers who served the French Church at St Patrick's during these years generally came to Dublin via London, and all of them had links to significant figures in the confessional states of Britain and Ireland. Gabriel Barbier was appointed as French Church minister on 22 May 1692.<sup>40</sup> Barbier had studied in Holland before serving as French Church minister at Greenwich, and came to Dublin as a chaplain to Henri de Massue, marquis de Ruvigny and lord Galway.<sup>41</sup> Jean Severin replaced Josué Roussel during 1692,<sup>42</sup> and had been a minister at Prouville in Picardy before coming to London during the 1670s.<sup>43</sup> Severin had preached for some time at the Threadneedle Street French Church in London before going to St Christopher in the West Indies as a minister in 1677. Severin was re-ordained as an Anglican minister by the bishop of London Henry Compton and became the French Church minister at Thorpe-le-Soken in Essex. Severin initially came to Ireland to become a French Church minister at Drogheda, before eventually becoming a minister at St Patrick's.

Pay disputes were a regular feature of the relationship between the St Patrick's consistory and the ministers during these years. While St Patrick's had a letter of patent from Charles II for a minister's salary, this only provided £50 per annum. This can be compared to approximate salary ranges of £50-100 p. a. at both the Threadneedle Street French Church,<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French Church of Dublin meeting at St Patrick's, 17 Apr. 1692 – 11 Aug. 1695, 4 Sept. 1692 and 26 Mar. 1693 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.x, pp 6, 8).

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p. 4.

<sup>38</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 108, marriage of Henry Bringuier and Marie Dupin, 6 Jan. 1704.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, p. 142.

<sup>40</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French Church of Dublin meeting at St Patrick's, 17 Apr. 1692 – 11 Aug. 1695 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.x, p. 2).

<sup>41</sup> Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain*, Vol. 1, p. 216.

<sup>42</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French Church of Dublin meeting at St Patrick's, 17 Apr. 1692 – 11 Aug. 1695 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.x, p. 2, pp 5, 7).

<sup>43</sup> Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain*, Vol. 1, p. 405.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, p. 54.

and the Church of Ireland parishes in Dublin.<sup>45</sup> This problem was compounded by the need to employ at least two ministers, and the St Patrick's consistory combined the salary patent with donations to provide salaries for Barbier and Severin.<sup>46</sup> This arrangement was not satisfactory for the ministers, however, and Barbier attempted to resign during 1695, claiming that the £50 per annum he received was not enough to support his family.<sup>47</sup> Barbier and Severin asked for an extra £10 per annum from the consistory during 1698, appealing the consistory's refusal to the heads of families, who overruled the consistory and granted the salary increase requested by the ministers.<sup>48</sup> The willingness of the heads of families to overrule the consistory regarding ministerial salaries in 1698 provided a precedent for events during 1704, when the French Church at St Mary's separated from St Patrick's.<sup>49</sup>

Despite these difficulties in compensating the ministers, St Patrick's appointed Louis Quartier as an additional minister on 14 July 1701.<sup>50</sup> Quartier was the son of Jacques Quartier, a French Protestant minister at Blois and Vendôme who left France with his family in 1684, receiving reordination from Henry Compton in 1686 before settling in Groningen in the Netherlands.<sup>51</sup> During 1690, Louis Quartier was accepted as a *proposant* by the Walloon Synod, the Dutch equivalent of the Stranger Churches in England.<sup>52</sup> While in Holland, Quartier was appointed chaplain to a friend of his father, Joseph Williamson, an English political figure who was elected to the 1692 Irish Parliament that passed the 1692 Protestant Strangers Act.<sup>53</sup> Quartier returned to London with Williamson and was ordained by Henry Compton in 1700, before moving to Ireland to become a minister to the French Church at St Patrick's during 1701.

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<sup>45</sup> Rowena Dudley, 'Dublin's Parishes 1660-1729: The Church of Ireland Parishes and their Role in the Civic Administration of the City' (Ph.D. Thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1995) pp 67-8.

<sup>46</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French Church of Dublin meeting at St Patrick's, 17 Apr. 1692 – 11 Aug. 1695, 7 Aug. 1692, (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.x, pp 4-5).

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, 9 Nov. 1695, 10 Nov. 1695, pp 8-9.

<sup>48</sup> Notes made from the Livre pour les actes consistoriaux de L'Eglise Française de Dublin St Patrick's, 17 Apr. 1692 – 1 July 1716 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.ix, p. 9).

<sup>49</sup> Forrest, 'Schism and reconciliation: the 'Nouvelle Eglise de Ste Marie', Dublin, 1705-16', pp 199-201 summarises the course of events.

<sup>50</sup> Notes made from the Livre pour les actes consistoriaux de L'Eglise Française de Dublin St Patrick's, 17 Apr. 1692 – 1 July 1716 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.ix, p. 13).

<sup>51</sup> Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain*, Vol. 1, p. 383.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid, p. 383-4.

<sup>53</sup> (<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29571>) (01 Oct. 2022).

Pierre Dégalenière and Henri de Rocheblave were appointed to share a ministerial position by the St Patrick's consistory during 1701.<sup>54</sup> Dégalenière had been a minister at Le Mans from 1681-5 before leaving for England after the Revocation.<sup>55</sup> While in London, Dégalenière was a minister at the French Churches of St Martin Orgers and Hungerford Market. These French Churches came into conflict with the Savoy French Church in London, which objected to the foundation of French Churches outside its authority.<sup>56</sup> Dégalenière and the other ministers involved were able to gain the support of the Anglican episcopacy to remain independent of the Savoy Church, setting a precedent for his role in the divisions between St Patrick's and St Mary's. Dégalenière was invited to Ireland by the bishop of Cork and was serving as a minister of the Church of Ireland when he was appointed to share a ministerial position with Rocheblave.

Henri de Rocheblave came from Uzès in the Languedoc, and had been a student at Schaffhouse, a Protestant city in the Alps, when the Edict of Nantes was revoked in 1685.<sup>57</sup> Rocheblave had arrived in England by 1688, where he was ordained as an Anglican minister by Thomas Sprat, the then bishop of Rochester.<sup>58</sup> Rocheblave was a domestic chaplain of the Ruvigny family before moving to London and becoming a minister at St Martin Orgars and Hungerford Market with Dégalenière. Rocheblave followed a similar trajectory to his colleague, coming to Ireland in 1696 and holding various positions in the Church of Ireland while also serving as a minister to the French Churches at St Patrick's, St Mary's and Lucy Lane.

As well as the permanent ministers noted above, French Protestants who were Church of Ireland ministers often officiated at St Patrick's. Take for instance François Le Jau, whom we discussed in the previous chapter, who officiated at the burial of Guillaume Tordreau on 5 March 1694.<sup>59</sup> John Jourdan, a French Protestant minister with a position in the Church of Ireland, officiated at the marriage of Jacques Brion and Marie Trebuchet, recorded in the St Patrick's marriage register on 9 December 1697.<sup>60</sup> Jourdan had come to Ireland from London, where he received Anglican ordination from Henry Compton, and was vicar of Dunshaughlin

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<sup>54</sup> Notes made from the *Livre pour les actes consistoriaux de L'Eglise Française de Dublin St Patrick's*, 17 Apr. 1692 – 1 July 1716 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.ix, p. 13).

<sup>55</sup> Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain*, Vol. 1, pp 259-60.

<sup>56</sup> Thomas J. Kelley, 'Henri de Rocheblave: Huguenot Minister in Exile' (M.Phil. Thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1996), pp 21-4.

<sup>57</sup> Kelley, 'Henri de Rocheblave', pp 10-13.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid*, pp 14-16.

<sup>59</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 142.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*, p. 96.

in Meath.<sup>61</sup> Pierre Maturin officiated at the burial of Jean Bale on 31 January 1699, when he was chaplain to an army regiment.<sup>62</sup>

St Patrick's also employed readers, who acted as assistants to the ministers during church service. Charles de La Roche became a reader at St Patrick's during 1699,<sup>63</sup> having previously been a *proposant*, or minister in training, at the Bride Street French Church from 1694-6.<sup>64</sup> La Roche had spent time in London after leaving Bride Street, gaining assistance from the Threadneedle Street French Church during 1697, and had returned to Ireland by 1698, when he was ordained by Archbishop Marsh. La Roche served as a reader at St Patrick's between 1699-1703 before going to England to serve as a French Church minister at Bristol and Canterbury.

It is worth noting that the majority of these French Protestant ministers came to Ireland via London and received Anglican ordination from Henry Compton. Their careers prior to arriving in Dublin point to the particular difficulties faced by French Protestant ministers in exile, who often had to travel widely in Protestant Europe before finding an opening as a church minister. Their willingness to serve as ministers in the Churches of England and Ireland was as reflective of these difficulties as it was of their acceptance of the Anglican confession. Serving as an Anglican minister required that they accept reordination from an Anglican bishop, and some French Protestant ministers were strongly opposed to this requirement.<sup>65</sup> This was particularly so for those who had been ordained by the Reformed Churches of France, as the requirement to accept Anglican ordination implied that their original ordination was invalid. The difficulties experienced by St Patrick's in adequately remunerating the church ministers, and the bitterness of the pay disputes that followed, provided the context within which wider frustrations concerning the French Churches' relationship with the Church of Ireland were expressed during the following years.

### ***French Church at St Mary's Abbey 1705 - 16***

A 'chapel of ease' was established for the St Patrick's French Church at St Mary's Abbey during 1701 ('St Mary's'), which separated from St Patrick's to form a separate French

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<sup>61</sup> Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain*, Vol. 1, p. 315.

<sup>62</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 158.

<sup>63</sup> Notes made from the Livre pour les actes consistoriaux de L'Eglise Françoise de Dublin St Patrick's, 17 Apr. 1692 – 1 July 1716 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.ix, p. 11).

<sup>64</sup> Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain*, Vol. 1, p. 331.

<sup>65</sup> Ruth Whelan, 'Points of view: Benjamin de Daillon, William Moreton and the Portarlington affair' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxvi, no. 4 (1996), pp 463-489, especially pp 466-70.

Church during a dispute over ministerial salaries in 1705.<sup>66</sup> Queen Anne had granted an additional salary patent for a French Protestant minister in Ireland during 1704. On the recommendation of Archbishop William King and Bishop Henry Compton, the St Patrick's consistory offered the salaried position to Claude Grostête de La Mothe, a significant figure amongst the French Protestant ministers in London.<sup>67</sup>

Born in Orléans, La Mothe had received a doctorate in law from Orléans University before deciding to follow a career as a French Protestant minister at Lisy and Rouen. La Mothe came to England following the Revocation, receiving Anglican ordination from Francis Turner, then bishop of Ely. A founding member of the Jewin Street French Church in London, La Mothe joined the Savoy French Church during 1694, remaining there until his death during 1713. La Mothe was a member of the French Committee during the 1690s, which assessed applications for assistance from the Royal Bounty, and was secretary to the conferences that produced the French Protestant anti-Socinian declaration of 1693. He was also a member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Anglican religious societies in which French Protestants and Anglican bishops like Henry Compton were heavily involved.

La Mothe was a perfect example of the kind of French Protestantism the Anglican episcopacy wished to promote in Ireland, hence their support for La Mothe's appointment to the salary provided by Queen Anne's letter of patent. Pierre Dégalenière challenged the decision to award La Mothe the salary, however, and led the St Mary's congregation into separation from St Patrick's in protest. The transcript of the St Mary's consistory book includes the names of the elders at St Mary's consistory when it was established during January 1705.<sup>68</sup> As Andrew Forrest has noted, five of the eight elders were Huguenot regiment pensioners, with three elders who were merchants.<sup>69</sup>

The growing proportion of Huguenot regiment veterans in the community during these years catalysed the dispute over ministerial salaries into a full-blown separation between St Patrick's and St Mary's. It was during this period that the veterans began to take a disproportionate place in the leadership of the community, though it is worth noting the

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<sup>66</sup> Andrew Forrest, 'Schism and reconciliation', p. 201.

<sup>67</sup> Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain*, Vol. 1, p. 323-4.

<sup>68</sup> Extracts from the minute book of the French Church of St Mary's, Dublin 1 Jan. 1705 - 4 Mar. 1716 (Marsh's Library, Dublin, FHF.II.1.v, p. 1).

<sup>69</sup> Forrest, 'Schism and reconciliation', p. 201.

continued involvement of merchants in the community's leadership. Appendix 4.e summarises those who regularly acted as godparent and witnesses at St Mary's, and we see that merchants predominate. Examples include Louis Chaigneau, who was godparent to six different children at St Mary's, as well as Jean Boyd and Jean Porter, who were godparents on four occasions.

It is also important to note that St Mary's decision to separate from St Patrick's did not signify a rejection of the Church of Ireland or episcopal supervision, and the ministers at St Mary's continued to have extensive links to the Church of Ireland. Dégalenière was joined at St Mary's by Pascal Ducasse, a French Protestant minister who held positions in the Churches of England and Ireland during his career.<sup>70</sup> Other ministers who officiated at St Mary's included French Protestants in the Church of Ireland such as Jean Icarne, dean of Achonry, who officiated at the baptism of Marc Dabzac on 15 February 1712, and Jeanne Dabzac on 9 June 1713.<sup>71</sup> Abraham Viridet, a French Protestant minister who served as reader to the United Churches in later years, officiated at seven life events, including the baptism of Suzanne Gruber on 25 December 1707.<sup>72</sup> Jean Renoult officiated at the baptism of Lydia Chapman on 20 March 1715, and John Fox on 4 December 1715.<sup>73</sup> Renoult had been a Franciscan friar, abjuring at the Savoy French Church during 1696 and gaining Anglican ordination from Henry Compton during 1702.<sup>74</sup> He served as a reader and minister at various French Churches in London before being appointed minister to a French Church at Kilkenny during 1705 through the patronage of the duke of Ormond.

### ***The United French Churches of Dublin 1716 – 40***

St Patrick's and St Mary's reunited as the United French Churches of Dublin in 1716 ('United Churches'), and Huguenot regiment veterans were key representatives of both sides during negotiations. St Patrick's was represented by John Daulthier de Bonvillette, a captain when he was pensioned in 1709, and Pierre Poispaillie de La Rousselière, a lieutenant in William's armies rendered unfit for military service by injuries received at the Siege of Limerick.<sup>75</sup> On the side of St Mary's we find Charles de Vignoles, seigneur de Prades, another Huguenot regiment veteran,<sup>76</sup> along with Hector Chataignier, seigneur de Cramahé et des

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<sup>70</sup> Le Fanu, 'The Huguenot Churches of Dublin' p. 120.

<sup>71</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, pp 18, 20.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid*, p. 11.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid*, pp 25-6.

<sup>74</sup> Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain*, Vol. 1, p. 386.

<sup>75</sup> T. P. Le Fanu and W. H. Manchee (eds), *Dublin and Portarlington veterans, King William III's Huguenot army* (hereafter 'Dublin and Portarlington Veterans') (London, 1946), pp 19, 62.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid*, p. 71.

Rochers, to give him his full title.<sup>77</sup> Florent Guinebauld de La Millière of Nantes had also served as a captain in William's armies,<sup>78</sup> as had Jacques, sieur d'Aubussargues, who was a lieutenant colonel in various Huguenot and British regiments before his retirement in 1702.<sup>79</sup> Daniel de Boubers, vicômte de Bernâtre, had served as a captain in William's army before injuries rendered him unfit for service.<sup>80</sup>

Huguenot regiment veterans dominated the United Churches consistory during the years that followed, virtually monopolising the most visible lay role of consistory secretary. Jean Daulthier de Bonvillette was consistory secretary during the United Churches' first difficult years,<sup>81</sup> and was a consistory member between 1727-38.<sup>82</sup> Charles Nicolas, who had served in La Bouchetière's Dragoons,<sup>83</sup> was consistory secretary between 1719-22.<sup>84</sup> Simon Chabert was consistory secretary between 1722-26,<sup>85</sup> and had been a lieutenant in Cambon's foot when he retired on a half pay pension to Dublin.<sup>86</sup> Guillaume Maret de La Rive served as a Captain in Blosset's regiment of foot,<sup>87</sup> was a consistory member between 1724-48, and secretary between 1726-38.<sup>88</sup>

25 ministers appeared in the records of the United Churches between 1716-40, and they continued to be associated with both the Savoy French Church in London and the bishop of London Henry Compton. Pierre Bouquet de St Paul was the son of Paul Bouquet, seneschal of Sigourney, and was a French Protestant minister in London before coming to Ireland, receiving Anglican ordination from Compton.<sup>89</sup> Alexandre de Susy had come to Dublin to replace Gabriel Barbier as minister at St Patrick's following Barbier's death in 1711, with the recommendation of La Mothe at the Savoy Church.<sup>90</sup> De Susy was a convert from Catholicism

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<sup>77</sup> *Dublin and Portarlington Veterans*, p. 27.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*, p. 53.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*, p. 13.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19.

<sup>81</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin, 29 Apr. 1716, 26 Apr. 1717 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, pp 1, 22).

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid*, p. 61, 7 May 1727; p. 96, 25 May 1738.

<sup>83</sup> *Dublin and Portarlington Veterans*, p. 71, p. 27.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, pp 54-5.

<sup>85</sup> See for example: Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin, 24 June 1722, 27 Mar. 1726 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, pp 45, 57).

<sup>86</sup> *Dublin and Portarlington Veterans*, p. 26.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, p. 50.

<sup>88</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers FHF.II.1.viii): p. 52, 22 Mar. 1724; p. 60, 18 Aug. 1726; p. 70, 20 Oct. 1728; p. 84, 10 Apr. 1733; p. 92, 23 Dec. 1736; p. 94, Apr. 1738; p. 108, 19 July 1748.

<sup>89</sup> Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain*, Vol. 1, pp 230-1.

<sup>90</sup> Le Fanu, 'The Huguenot Churches of Dublin' p. 119.

who came from Fontaine near Soissons, receiving reordination from Henry Compton in London prior to coming to Ireland.<sup>91</sup> Amaury Fleury was the son of Louis Fleury, a French Protestant minister at St Lo in Normandy.<sup>92</sup> Fleury had been educated at Leiden, and was a French Protestant minister in London before becoming a minister to the United Churches in 1716. He received Anglican ordination from Henry Compton in 1697, and served as a domestic chaplain to Lord Arran, second duke of Ormond.

These ministers served the United Churches for the rest of this period, and with the Huguenot regiment veterans formed the leadership of the United Churches. The ministers had all spent time in London in French Churches and had accepted Anglican ordination, often from Bishop Compton, and many had links to significant figures in the institutions of the confessional state in Britain and Ireland. The Huguenot regiment veterans were significant figures within the French Protestant diaspora. Many were involved in projects to settle French Protestant refugees in exile and had given significant military service to William III and Queen Anne. The French Churches at St Patrick's and St Mary's came under the leadership of families who pursued careers in the institutions of the confessional state during this period, reflecting the trends noted in the earlier chapters.

### ***Peter Street and Lucy Lane 1692 - 1740***

The 1692 Protestant Strangers Act allowed for the establishment of French Churches outside the influence of the Church of Ireland, the first of which was established on Bride Street during 1692. Unfortunately, few documents related to Bride Street have survived. A transcript of an account book for the period 1692-7,<sup>93</sup> tells us that one Gellius acted as treasurer to the Bride Street French Church during this period. Gellius may have been the Isaac Gellius who was godfather to two children baptised at St Patrick's in the 1680s.<sup>94</sup> A record made on 12 July 1696 tells us that bequests were made by David Pigou, as well as persons named Hays and Vatable.<sup>95</sup> Unfortunately, there are no other references to David Pigou in the French Church registers, though the names Hays and Vatable appear quite regularly. The person named Hays is likely to be Daniel Hays, who was recorded as a godparent on four occasions at St Patrick's

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<sup>91</sup> Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain*, Vol. 1, p. 412.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 289.

<sup>93</sup> 'Livre de Caisse pour L'Eglise Françoise de Dublin suivant La Discipline des Eglises Réformées de France recueillie Proche Sn. Brigide' 1692-97, (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.I.10, pp 9, 11).

<sup>94</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 3; 13 May 1683, baptism of Isaac Cacau; 27 July 1684, baptism of Madeleine Fontaneau.

<sup>95</sup> 'Livre de Caisse pour L'Eglise Françoise de Dublin suivant La Discipline des Eglises Réformées de France recueillie Proche Sn. Brigide' 1692-97 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.I.10, p. 11).



during the 1680s,<sup>96</sup> and witnessed the marriage of Jean Boivin and Marie Cassel at St Patrick's on 26 December 1694.<sup>97</sup> The person named Vatable is likely the Pierre Vatable who had been involved in the project to establish an exchange on Cork Hill with Louis Chaigneau and Jacob Lefebure.<sup>98</sup> Pierre Vatable had two children baptised at St Patrick's in the 1680s, as well as acting as godfather to two other children.<sup>99</sup> Catherine Vatable was a daughter of Pierre Vatable, and her marriage to Daniel de Belrieu, baron de Virazel, was recorded at St Mary's on 16 March 1703.<sup>100</sup> This family baptised three children at the Peter Street French Church,<sup>101</sup> and the godparents chosen for these children included Charlotte Chataignier de Cramahé,<sup>102</sup> and Theophile Desbrisay de La Cour,<sup>103</sup> both from families associated with St Mary's and the Huguenot regiments. Another godparent to their children was Janssen de Teudebeuf, who features prominently in the records of the French Reformed Churches of Dublin.<sup>104</sup> The godparents chosen for these children point to links between the leaders of the different French Churches, further evidence of the fact that the distinct French Churches in Dublin did not exist in isolation from one another.

The records made in the registers of the French Reformed Churches were often signed by the consistory secretary, allowing us to gain some insight into the holders of that role. Charles Reboul de Louprez, likely the de Laupre noted above, signed the Peter Street registers as consistory secretary between 1701-03.<sup>105</sup> Louprez was recorded as a godparent at Peter Street on six occasions,<sup>106</sup> and he witnessed the marriage of Louis Chaillié and Isabelle Laury recorded at St Patrick's on 1 January 1707.<sup>107</sup> Jean Lasserre signed as consistory secretary

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<sup>96</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 1: 12 May 1680, baptism of Daniel Pierresené, 15 Jan. 1682, baptism of Jacques Guery; p. 2, 25 Feb. 1683, baptism of Daniel Picard; p. 3, 24 Dec. 1683, baptism of Lambert Silvius.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93.

<sup>98</sup> Mary Clarke, 'Foreigners and freedom: the Huguenot refuge in Dublin city, 1660-1700' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxvii, no. 3 (2000), pp 382-91, p. 389.

<sup>99</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*: p. 2, 24 Feb. 1683, baptism of Pierre Perrot; p. 3, 30 Mar. 1683, baptism of Suzanne Vatable; p. 4, 4 Mar. 1685, baptism of Madeleine Forget; p. 5, 26 July 1685, baptism of Pierre Vatable.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

<sup>101</sup> T. P. Le Fanu (ed.), *Registers of the French Non-Conformist Churches of Lucy Lane and Peter Street Dublin* (Aberdeen, 1901) (hereafter *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*): p. 36, 25 June 1712, baptism of Jeanne de Belrieu de Virazel; p. 43, 18 Aug. 1714, baptism of Daniel de Belrieu de Virazel; p. 65, 18 Apr. 1722, baptism of Vatable de Belrieu de Virazel.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65, baptism of Vatable de Virazel.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36, baptism of Daniel de Belrieu de Virazel.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36, 25 June 1712, baptism of Jeanne de Belrieu de Virazel.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 1-7.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*: p. 1, 21 Sept. 1701, baptism of Charlotte Reboul; p. 9, 16 May 1704, baptism of Charles Peyro; p. 22, 23 Dec. 1707, baptism of Charles Caillaud; p. 24, 13 June 1708, baptism of Charles Bassac; p. 34, 24 Oct. 1711, baptism of Charles Audoyer; p. 46, 22 May 1715, baptism of Suzanne Fonvieille.

<sup>107</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 110.

between 1703 and 1705,<sup>108</sup> and he recorded the baptisms of three children and the burial of two daughters in the Peter Street registers.<sup>109</sup> During his time in Dublin, Lasserre attended two weddings recorded at St Patrick's; that of André Trinquet and Judith Vivien, recorded on 13 February 1699,<sup>110</sup> and that of Anthoine Rafugeau and Susanne Eleonor Viridet, daughter of Moÿse Viridet, a minister of St Patrick's, recorded on 15 June 1708.<sup>111</sup> The Trinquet family recorded baptisms at Peter Street,<sup>112</sup> while the Rafugeau family recorded baptisms at St Mary's Abbey.<sup>113</sup> The presence of Lasserre and other French Protestants in the records of the different French Churches in Dublin once more highlights the links between them.

Lasserre was succeeded as consistory secretary by Claude Belet, seigneur de La Blache, who signed 75 life events in the Peter Street registers between 1705-08.<sup>114</sup> The burial of his wife, Isabeau Chaussegros de Mimet, was recorded in the Peter Street burial register on 7 April 1706.<sup>115</sup> Belet was succeeded as consistory secretary by Janssen de Teudebeuf, who signed 187 events in the Peter Street register as consistory secretary between 1709-19.<sup>116</sup> Janssen de Teudebeuf may be a relative of the Janssen family, whom Cullen tells us were Dutch paper manufacturers who had settled in Angouleme and retained trade links to Holland.<sup>117</sup> Cullen noted that André Janssen married a daughter of Antoine Vareille, an important French Protestant merchant in Dublin, showing that the family also had links to Dublin. Janssen de Teudebeuf was recorded as a witness to the marriage of Etienne Saurin de Marrault and Anne Cottiere, registered at St Patrick's on 2 July 1701.<sup>118</sup> Janssen was godparent of Henriette Boutaud, daughter of Jean Boutaud and Mary Elgin, registered at St Mary's on 20 June 1708.<sup>119</sup>

The congregation moved to its final location at Peter Street during Janssen's long tenure as consistory secretary, where he was succeeded by Pierre Clausel, who served as consistory secretary for 1719.<sup>120</sup> François de Terson began signing as consistory secretary in 1722, signing

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<sup>108</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, pp 7-14.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid*: p. 6, 26 May 1703, baptism of Marguerite Lasserre; p. 9, 4 June 1704, baptism of Catherine Lasserre; p. 19, 15 Jan. 1707, baptism of Marguerite Lasserre; p. 86, June 1704, burial of two daughters.

<sup>110</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 97.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid*, p. 111.

<sup>112</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, pp 5, 12, 19.

<sup>113</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 15.

<sup>114</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, pp 14-25.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid*, p. 86.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid*, pp 26-57.

<sup>117</sup> Louis Cullen, *The brandy trade under the Ancien Régime, regional specialisation in the Charente* (Cambridge, 1998), pp 166-7.

<sup>118</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 103.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid*, p. 12.

<sup>120</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, p. 58.

the records of 111 events as consistory secretary between 1722-9.<sup>121</sup> The marriage between François de Terson and Elizabeth de Poispaille de La Rousselière was recorded in the St Patrick's marriage register by Abraham Viridet on 5 February 1719.<sup>122</sup> Witnesses to the marriage included François Dujean and David de Terson de Calvairec, who were military officers according to the entry.

The surviving notes taken from the consistory book for the French Reformed Churches provide further evidence of links between the French Churches. Elders of the French Reformed Churches included Chaigneau and de Laupre, who are noted as having opened the poor boxes on 4 April 1714.<sup>123</sup> The Chaigneau family were associated with both St Patrick's and St Mary's during this period, and the baptism of Jean Fabre, son of Marie Chaigneau and Jean Fabre, was recorded at Peter Street on 12 November 1704.<sup>124</sup> The baptism of Abraham Chaigneau, son of Pierre Chaigneau and Marie Malet, was recorded in the Peter Street register on 25 December 1730.<sup>125</sup> These records point once more to the integrated nature of the leadership of the community, who often participated in the religious and communal life of the different French Churches in the city.

The other leaders of the French Reformed Churches were the ministers called to serve those churches. In the absence of a consistory book, it is somewhat difficult to precisely reconstruct the nature of the French Protestant ministry at the French Reformed Churches, though the surviving evidence allows us to make some observations. Le Fanu provides a list of the ministers in the introduction to his edition of the French Reformed Church Registers,<sup>126</sup> and included substantial details in his article on the French Churches in Dublin.<sup>127</sup> This is complemented by Vivien Costelloe's manual for researching the French Protestant communities in Ireland, which fills in some of the gaps in Le Fanu's research,<sup>128</sup> as does Robin Gwynn's work on the French Church ministers in London.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, pp 64-82.

<sup>122</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 115.

<sup>123</sup> Extracts from the Consistory Books of the nonconformist churches 1703-1801 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.iv, p. 4).

<sup>124</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, p. 11.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid*, p. 84.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid*, p. xi.

<sup>127</sup> Le Fanu, 'The Huguenot Churches of Dublin', pp 103-10.

<sup>128</sup> Vivien Costelloe, 'Researching Huguenot Settlers in Ireland' in *The BYU Family Historian*, vi, (2007), pp 83-163, pp 103-6.

<sup>129</sup> Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain, Vol. 1*, pp 203-423.

The first minister was Joseph Lagacherie, who was educated at Geneva and served as a French Protestant minister at Turenne in the lower Gascony region.<sup>130</sup> Lagacherie first took refuge in the Holy Roman Empire, returning to France for three years to preach clandestinely before becoming minister to the Bride Street French Church in Dublin. Barthelemy Balaguier was appointed as a minister at Bride Street in 1693.<sup>131</sup> A native of Puylaurens in upper Gascony, Balaguier had been a French Protestant minister in Aiguefond in the upper Languedoc. Balaguier was a founder member of the French Church at La Patente in London, which chose not to accept conformity to Anglican practice. Jean Pons was from Mazères in Guyenne and had been forced to abjure Protestantism before leaving France. Pons abjured Catholicism at the Savoy Church in London during 1688 and was a French Protestant minister in London before coming to Dublin.<sup>132</sup> Pons helped found the Wood Street French Church in 1701, and Jean de Durand became a minister there during 1704.<sup>133</sup> Paul de la Douespe and Paul de St Feriol joined the French Reformed Churches as ministers during 1717, and were joined by Gaspard Caillard during 1720, Jacob Pallard during 1724 and Antoine Vinchon des Voeux during 1736.<sup>134</sup>

The available evidence indicates that the leadership of the French Reformed Churches was composed of a similar mix of merchants and Huguenot regiment veterans as the United Churches. In the absence of surviving documents related to the consistory, it is not possible to discuss the relative proportions of these occupational and status groupings in precise terms. Huguenot regiment veterans may have been less predominant amongst the leadership of the French Reformed Churches in comparison to the United Churches, but further research would be needed to shed further light on this question. The links between the distinct French Church institutions conformed to Anglican practice or not, speak for themselves. While there were two distinct French Church institutions in Dublin, they served one French Protestant community in Dublin.

### ***The French Churches and the Church of Ireland***

The Reformed Churches of France formed part of the Reformed Protestant movement in Europe, as did the Churches of England, Scotland and Ireland.<sup>135</sup> Anglican representatives

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<sup>130</sup> Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain, Vol. 1*, p. 320.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 377-8.

<sup>133</sup> Costelloe, 'Researching Huguenot Settlers in Ireland', pp 103-4.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 104-5.

<sup>135</sup> Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (Yale, 2002), pp xv-xxvi, neatly summarises both the history and historiography of the Reformed movement up to the date of publication.

participated in key events that defined Reformed religious doctrine such as the Synod of Dort during 1618-19.<sup>136</sup> This became a major point of contention amongst Anglicans over the following years, however, reflecting the differences in ecclesiology and ritual that came to distinguish the Churches of England and Ireland from their fellow Reformed Churches during the seventeenth century.<sup>137</sup> However, while the Church of Scotland became closely aligned with the continental Reformed Churches following the Synod of Dort,<sup>138</sup> the Churches of England and Ireland moved in a different direction in the following years.<sup>139</sup> A distinctly Anglican confession emerged during the 1630s under the Archbishop of Canterbury William Laud and King Charles I, which reinforced the principles of monarchical supremacy in church affairs and episcopal church government established under the Tudor monarchy.<sup>140</sup>

As a result of these changes, the place of the Anglican confession within the wider Reformed movement had become contested by the late seventeenth century.<sup>141</sup> While the Churches of England and Ireland were officially recognised as Reformed,<sup>142</sup> they diverged in the areas of ecclesiology, religious ritual and ministerial dress. This was a particular issue for the French Churches in England and Ireland, as it was in matters of ecclesiology, dress and religious ritual that French Protestants were most visibly distinguished from their Catholic neighbours.<sup>143</sup> Maria-Cristina Pitassi noted that some French Churches in London maintained what she termed a ‘high-brow’ doctrinal orthodoxy in exile, reflecting a self-conscious religiosity intended to preserve their religious identity.<sup>144</sup>

Another complicating factor in the relationship between the French Churches and the Churches of England and Ireland was the attitude of some Anglicans, who were often quite equivocal in their willingness to recognise the legitimacy of the Reformed Churches of France.<sup>145</sup> Anglican insistence on episcopacy as the only legitimate form of church government

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<sup>136</sup> Anthony Milton (ed.), *The British Delegation and the Synod of Dort (1618-1619)* (London, 2005), pp xvii-lv.

<sup>137</sup> Milton, *The British Delegation and the Synod of Dort*, pp xviii-xxii.

<sup>138</sup> Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed*, pp 161-72.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid*, pp 230-2.

<sup>140</sup> Dewey D. Wallace, ‘Via Media? A Paradigm Shift’ in *Anglican and Episcopal History*, lxxii, no. 1 (2003), pp 4-11.

<sup>141</sup> Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed*, pp 423-8.

<sup>142</sup> Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain, Vol. 1*, p. 116.

<sup>143</sup> Raymond Mentzer and Andrew Spicer, ‘Introduction: Être protestant’ in Mentzer and Spicer (eds), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685* (Cambridge, 2002), pp 1-9, summarises the differences in practice which marked out the Reformed Church members from their Catholic neighbours in France.

<sup>144</sup> Maria-Cristina Pitassi ‘Quand le calvinisme genevois parlait anglican: les relations théologiques et ecclésiastiques entre Genève et l'Angleterre dans la première moitié du XVIII e siècle’ in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, cliii (2007), pp. 231-44, p. 232.

<sup>145</sup> Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain, Vol. 1*, pp 116-8.

implied that other Reformed Churches were in error. The Act of Uniformity (1662) prevented foreign Protestant ministers from serving as ministers without first accepting reordination, a source of significant controversy amongst French Protestant ministers given that it implied that their ordination by the Reformed Churches of France was invalid.<sup>146</sup>

While there were Anglicans and French Protestants who were hostile to one another's religious practices, important figures such as Jean-Alphonse Turretini of the Genevan Academy and the bishop of London Henry Compton worked to maintain good relations despite recalcitrant parties on both sides.<sup>147</sup> Furthermore, the determination of the French Reformed Churches to maintain their independence of the Church of Ireland did not reflect a mere rigid doctrinal orthodoxy, as shown by Ruth Whelan in the case of French Protestant ministers like Benjamin de Daillon.<sup>148</sup> While Daillon was opposed to reordination, he regularly co-operated with the 'conformed' French Churches in Ireland, and participated in Anglican religious services during his time in England.<sup>149</sup> This chapter reviews the surviving evidence to focus on the process of negotiation, compromise and consensus building that led the French Protestant community in Dublin to be served by two distinct French Church institutions that worked together to maintain the wellbeing of the community as a whole.

### ***The French Church at St Patrick's Cathedral 1666 – c. 1680***

The French Church at St Patrick's formed part of efforts to find common ground between the Anglican and French Protestant confessions such as the French Church at the Savoy Palace in London.<sup>150</sup> The Savoy Church was served by French Protestant ministers approved by the king and ordained by Anglican bishops, using a French translation of the Book of Common Prayer revised and published in 1666 by John Durel.<sup>151</sup> Durel was from the island of Jersey, which was then French speaking, and had been educated at the French Protestant Academy of Saumur before serving as a minister in the Reformed Churches of France, the Church of Jersey and the Church of England. The Church of Jersey had initially been closer to the Reformed Churches of France than the Church of England, before being brought into the

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<sup>146</sup> Ruth Whelan, 'Points of view: Benjamin de Daillon, William Moreton and the Portarlington affair' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxvi, no. 4 (1996), pp 463-89, especially pp 466-70.

<sup>147</sup> Pitassi 'Quand le calvinisme genevois parlait anglican' pp. 231-44.

<sup>148</sup> Ruth Whelan, 'Points of view: Benjamin de Daillon, William Moreton and the Portarlington affair' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxvi, no. 4 (1996), pp 463-89, especially pp 466-70.

<sup>149</sup> Whelan, 'Points of view', p. 464.

<sup>150</sup> Robin Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain, Vol. 1*, pp 113-41.

<sup>151</sup> Vivienne Larminie, 'Durel, John' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

(<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8311>) (15 May 2021).

Anglican communion during the seventeenth century. The resulting ‘Jersey Model’ provided the basis for the Savoy French Church in London and was an important inspiration for French and Anglican Protestants who sought to find ways to reconcile the differences between their confessions.<sup>152</sup>

### ***Attempted Union between Bride Street and St Patricks, 1693***

The freedom of worship granted by the 1692 Protestant Strangers Act led to the establishment of a French Church independent of the Church of Ireland on Bride Street during 1692. Lord Galway proposed a union between the St Patrick’s and Bride Street French Churches during 1693, which was rejected by Bride Street.<sup>153</sup> Whelan has suggested that Bride Street’s rejection of the union was based on aspects of the proposed terms, which implied that the St Patrick’s ministers had precedence over those of Bride Street.<sup>154</sup> This implies that Bride Street’s refusal reflected their commitment to the principle of essential equality between constituent churches on which the ecclesiological structure of the French Reformed Churches had been based. In the case of St Patrick’s, their positioning of themselves as the ‘mother church’ was reflective of the ecclesiastical structure of both the Genevan Reformed Church and the Stranger Churches in London.

### ***The St Patrick’s Discipline, 1694***

The consistory at St Patrick’s noted their intention to review their ecclesiastical documentation during 1694.<sup>155</sup> This was done in consultation with the then archbishop of Dublin, Narcissus Marsh, using the Savoy Church Discipline and the French Reformed Discipline as a guide.<sup>156</sup> The Discipline of the French Church at St Patrick’s Cathedral (‘St Patrick’s Discipline’) was the outcome of this process. The St Patrick’s Discipline continued the process begun at the Savoy Church,<sup>157</sup> and was a compromise between Anglican and French

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<sup>152</sup> Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain, Vol. 1*, pp 118-23.

<sup>153</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French Church of Dublin meeting at St Patrick’s, 17 Apr. 1692 – 11 Aug. 1695, 16 Apr. 1693, union proposed by Galway (Marsh’s Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.x, p. 9); 17 Apr. 1693, Galway tells of Bride Street refusal, described as ‘obstinate’.

<sup>154</sup> Ruth Whelan, ‘The current state of research on the Huguenots and Ireland’ in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxvii, no. 3 (2000), pp 418-33, p. 428.

<sup>155</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French Church of Dublin meeting at St Patrick’s, 17 Apr. 1692 – 11 Aug. 1695, 21 Jan. 1694 (Marsh’s Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.x, p. 17).

<sup>156</sup> Translation of the discipline of the French Church of St Patrick’s Dublin (Marsh’s Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.xi (original Z4.3.20(1))).

<sup>157</sup> Ruth Whelan, ‘Liberté de culte, liberté de conscience? Les Huguenots en Irlande 1662–1702’ in Jens Häselser and Antony McKenna (eds), *La Vie intellectuelle aux Refuges protestants ; Actes de la Table ronde de Münster du 25 juillet 1995* (Paris, 1999), pp 69-83, pp 75-6.

Reformed religious practices.<sup>158</sup> Though members of the St Patrick's congregation were expected to kneel for communion - in keeping with Anglican practice - the French Church was only required to receive communion four times a year, in keeping with French Reformed practice.<sup>159</sup> Ministers of the French Church had to conform to Anglican religious practices and were expected to accept reordination by Anglican bishops, but they were to refer the French Reformed Discipline where the St Patrick's Discipline did not provide guidance on a given matter.<sup>160</sup>

Perhaps the most important concession on the part of Archbishop Marsh was to allow the St Patrick's consistory to retain their authority to exercise moral discipline over the community.<sup>161</sup> This power of moral oversight was exercised by the episcopacy in the Churches of England and Ireland, meaning that Marsh was giving up a significant area of influence over the community. Here too, a reasonable compromise was made, with the consistory retaining the right to suspend congregation members for transgressions, while the archbishop retained the right to excommunicate recalcitrant members, an option rarely resorted to in practice.<sup>162</sup> This spirit of compromise carries through to the final section of miscellaneous rules, which states that the Discipline required the archbishop's approval, while also stating that St Patrick's should look to the French Reformed Discipline for guidance as time and place permitted.<sup>163</sup>

While the concessions made to Anglican practice in the St Patrick's Discipline seemed reasonable to those who conceived it, the wider French Protestant community in Ireland was less than convinced. Whelan has noted that the refusal of many refugees to accept the 'minimalist Anglicanism' codified in the St Patrick's Discipline is, at first glance, difficult to understand.<sup>164</sup> She has also noted that, for many French Protestants, their confessional identity was most readily understood and expressed through liturgy, practice and ritual, making

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<sup>158</sup> Whelan, 'Sanctified by the Word', pp 85-6.

<sup>159</sup> St Patrick's Discipline (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.xi), Chapter 1; Article II and III, communion days; Art. V, kneeling for communion.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid, C.3: Art. IV, subject to ecclesiastical censures; Art. VI, conform to Anglican rites; Art. VII, conform to Anglican doctrine.

<sup>161</sup> Whelan, 'Liberté de culte, liberté de conscience?', p. 76.

<sup>162</sup> Translation of the discipline of the French Church of St Patrick's Dublin (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.xi (original Z4.3.20(1)), C.2, Art. XXVII. For details on the use of suspension and excommunication in the continental Reformed tradition see; Raymond Mentzer, Françoise Moreil and Philippe Chareyre, *Dire l'interdit, The Vocabulary of Censure and Exclusion in the Early Modern Reformed Tradition*, (Leiden, 2010), Introduction, pp 5-8 summarises the findings of the various researchers who contributed to the volume of essays.

<sup>163</sup> Translation of the discipline of the French Church of St Patrick's Dublin (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.xi (original Z4.3.20(1)), C. Dernier: Art. VI, use French Reformed Discipline; Art. VIII, under authority of Archbishop and the Anglican Church.

<sup>164</sup> Whelan, 'Sanctified by the Word', p. 86.



Anglican practices like kneeling for communion particularly difficult to accept.<sup>165</sup> The leadership of St Patrick's was committed to the compromise made with Archbishop Marsh, however, and assembled the heads of families on 7 October 1694 to present the new discipline to them.<sup>166</sup> A subsequent entry states that the discipline was read before the entire congregation after service with the injunction to accept it and pretend no ignorance, and French Church members were often expected to sign the discipline to acknowledge that they had read and understood it.<sup>167</sup> This can be seen in Le Fanu's edition of the original discipline, which includes the signatures of the heads of families to the discipline.<sup>168</sup> Le Fanu's edition shows that signature of the discipline became something of a ritual in itself, with the last signatures recorded during the early nineteenth century.<sup>169</sup>

### ***Division between St Patrick's and St Mary's, 1705-1716***

The decision of the St Mary's French Church to separate from St Patrick's reflected growing disquiet regarding the efforts of the Church of Ireland episcopacy to undermine the freedom of worship French Protestants had been guaranteed under the 1692 Protestant Strangers Act.<sup>170</sup> Only a few years previously, the French Church at Portarlington had been forced into conformity by the Bishop of Kildare William Moreton during 1702.<sup>171</sup> Some French Protestants who had been members of the Portarlington French Church moved to Dublin during the years that followed.<sup>172</sup>

These tensions were evident in a letter from Jacques Abbadie to Archbishop King, written in April 1704.<sup>173</sup> The letter was written after Abbadie, at King's request, had visited the French Church to remind the congregation that Reformed theologians accepted Anglican religious practices. While doing so, Abbadie learned that he was rumoured to have refused to allow members of the French Church at Portarlington to receive communion according to the

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<sup>165</sup> Whelan, 'Sanctified by the Word', pp 87-8.

<sup>166</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French Church of Dublin meeting at St Patrick's, 17 Apr. 1692 – 11 Aug. 1695, 7 Oct. 1694 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.x, p. 24).

<sup>167</sup> Ibid, p. 25, 14 Oct. 1694.

<sup>168</sup> T. P. Le Fanu, 'Archbishop Marsh and the Discipline of the French Church of St Patrick's, Dublin, 1694' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xii, no. 4 (1921), pp 245-62.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid, p. 262.

<sup>170</sup> Ruth Whelan, 'The Huguenots, the Crown and the clergy: Ireland, 1704' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxvi, no. 5 (1997), pp 601-10.

<sup>171</sup> Ruth Whelan, 'Points of view: Benjamin de Daillon, William Moreton and the Portarlington affair' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxvi, no. 4 (1996), pp 463-89.

<sup>172</sup> Raymond Hylton, 'The Huguenot settlement at Portarlington, 1692-1771' in C. E. J. Caldicott, Hugh Gough and J. P. Pittion (eds) *The Huguenots and Ireland, Anatomy of an Emigration* (Dublin, 1987), pp 297-320, p. 312.

<sup>173</sup> Jacques Abbadie, Dean of Killaloe to William King, Archbishop of Dublin, 5 Apr. 1704 (T.C.D., Lyons MS 1995-2008/1073).

Reformed rite when that Church had been forced to conform. Soon after Abbadie wrote this letter to King, many of the Huguenot Regiment veterans gathered to receive communion during a Church of Ireland service held in May 1704. The veterans attended the service to comply with the 1704 Sacramental Test Act, which required all those receiving payments from the state to take the sacrament after the Anglican rite. Jacques Abbadie gave a sermon at this service which criticised the negative responses of the refugee community to Anglican religious practices. Abbadie's sermon inflamed the military pensioners, and Whelan has noted that the split between St Mary's and St Patrick's should be seen in the context of the veterans' resentment of enforced conformity to Anglican practices.<sup>174</sup>

It is important to note that this did not constitute a rejection of the Church of England by St Mary's, however. The consistory of St Mary's decided to separate from St Patrick's because they wanted to redefine their relationship with the Church of Ireland, not end it, as shown by their decision to review and revise the St Patrick's Discipline.<sup>175</sup> Furthermore, the surviving evidence suggests that St Mary's attempted to unite the French Churches in exile, potentially under episcopal supervision, as shown by the union with the French Reformed Church at Lucy Lane they proposed to Archbishop King in 1705. The first indication of the projected union can be found in the notes taken from the St Mary's consistory book.<sup>176</sup> Forrest has suggested that St Mary's was motivated by financial concerns in proposing this union,<sup>177</sup> but there is little evidence to support this assertion, and the proposed union had a precedent in St Patrick's proposal to unite with the Bride Street French Church in 1692.

The surviving correspondence shows that St Mary's vigorously lobbied for the support of Archbishop King and the Duke of Ormond, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, for the union with Lucy Lane. While the project came to nothing, their determination to proceed with the union reflected a determination to unify the French Churches in Dublin. With time, the French Reformed Churches at Lucy Lane and Peter Street united into one French Church institution, using the discipline and liturgy of the French Reformed Churches. The St Patrick's and St Mary's French Churches formed a second French Church institution, using the St Patrick's Discipline and the French translation of the Book of Common Prayer. While two distinct

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<sup>174</sup> Ruth Whelan, 'The Huguenots, the Crown and the Clergy: Ireland, 1704' in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, xxvi (1994-97), p. 606.

<sup>175</sup> St Mary's Consistory Book Notes 1705-1716 (Huguenot Library, Dublin, MS 128, p. 1).

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid*, 25 Mar. 1705, p. 9.

<sup>177</sup> Forrest, 'Schism and reconciliation', p. 204.

French Church institutions existed, the evidence for interactions between the congregations show that they served one French Protestant community.

### *Poor Relief*

The surviving French Church records show that poor relief was a significant preoccupation of the community. Research on the Reformed Churches in Europe often comments on the importance of this function, noting that the poor relief efforts of Reformed Churches such as the French Churches should be seen in the context of wider efforts to reform poor relief in Europe, which had their beginnings in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>178</sup> Raymond Mentzer has researched the poor relief efforts of French Protestants in sixteenth century Nîmes, noting initiatives such as lists of poor and rich drawn up so that wealthier congregation members would be assigned less fortunate fellow Protestants to help support.<sup>179</sup>

Collections to aid persecuted Protestants resulted in significant cooperation between Protestants across Europe.<sup>180</sup> Grell has noted that the significant support provided to persecuted Protestants during the Thirty Years War include substantial bequests from wealthy individuals.<sup>181</sup> These included Louis de Geer, a Dutch merchant born in Liège who moved between Dordrecht, La Rochelle, Amsterdam during his career, with significant interests in Sweden.<sup>182</sup> Protestants in Britain and Ireland also contributed to collections to aid persecuted Protestants on the Continent during the seventeenth century, as shown by their regular contributions to relief funds for Protestants in the Palatinate states during the Thirty Years War.<sup>183</sup> Many of these collections had support from the monarchy, showing the willingness of the Stuart monarchy to supporting persecuted Protestants in Europe.<sup>184</sup> Furthermore, Grell has shown that collections for Irish Protestants during the Catholic rebellion of the 1640s gained the support of Protestant Strangers in London, who contributed to collections made both there and in the Netherlands.<sup>185</sup> This chapter discusses the efforts of the French Churches of Dublin to support for co-religionists in need of assistance.

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<sup>178</sup> Charles Parker, *The Reformation of Community: Social Welfare and Calvinist Charity in Holland, 1572-1620* (Oxford, 1998), pp 7-19.

<sup>179</sup> Raymond Mentzer, 'L'organisation de la charité Protestante dans la France du seizième siècle : Le cas de Nîmes' in Raymond Mentzer, *La construction de l'identité réformée aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles : le rôle des consistoires* (Paris, 2006), pp 153-91.

<sup>180</sup> Ole Peter Grell, *Brethren in Christ, A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2011), pp 178-229.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid*, pp 274-99.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid*, pp 274-84.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid*, pp 178-228.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid*, pp 187-218.

<sup>185</sup> Ole Peter Grell, 'Godly Charity or Political Aid? Irish Protestants and International Calvinism, 1641-1645' in *The Historical Journal*, xxxix, no. 3 (1996), pp. 743-753, pp 746-53.

### *St Patrick's c. 1690 – c. 1716*

The surviving records indicate that poor relief was a particular focus during the 1690s, when many French Protestants came to Ireland to benefit from the generous terms of settlement contained in the 1692 Protestant Strangers Act. A series of entries indicate that the financial burden presented by poor French Protestant refugees was a constant cause of concern for the St Patrick's consistory. A record made on Sunday 9 July 1693 indicated that refugees then arriving in Dublin had come from all over Europe to join the communities which Galway and other refugee nobles were hoping to establish in Ireland.<sup>186</sup> At least some arrived in Dublin without the means to support them, as shown by a record made on 5 November 1693, noting that the consistory had decided to ask the heads of families to help support their destitute brethren.<sup>187</sup> On 4 February 1694, the consistory decided to open a house of charity to provide for the passing Protestant poor.<sup>188</sup> An entry made on 22 April 1695 shows that government support was needed to support these passing Protestant poor.<sup>189</sup> On 10 April 1702, the consistory decided to tax the pews to raise extra capital for poor relief.<sup>190</sup>

The concerns of the French Churches for the welfare of the passing French Protestant poor in Dublin was shared by the state authorities. Sugiko Nishikawa has demonstrated the significant efforts of Anglican bishops such as Henry Compton to mobilise support for persecuted Protestants in Europe, including French Protestants.<sup>191</sup> The crown administration in Dublin Castle regularly ordered that fasts be observed in memoriam of the suffering experienced by French Protestants still living in France, such as the fast for the persecuted Churches in France ordered by the consistory on 6 March 1698.<sup>192</sup> On the 12 February 1700, the lord's justices ordered a fast for persecuted French Protestants, and a charity sermon was called for the French Protestants imprisoned in France on 20 October 1700.<sup>193</sup> Fast days in remembrance of the persecuted Churches were observed on 2 May 1701 and 21 February 1704,

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<sup>186</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French Church of Dublin meeting at St Patrick's, 17 Apr. 1692 – 11 Aug. 1695, 9 July 1693 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.x, p. 12).

<sup>187</sup> Ibid, p. 12, 5 Nov. 1693.

<sup>188</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French Church of Dublin meeting at St Patrick's, 17 Apr. 1692 – 11 Aug. 1695 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.x): p. 18, 4 Feb. 1694; p. 19, 11 Feb. 1694.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid, p. 30, 22 Apr. 1695. Boesnier submits accounts of his administration of the money received from the government.

<sup>190</sup> Notes made from the Livre pour les actes consistoriaux de L'Eglise Françoise de Dublin St Patrick's, 17 Apr. 1692 – 1 July 1716, 10 Apr. 1702 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.ix, p. 16).

<sup>191</sup> Sugiko Nishikawa, 'English relief activities for continental Protestants in the eighteenth century: Perpetuating religious networks in the Age of Reason' in Vivien Larminie (ed.), *Huguenot networks, 1560-1780, the interactions and impact of a Protestant minority in Europe* (London, 2018), pp 203-12.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid, p. 8, 6 Mar. 1698.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid: p. 10, 12 Feb. 1700; p. 11, 20 Oct. 1700.

and a public feast was called in honour of the fleet and army by proclamation of Queen Anne on 7 May 1705.<sup>194</sup> As well as observing fast and feast days in honour of persecuted Protestants, the consistory made collections to help Protestants condemned to the galleys. between 1701-08.<sup>195</sup>

### ***The United French Churches of Dublin 1716 – 1740***

Poor relief for the passing French Protestant poor was a major focus of the United Churches consistory book and constituted a major expense in the church accounts. The burden of this charity led the United Churches consistory to augment church collections on 3 September 1717 and take out a loan of £200 to clear church debts on 1 July 1722.<sup>196</sup> To fund these poor relief activities, the consistory began to take money from wealthy and elderly members in transactions recorded as *fonds perdus*, or annuities in English. The first of these loans is recorded on 4 October 1722, when the consistory accepted £100 from Michel and Marie Valance to help pay for repairs to the church, to be repaid at 12.5% for the rest of their lives.<sup>197</sup> These annuities provided a pension for those who gave their money to the French Churches and provided the French Churches with a much-needed source of ready capital for a church with a large number of poor dependents to care for.

The welfare of these passing French Protestant poor led to the foundation of charitable societies for the French Protestant refugees in the city, which provide significant evidence of cooperation between the French Churches in Dublin.<sup>198</sup> One of these societies was the *Société Charitable des François Protestants Réfugiés á Dublin*, or the French Protestant Refugee Society, which was founded in 1722.<sup>199</sup> The articles of the charity state that it was to be funded by contributions, especially from charity sermons at the French Churches in Dublin.<sup>200</sup> By far

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<sup>194</sup> Notes made from the Livre pour les actes consistoriaux de L'Eglise Française de Dublin St Patrick's, 17 Apr. 1692 – 1 July 1716 (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.ix): p. 12, 2 May 1701; p. 14, 19th Aug. 1702; p. 15, 21 Feb. 1704; p. 16, 7 May 1705.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid: p. 12 29 May 1701; p. 16, 4 Feb. 1705; p. 18, 17 Aug. 1708.

<sup>196</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin, (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers FHF.II.1.viii): p. 28, 3 Sept. 1717; p. 47, 1 July 1722, details of authorising consistory to seek loan; p. 47, 29 July 1722 Vareilles loans money; p. 50, 3 Feb. 1723 £200 from Charitable Society to Vareilles, unable to pay, La Touche agrees to take over the debt.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid, 4 Oct. 1722, p. 48.

<sup>198</sup> Extracts of the minute books of the Societé Charitable de Réfugiés François (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers FHF.II.1.ii). These are the only extant records, which indicate that there may have been another society: Book 2, p. 4, 25 Oct. 1753, '*la Societé pour les Protestants Étrangers*' in charge of some children; Book 2, p. 5, 12 June 1754 '*Société pour les Protestants Réfugiés*' offer £100 to help raise school.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid, Book 1, pp 1-6.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid: Book 1, pp 2-3, Article 3 Charity sermons; p. 6, Article 23, if society has no more than four members the money of the society should be passed to the Protestant French Churches, the consistories of which are to distribute money to the poor.

the greatest proportion of the charity's business concerned the running of a school founded for the children of poor French Protestant families on 2 September 1723.<sup>201</sup> On 1 June 1724, the society bought a French catechism and Bible, and on 1 December 1724 Judith Nobileau, from a family associated with the United Churches, was engaged as a teacher.<sup>202</sup> The school took students from both French Church communities, and it was regularly recorded that the Society wished for the children visit each of the four French Churches on consecutive Sundays.<sup>203</sup> Not only was the Society committed to strong links to both French Churches, it was in receipt of significant support from the entire French Protestant community. In 1724, the French Reformed Churches of Dublin offered the school land on which to build a schoolhouse, and the La Touche family provided land on which to build a school in 1732.<sup>204</sup>

### *Conclusion*

The evidence reviewed in this chapter shows that the distinct French Churches in Dublin served one French Protestant community. Passage of the 1692 Protestant Stranger Act facilitated the establishment of French Churches outside Church of Ireland supervision, and while the French Reformed Churches were jealous of their independence, this did not prevent them from maintaining a positive working relationship with the French Churches that conformed to Anglican practice. While two separate French Church institutions existed in the city, evidence of members of one French Church participating in life events recorded at the other points to significant links between the congregations. The movement of ministers between the United and Reformed Churches, as well as their efforts to provide poor relief for Protestant Strangers in Dublin, shows that the two institutions worked together in their role as leaders of the French Protestant community in Dublin.

The French Church at St Patrick's was able to establish itself as a French Reformed Church under Anglican supervision, retaining key features of French Reformed ecclesiology including the right to call their own ministers, as well as responsibility for the moral and religious discipline of the congregation. The division between St Patrick's and St Mary's was the result of a leadership challenge on the part of the St Mary's French Church which was catalysed by the arrival of Huguenot Regiment veterans during the 1690s. The division

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<sup>201</sup> Extracts of the minute books of the Societé Charitable de Refugiés François, 2 Sept. 1723, school established for poor children '*pour leur enseigneur à lire, écrire, la Religion et le Chant de Psaumes*' (Marsh's Library Dublin, French Huguenot Fund Papers FHF.II.1.ii, Book 1, p.

1).

<sup>202</sup> Ibid, Book 1, p. 2.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid: Book 1: p. 7, 16 Dec. 1729; p. 9, 25 Oct. 1733, 4 Mar. 1734; p. 10, 21 Mar. 1736.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid: Book 1: p. 3, 14 Dec. 1724, N.C. Churches offer land for school; p. 8, 11 Sept. 1732, school to be built on land given by La Touche.

between St Patrick's and St Mary's was based on resentment of Church of Ireland efforts to undermine the freedom of worship granted to Protestant Strangers in the 1692 Protestant Strangers Act. This did not constitute a rejection of the Church of Ireland, however, as St Mary's demonstrated it continued to accept episcopal oversight. Their efforts to forge a union with Lucy Lane reflected a desire to unify the French Churches in Dublin that was in large part driven by the Huguenot regiment veterans who formed the community's leadership during the early eighteenth century.

## Chapter Five - Key changes and continuities c. 1740-70

This chapter focuses on the period between the closure of St Mary's French Church during 1740, and Lucy Lane French Church during 1773. This chapter shows that the closure of these French Churches did not reflect the fact that the French Protestant community in Dublin was 'on the wane' during this period.<sup>1</sup> The closure of the French Churches north of the Liffey reflected the changing confessional landscape of the city, as the northern and western parishes becoming largely composed of Catholic households during this period. French Protestant households became concentrated in the south of the city during this period, particularly in the parishes of St Peter's and St Bride's, and the closure of the northern French Churches reflected this long-term trend.

Figure 35: French Churches in Dublin c. 1740-70<sup>2</sup>



<sup>1</sup> Raymond Hylton, *Ireland's Huguenots and their Refuge, 1662-1745: an unlikely haven* (Brighton, 2005), p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> (<https://iijf.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/ids:10135315>) (20 Oct. 2022).



## ***Key Changes During the Eighteenth Century***

At a consistory meeting of the United Churches held on 17 August 1740, it was noted that the St Mary's French Church had unanimously resolved to close their church and join with the St Patrick's French Church.<sup>3</sup> This entry was the culmination of a series of retrospective changes made to the arrangements managing relations between the St Patrick's and St Mary's congregations agreed as part of their reunion. The first of these amendments was made on 26 August 1738 and can be found under the entry recording the final decision of the consistory and the archbishop on the question of precedence amongst the ministers in 1716.<sup>4</sup> The record tells us that the issue of precedence was considered to be beneath the attention of the consistory, and the act establishing an order of precedence was considered null and void. So too a resolution which specified how decisions in the consistory would be approved, which was rendered null on 26 October 1738.<sup>5</sup> Soon after, a resolution which set specific terms for how Amaury Fleury was to serve St Patrick's and St Mary's was also rendered null on 9 November 1738.<sup>6</sup>

### ***Changes in St Patrick's Consistory***

These changes in the relationship between St Patrick's and St Mary's were associated with the appointment of consistory members who had joined the community in the years after their reunion. This process began during April 1738, when Daniel Jonquet and Pierre Besnard replaced Guillaume Maret and Daniel de Boubers as consistory secretary and treasurer, respectively.<sup>7</sup> Maret had been a captain in Blosset's regiment of foot before being pensioned in 1706.<sup>8</sup> Daniel de Boubers had also been pensioned after serving in the Huguenot regiments,<sup>9</sup> and had been one of the heads of families who signed the terms of union between St Patrick's and St Mary's Abbey.<sup>10</sup> Both had served on the consistory for many years, with Maret signing

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<sup>3</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin, 17 Aug. 1740 (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, p. 98).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 8 July 1716, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 26 Oct. 1738, nullifies the provisions establishing a particular manner of approving consistory resolutions, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 17 June 1716, p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, Apr. 1738, p. 94.

<sup>8</sup> T. P. Le Fanu and W. H. Manchee, *Dublin and Portarlinton veterans, King William III's Huguenot army* (hereafter '*Dublin and Portarlinton Veterans*') (London, 1946), p. 50.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 19.

<sup>10</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin, 29 Apr. 1716 (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, pp 1-4).

as a member and secretary between 1726-38,<sup>11</sup> and Daniel de Boubers signing as a member and treasurer between 1716-38.<sup>12</sup>

The changes in the consistory's composition during this period reflected the fact that the Huguenot regiment veterans were giving way to a younger generation, a process which culminated in the closure of the St Mary's Abbey French Church during 1740. This process was not without controversy, as shown by a consistory book entry made soon after Maret and Boubers were replaced by Jonquet and Besnard, which noted that nothing happened in the consistory that was not known in the houses of the city.<sup>13</sup> The consistory took measures to maintain the secrecy of consistory meetings, and the series of administrative changes that culminated in the closure of St Mary's soon followed. The replacement of Huguenot regiment veterans in the key posts of secretary and treasurer by community members who had come to Dublin after the reunion between St Patrick's and St Mary's indicates that this formed part of a process of generational change in the community, as a new generation of French Protestant exiles took over from the Huguenot regiment veterans who had led the community during the early eighteenth century.

### *New elders of the community*

The series of events that culminated in the closure of the St Mary's French Church are associated with appointment of new elders who had come to Ireland during the years after the United Churches. Pierre Besnard first appears in the records on 8 November 1722, when he abjured the errors of Rome at the St Patrick's French Church, the record telling us that he was from Angers in the Loire valley.<sup>14</sup> Daniel Jonquet is a more mysterious character, as there are no records for any family he might have had in the surviving French Church records. The baptism of Josué Jonquet, son of Etienne and Jeanne Jonquet, was recorded in the Peter Street register on 17 May 1702,<sup>15</sup> but we have no evidence to link Jonquet to this family. Daniel Jonquet first appears in the French Church records on 2 April 1736, when he signed the St Patrick's Discipline along with Jean Friboul, another elder associated with the changes that

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<sup>11</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin, 21 June 1726, 25 May 1738 (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, pp 58, 96).

<sup>12</sup> Ibid: 22 Apr. 1716, p. 4; 25 May 1738, p. 96.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 25 May 1738 pp 94-5.

<sup>14</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin, 8 Nov. 1722 (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, p. 49).

<sup>15</sup> T. P. Le Fanu (ed.), *Registers of the French Non-Conformist Churches of Lucy Lane and Peter Street Dublin* (Aberdeen, 1901) (hereafter *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*), p. 4.

occurred during the late 1730s.<sup>16</sup> It is possible that Jonquet came to Dublin from London, as there are references to people of that family name in the list of pupils at the Threadneedle Street French Church in London. Abraham Jonquet, son of John Jonquet, was a pupil during 1722,<sup>17</sup> and Mary Anne Jonquet, daughter of James Jonquet,<sup>18</sup> was a student during 1730.

Jonquet was appointed United Churches consistory secretary in 1738, a position he held until 1743.<sup>19</sup> Soon afterwards, Jonquet's burial was recorded by Louis Scoffier on 25 July 1744, who noted that Jonquet was from the Cevennes and related to Dean Saurin,<sup>20</sup> who came from Nîmes in the Languedoc.<sup>21</sup> Interestingly, one Jonquet was amongst four camisards executed at Nîmes during the early eighteenth century, as noted in a letter from regular correspondence between French monasteries written on 22 April 1705.<sup>22</sup> The camisards were Protestant rebels from the Cevennes region of the Languedoc, who rebelled against their forced Catholicism in the early eighteenth century.<sup>23</sup> According to the letter's editor, the men executed had been important lieutenants of Jean Cavalier, a leader of the camisard revolt.<sup>24</sup> Cavalier escaped to exile, and lived in Dublin during the early eighteenth century.<sup>25</sup> Accordingly, it is possible that Jonquet had some interesting associations amongst the French Protestant diaspora, though it would take much more research to prove this conclusively.

### *Links to the wider community*

While the newly appointed elders all appear to have joined the French Protestant in community in Dublin after the reunion of St Patrick's and St Mary's, it is important to note

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<sup>16</sup> T. P. Le Fanu, 'Archbishop Marsh and the Discipline of the French Church of St Patrick's, Dublin, 1694' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xii, no. 4 (1921), pp 245-62, p. 262.

<sup>17</sup> Keith Le May, 'The Pupils of the Threadneedle Street Church's Charity School 1719-1802 Part 2a' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxix, no. 2 (2009), pp 245-54, p. 247

<sup>18</sup> Keith Le May, 'The Pupils of the Threadneedle Street Church's Charity School 1719-1802 Part 1' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, xxix, no. 1 (2008), pp 107-21, p. 112

<sup>19</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii): Apr. 1738, p. 94; 1 Dec. 1743, p. 103.

<sup>20</sup> J. J. Digges La Touche (ed.), *Registers of the French Conformed Churches of St Patrick and St Mary, Dublin* (Dublin, 1893) (hereafter *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*), p. 228.

<sup>21</sup> William Shaw (ed.), *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation, Aliens in England and Ireland, 1701-1800* (hereafter '*Denization and Naturalisation, 1701-1800*') (Manchester, 1923), p. 17.

<sup>22</sup> 'Récit fait par deux religieux de Nîmes de l'exécution des quatre camisards Ravanel, Catinat, Jonquet et Vilas, rompus et brulés vifs sur l'Esplanade, le 22 Avril 1705' in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, ii no. 7/8 (1853), pp 461-67.

<sup>23</sup> Lionel Laborie, 'The Huguenot Offensive against the Camisard Prophets in the English Refuge' in Jane McKee and Randolph Vigne (eds), *The Huguenots: France, exile and diaspora* (Eastbourne, 2013), pp 125-33, pp 125-6 summarises the camisard revolt.

<sup>24</sup> 'Récit fait par deux religieux de Nîmes' p. 461.

<sup>25</sup> Randolph Vigne, 'Jean Cavalier' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4917>) (accessed 2 June 2021).

that they had all been integrated into the community by the time they were elected to the consistory. Pierre Besnard was godfather to Marie Gachet, daughter of Cezar Gachet and Deborah Sharp, whose baptism was recorded at St Patrick's on 15 May 1728.<sup>26</sup> On 19 August 1742, the marriage of Besnard to Susannah Puponsett was recorded at St Anne's Church of Ireland parish church,<sup>27</sup> with Louis Saurin officiating.<sup>28</sup> The marriage was also recorded in St Patrick's register, and the records of his marriage point to connections with the families of Huguenot regiment veterans in Dublin.<sup>29</sup> Susannah Puponsett was more correctly known as Susanne Poncet, daughter of captain William Poncet, a native of Castres, and Susanne Baudry. Witnesses to the marriage included captain John Duponcet, likely a relative of the bride, captain John Arabin and his wife, as well as Madame Gaschet, likely Deborah Sharp, and her two children Peter and Marie, who was Besnard's goddaughter. Susanne Poncet was godparent to William John Arabin, son of John Arabin and Jeanne Bertin, baptised at St Patrick's by Louis Scoffier on 27 December 1750.<sup>30</sup>

Along with Besnard and Jonquet, Jean Friboul was associated with the process of change that led to the closure of the St Mary's French Church. Friboul first enters our records when he married Jeanne Quartier, the daughter of the minister Louis Quartier, recorded at St Patrick's by Amaury Fleury on 12 July 1730.<sup>31</sup> The Friboul family registered nine baptisms at St Patrick's between 1731-45. The baptism of their daughter Blandine Friboul was recorded on 25 April 1731, and Blandine's godparents were Blandine Jourdan, Charlotte Ramsé and Isaac Crose.<sup>32</sup> Blandine Jourdan was a daughter of Jean Jourdan, the French Protestant minister mentioned in chapter four, and was also godmother of Marie Friboul, baptised on 22 October 1739.<sup>33</sup> Catherine Jourdan was godmother of Catherine Friboul, baptised on 28 January 1742,<sup>34</sup> and Pierre Friboul, baptised on 21 April 1745.<sup>35</sup> Jean Jourdan was godfather of their son, Jean Friboul, baptised by Louis Scoffier on 12 December 1736.<sup>36</sup> Their daughter Anne was baptised

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<sup>26</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 50.

<sup>27</sup> D. A. Chart (ed.), *Marriage Entries from the Registers of the Parishes of St Andrew, St Anne, St Audoen and St Bride, Dublin, 1632-1800* (Dublin, 1913) (hereafter '*Marriage Registers of St Andrew, St Audoen and St Bride*'), p. 49.

<sup>28</sup> J. B. Leslie and W. J. R. Wallace (eds), *Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough: biographical succession lists* (Belfast, 2001) (hereafter '*Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough*'), p. 1035.

<sup>29</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 130.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

on 7 May 1732,<sup>37</sup> and her godparents included Richard Bouhéreau des Herbières, a son of Elie Bouhéreau,<sup>38</sup> who was a major figure in the French Protestant diaspora. Amateur Bouhéreau was a godfather of Isaac Friboul, baptised on 13 August 1738,<sup>39</sup> and David Dignes de La Touche was godfather of their son, Arteur, who was baptised on 22 April 1733.<sup>40</sup> As we can see, links of spiritual kinship connected the Friboul family to some of the most significant families in the French Protestant community in Dublin, with a particular association with the families of French Protestant ministers.

### *New Ministers of St Patrick's*

The other new consistory members were French Protestant ministers, who were called from other French Protestant exile communities to serve the French Churches in Dublin, as summarised in appendix 5.a. The ministers were outsiders to the community, and often travelled quite widely in the diaspora before finding a permanent position in Dublin. Take for instance Louis Scoffier, whom the records indicate was called to serve St Patrick's from Amsterdam.<sup>41</sup> Scoffier's father Claude Scoffier had served as a French Church minister in London for many years, receiving Anglican ordination from Henry Compton and serving on the French Committee.<sup>42</sup> Scoffier was called to replace Pierre Bouquet de St Paul, who was leaving St Patrick's to take up a benefice in the Church of Ireland.<sup>43</sup> The process of appointing Scoffier was carefully recorded, providing a window into how the St Patrick's French Church exercised its right under the St Patrick's Discipline to call ministers, subject to approval by the congregation. The consistory invited the heads of families to a meeting to discuss Scoffier's candidacy following receipt of reference letters received from Holland, based on which he was called to serve as a minister to the congregation.

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<sup>37</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 55.

<sup>38</sup> Raymond Hylton, 'Elie Bouhereau' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (<https://www.dib.ie/biography/bouhereau-elie-elias-a0795>) (accessed 06 June 2021)

<sup>39</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 63.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>41</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin, 19 Oct. 1735 (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, p. 90).

<sup>42</sup> Robin Gwynn, *The Huguenots in Later Stuart Britain, Volume I – Crisis, Renewal and the Ministers' Dilemma* (3 vols, London, 2015), i, p. 404.

<sup>43</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin: 9 Oct. 1735; 12 Oct. 1735; 16 Oct. 1735; 19 Oct. 1735 (Marsh Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers FHF.II.1.viii, pp 89-90).

Jean Pierre Droz was originally from Neuchatel in Switzerland, and was noted as a French Church minister in London in 1736.<sup>44</sup> Droz came to Dublin soon afterwards, as his marriage to Marguerite Boileau was recorded in the marriage registers of both St Patrick's French Church and St Peter's Church of Ireland Parish on 22 April 1737.<sup>45</sup> As well as being a French Protestant minister, Droz also ran a bookstore in Dublin, and published a periodical known as *A Literary Journal*, which acted as a vehicle for Enlightenment thought in Dublin.<sup>46</sup> Droz and Marguerite Boileau recorded the baptisms of ten children at St Patrick's, and the records indicate they were connected to the families of Huguenot regiment veterans. Jean Corneille and Maret de La Rive were godparents of their daughter, Anne, baptised on 9 June 1738.<sup>47</sup> Marie Descury was godmother to Marie Droz, baptised on 4 May 1739,<sup>48</sup> while Jean Maret de La Rive and Magdelaine Corneille were godparents of Madeleine, baptised on 6 April 1740.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, Marguerite Boileau was godmother to Marie Corneille, daughter of Jean Corneille and Marie Descury, baptised on,<sup>50</sup> and Henry Fleury,<sup>51</sup> son of Anthoine Fleury, a French Church minister, and Julie Brunet de Rochebrune, daughter of Paul Brunet de Rochebrune, a former colonel.<sup>52</sup>

Daniel Cornelis Beaufort provides further evidence of the wide French Protestant diaspora from which the ministers at St Patrick's were drawn, as well as the close association between French Protestant ministers and the Churches of England and Ireland. Beaufort was born in 1700 at Wesel in the Holy Roman Empire and spent his childhood in Holland.<sup>53</sup> He initially pursued a military career, becoming an ensign of the king of Prussia, before enrolling in the University of Utrecht in 1720. After further study at Amsterdam University, Beaufort became a French Church minister in London, receiving ordination as an Anglican minister in 1731. He married Esther Catherine Goujon, daughter of Gregoire Goujon of La Rochelle, and

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<sup>44</sup> William and Susan Minet (eds), *Registres des quatre eglises du petit Charenton, de West Street, de Pearl Street, et de Crispin Street*, xxxii (London, 1929).

<sup>45</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 129, 22 Apr. 1737. James Mills and Gertrude Thrift, *The register of the parish of St Peter and S. Kevin, Dublin, 1669-1761 Dublin* (Dublin, 1911) (hereafter '*Register of St Peter and St Kevin*'), p. 322.

<sup>46</sup> Allison Neill-Raboux, 'A Literary Journal (1744-49) A European periodical in eighteenth-century Ireland' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Ulster, 2013), pp 9-15.

<sup>47</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 63.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid*, p. 64.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, p. 65.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*, 11 July 1729 p. 51.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid*, 30 May 1736, p. 60.

<sup>52</sup> *Dublin and Portarlinton Veterans*, , p. 61.

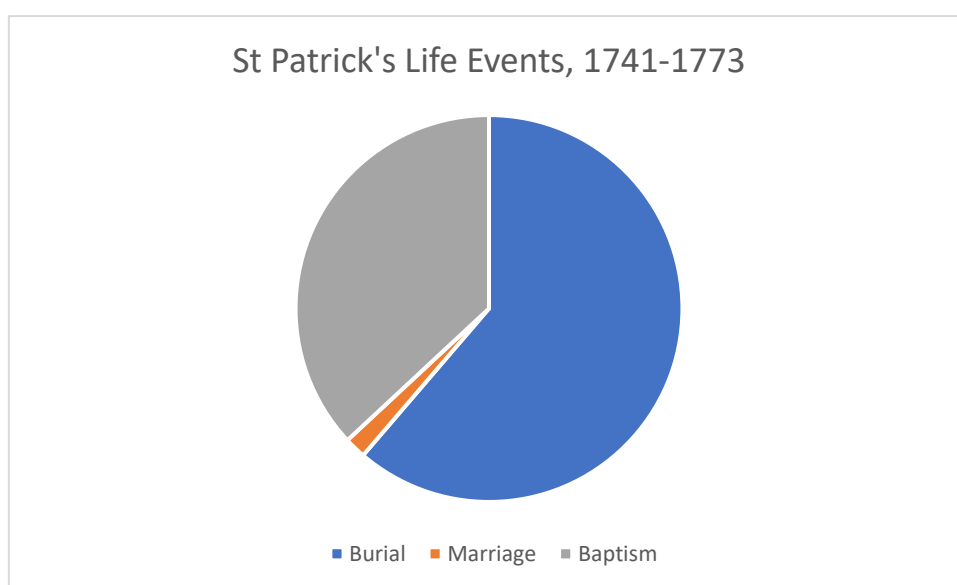
<sup>53</sup> J. C. Combe, 'Huguenots in the Ministry of the Churches of Ireland – Their Place and Contribution' (Ph. D. Thesis, Queen's University Belfast, 1970), pp 111-7.

their son, Daniel Augustus, born in London on 1 October 1739.<sup>54</sup> He spent four years as a Church of England minister at Barnet, then outside London, before moving to Ireland in 1747 to take up a series of positions in the Church of Ireland. Beaufort was also a minister at St Patrick's until he resigned in 1758, to focus on his career in the Church of Ireland.

### ***Changes in Patterns of Life Event Registration***

The St Patrick's registers contain records of 158 baptisms, 256 burials and 20 marriages during this period, with approximately eight baptisms recorded for every marriage, and just under two burials per baptism.

Figure 36: Life events recorded at St. Patrick's French Church, c.1740-70



At first sight, this reflects a decline in the community, and the ratio of burials to baptisms would ordinarily reflect a significant decline in living standards. However, when one looks at wider archives, it becomes clear that this trend reflected the fact that some families were recording their family life events at other Protestant churches. Take for instance the family of Jean Arabin and Judith Daniel, who recorded seven baptisms at both St Patrick's,<sup>55</sup> and at St Peter's during this period.<sup>56</sup> All but three of the baptisms recorded at St Peter's were repeat entries for the baptisms recorded at the St Patrick's. The three exceptions were the baptisms of

<sup>54</sup> Combe, 'Huguenots in the Ministry of the Churches of Ireland', pp 118-28.

<sup>55</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*: p. 50, Jean Arabin, 18 Dec. 1728; p. 52, Jeanne Renée Arabin; p. 58, Elizabeth Arabin, 22 Sept. 1734; p. 62, Pierre Arabin, 19 Feb. 1738; p. 64, Sarah Arabin, 20 Apr. 1739; p. 69, Phillipe Arabin, 2 Aug. 1745; p. 72, Guillaume Jean Arabin, 6 Feb. 1751.

<sup>56</sup> *Register of St Peter and St Kevin*: p. 247, Jean Arabin, Jan. 1729; p. 254; Elizabeth Arabin, 9 Sept. 1734, Elizabeth Arabin, 9 Dec. 1734; p. 262, Sarah Arabin, 14 Apr. 1739; p. 284, Henry Arabin, 19 May 1752; p. 294, Elizabeth Arabin, 8 Jan. 1756; p. 300, Jean Arabin, 21 Sept. 1757.

their children Henry, Elizabeth and John, between 1752 and 1756, which were recorded solely at St Peter's.

Susanne Lachenicht is correct in citing the significant increase in the registration of life events by French Protestant families at their local Church of Ireland parish church as evidence of integration.<sup>57</sup> The suggestion that it reflected the replacement of a French Protestant identity with a new national identity overstates the implied loss of 'Frenchness' she notes in her work, however. While the Arabin family began to record baptisms solely at their local Church of Ireland parish church during this period, the burial of Jean Arabin was recorded at St Patrick's on 8 August 1755.<sup>58</sup> This indicates continued participation in the religious and communal life of the French Protestant community in Dublin, and it is unfortunate that we do not have records such as the subscription lists noted in chapter one with which to investigate this topic further. While French Protestants in Dublin were marrying their Anglophone Protestant neighbours, their continued participation in the religious and communal life of the French Churches indicates that they continued to form part of a French Protestant community in Dublin.

French Protestant families who were becoming integrated into Anglophone Protestant families during this period continued to record their family's life events at St Patrick's. Paul Adrien, an elder of St Patrick's, and Elizabeth Brown, recorded the baptisms of eight children at St Patrick's, and practically all of their children had at least one Anglophone godparent. As one would expect, family connections were often at play. Their daughter, Susanne, was baptised during June 1745, and the child's godparents were Susanna Cleary and Dennis Brown.<sup>59</sup> Mary Brown was one of the godparents for their daughter Marie, baptised on 15 July 1736, along with Marie Adrien and Jean la Gardelle.<sup>60</sup> When their daughter Elizabeth was baptised on 13 March 1738 Sarah and Mary Brown were godparents, along with Samuel Lynam.<sup>61</sup> Mary Ashburn and Denis Brown were godparents for their daughter Françoise, baptised on the 2 November 1748.<sup>62</sup> The last child of theirs to be baptised at St Patrick's was Isaac, and his godparents were Mary Buckley, Jean Marland and Isaac Adrien.<sup>63</sup> As we can see, this family was linking itself into a wider network of spiritual kin which was drawn from

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<sup>57</sup> Susanne Lachenicht, 'Huguenot Immigrants and the Formation of National Identities, 1548-1787' in *The Historical Journal*, 1, no. 2 (2007), pp 309-31, pp 324-5.

<sup>58</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 232.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69, June 1745.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60, 15 July 1736.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62, 13 Mar. 1738.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71, 21 Nov. 1748.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72, 14 Aug. 1750.



both the French Protestant and Anglophone Protestant communities. Perhaps most importantly, they continued to record their family's life events as members of the St Patrick's French Church. This suggests that this process did not entail any loss of French Protestant identity, and further research might explore what it meant to be a French Protestant in Dublin during this period.

### *French Protestants in the Presbyterian Churches*

Another change during this period was the more visible participation of French Protestants in the religious and communal life of the Presbyterian Churches in Dublin, though we must caveat this observation given that the early records are sparse. The evidence does show significant participation in the Presbyterian Churches, however, and further research might look at links between French Protestants and the Presbyterian Churches during the mid-eighteenth century. On a subscription list for the Eustace Street Presbyterian Church we find one Mr Farange, who the record tells us was living on Blind Quay near Copper Alley in 1753.<sup>64</sup> The Farange family recorded one baptism and two burials at Peter Street during the early eighteenth century, between 1701 and 1730.<sup>65</sup> The vestry minute book for Eustace Street provides further evidence of this family's involvement in the congregation. On 8 January 1764 one Mr Farange was amongst 15 congregation members who signed the record of a meeting discussing arrangements for ministerial services.<sup>66</sup> On 5 January 1767, John Farange and his son, also John, were amongst 26 who signed the records of meetings relating to the appointment of a minister.<sup>67</sup>

Perhaps more interesting is the evidence of French Protestants from families associated with the United Churches who can be found in the surviving records of the Presbyterian Churches. James and Samuel Boursiquot were subscribers to the Strand Street Presbyterian Church from 1766-74,<sup>68</sup> along with French Protestants including Lieutenant Faviere,<sup>69</sup> and Mrs. La Touche.<sup>70</sup> Jacques Boursiquot signed the terms of union between St Patrick's and St Mary's during 1716, as did Captain Maximilien Faviere.<sup>71</sup> James Boursiquot was a member of

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<sup>64</sup> Eustace Street Subscription List (R.I.A. DUC/EUS/1(7), p. 1).

<sup>65</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*: p. 1, baptism of Jeanne Farange, 7 Sept. 1701; p. 92, burial of Farange, 9 Aug. 1721; p. 99, 11 Sept. 1730, burial of Gabriel Farange,

<sup>66</sup> Eustace Street Vestry Minute Book (R.I.A. DUC/EUS/1, p. 143).

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid* pp 151-2.

<sup>68</sup> Subscriber List Strand Street Unitarian Church, 1766-1794 (RIA DUC/STR/3, f. 1 recto, f. 39 verso, f. 42 recto).

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid*, f. 1 recto

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid*, f. 49 verso, f. 94 recto, f. 99 verso, f. 116 verso.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*, pp 1-4.

St Patrick's consistory during 1751-2,<sup>72</sup> as was Maximilien Faviere,<sup>73</sup> who can also be found contributing to collections for a charity school and church maintenance at St Peter's Church of Ireland Parish.<sup>74</sup>

Mrs Aigoïn was a subscriber at the Strand Street Presbyterian Church during 1766 and 1773,<sup>75</sup> and is likely to be Anne Haywood, whose marriage to David Aigoïn was recorded at the St Mary's Church of Ireland parish church on 6 July 1748.<sup>76</sup> David Aigoïn came from a merchant family who were associated with the French Churches during the early eighteenth century,<sup>77</sup> and he was quite active in St Mary's Church of Ireland parish, serving as churchwarden between 1748 and 1750.<sup>78</sup> Another relative was Jean Aigoïn, who was naturalised on 11 May 1699,<sup>79</sup> and signed the terms of union between St Patrick's and St Mary's during 1716.<sup>80</sup> Jean Aigoïn was a member of the United Churches consistory from 1719-23.<sup>81</sup>

Mrs Aigoïn can often be found acting as a patron in the records of the Presbyterian Churches. A record made in the Eustace Street vestry minute book on 8 March 1742 tells us that Mrs Aigoïn supported the application of Rob McComb to be admitted into the Charity School.<sup>82</sup> A record in the Cook Street Presbyterian Church vestry book made on 4 October 1767 tells us that the late Mrs Aigoïn left £10 to the poor of the congregation.<sup>83</sup> On 24 September 1769 John Wilson was admitted to the Eustace Street Charity School on the recommendation of Miss Aigoïn.<sup>84</sup> Examples like these show that French Protestants from either French Church institution could be found interacting with Anglican and Presbyterian

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<sup>72</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin (Marsh Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1viii, pp 114-5).

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, pp 6, 7, 20.

<sup>74</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1686-1736, P.0045.05.01 (Representative Church Body Library, Braemor Park Road, Dublin), p. 201 23 Aug. 1721, p. 204, 15 Dec., p. 218 1 November 1722.

<sup>75</sup> Subscriber List Strand Street Unitarian Church, 1766-1794 (RIA DUC/STR/3, f. 1 recto, f. 39 verso, f. 42 recto).

<sup>76</sup> D. A. Chart (ed.), *Marriage Entries in the Registers of the Parishes of St Mary, St Luke, St Catherine and St Werburgh, Dublin, 1627-1800* (Dublin, 1913) (hereafter '*Marriage Registers of St Mary, St Luke, St Catherine and St Werburgh*'), p. 56.

<sup>77</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, 13 June 1702, burial of Anne Aigoïn, daughter of Jean Aigoïn, p. 177.

<sup>78</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Mary, Dublin, 1739-1761 (Representative Church Body Library, P. 277.5.2): 12 Apr. 1748, p. 132; 12 Jan. 1750, p. 156.

<sup>79</sup> William Shaw (ed.), *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation, Aliens in England and Ireland, 1603-1700* (hereafter '*Denization and Naturalisation, 1603-1700*') (London, 1911), p. 354.

<sup>80</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin (Marsh Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1viii, pp 1-5).

<sup>81</sup> Ibid: p. 36, 1 Jan. 1719; p. 43, 24 Feb. 1722; p. 50, 14 Mar. 1723.

<sup>82</sup> Eustace Street Vestry Minute Book (R.I.A. DUC/EUS/1, p. 2).

<sup>83</sup> Cook Street Vestry Book 1765-1774 (R.I.A. DUC/COO/1 f. 9 recto).

<sup>84</sup> Eustace Street Vestry Minute Book (R.I.A. DUC/EUS/1, p. 182)

Churches during the mid-eighteenth century, all while maintaining a relationship with the French Churches in the city.

The wide-ranging involvement of these French Protestants in the Protestant confessional communities of Dublin mirrors the evidence noted in chapter one concerning their participation in the French Churches in Dublin, and further examples abound. Mr Pineau was a subscriber to the Eustace Street Presbyterian Church during 1755, the record telling us that he was living on Dame Street, facing Sycamore Alley.<sup>85</sup> The marriage of Daniel Pineau and Marie Vidouze was recorded at St Mary's French Church on 24 December 1708,<sup>86</sup> and this family recorded baptisms in the registers of the French Churches at St Mary's,<sup>87</sup> Peter Street,<sup>88</sup> and St Patrick's,<sup>89</sup> during the early eighteenth century. The Pineau family were also recorded in the membership lists for the French Reformed Churches during 1725 and 1735,<sup>90</sup> and Daniel Pineau was a churchwarden at the St Andrew's Church of Ireland during 1744.<sup>91</sup> These examples demonstrate once more the wide-ranging participation of this family in the Protestant confessional communities of Dublin.

### ***Key Continuities During the Eighteenth Century***

As can be seen in the evidence discussed above, the French Protestant community in Dublin saw significant change during this period. It is important to emphasise that the wider context of substantial continuity, however, and we should not allow the changes the community experienced during these years to obscure those continuities. Both the changes and continuities the community experienced were in large part reflective of the stability and prosperity experienced by the community during the mid-eighteenth century, which marked the apogee of the French Protestant community in Dublin. This can be seen in the families who recorded a significant number of their family's life events at St Patrick's during this period, many of whom had been present in previous cohorts, as summarised in appendix 5.b.

Looking at the core family names in this cohort we find twenty families who recorded five or more life events. Thirteen out of the twenty families, or 65%, recorded life events in the previous cohorts. Significant families from the early eighteenth century such as the Chaigneau,

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<sup>85</sup> Eustace Street Subscription List (R.I.A. DUC/EUS/1(7), p. 1).

<sup>86</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 118.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, pp 16, 18, 24.

<sup>88</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, pp 57, 78.

<sup>89</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 47.

<sup>90</sup> Copy records of the French Churches (Marsh's Library Dublin, Ms. Y3.5.10, pp 811-13).

<sup>91</sup> *Marriage Registers of St Andrew, St Audoen and St Bride*, p. 27.

La Millière, Le Fanu and Adrien families continued to record life events as members of the French Churches. Even in the case of new family names such as Butler, we see that this was a family formed by Elizabeth Darquier, daughter of Guillaume Darquier, and John Butler.<sup>92</sup> This marriage provides us with further evidence of some French Protestant families becoming integrated with Anglophone Protestant families while continuing to participate in the religious and communal life of the French Churches.

### *Elders from established families*

While the process leading up to the closure of St Mary's is associated with the appointment of elders who were relative newcomers to Dublin, the overall composition of the St Patrick's consistory during this period provides significant evidence of continuity. Of the eighteen consistory members noted in appendix 5.a., eleven, or 61.1%, were from families who had formed part of the community from the earliest years. Take for instance Guillaume Darquier, who is recorded at a total of 25 consistory meetings as an elder between 1727 and 1763.<sup>93</sup> The Darquier family were one of the core families of the community and had been present in Dublin from the late seventeenth century. Guillaume Darquier appears in various editions of the Dublin Directory as a merchant between 1752 and 1781.<sup>94</sup> The burial of his daughter, Jeanne Canning, née Darquier, was recorded on 1 February 1783, and the record notes that Darquier was by then an alderman, an elective position on Dublin City Council and a sign of his social status in the city.<sup>95</sup> His marriage to Jeanne Boursiquot was recorded in St Patrick's marriage register on 21 October 1725, and the St Werburgh marriage register on 25 October 1725.<sup>96</sup>

While the parents of the bride and groom were not specifically stated in this record, witnesses included Jean Darquier and Jacques Boursiquot, who are likely to have been the father of the groom and the bride, respectively. Jean Darquier first enters records related to the French Protestant community on 3 May 1699, when he was naturalised as a subject of the kingdom.<sup>97</sup> Soon afterwards, the burial of Marie Darquier, daughter of Jean and Jeanne

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<sup>92</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*: p. 71, 16 June 1736; p. 72, 21 Mar. 1752; p. 76, 14 Sept. 1761; p. 77, 12 Sept. 1752; p. 78, 30 June 1765; p. 78, 10 Apr. 1768; p. 78, 13 May 1769.

<sup>93</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin; 7 May 1727, 30 June 1763 (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, pp 61, 144).

<sup>94</sup> Dublin Directory 1752 (Dublin City Archive, Pearse Street Library, p. 6); Dublin Directory 1781 (Dublin City Archive, Pearse Street Library, p. 29);

<sup>95</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 249.

<sup>96</sup> *Marriage Registers of St Mary, St Luke, St Catherine and St Werburgh*, p. 120.

<sup>97</sup> *Denization and Naturalisation, 1603-1700*, p. 356.

Favereau, was recorded at St Patrick's on 24 February 1701.<sup>98</sup> On 11 September 1715, Jean Darquier was recorded as godfather to Jean Trulyé in the French Reformed baptism register.<sup>99</sup> On 12 June 1716, Jean Darquier was one of the heads of families who signed the terms of union between St Patrick's and St Mary's.<sup>100</sup>

The Boursiquot family had also established itself in Dublin during the late seventeenth century, and the surviving records indicate that they were part of the merchant networks of western France. The marriage of Jacques Boursiquot and Jeanne Beaume was recorded in the St Patrick's marriage register on 13 February 1694 and tells us that Jacques Boursiquot was a merchant from Taillebourg in Saintonge.<sup>101</sup> The entry tells us that Jeanne Beaume was the daughter of Daniel Beaume, a merchant from Saintes in Saintonge. Witnesses to the marriage included Louis Chaigneau, a member of the Chaigneau family who also came from Saintonge. Links with the Chaigneau family were visible in the recorded baptisms of the children of Jacques Boursiquot and Jeanne Beaume. Louis Chaigneau was godfather to Louis Boursiquot, baptised at St Mary's Abbey on 26 November 1711,<sup>102</sup> and David Chaigneau was godfather of Suzanne Boursiquot, baptised at St Mary's Abbey on 8 October 1713.<sup>103</sup> On 14 August 1712, Jacques Boursiquot was recorded as godfather to Jacques Faure,<sup>104</sup> along with Elizabeth de Coudre, wife of Louis Chaigneau.<sup>105</sup> Both Louis Chaigneau and Jacques Boursiquot were elders of the community during the early eighteenth century, with Jacques Boursiquot recorded as an elder between 1723 and 1738.<sup>106</sup> Jacques Boursiquot appeared in the Dublin Directory as a wool draper during this period,<sup>107</sup> an interesting observation that deserves further research to identify if he or any other French Protestants had any involvement in the Weaver's Guild. These records point to close links between merchant families like the Darquier, Chaigneau and

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<sup>98</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 169.

<sup>99</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, p. 47.

<sup>100</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin, 22 Apr. 1716 (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, p. 4).

<sup>101</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 92.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 26 Jan. 1700, burial of Louis Chaigneau, son of Louis Chaigneau and Elizabeth de Coudre.

<sup>106</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii): 7 July 1723, p. 51; 25 May 1738, pp 94-5.

<sup>107</sup> Dublin Directory 1752 (Dublin City Archive, Pearse Street Library, p. 3); Dublin Directory 1761 (Dublin City Archive, Pearse Street Library, p. 14).

Boursiquot families, likely a result of both their shared occupational background as merchants as well as their shared origins in western France.

The family of Guillaume Darquier and Jeanne Boursiquot recorded a total of sixteen baptisms at the United Churches between 1728 and 1746. At the baptism of their daughter, Jeanne, on 15 April 1728, all the godparents came from their immediate family.<sup>108</sup> On 5 May 1729, their daughter Marianne was baptised, and while her godfather was Simon Augier, her godmother was Mariane Boursiquot, who was married to Mr McKenzie.<sup>109</sup> On 31 December 1741, Pierre Besnard was godfather to Pierre Darquier, son of William Darquier and Jeanne Boursiquot.<sup>110</sup> While the records are sparse, they do show that the Darquier family was well established in Dublin during the early eighteenth century, and had links to both the French Reformed and United French Churches. They were closely linked to the merchant families of the community, including the Augier family, who were a major brandy trading house in western France.<sup>111</sup> Families like the Darquier continued to provide a foundation for the community during this period, even while they became deeply integrated into Anglophone Protestant families as well as French Protestant families.

Another important elder of the community during these years was Simeon Boileau, who received the freedom of Dublin on midsummer 1741 as an apprentice to alderman John Porter, a former leader of the St Mary's Abbey congregation. Simeon Boileau was likely to be a relation of Charles de Boileau de Castelnau, a Huguenot regiment veteran who settled in Dublin as a wine merchant during the early eighteenth century.<sup>112</sup> The records associated with Charles Boileau indicate that he was closely connected with the Huguenot regiment families. The marriage of Charles Boileau and Marie Descury was recorded at St Patrick's on 30 December 1703,<sup>113</sup> which tells us that Charles' parents were Jacques de Boileau, seigneur de Castelnau, and Françoise des Vignoles, of Nîmes in the Languedoc. Marie Descury's parents were Messire Collot, seigneur Descurie and Ann de La Valette, from La Touche, near Azay-le-Rideau in the Loire valley. Unfortunately, we have no records for any children this couple may have had, though Charles Boileau appears as a godparent on a number of occasions in the registers of St Patrick's and Peter Street. These include Suzanne Maret, daughter of Jean Maret de La Rive

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<sup>108</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 49.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>111</sup> Louis Cullen, *The brandy trade under the Ancien Régime, regional specialisation in the Charente* (Cambridge, 1998), pp 166-70.

<sup>112</sup> *Dublin and Portarlington Veterans*, p. 18.

<sup>113</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 108.

and Anne Descury, recorded in the Peter Street registers on 28 April 1728.<sup>114</sup> Charles Boileau was also godfather to Benigne Corneille, daughter of Jean Corneille and Marie Descury, recorded in St Patrick's baptism register on 10 May 1728.<sup>115</sup>

Simeon Boileau first appears in the French Church records as godfather to Simeon Droz, son of Pierre Droz and Marguerite Boileau, baptised at St Patrick's on 14 February 1742.<sup>116</sup> Unfortunately, we lack the marriage record for Simeon Boileau and his wife Magdelaine Desbrisay, though they registered the baptisms of six children at St Patrick's between 1743 and 1748.<sup>117</sup> Magdelaine Desbrisay was almost certainly a daughter of Theophile Desbrisay, an army agent, and Madeleine d'Aubussargues, daughter of Jacques d'Aubussargues, another Huguenot regiment veteran.<sup>118</sup> The records of this family provide us with further evidence of links with the Maret, Corneille and Descury families, as can be seen in the record in St Patrick's register for the baptism of their daughter, Magdelaine. The record tells us that her godfather was Jean Maret de La Rive, whose marriage to Anne Descury was recorded in St Patrick's register on 3 November 1721.<sup>119</sup> This family recorded baptisms at both the United and Peter Street French Churches, including the baptism of Marie Malet, whose baptism was recorded on 11 November 1722 in the Peter Street register, and whose godmother was Marie Boileau.<sup>120</sup> On 8 May 1724 the baptism of their son Henry Malet was recorded in St Patrick's register, with Marie Descury, wife of Jean Corneille, and Henry Descury acting as godparents.<sup>121</sup>

### ***The French Reformed Churches in Dublin***

Unfortunately, as we lack the French Reformed Church registers for this period, we are limited in what we can say about the families associated with Peter Street and Lucy Lane. That being said, there is evidence to show that families associated with the United French Churches were involved in the Reformed French Churches. A key advocate of the French Reformed Churches in Dublin during this period was Theophile Desbrisay, the father of Magdelaine Desbrisay noted previously. Maire Kennedy has shown that a book of sermons by Gaspard

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<sup>114</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, p. 80.

<sup>115</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 50.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*: p. 68, Magdelaine Boileau, 20 Feb. 1743; p. 70, Theophile Boileau, born 25 Jan. 1744; p. 70, Solomon Boileau, 20 Feb. 1745; p. 70, Simeon Boileau, 14 Jan. 1746; p. 71, Jean Pierre Boileau, 20 Dec. 1747; p. 71, Anne Charlotte Boileau, 28 Nov. 1748.

<sup>118</sup> *Dublin and Portarlington Veterans*, p. 13.

<sup>119</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 124.

<sup>120</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, p. 67.

<sup>121</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 45.

Caillard, a minister of the French Reformed Churches, was dedicated to Theophile Desbrisay, and that French Protestant military officers constituted 30% of the subscribers to the publication.<sup>122</sup> Evidence such as this points to continued links between the French Churches in Dublin, and further research might investigate this matter further.

### ***French Protestants and the Church of Ireland Parishes of Dublin***

Another key continuity was the continued participation of French Protestants in local affairs, as signified by their participation in their local Church of Ireland parish vestry. An anecdote taken from the Church of Ireland vestry records for St Peter's parish shows that language continued to be important in defining difference between French Protestants and their Anglophone neighbours. On 8 April 1740, David Beranger, from a family associated with the French Churches, was appointed as a constable for St Peter's parish, with responsibility to collect parish rates.<sup>123</sup> While in some respects a great honour, elective as these roles were, serving as a parish officer could be quite onerous and, at times, quite dangerous. Accordingly, some of those nominated by their fellow parishioners would seek to have that nomination overturned. French Protestants were no different to their Anglophone fellows in their aversion to such duties, and the entry for Beranger's election notes that Mr Beranger was excused from service as he was 'very much struck in years' and could not speak English.<sup>124</sup>

Regardless of its truth, the fact that David Beranger could use the excuse of not speaking English to avoid service as a parish officer indicates that language continued to be a factor that distinguished the French Protestant community from the other inhabitants of the city during the mid-eighteenth century. Albert Carré has discussed the topic of language in the case of the school established by the French Protestant charitable society in 1723.<sup>125</sup> In his work, Carré noted that instruction in the school was given in French and English until 1770, when French was dropped as it was difficult to find a teacher with good English and French at the rate the charity school could afford. This indicates that language continued to be a distinguishing feature of the French Protestant community in Dublin during the mid-eighteenth century.

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<sup>122</sup> Maire Kennedy, *French books in eighteenth century Ireland* (Oxford, 2001), p. 70.

<sup>123</sup> St Peter and St Kevin Parish Vestry Minutes, 08 Apr. 1740 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.02, p.30).

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, p.30, 30 June 1740.

<sup>125</sup> Carré, *l'influence des Huguenots en Irlande*, pp 119-120.



### *Participation in Church of Ireland Parishes south of the Liffey*

Many French Protestant households could be found in the parishes south of the Liffey, particularly in St Peter's parish. Take for example the Arabin family, who were recorded as living in various parts of St Peter's parish at various times during this period. Lieutenant Arabin had his property on Stephen's Green valued when the property in St Peter's parish was assessed for ministers money in 1737.<sup>126</sup> Sometime later, Jean Arabin and Judith Daniel were living on French Street when they registered the baptism of their son, Henry, at St Peter's on 19<sup>th</sup> of May 1752.<sup>127</sup> The marriage of Daniel Chenevix and Elizabeth Arabin was recorded at St Peter's on 12<sup>th</sup> of October 1755, and noted that Elizabeth had been living on Stephen's Green at that time.<sup>128</sup> Mr Arabin had a property assessed on Aungier street in November of 1768, when the parish made a collection to clean a sewer on the section of Aungier street between Digges Street and Church Lane.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1737-1774, Undated minister's money list, c. 1737 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.02, p. iii)

<sup>127</sup> *Register of St Peter and St Kevin*, p. 284, 15 May 1752.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid*, p. 331, 12 Dec. 1755.

<sup>129</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1737-1774 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.02, p. 370).

Figure 37: Dublin's southside during the mid-eighteenth century<sup>130</sup>



St Peter's parish was the major centre for French Protestants in Dublin, as shown by their regular involvement in the local parish vestry. Paul Adrien was an elder of St Patrick's between 1742 and 1764,<sup>131</sup> and he actively participated in community affairs in St Peter's parish, serving as churchwarden between 1746 and 1748.<sup>132</sup> As discussed earlier, Adrien recorded the baptisms of eight children at St Patrick's with his wife, Elizabeth Brown, and their children had both Anglophone and French Protestant godparents.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>130</sup> <https://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/ids:10135315> (20 Oct. 2022).

<sup>131</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii): p. 99, 12 July 1742; p. 102, 20 Aug. 1743; p. 108, 19 July 1748; p. 113, 30 Sept. 1750; p. 123, Sept. 1758; p. 149, 5 July 1764.

<sup>132</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1737-1774 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.02): p. 85, 31 Mar. 1746; p. 94, 21 Apr. 1747; p. 100, 24 June 1747; p. 104, 12 Apr. 1748; p. 136, 5 June 1750.

<sup>133</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*: p. 60, Elizabeth Adrien, 15 July 1736; p. 62, Elizabeth Adrien, 13 Mar. 1738; p. 64, 28 Mar. 1739; p. 67, 8 July 1742; p. 69, June 1745; p. 70, 2 Apr. 1747; p. 71, 21 Nov. 1748; p. 72, 14 Aug. 1750.

The Le Fanu family had a similarly close relationship with St Peter's parish. The marriage of Guillaume Le Fanu and Henriette Raboteau were registered at St Peter's on 28 May 1733, and their son, Phillipe, was baptised at St Peter's on 27 April 1735.<sup>134</sup> The baptisms of all but two of their nine other children were recorded at St Patrick's, and the two who were not recorded at the French Church were recorded at the parish church of St Peter's.<sup>135</sup> Le Fanu was appointed as a churchwarden of St Peter's parish on 17 April 1750, and, along with James Simpson, sat on the watch committee in 1750.<sup>136</sup> At the same meeting, Thomas Bryon and James Dennis were appointed sidesmen, and the entry of their appointment was signed by John Marland and James Cuvillie, churchwardens for the preceding year, and householders including Paul Adrien and Thomas. On 20 September 1751, when Messrs' Le Fanu and Simpson presented their accounts for repairs to the parish church, the entry was signed by Paul Adrien and Abraham Scott, as well as other householders such as William Palmer and Alexander Christie, showing regular interactions between French and Anglophone Protestants at the Church of Ireland vestries.<sup>137</sup>

The family of Jean Corneille and Marie Descury recorded the baptisms of many children at St Patrick's, and Jean Corneille also had a close relationship with the vestry of St Peter's parish. Mr Corneille was an engineer in the British army, and he was appointed to the committee to inspect the parish church in 1750, along with Jean Arabin, another French Protestant living in the parish, Richard Castel and Arthur Jones Nevill, the Surveyor General of Ireland.<sup>138</sup> There were ten signatures on this vestry book entry, including that of Richard Pocock, the archdeacon of Dublin, as well as churchwardens John Marland and James Cuvillie, and various householders including Paul Adrien and Abraham Scott. On 24 April, Corneille and Adrien were appointed to the committee to receive tenders for rebuilding the church roof, along with the George and Anthony Robinson, Phillip Hollister, James Simpson and Michael Boyton, amongst the sixteen householders named on the panel from which the committee could be drawn.<sup>139</sup> Here again, we see that French Protestant householders associated with the French

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<sup>134</sup> *Register of St Peter and St Kevin*: p. 321, 28 May 1733; p. 255, 27 Apr. 1735.

<sup>135</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*: p. 60, Marie, 25 Feb. 1736; p. 61, Gaspard, 22 Feb. 1737; p. 62, Jean, 14 Feb. 1738; p. 65, Theophile, 24 Apr. 1740; p. 68, Joseph, 8 Sept. 1743; p. 70, Henry, 18 Apr. 1746; p. 71 Henry, 9 Feb. 1748. *Register of St Peter and St Kevin*: p. 277, Henry, 13 Jan. 1747; p. 280, Peter, 1749.

<sup>136</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1737-1774 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.02): Watch Committee, p. 123, 20 Feb. 1750; Churchwarden; p. 128, 17 Apr. 1750; p. 138, Jan. 1751; p. 146, 19 Sept. 1751.

<sup>137</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1737-1774 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.02, p. 141).

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid*, p. 124, 5 Mar. 1750.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid*, Tender Committee, p. 129, 24 Apr. 1750.

Churches were also active in their local Church of Ireland parish, and interacting with their Anglophone Protestant neighbours.

### ***Participation in Church of Ireland Parishes north of the Liffey***

The vestry records of the northern Church of Ireland parishes in Dublin indicate that French Protestant householders continued to be actively involved in local politics during the mid-eighteenth century. Take for example the participation of Theophile Desbrisay and his son in law Simeon Boileau in the vestry of St Michan's parish, were both were elected as churchwardens for 1752.<sup>140</sup> Desbrisay and Boileau were not the only French Protestants who participated in their local Church of Ireland vestry during this period. Guillaume Le Fanu served as a churchwarden in St Michan's parish between 1746 and 1747 and is also associated with a number of addresses in the parish.<sup>141</sup>

Given the overall trend of French Protestant households concentrating in the south of the city, the continued participation of some in the vestries of St Michan's and St Mary's requires some explanation. It seems likely that the patterns of property holding identified by Hylton are important, and that the continued involvement of these French Protestants in the northern parish vestries reflected their continued ownership of property in the parish. Mr Desbrisay was associated with addresses on Pill, Fisher and Phrapper Lanes throughout the first half of the eighteenth century<sup>142</sup>, and Simeon Boileau lived on Phrapper Lane.<sup>143</sup> Combined with the evidence of Desbrisay's lobbying of Dublin Castle to acquire a ministerial salary for the French Reformed Churches, discussed in greater detail below, it is possible that the perpetuation of the Lucy Lane French Church until 1773 was in fact a personal initiative of Desbrisay and other French Protestants who held property north of the Liffey.

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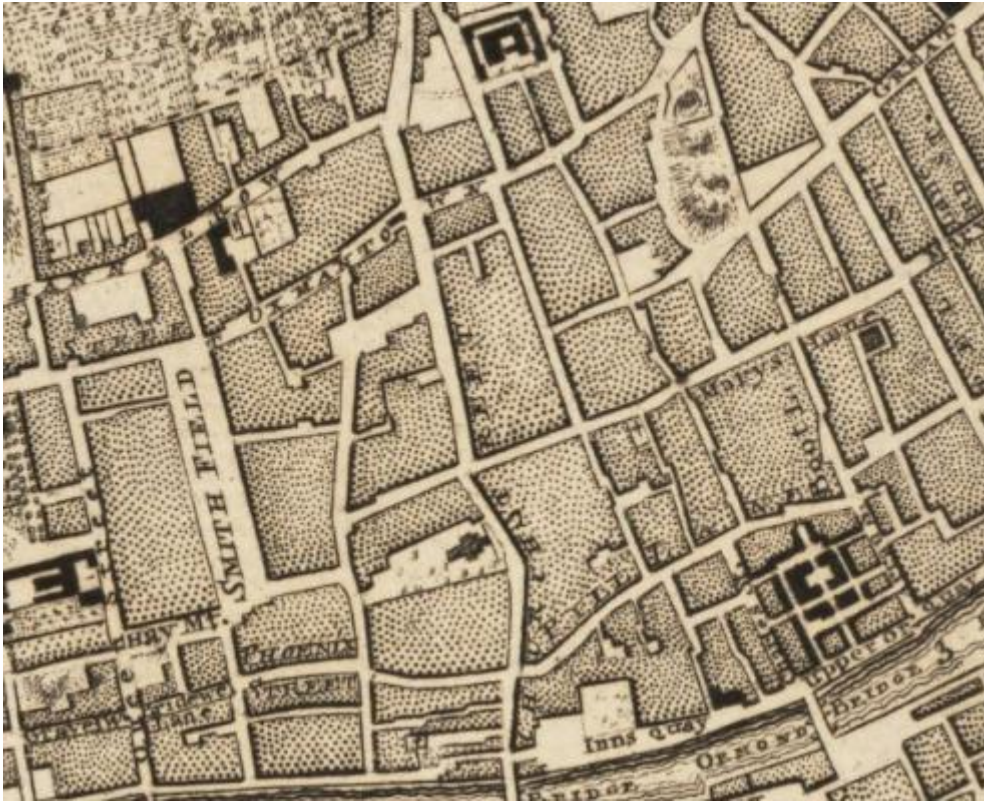
<sup>140</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Michan, Dublin, 1724-1760, 8 Apr. 1752 (Representative Church Body Library P.0276.05.01, p. 355).

<sup>141</sup> Ibid: p. 280, 31 Mar. 1746; p. 294, 22 Oct. 1747.

<sup>142</sup> Cess Book of the Parish of St Michan, 1711-1725 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0276.10.01): Assessment recorded on the 20 July 1711, p. 6, Pill Lane, Captain Desbrisay. Assessment recorded on the 13 Apr. 1713; p. 20, Pill Lane, Captain Desbrisay; p. 21, Fisher Lane, Captain Theophile Desbrisay. Cess Book of the Parish of St Michan, 1747-1749, Cess list for 1747-8, Phrapper Lane, Captain Theophile Desbrisay (Representative Church Body Library, P.0276.10.08, p. 26).

<sup>143</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Michan, Dublin, 1760-1776, Oct. 1765 (Representative Church Body Library P.0276.05.02, p. 97).

Figure 38: Dublin's northside during the mid-eighteenth century<sup>144</sup>



### ***French Protestants and the Confessional State in Britain and Ireland***

The key continuity during this period was the relationship between the French Protestant community in Dublin and the confessional state in Ireland. Many of the families associated with the French Churches continued to pursue careers in the institutions of the confessional state as church ministers, army officers, merchant contractors and army agents, to name just a few of the occupations associated with the families associated with the French Churches in Dublin during the mid-eighteenth century. Furthermore, second and third generation exiles began to move between occupations, indicating that they were not restricted to the occupations followed by their fathers. Their relationship with the confessional state deepened and broadened throughout this period and became a defining feature of the community.

### ***French Protestants in the Hanoverian Army and the East India Company***

Many of the families who settled in Dublin during the early eighteenth-century pursued careers associated with the confessional state in Ireland, be it as merchant contractors, military officers or church ministers. For later generations, this foundation provided the basis for wider

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<sup>144</sup> (<https://iif.harvard.edu/manifests/view/ids:10135315>) (20 Oct. 2022).

career opportunities, with families moving between the occupations. Take for instance Daniel Corneille, son of John Corneille and Marie Descury, who was baptised on the 20 December 1731 at St Patrick's.<sup>145</sup> While his father had pursued a career in the British Army, Daniel became an employee of the East India Company, serving as governor of St Helena, an island used to resupply ships sailing around the Cape of Good Hope on the route between India and Europe.<sup>146</sup> Other members of the French Protestant community in Dublin were employed by the East India Company, including Simeon Droz, son of Pierre Droz and Marguerite Boileau.<sup>147</sup> Simeon Droz was employed by the East India Company in Bengal, where he served as sheriff of Calcutta in the 1760s.<sup>148</sup> By 1780, Droz had been appointed to the Bengal Board of Trade, as shown by a letter written by the board to the Governor General of Bengal, Warren Hastings.<sup>149</sup> His heritage as a member of the French Protestant community in Dublin is reflected in his donation of two guineas to St Patrick's, on his return from India as a very wealthy man.<sup>150</sup>

While individuals such as Droz and Corneille were mid-level administrators in the Company, John Caillaud rose to the highest levels of its service. Caillaud was baptised at the French Reformed Churches of Dublin on the 5 February 1726,<sup>151</sup> and was the son of Ruben Caillaud, an army officer from western France, and his wife, Marguerite.<sup>152</sup> John Caillaud pursued a military career, joining an English regiment in 1743, serving at Fontenoy, where Scipio Durore was one of the generals commanding the army. Following service during the 1745 Jacobite rebellion in Scotland, Caillaud transferred to the East India Company army, a private army run by the East India Company to protect its possessions in India.

Caillaud arrived in India at a time of great change, as the Mughal empire in the north of India was then collapsing, and the French, in alliance with Tipu Sultan, the king of Mysore in the south of India, were attempting to push the English out of India. In response to these

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<sup>145</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 498.

<sup>146</sup> For example: Daniel Corneille St Helena 27 June 1767 (British Library, India Office Papers, Mss Eur G37/45/2); Daniel Corneille, Lt-Governor of St Helena, to the Secret Committee, 5 Apr 1772 (IOR/G/12/19 ff.17-20).

<sup>147</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 67, Simeon Droz, 14 Feb. 1742.

<sup>148</sup> Simeon Droz, Sheriff of Calcutta to Alexander Jephson, 19 Feb. 1768 (British Library, India Office Records, D/149/f.235); Alexander Jephson to Simeon Droz, Sheriff of Calcutta, 22 Feb. 1768 (British Library, India Office Records, D/149/f.236).

<sup>149</sup> Administration of Bengal 1776-1780, Board of Trade to Governor-General and Council, 22nd Aug. 1780 (British Library, India Office Records, IOR/H/215, pp 281-2).

<sup>150</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin, 'Droz, son of pastor, returned from India, gives 2g to dispose of as see fit .....' 10 June 1787 (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, p. 237).

<sup>151</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, p. 75.

<sup>152</sup> T. H. Bowyer, 'John Caillaud' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4334>) (14 June 2021).

issues, the East India Company army, under the leadership of Robert Clive, fought a series of engagements which ended with a series of victories for the English, breaking both Mughal and French influence on the sub-continent. Caillaud rose rapidly through the ranks during these conflicts, eventually being appointed commander of the Bengal army on the recommendation of Robert Clive in 1760. Thereafter, Caillaud was made brigadier general and commander in chief of the Company's forces in India, showing that he was a valued employee of the Company, who enjoyed the patronage of Robert Clive.

While Caillaud was deeply involved in the business of the Company in India, he also remained connected to the French Protestant diaspora in Britain and Ireland. In 1763, he married Mary Pechell, from a family of French Protestants associated with the French Reformed Churches of Dublin. The Pechell family, like the Durore and Caillaud families, gravitated towards England during the eighteenth century, drawn there by their involvement in the British Army and the East India Company. While their service in these institutions of state brought them into close contact with Anglophone Protestants such as Robert Clive and Warren Hastings, as can be seen in the case of Caillaud's marriage to Mary Pechell, they continued to form links with French Protestant families.

### ***French Protestant ministers in the Church of Ireland***

Combe has shown that the mid-eighteenth century represented a high point for French Protestants pursuing careers in the Church of Ireland.<sup>153</sup> Examples include the Fleury family, which derived from Amaury Fleury, a minister at the St Patrick's French Church.<sup>154</sup> His son Anthoine Fleury was rector of Coolbanagher in the Church of Ireland diocese of Kildare, and also officiated at St Patrick's, speaking on behalf of the French Protestant ministers at civic functions in Dublin.<sup>155</sup> The La Millière family came to Ireland as part of William III's Huguenot Regiments.<sup>156</sup> Alexandre Lamilliere was a son of Son of Cyrus and Henriette Janure, and was archdeacon of Cork for many years.<sup>157</sup> Gabriel Maturin was another product of the French Protestant community in Dublin who pursued a career in the Church of Ireland whose sermons were well regarded.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Combe, 'Huguenots in the Ministry of the Churches of Ireland', pp 139-57.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, pp 219-39.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid, pp 220-2.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid, pp 240-7.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid, pp 240-5.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid, pp 262-4.

The Letablere family had roots in lower Poitou and came to Ireland via Holland as part of William of Orange's Huguenot Regiments. Daniel Letablere was educated by Pierre Bouquet de St Paul, before graduating from Trinity College with a B. D. Letablere spent the majority of his ministerial career in the Kildare diocese, acting as a chaplain to the Duke of Leinster and thereby gaining the patronage of the Fitzgerald family, who supported his appointments at Yago and Maynooth.<sup>159</sup> His son John Letablere graduated from TCD in 1773, was ordained deacon by the bishop of Cork in 1775, and served his first curacy under John Gast at Newcastle-Lyons.<sup>160</sup> John Letablere was appointed curate to St Nicholas Without during 1780, and went on to be the last minister to the French Church at St Patrick's.

John Gast was a son of Daniel Gast,<sup>161</sup> a head of family and consistory member at United Churches.<sup>162</sup> John Gast was a minister at the French Church in Portarlington before becoming curate at St John's, Dublin, under Gabriel James Maturin, another French Protestant minister in the Church of Ireland.<sup>163</sup> Gast established a school in Dublin, and was not the only French Protestant who made a significant contribution to education in Ireland.<sup>164</sup> Combe highlighted the contribution of Daniel Augustus Beaufort to the Sunday School movement, as well as the Arthur Grueber school, founded by a son of Nicholas Gruber.<sup>165</sup> Students of Gruber included nine members of parliament and 20 Church of Ireland ministers, a sign of the school's quality, and further research might look at the influence of French Protestant educators like Gruber on the intellectual outlook of influential Irish Protestants of this period.

Combe tells us that John Gast produced a history of ancient Greece, receiving a D. D. from Trinity College based on its quality. His engagement with the religious controversy of his age is shown by a tract he published entitled 'A letter from a clergyman of the established church to those of his parishioners who are of the popish communion'.<sup>166</sup> Gast also produced political tracts under the title L. B. Haberdasher, including a commentary on fiscal controversy regarding a budget surplus in the Irish treasury and George I's directive that a portion be used

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<sup>159</sup> Combe, 'Huguenots in the Ministry of the Churches of Ireland', pp 139-41.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid, pp 140-2.

<sup>161</sup> <https://www.libraryireland.com/biography/JohnGaSt.php> (accessed 26 Oct. 2022).

<sup>162</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin: 29 Apr. 1716; 4 Aug. 1717 (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, pp 1-4, 27).

<sup>163</sup> Combe, 'Huguenots in the Ministry of the Churches of Ireland', pp 129-38.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid, pp 390-401

<sup>165</sup> Ibid, pp 390-4

<sup>166</sup> Ibid, pp 134.



to pay off the national debt (1749-53).<sup>167</sup> This royal initiative caused a great deal of controversy and Gast's contribution was supportive of the crown and the Lord Lieutenant Dorset. According to Combe, 'Gast was bitterly opposed to any interference with the Royal Prerogative. In his judgement no King should be deprived of the right to reward a faithful servant.'<sup>168</sup> Gast's contributions to this debate reflect the loyalty to the crown shown by the French Protestant community in Dublin. As noted in the third chapter, that loyalty was reflective of their shared commitment to the Protestant Interest in Ireland.

### ***The Family-State Compact and the development of a Bourgeois Class***

As noted above, families who settled in Dublin during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries found wider opportunities for advancement based on their relationship with the confessional state in Ireland. Merchant families from the French Protestant community in Dublin, such as the Chaigneau, Darquier and Adrien families, pursued their business affairs under the protection of the fiscal-military state described by John Brewer.<sup>169</sup> Furthermore, many French Protestant families were functionaries of the Crown, particularly in the military service, as in the case of the Duroure, Vignoles and Arabin families. The prosperity of some can be seen in the prestigious business addresses recorded in Dublin Directories for this period, which were all located in the central district around Dublin Castle. The La Touche Bank had offices on Castle Street,<sup>170</sup> Desbrisay's Army Agents could be found on Cork Hill,<sup>171</sup> and Chaigneau's Army Agents and Brokers in the Castle Yard.<sup>172</sup> Merchants tended to have addresses on the quays along the Liffey, such as Guillaume Darquier, who was recorded on Blind Quay in the Dublin Directory for 1771.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Combe, 'Huguenots in the Ministry of the Churches of Ireland', pp 135-7.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid, p. 137.

<sup>169</sup> John Brewer, *The sinews of power: war, money, and the English state, 1688-1783* (Harvard, 1990).

<sup>170</sup> 1752 Dublin Directory, p. 10; 1771 Dublin Directory, p. 47 (Pearse Street Library).

<sup>171</sup> 1752 Dublin Directory, p. 7; 1761 Dublin Directory, p. 59 (Pearse Street Library).

<sup>172</sup> 1752 Dublin Directory, p. 5; 1771 Dublin Directory, p. 61 (Pearse Street Library).

<sup>173</sup> 1771 Dublin Directory, p. 88 (Pearse Street Library).

Figure 39: Dublin Castle<sup>174</sup>



*Loyalty to the Hanoverian Monarchy and Commitment to the Protestant Interest*

The stability and prosperity experienced by French Protestants living in Dublin was founded on their relationship with the confessional state in Ireland, and they continued to demonstrate conspicuous loyalty to the Hanoverian monarchy. This can be seen in the case of John Chaigneau, who we discussed earlier was an army agent based in Dublin.<sup>175</sup> During the War of the Austrian Succession, John Chaigneau went to the continent to visit General Hawley's regiment, for which he acted as paymaster. On his return to England, he immediately

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<sup>174</sup> (<https://iif.harvard.edu/manifects/view/ids:10135315>) (20 Oct. 2022).

<sup>175</sup> Information of William Chaigneau, 19 Mar. 1743 (National Archives, Kew, State Papers 36/63/ff 368-9).

visited a local government representative, John Vere, who wrote to the War Office on 17 March 1744. In his letter, Vere informed the War Office that Chaigneau had been detained in Calais for over a month, as the borders had been closed, and there had seen Charles Edward Stuart, the ‘young Pretender’.<sup>176</sup> Charles Stuart had a claim on the British throne as a member of the Stuart dynasty, which had been ousted by William III, and his presence in Calais indicated that the French, against whom the British were fighting in the War of the Austrian Succession, were contemplating an attempted invasion of Britain. Such an invasion did eventually occur a year later, with Charles Stuart landing in Scotland and leading an invasion of England. On 19 March 1744, a full statement from John Chaigneau concerning this matter was sent to the War Office.<sup>177</sup> In his statement, Chaigneau informed them that he had arrived in Calais on 21 February 1744, to find that an embargo had been put on shipping, and that the borders to Flanders were closed and heavily guarded. Stuck in Calais, Chaigneau noted that, at his hotel, his room adjoined that of a French gentleman. Chaigneau stated that he often spoke with the nobleman’s attendants, but that the French nobleman, and another gentleman who was with him, never left their room.

Chaigneau claimed that the French nobleman was the Comte de Saxe, at that time an important general in the French army. He further claimed that, on 29 February, five French warships appeared at the port and fired a signal, following which Chaigneau’s mysterious neighbours left for Dunkirk. The statement given by Chaigneau contains a description of the unnamed gentleman and noted that he was accompanied by Captain Fitzgerald, a knight of St Louis, and a Swiss officer. Chaigneau stated that it was often hinted that the unnamed gentleman was the Pretender, noting that the landlady of the hotel said to Chaigneau ‘what if you should see your King here?’. Chaigneau gives further details of what may have been an invasion attempt, describing attempts to embark troops in bad weather at Dunkirk, indicating that poor weather may have hampered the project. Regardless of the truth of Chaigneau’s report, the importance of this document lies in the evidence it gives us of Chaigneau’s conscious display of loyalty to the Hanoverian monarchy and the confessional states of Britain and Ireland. Chaigneau provided this information to the War Office at the earliest opportunity, on his return from Calais. At that time, a Stuart invasion posed a very real threat to the Hanoverian monarchy as it had a very good chance of success, as shown by events a year later, in 1745. Accordingly, Jean Chaigneau’s eagerness to report what he saw to the War Office is

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<sup>176</sup> Information of John Vere, 17 Mar. 1744 (National Archives, Kew, State Papers 36/63/ff 362-3).

<sup>177</sup> Information of William Chaigneau, 19 Mar. 1744 (National Archives, Kew, State Papers 36/63/ff 368-9).

an example of his commitment to the Protestant Interest in Britain and Ireland, and loyalty to the Hanoverian monarchy.

Another example can be found in Theophile Desbrisay, another army agent, who regularly corresponded with Robert Wilmot, who was the resident secretary in England for various Lord Lieutenants during the mid-eighteenth century. Letters preserved amongst the correspondence of Robert Wilmot show that Desbrisay took advantage of this regular correspondence to lobby for an additional salary for a minister to the French Reformed Churches in Dublin during the mid-eighteenth century. Desbrisay first wrote to Wilmot concerning the French Reformed Churches on 18 October 1750.<sup>178</sup> His letter gives us a window into the reasons for his petition, and the continued support of wealthy French Protestants like Desbrisay for the French Reformed Churches in Dublin. Desbrisay states that the presence in Ireland the French Reformed Churches was an important draw for foreign Protestants coming to the kingdom, whom he felt would go elsewhere if there was no Stranger church in Ireland following the Reformed Discipline, ‘....such is the force of prejudice of Education.’

At that time, the French authorities were pressuring French Protestants to convert to Catholicism in what proved to be the final attempt at official coercion to bring Protestants in France into the Catholic Church. There was a significant effort to attract Protestants leaving France at that time to Ireland, and Desbrisay’s efforts should be seen in the context of initiatives taken at an official level within the French Protestant community to attract additional French Protestants to Ireland. This letter went unanswered, and Desbrisay broached this issue once more, in 1752.<sup>179</sup> According to Desbrisay’s letter, French Protestants fleeing persecution in France were already arriving in Dublin, and the letter emphasised the importance of supporting a ‘Calvinist’ French Church if they wished for the new wave of refugees to settle in Ireland. Desbrisay calls himself a ‘well-wisher’ to Ireland, and the letter is framed to suggest that the arrival of a large body of French Protestant refugees in Ireland would be ‘of the greatest advantage to this Kingdom’.

The final petition was submitted to Lionel Sackville, then duke of Dorset and lord lieutenant of Ireland.<sup>180</sup> In his letter, Desbrisay included a petition from the French Reformed Churches seeking a patent to pay for its ministers, placing the request firmly within the wider

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<sup>178</sup> T. Desbrisay to R. Wilmot, 18 Oct. 1750 (Derbyshire Record Office, Wilmot-Horton Correspondence, D3155/C/1180).

<sup>179</sup> T. Desbrisay to R. Wilmot, 26 May 1752 (Derbyshire Record Office, Wilmot-Horton Correspondence, D3155/C/1327).

<sup>180</sup> French Protestant Petition to the Lord Lieutenant, Nov. 1753 (Derbyshire Record Office, Wilmot-Horton Correspondence: D3155/C/1197).

narrative of the Protestant Interest in Ireland. The petition states that the French Protestant community in Dublin had come to Ireland in 1681 ‘.... obliged by the Persecution....’. Many of them had served under William III ‘.... of glorious memory....’. Here, the petitioners were directly linking the French Protestant community in Dublin with the Protestant Interest in Ireland, and with the Glorious Revolution in England, touchstones of the Protestant sentiment to which they were appealing. The letter suggests that it was the passing of those officers that led the French Reformed Churches to need assistance to provide salaries for their ministers, lacking income from the state as a result. The petition finishes by suggesting that the loss of the French Reformed Churches ‘.... might occasion the loss of many foreign Protestants....’. The petition highlights the loyalty of the French refugees in Ireland, citing this as a major reason for supporting them in the maintenance of their ministers. This correspondence shows that the survival of the French Reformed Churches in Dublin was due, at least in part, to the patronage of French Protestants like Desbrisay, quite integrated into local society on the one hand, but consciously perpetuating the French Protestant community on the other.

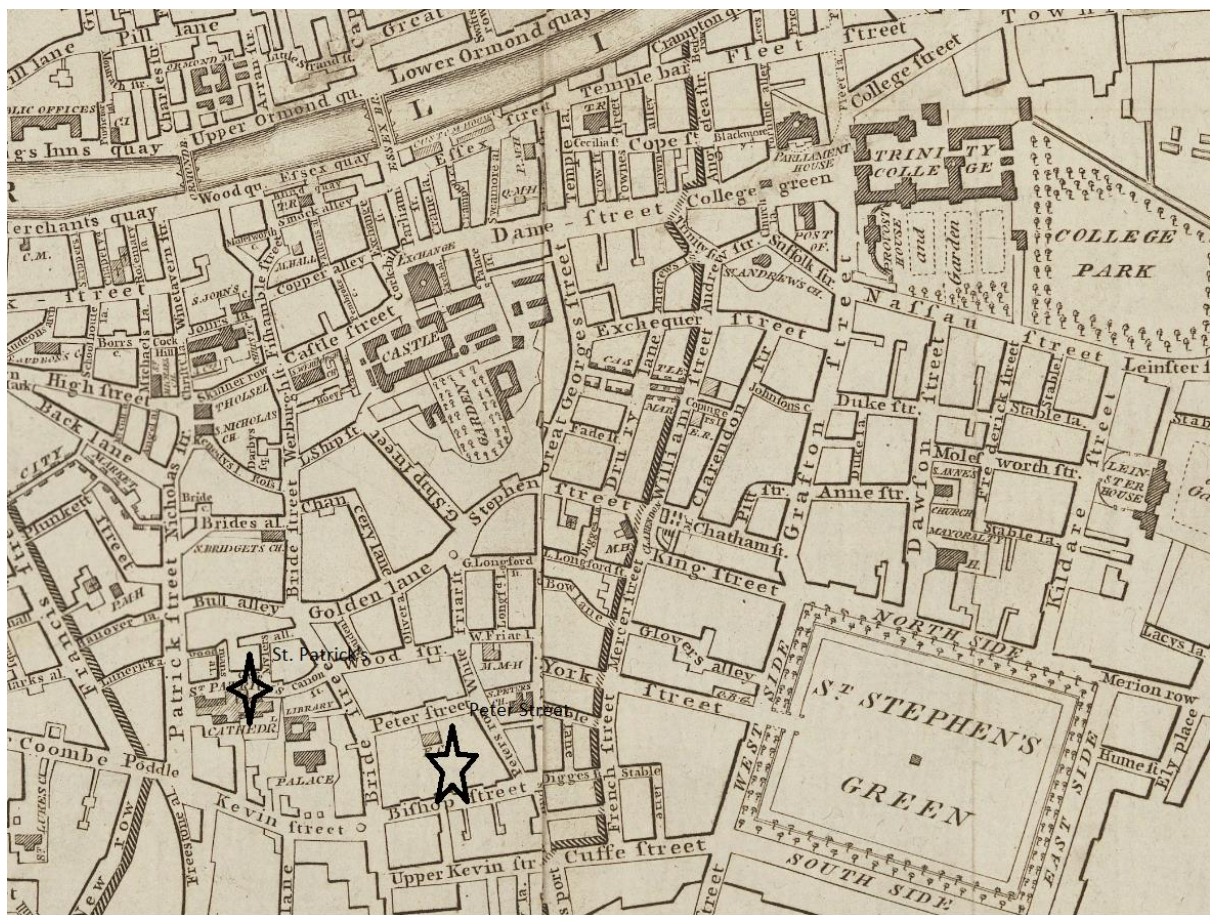
### *Conclusion*

The mid-eighteenth century marked the apogee of the French Protestant community in Dublin, and it is important to note that the close correlation between the apogee of the French Protestant community in Dublin and the apogee of the confessional states of Britain and Ireland. As noted in previous chapters, many of the families who settled in Dublin during the early eighteenth-century pursued careers associated with the confessional state. Accordingly, they benefited both financially and professionally from the consolidation of the Hanoverian monarchy, and its success in wars against France during this period. French Protestants from the community in Dublin actively participated in these conflicts as soldiers and as merchant contractors and gained significantly from the victories in the Seven Years War, particularly in India. Their place in Dublin was defined by their relationship with the confessional state, as French Protestants who had come to Dublin to consolidate the Protestant Interest in Ireland. The visible expression of their confessional identity, their particular Protestant religion and the French Churches where they worshipped, formed an integral part of the confessional state which depended upon the Protestant Interest in Ireland. As demonstrated in the next chapter, it was the dismantling of the confessional states of Britain and Ireland during the later eighteenth century that led to the closure of the French Churches in Dublin.

## Chapter Six - Closure of the French Churches in Dublin, c. 1770-1815

This chapter focuses on the period between the limitation of religious services at the French Churches during the 1770s and the end of religious services at St Patrick's in 1817.<sup>1</sup> This was the period during which the French Protestant community in Dublin assimilated into Anglophone Protestant society, but it is important to note that this did not result in the loss of a communal identity amongst descendants of the French Protestants who settled in Dublin during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. What had been a visible confessional community during the eighteenth century became an invisible commemorative community during the nineteenth century.

Figure 40: French Churches of Dublin c. 1780<sup>2</sup>



<sup>1</sup> T. P. Le Fanu, 'The Huguenot Churches of Dublin and their ministers' in *Huguenot Society Proceedings*, viii, no. 1 (1905-08), pp 87-139, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> (<https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/works/qb98mh425?locale=en>) (20 October 2022).

### *Limitation of Services at St Patrick's French Church*

On 2 July 1775, Paul Voteau, an elder of French Patrick's, told the consistory that the congregation had diminished significantly and that a reduction in the number of communion services would be wise.<sup>3</sup> This entry was followed by a steady stream of similar entries, reflective of significant change in the religious practices of the community.<sup>4</sup> On 19 October 1777 it was recorded that the congregation had diminished so much that the weekly sermons were almost deserted in winter.<sup>5</sup> It was decided to suspend all services from Michaelmas on 29 September to Good Friday in late March/early April, except for 23 October, 5 November, Christmas day and New Year's Day. On 2 April 1780 it was recorded that the weekly sermons had seen no more than three people arrive throughout the summer of 1779, and that they should limit services to communion, feast and fast days.<sup>6</sup> On 9 April 1780 Scoffier told the consistory that he had visited the few families who attended weekly sermons and that they were happy to discontinue those sermons.<sup>7</sup>

As well as a reduction in attendance at French Church religious services, the decision to limit services to commemorative events and communion reflected the aging profile of the existing ministers. The infirmities of Charles de Villette led the consistory to allocate him £5 per quarter to pay for an assistant on the 5 July 1764.<sup>8</sup> A further agreement to allow for the infirmities of the ministers was reached on 26 July 1770, under which Jean Lescure was paid £25 p.a. to relieve them from their duties<sup>9</sup>. Mr Lescure resigned this occasional ministry on 7 March 1779, to be replaced by François Bessonnet on the 7 March 1779.<sup>10</sup> François Bessonnet was then a minister of the Peter Street French Church and became a minister of St Patrick's on 23 January 1781<sup>11</sup>. Soon afterwards, the salaries and duties of the other ministers were assigned to Bessonnet, making him the sole minister of the community thereafter.<sup>12</sup> It is notable that the

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<sup>3</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin, 2 July 1775 (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, p. 172).

<sup>4</sup> Le Fanu, 'The Huguenot Churches of Dublin', pp 131-2.

<sup>5</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin, 19 October 1777 (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, p. 175).

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p. 176, 2 April 1780.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p. 177, 9 April 1780.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p. 149.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 176.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid: p. 176, 26 July 1778, agreement with Lescure; p. 176, 7 March 1779, Francois Bessonnet takes over.

<sup>11</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, p. 179).

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, pp 181-2.

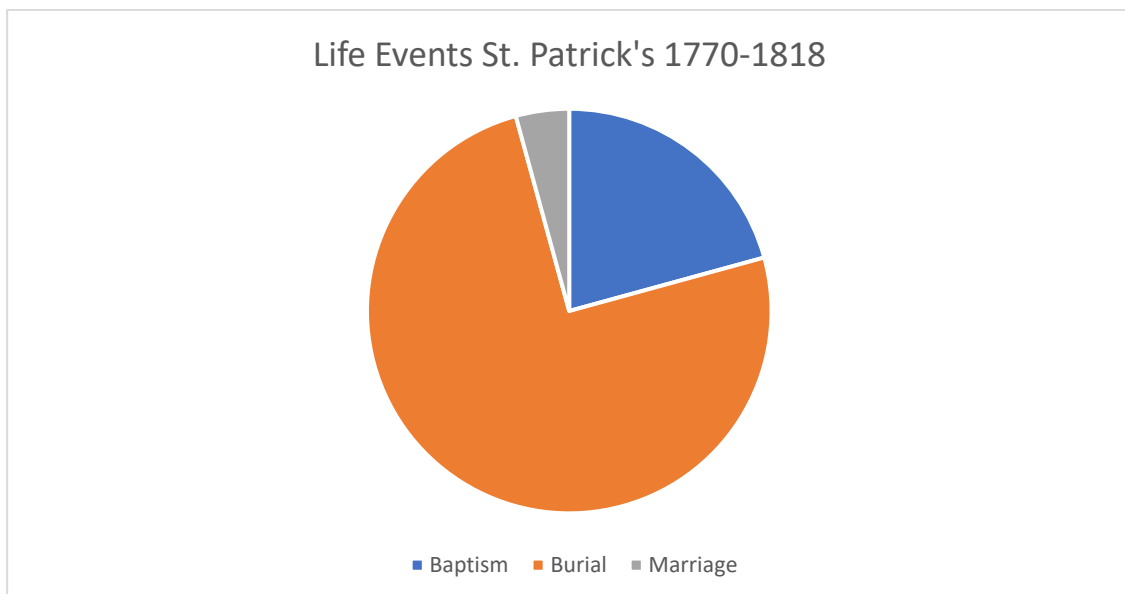
retired ministers continued to receive their salaries until they died, when the available government salaries were combined to provide Bessonnet with a salary of £175.<sup>13</sup>

While the congregation had diminished, it had not disappeared, and it is notable that the remembrance services were maintained on 23 October, marking the outbreak of the Irish Catholic rebellion of 1641, and 5 November, marking the date of the Gunpowder Plot in England. These dates marked key moments in the history of the Protestant movement in Britain and Ireland, and the decision to continue French Church services on these dates suggests that French Protestants who were worshipping regularly at other Protestant Churches still attended such services. It is also worth noting that eucharistic services continued to take place in line with the St Patrick's Discipline, indicating that services were maintained in line with French Protestant religious practice. It is unfortunate that we do not have records such as subscription lists, pew ownership or service attendance to investigate this topic further. The available evidence suggests that the St Patrick's consistory was amending the religious practices of the community to preserve those aspects which could be integrated into the lives of the French Protestant community in Dublin, many of whom now attended weekly services at other Protestant churches.

### ***Change in Patterns of Life Event Registration at St Patrick's French Church***

The life events registered at St Patrick's during the late eighteenth century are summarised in the pie chart below.

*Figure 41: Life events recorded at St. Patrick's French Church, c. 1770-1820*



<sup>13</sup> Le Fanu, 'The Huguenot Churches of Dublin', p. 132.



As we can see, burials had come to dominate records by this period, indicating that the French Church was losing its role as a place to register life events associated with newly formed families. It is important to note that baptisms continued to be registered at St Patrick's until 1818, however, and new families were recording life events at St Patrick's. Appendix 6.a includes the ten families who recorded the largest number of baptisms and marriages at the French Churches during this period. Four of those families had been present in previous cohorts, with six new family names, indicating significant change in the families recording life events at St Patrick's during this period.

### *Families recording baptisms at St Patrick's*

In part, the new family names reflected the continued arrival of Protestant Strangers to the city. Take for example the family of François Bessonnet, minister to St Patrick's. François Bessonnet had come to Dublin from Lausanne in Switzerland as a minister to the French Reformed Churches, and the first life event associated with this family was François' marriage to Susanne, daughter of Jacques Pelletreau, a minister of the United Churches, and Susanne Janure de La Bouchetière.<sup>14</sup> François and Susanne recorded the baptism of four children at the United Churches.<sup>15</sup> The baptism of their son, Jacques Henry Etienne, was recorded during 1780, and his godparents included Henry Dabzac, a professor at Trinity College whose father and grandfather had been military officers,<sup>16</sup> Louise Droz, a daughter of Jean Pierre Droz.<sup>17</sup> As well as these members of the French Protestant community in Dublin, Jacques godparents included people from Switzerland, where his father was from, including Etienne Bessonnet from Nyon, and Jeanne Cart from Merges. François himself was buried on 19 August 1790; his wife Susanne being buried on 20 March 1818.<sup>18</sup>

The marriage of Jacques Bessonnet and Marguerite Mangin was recorded at the Church of Ireland parish of St Peter's on 22 December 1808.<sup>19</sup> This family recorded the baptism of six

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<sup>14</sup> J. J. Digges La Touche (ed.), *Registers of the French Conformed Churches of St Patrick and St Mary, Dublin*, (Dublin, 1893) (hereafter *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*), p. 130, 16 August 1776. Also recorded in the registers of St Peter's Church of Ireland parish church, Register of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1762-1813, 16 August 1776 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.01.03, p. 316).

<sup>15</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*: p. 80, Susanne Bessonnet, 19 December 1778; p. 80, Jacques Bessonnet, 25 July 1780; p. 81, Françoise Bessonnet, 5 March 1783; p. 83, François Bessonnet, 10 February 1785.

<sup>16</sup> Dabzac family genealogy (Trinity College Dublin, Ms. 3747/3, pp 2-3).

<sup>17</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, 1 January 1746, p. 71.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*: p. 254, François Bessonnet, 19 August 1790; p. 258, Susanne Pelletreau, 20 March 1818.

<sup>19</sup> Register of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1762-1813, 22 December 1808 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.01.03, p. 316).

children at St Patrick's,<sup>20</sup> including one of the last to be recorded in the baptism register, along with that of Anne Chaigneau, daughter of Peter and Anne Chaigneau, baptised on 25 February 1812.<sup>21</sup> The Chaigneau family had been associated with the French Churches in Dublin from the late seventeenth century, and the godparents chosen by Jacques Bessonnet and Marguerite Mangin linked them to other long-established French Protestant families. The godparents of their son François included Guillaume Espinasse, another family that was associated with the French Churches since the late seventeenth century. Another new arrival was Jean Rambaut, whose family name only appears in the registers in the 1780s, when he married Marie Hattenville on 10 August 1782.<sup>22</sup> Marie Hattenville came from a family whose name had appeared in the French Church records in the past, and four of their children were baptised at the United Churches.<sup>23</sup> The baptism record for their son Pierre shows that they chose godparents from Anglophone families, namely Messrs Higgins and Cope, and Madame Wilkins.

Though they do not appear in previous cohorts, the Erck family had been in Dublin since the mid-eighteenth century, when the marriage of Gaspard Erck and Magdelaine Corneille was recorded at St Patrick's on 2 July 1741.<sup>24</sup> Gaspard Erck was an elder of St Patrick's French Church during the 1750s,<sup>25</sup> and was noted as a merchant and shipbroker in the Dublin Directory between 1752-71.<sup>26</sup> The baptism of their son Jean Erck was recorded at St Patrick's on 1 April 1742,<sup>27</sup> and the marriage of Jean Erck and Jeanne Maignon was recorded on 17 February 1780.<sup>28</sup> Jean Erck and Jeanne Maignon recorded the baptism of five children and the burial of one at French Patricks, and Jean was buried at the French Reformed Churches with others from his family.<sup>29</sup> Their choice of godparents included a mix of family members,

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<sup>20</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*: p. 88, Susanna Bessonnet, 21 October 1810; p. 88, Jacques Bessonnet, 29 November 1811; p. 89, François Bessonnet, 24 August 1814; p. 89, Marguerite Bessonnet, 19 January 1816; p. 89, Françoise Bessonnet, 24 June 1817; p. 89, Susanne Bessonnet, 1 September 1818; p. 257, Susanna Bessonnet, 8 October 1811; Jacques Bessonnet, 14 March 1813.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131, Jean Rambaut and Marie Hattenville, 10 August 1782.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81, Pierre Rambaut, 2 October 1783; p. 81, Catherine Rambaut, 16 September 1784; p. 85, Isabelle Rambaut, 2 May 1786; p. 250, Catherine Rambaut, 21 February 1785; p. 253, unnamed son, April 1788.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

<sup>25</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin: 30 September 1750, 1 January 1752 (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, pp 113-5).

<sup>26</sup> Dublin Directory 1752, p. 7; Dublin Directory 1753, p. 14; Dublin Directory 1761, p. 23; Dublin Directory 1771, p. 31 (Pearse Street Library Archive).

<sup>27</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 68.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131, 17 February 1780.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80, Susanne Erck, 21 December 1780; p. 81, Marie Erck, 19 December 1782; p. 82, Jean Erck, 25 June 1784; p. 85, Pierre Erck, 18 October 1786; p. 88, Charlotte Erck, 2 June 1800; p. 253, Sarah Erck, 27 February 1789. T. P. Le Fanu (ed.), *Registers of the French Non-*

members of the French Protestant community, as well as Anglophone Protestants. Take for example the baptism of their son Pierre, whose godparents included Daniel Corneille, an East India Company employee who was at that time governor of St Helena, his uncle Gaspard Erck, and Madame Jeanne Lushington. This mix of French and Anglophone Protestant godparents was reasonably typical of the choices being made by families recording baptisms at St Patrick's during this period. The choice of these families to continue recording baptisms at St Patrick's suggests continued membership of a French Protestant community, and further research might investigate what it meant to be a French Protestant in Dublin during the late eighteenth century.

Other families recording life events at St Patrick's during this period include the family of Pierre Taveau and Catherine Matthew. Though not amongst the core families in previous cohorts, the Taveau had appeared in the French Church records in the early eighteenth century, indicating that the family had been in Dublin for many years.<sup>30</sup> Pierre Taveau and Catherine Matthew, who recorded two baptisms and four burials during this period, and the godparents of their children include the same mix of Anglophone and French Protestants noted above.<sup>31</sup> The records related to Pierre Taveau indicate that he was a weaver, and was dependent on the charity of St Patrick's, as he is recorded as a recipient of poor relief at various times during the late eighteenth century.<sup>32</sup> On 12 June 1808, their son Pierre and his wife Marie had a daughter, Marianne, baptised at St Patrick's.<sup>33</sup>

While families of the name Moulin could be found in the French Church registers from the early eighteenth century, Jean Dumoulin and Poline Mercier were new arrivals to Dublin. This family registered the baptism of five children at St Patrick's between 1784 and 1797.<sup>34</sup> The baptism of their daughter, Mariane was recorded at St Patrick's on 17 April 1787, and tells us that Jean Dumoulin was from Longueville, near Clerac in Gascony, and that Poline Mercier

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*Conformist Churches of Lucy Lane and Peter Street Dublin* (Aberdeen, 1901) (hereafter *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*), p. 134, Jean Erck, 6 December 1811.

<sup>30</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*: baptism of Pierre Taveau, 23 March 1718, p. 35; baptism of Jean Taveau, 12 November 1721, p. 42; baptism of Anne Taveau, 15 March 1727, p. 48; burial of Marie Taveau, 11 November 1700, p. 167; burial of Elizabeth Taveau, 16 July 1702, p. 178; burial of Jacques Taveau, 16 June 1709, p. 198;

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*: p. 81, Pierre Taveau, 3 March 1783; p. 84, Jacques Taveau, 12 December 1785; p. 252, Marie Taveau, 15 November 1787; p. 249, Sarah Taveau, 12 February 1782; p. 249, Jean Taveau, 12 February 1782; p. 252, Marie Taveau, 15 November 1787.

<sup>32</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii): 3 March 1782, assistance to feed and clothe, will help to find work, p. 195; 25 April 1784, room in charity house for Pierre Taveau and his wife, p. 209; 2 October 1785, debts written off due to his extreme poverty, p. 224; 22 January 1813, Pierre Taveau to be allowed to take his son into his room in the alms house, p. 276.

<sup>33</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 88, 12 June 1808.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid*: p. 82, 29 June 1784, Samuel Dumoulin; p. 84, 4 December 1785; p. 86, 17 April 1787; p. 87, 5 June 1788; p. 87, 7 June 1789;

was from Portarlington. While both were new arrivals in Dublin, their choice of godparents for their children displays the same mix of French and Anglophone Protestant connections that can be seen in the case of more established families. The godparents of Mariane were Margaret Thewles, Marianne Mercier, John Yoakley and John St Giorgio, or St George, for godparents. Their son Samuel was baptised on 29 June 1784, and his godparents were Eleonor Dunn, Eleonor Thompson, Richard Woodward and Samuel Thompson. Their son Guillaume, baptised on the 4 December 1785, had William Bermingham, Thomas French, Marie Bermingham and Honora Redington for godparents. Charles Dumoulin, another son of Poline Mercier and Jean Dumoulin, had Mary Kelly, Elizabeth Ram and Phillip Cogan as godparents when he was baptised on the 5 June 1788.

The last child of this couple to be baptised at St Patrick's was Pierre Dumoulin, baptised on the 7 June 1789, and his godparents were Anne Bradshaw, Elizabeth Yoakley, George Dignes de la Touche and Pierre Mercier. As can be seen, this couple selected godparents from a wide variety of families, nearly all of whom were members of Anglophone families. Given the centrality of baptism in symbolising entry into the religious community, their choice of the French Church as the place to record the baptisms of their children indicates that they continued to see themselves as members of the French Protestant community in Dublin. Further research might investigate this question further, to deepen our understanding of what it meant to be a French Protestant in Dublin during the late eighteenth century.

### *Change in St Patrick's Consistory*

The role of French Protestant minister at St Patrick's was perpetuated into the nineteenth century, facilitating the continuation of religious services such as baptism and communion at St Patrick's. François Bessonnet was replaced by Justin de Mont Cenis during 1790.<sup>35</sup> Mont Cenis had been ordained at Cloyne and held the role of minister for five years before he passed away during 1795, leading to the appointment of John Letablere as the St Patrick's French Church minister. Letablere came from a family associated with the Huguenot regiments,<sup>36</sup> and his father, Daniel, had pursued a career in the Church of Ireland.<sup>37</sup> John Letablere was curate of the Church of Ireland parish of St Nicholas Without,<sup>38</sup> and first appears

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<sup>35</sup> Le Fanu, 'The Huguenot Churches of Dublin', p. 133.

<sup>36</sup> T. P. Le Fanu and W. H. Manchee, *Dublin and Portarlington veterans, King William III's Huguenot army* (hereafter '*Dublin and Portarlington Veterans*') (London, 1946), p. 48.

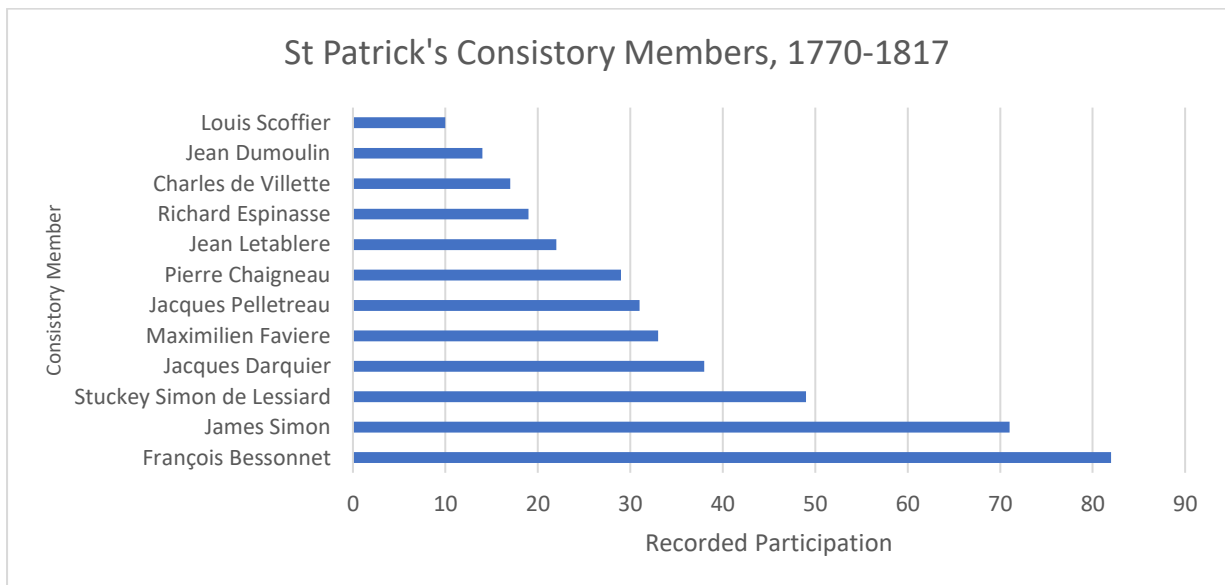
<sup>37</sup> J. C. Combe, 'Huguenots in the Ministry of the Churches of Ireland – Their Place and Contribution' (Ph. D. Thesis, Queen's University Belfast, 1970), pp 135-7.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, pp 140-2.

in the French Church records when he oversaw the marriage of François Bessonnet and Susanne Pelletreau on 16 August 1776.<sup>39</sup>

Letablere first appears in the St Patrick’s consistory book on 22 April 1781, when he negotiated an agreement to allow the St Nicholas Without congregation to use the Lady Chapel of St Patrick’s Cathedral when it was not in use by the French Church.<sup>40</sup> Letablere combined his position as curate of St Nicholas Without with that of minister to St Patrick’s, serving a congregation which attended commemorative events and communion services, as well as a community of aging and vulnerable descendants of French Protestants in need of the support the French Church at St Patrick’s Cathedral could provide. The composition of the St Patrick’s Consistory is summarised in the table below and shows that the majority of members continued to come from families who established themselves in Dublin during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Figure 42: St. Patrick’s French Church Consistory members, c. 1770-1820



The most prominent elders during this period were members of the Simon family, who were not amongst the core families in previous cohorts. There were families of the name Simon in Dublin during the eighteenth century, however, including the family of Louis Simon and Marie Bellié, or Cellier. The burials of three of their children were recorded at St Patrick’s from 1699-1704,<sup>41</sup> and the baptism of their daughter, Magdelaine, was recorded at the Peter

<sup>39</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 130.

<sup>40</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin (Marsh’s Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, p. 185).

<sup>41</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, 24 Mar. 1699, Marguerite Simon, p. 158; 3 July 1701, Benjamin Simon, p. 171; 24 Feb. 1704, infant girl Simon, p. 184.

Street French Church on 19 December 1702.<sup>42</sup> Louis Simon was recorded as an officer at the burials of André Lamotte and Henry Desperandieu, recorded at St Patrick's on 2 February and 13 April 1703.<sup>43</sup> Simon received denization under the 1692 Protestant Strangers Act on 25 January 1710,<sup>44</sup> and the burial record of his daughter tells us that the family came from Paris.<sup>45</sup>

The next life event for a person of the family name Simon was recorded in the St Mary's Abbey baptism register on 31 October 1742 by Louis Scoffier,<sup>46</sup> which was also recorded in the United Churches baptism register.<sup>47</sup> The record is of the baptism of Marianne Simon, daughter of Isaac and Jeanne Simon, and tells us that the child's godparents were Jean Black of Bordeaux, and Marianne Simon, of Chatellerault in Poitou. It would appear that neither godparent was present for the baptism, as they were represented by the father of the child being baptised and Suzanne Simon, an aunt of the child being baptised. Given the references to western France, it is possible that this was a different Simon family to that which was in Dublin during the early eighteenth century, though further research would be required to prove this conclusively.

The Simon family were prominent in the French Church records during the late eighteenth century and had arrived in Dublin by the 1750s. The first record of this family in the French Church registers was the marriage of Stuckey Simon and Anne Grogan, recorded at St Patrick's on 25 March 1758,<sup>48</sup> which was also recorded in the St Mary's Church of Ireland parish register.<sup>49</sup> The record of Stuckey Simon's marriage to Anne Grogan tells us that he came from Chatellerault in Poitou, making it likely that he was related to the Simon family who recorded a baptism in the French Church registers during 1742. Isaac, James and Stuckey Simon were recorded in the Dublin Directory as merchants between 1752-81,<sup>50</sup> with addresses on Great Strand Street, Fleet Street and Batchelor's Walk.

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<sup>42</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, p. 5.

<sup>43</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 180.

<sup>44</sup> William Shaw (ed.), *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Ireland 1701-1800* (Manchester, 1923), p. 227.

<sup>45</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 184.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

<sup>49</sup> D.A. Chart (ed), *Marriage Entries in the Registers of the Parishes of St Mary, St Luke, St Catherine and St Werburgh, Dublin, 1627-1800*, (Dublin, 1913), p.

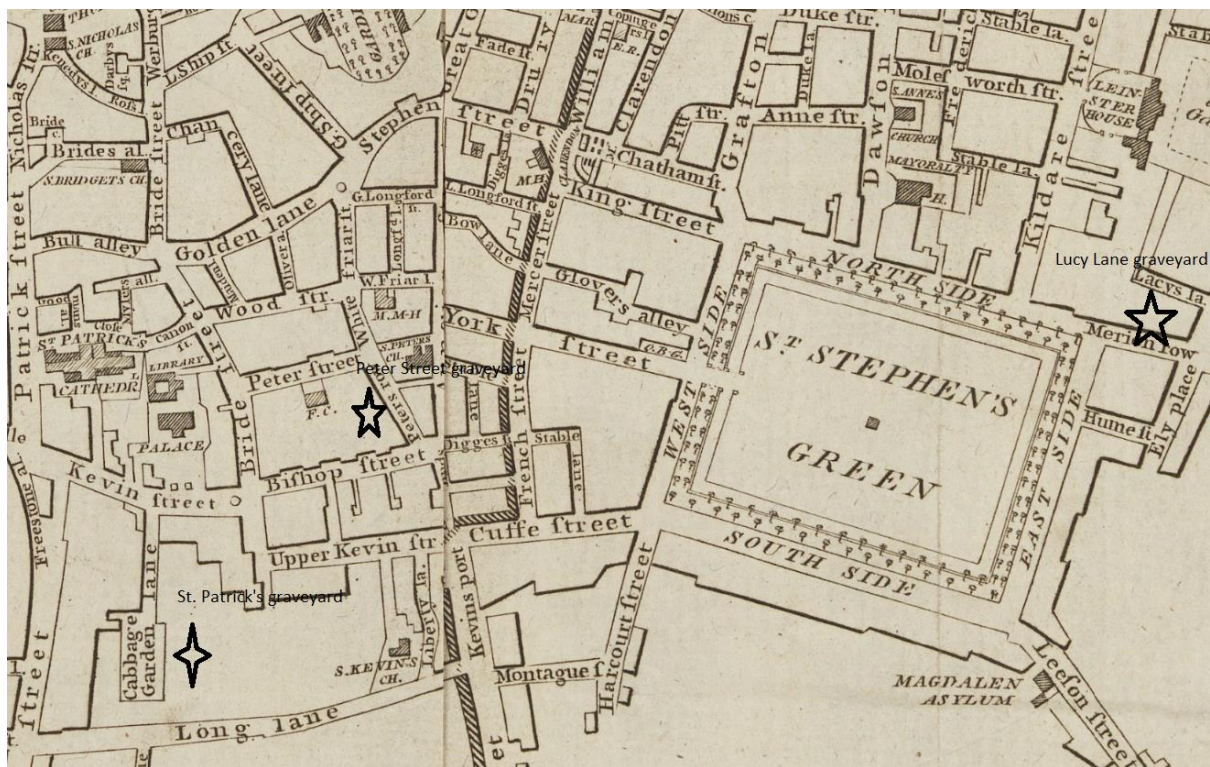
<sup>50</sup> Dublin Directory 1752, p. 18; Dublin Directory 1753, p. 29; Dublin Directory 1781, p. 67 (Pearse Street Library Archive).

James Simon and Stuckey Simon were key members of the St Patrick's consistory during the late eighteenth century, but it is important to note that Jacques Darquier, Richard Espinasse, Pierre Chaigneau and Maximilien Faviere all came from families who had come to Dublin the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. While many French Protestant families were no longer attending weekly services at the French Churches, they continued to be involved in the French Protestant community in Dublin.

### *French Church Graveyards*

Another sign of the continued involvement of long-established families in the French Protestant community in Dublin comes from the burial records. As noted above, the burial records for St Patrick's constitute the greatest number of records in the registers. While the baptism and marriage registers for the French Reformed Churches have not survived, the burial register has, allowing us to assess those who were buried in the French Church graveyards.

Figure 43: French Church Graveyards, c. 1780<sup>51</sup>



The records show that families long associated with the French Protestant community no longer celebrating baptisms and marriages at the French Churches continued to use the graveyards, as can be seen in appendix 6.c. There were 247 burials recorded in the St Patrick's burial register from 1771-1830, while the French Reformed burial register has 420 burials

<sup>51</sup> (<https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/works/qb98mh425?locale=en>) (20 October 2022).

during the same period. In part, the greater number of burials in the French Reformed register is explained by the fact that they had two burial grounds, on Peter Street and Merrion Row, while St Patrick's had one, the Cabbage Garden off Kevin Street. Sixteen family names are repeated five times or more in the French Reformed burial register, while 11 are repeated 5 times or more in the St Patrick's burial register.

The table above shows that practically every family who recorded more than five burials at the French Church graveyards from 1770 onwards had been present in the records of the community at some point over the eighteenth century. Furthermore, many families recorded burials in both registers. Thirteen members of the Chaigneau family were buried in the French Church graveyards, with five burials recorded at St Patrick's, and eight burials recorded at Peter Street. Ten members of the Corneille family had burials recorded at Peter Street, with no recorded burials at St Patrick's. This is an interesting trend given that only one life event out of fifteen life events associated with the Corneille family recorded at Peter Street in the period before 1770. The baptism of Marguerite Corneille, daughter of Jean Corneille and Marie Descury, was recorded at Peter Street by Gaspard Caillaud on 2 October 1723.<sup>52</sup> The same is true for the Chaigneau family, who recorded only one life event at the French Reformed Churches out of 37 recorded at the French Churches prior to 1770, that being the baptism of Abraham Chaigneau, son of Pierre Chaigneau and Marie Malet, baptised by Jean de Durand on 25 December 1730.<sup>53</sup>

Another interesting trend are the eleven burials associated with the Dignes de La Touche family recorded at St Patrick's between 1770-1814. This can be contrasted with the ten life events associated with this family recorded between 1690-1770.<sup>54</sup> These examples point to a continued sense of French Protestant identity amongst these long-established families, who were by then well integrated into the Anglo-Irish Protestant community of the late eighteenth century. While they may no longer attend weekly services at the French Churches, or record baptisms and marriages as members of the community, they continued to bury family members in the French Church graveyards. As shown in the case of the consistory, many of these families

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<sup>52</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, p. 69.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>54</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*: marriage of David Dignes La Touche, 5 July 1699, p. 98; Burial of Jeanne Dignes La Touche, 1 March 1706, p. 191; Burial of Judith Dignes La Touche, 1 January 1713, p. 208; Baptism of Marianne Dignes La Touche, 1 September 1726, p. 51; Baptism of David Dignes La Touche, 1 January 1729, p. 52; Baptism of Pierre Dignes La Touche, 17 December 1733, p. 87; Burial of David Dignes La Touche, 23 October 1745, p. 228; Burial of Marianne Dignes La Touche, 8 April 1763, p. 237; Burial of Jacques Dignes La Touche, 22 June 1763, p. 237; Burial of Marianne Dignes La Touche, 8 October 1765, p. 239.



continued to be involved in leading the community, showing that they still had some sense of connection with the French Protestant community in Dublin.

### ***French Protestants in the Church of Ireland parishes***

Some members of the French Protestant community served as ministers for St Peter's Church of Ireland parish, including Alexander Lamilliere and Peter Chaigneau, both from families who were central to the French Protestant community in Dublin.<sup>55</sup> Alexandre Lamilliere was the son of Cyrus Guinebauld de La Millière and Henriette Janure de la Bouchetière, both from prominent families of Huguenot regiment veterans associated with the United Churches, and was baptised there on 10 September 1723.<sup>56</sup> Lamilliere and his wife, Frances Dumas, recorded the baptisms of seven children at both St Patrick's and St Peter's between 1759 and 1769, as well as two sons, Alexandre<sup>57</sup> and Isaac,<sup>58</sup> whose baptisms were recorded at St Patrick's only, in 1767 and 1774, respectively.<sup>59</sup> The family was living on Cuffe Street when they recorded of the baptism of their daughter Henriette at St Peter's, on 18 December 1759,<sup>60</sup> and the burial of Frances Dumas was recorded at the United Churches on 7 February 1788.<sup>61</sup> Peter Chaigneau had little recorded interaction with the French Churches, but his wider family was an integral part of the French Protestant community in Dublin, and his burial was recorded in the St Patrick's burial register in October 1776.<sup>62</sup>

Daniel Corneille, the son of Jean Corneille and Marie Descury, was baptised at the United Churches on 20 December 1731.<sup>63</sup> As noted in the previous chapter, he was employed by the East India Company as governor of St Helena for many years, and had returned to Dublin by 18 October 1786, when he was godfather to Pierre Erck, son of John Erck and Jane Maignon.<sup>64</sup> Corneille was lived on Aungier Street when he was appointed auditor of the parish's accounts in 1789,<sup>65</sup> and he was appointed as a churchwarden of St Peter's on 6 April

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<sup>55</sup> J. B. Leslie, W. J. R. Wallace (eds), *Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough, biographical succession lists* (Dublin, 2001) (hereafter 'Clergy of Dublin and Glendalough'), p. 222.

<sup>56</sup> *Dublin and Portarlinton Veterans: Janure de la Bouchetiere*, p. 19; Guinebauld de la Milliere, p. 53. *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 43.

<sup>57</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, 22 July 1767, p. 78.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 19 November 1774, p. 80.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 July 1767, p. 78.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 December 1759, p. 305.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 252, 7 February 1788.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>65</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1774-1807, 24 October 1789 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.03, p. 237).

1790, along with William Maturin, from a family that was loosely associated with the French Protestant community in earlier years.<sup>66</sup> With Hamilton Stewart and William Maturin, Daniel and John Corneille signed an agreement with the vestry of St Anne's parish to give public tribute to Mr Kirwan, a former curate of the parish.<sup>67</sup>

Evidence of Corneille's involvement in the French Protestant community can be seen in the record of his burial made in the registers of the Portarlington French Church on 19 April 1792.<sup>68</sup> As noted previously, the burials of his sister, Selina Benigne Corneille, and his widow, Marie Corneille, were recorded in the burial register of the French Reformed Churches of Dublin.<sup>69</sup> Their choice of place for burial indicates that the Corneille family continued to have an attachment to the French Churches during the late eighteenth century.

While some French Protestants continued to have a recorded participation in the religious and communal life of the French Churches, other families had by then ceased to have any recorded interactions with the French Churches, as can be seen in the case of the Le Fanu family. While research for this thesis found over 200 records of members of this family in the Church of Ireland records during this period, there are no records made at the French Churches, compared to the 20 baptisms, two burials and one marriage record made in the 1730s and 40s. Joseph Le Fanu was a son of William Le Fanu and Henriette Raboteau, and his baptism was registered at the United Churches on the 8 September 1743.<sup>70</sup> Joseph Le Fanu and his wife Alice had the baptisms of three children registered at the Church of Ireland parish church of St Peter's,<sup>71</sup> and his burial was registered in the St Peter's register on 1 of August 1825.<sup>72</sup> The family was living on Cuffe Street when their son, Thomas, was baptised at St Peter's on 28 February 1784,<sup>73</sup> and they were still living on Cuffe Street on 1 June 1793, when their son, Joseph, was baptised, also at St Peter's.<sup>74</sup> Joseph le Fanu was a particularly active member of

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<sup>66</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1774-1807, 6 April 1790 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.03, p. 239).

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, pp 227-8, 11 November 1788.

<sup>68</sup> T. P. Le Fanu, *Register of the French Church of Portarlington, Ireland* (London, 1908), p. 136, 19 April 1792.

<sup>69</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, p. 135: Selina Benigne Corneille, 23 August 1813; Marie Corneille, 25 November 1813.

<sup>70</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 68, 8 September 1743.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid: baptism of Thomas, 28 February 1784, p. 104; baptism of Elizabeth, 28 June 1787, p. 118; baptism of Joseph, 1 June 1793, p. 152.

<sup>72</sup> Register of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1823-1826, burial of Joseph le Fanu, 1 August 1825 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.01.07, p. 56).

<sup>73</sup> Register of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1762-1813, 28 February 1784 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.01.03, p. 104).

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, 1 June 1793, p. 152.

St Peter's parish, acting as churchwarden in 1774 and 1775,<sup>75</sup> and again between 1782 and 1784.<sup>76</sup> He was first appointed churchwarden on the 4 April 1774, along with Stephen Dickson, as noted in a vestry record signed by thirteen participants, including Henry Fielding and Richard Wright.<sup>77</sup>

Given the absence of recorded involvement in the French Protestant community for these families after the mid-eighteenth century, it is interesting to note the pride later generations of these families took in their Huguenot ancestry. Such ancestral pride has been ascribed to Joseph Thomas Sheridan Le Fanu, the nineteenth century novelist, who was a great-grandson of Joseph Le Fanu.<sup>78</sup> William Richard Le Fanu, a brother of the novelist Sheridan Le Fanu, was the father of Thomas Philip Le Fanu, whose contribution to our knowledge of the French Protestant community is profound.<sup>79</sup> Past research has noted similar tendencies amongst a number of descendants of Huguenot regiment veterans, including the Arabin family, suggesting that part of the process of becoming part of Anglophone Protestant society required that those families inscribe their family history into the grander narratives of Anglophone history during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>80</sup> These examples suggest that, while some families may have moved away from recorded involvement in the French Churches during the mid-eighteenth century, this did not reflect any loss of French Protestant identity. The commemorative focus of both the research produced by later generations, and the religious practices perpetuated at St Patrick's, indicates that their sense of themselves as French Protestants became commemorative during the nineteenth century.

### ***French Protestants in the Presbyterian Churches***

The tendency for French Protestants to participate in the religious and communal life of the Presbyterian churches in Dublin noted in chapter five continued into the late eighteenth

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<sup>75</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1737-1774, 4 April 1774 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.02, p. 46).

<sup>76</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1774-1807 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.03): 23 January 1775, p. 11; 16 May 1775, p. 21; 28 September 1775, p. 31; 1 April 1782, p. 145; 22 April 1783, p. 155; 7 November 1783, p. 165; 6 September 1784, p. 174.

<sup>77</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1737-1774, 4 April 1774 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.02, p. 46).

<sup>78</sup> Patrick Maume, 'Le Fanu, Joseph Thomas Sheridan', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (<https://www.dib.ie/biography/le-fanu-joseph-thomas-sheridan-a4732>) (11 July 2021).

<sup>79</sup> Stefanie Jones, 'Le Fanu, William Richard', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (<https://www.dib.ie/biography/le-fanu-william-richard-a4733>) (11 July 2021).

<sup>80</sup> Cormac Chesser, 'Between Babylon and Canaan: The Children of the Diaspora and the Story of their Past' in *The Huguenots; France, Exile and Diaspora* (Eastbourne, 2013), pp 205-212.

century. This can be seen in the records of the Strand Street Church, which was located on the north side of the Liffey, between Arran and Capel Streets. On 16 April 1775, Mrs. Aigoïn recommended that William Stubbs be received into the Strand Street charity school.<sup>81</sup> Mrs. Aigoïn recommended further children from the Stubbs family for admittance to the Strand Street charity school, a sign that she had some personal relationship with the family.<sup>82</sup> Nor was Mrs. Aigoïn the only person with some association to the French Protestant community in Dublin acting as a patron to poor families associated with Strand Street. On 9 January 1780, Thomas Calray was taken into Charity School at the recommendation of Mrs. Dignes La Touche.<sup>83</sup> Mrs. La Touche is likely to be Rebecca Vicker, whose marriage to Pierre Dignes La Touche was recorded at St Peter's on 24 December 1766.<sup>84</sup> Descendants of families associated with the French Protestant community were admitted to the charity school, including Isaac Dezouches, from a family associated with the French Reformed Churches, who was admitted on 6 March 1792, on recommendation of Dr Moody and Mr Lindsay.<sup>85</sup> These examples provides further evidence of French Protestants participating in the religious and communal life of the different Protestant confessional communities in the city.

Evidence of direct involvement in the religious and communal life of the Strand Street Presbyterian Church can be found in records associated with Bartholomew Maziere, who was appointed to a committee to find a new schoolmaster for the charity school on 16 April 1792.<sup>86</sup> Bartholomew Maziere became a regular participant in running the Strand Street Charity School, his name appearing regularly between 1797 and 1806.<sup>87</sup> The Maziere, or de La Mazière, family had been associated with both the United and French Reformed Churches during the eighteenth century. While there are only a handful of recorded interactions, Le Fanu

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<sup>81</sup> Vestry Minute Book Strand Street and Wood Street Charity School, 16 April 1775 (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin Unitarian Church Records, RIA/DUC/STR/2, f. 7).

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*: f. 10, 28 January 1781, Alexander Stubbs on recommendation of Mrs. Aigoïn; f. 13, 18 March 1787, Daniel Stubbs on recommendation of Mrs. Aigoïn.

<sup>83</sup> Vestry Minute Book Strand Street and Wood Street Charity School, 9 January 1780 (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin Unitarian Church Records, RIA/DUC/STR/2, f. 9).

<sup>84</sup> Register of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1762-1813 (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.01.03, p. 30).

<sup>85</sup> Vestry Minute Book Strand Street and Wood Street Charity School, 6 March 1792 (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin Unitarian Church Records, RIA/DUC/STR/2, f. 44).

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 16 April 1792, f. 45.

<sup>87</sup> Vestry Minute Book Strand Street and Wood Street Charity School (Royal Irish Academy, Dublin Unitarian Church Records, RIA/DUC/STR/2): f. 52, 22 September 1797; ff 61-2, 11 March 1806.

tells us that documents for the French Reformed Churches, since lost in the Four Courts Fire, had been held by a member of the Maziere family during the nineteenth century.<sup>88</sup>

The marriage of Samuel de La Mazière, a jeweller from St Jean d'Angely in Saintonge, to Jeanne Vallée, from La Rochelle, was recorded at St Patrick's 17 December 1702.<sup>89</sup> Samuel de La Mazière was recorded as a godparent to Sara Bernice, baptised at the Peter Street French Church on 2 May 1725,<sup>90</sup> and Susanne Le Clerc, baptised on 5 June 1726, an indication that his main affiliation was to the French Reformed Churches.<sup>91</sup> On 13 January 1740, the baptism of Magdelaine de La Mazière, daughter of André and Marie de La Mazière was recorded at St Patrick's.<sup>92</sup> It would appear that André de La Mazière's primary affiliation was to the French Reformed Churches, however, as he was the consistory secretary of the French Reformed Churches when an agreement was made for Jacques Pelletreau, a minister of St Patrick's, to provide religious services to the French Reformed Churches while they found a new minister.<sup>93</sup>

### *The End of the Confessional State in Ireland*

In reading the evidence of interactions between French Protestants and the other Protestant confessional communities in late eighteenth-century Dublin, it is important to bear in mind the evidence which shows that they generally maintained some link with the French Churches. This evidence shows that, while French Church services were limited to commemorative events and communion by 1780, French Protestant religious services continued to take place right into the early nineteenth century. As noted above, the reduction in weekly attendance at services reflected the fact that French Protestants were attending weekly services at other Protestant churches, and it is likely that they continued to attend the French Churches for the commemorative and eucharistic services that continued to take place. Descendants of the original refugees and newer arrivals to Dublin continued to record life events at the French Churches right into the nineteenth century, with the burial grounds continuing in use for many years after the end of religious services. Thereafter, consistory at St Patrick's continued to provide poor relief for less fortunate descendants of the original

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<sup>88</sup> Le Fanu, 'The Huguenot Churches of Dublin', p. 88.

<sup>89</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 106.

<sup>90</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, p. 73.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>92</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 65.

<sup>93</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin, 17 March 1760 (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, pp 125-6).

refugees, and many of its members came from families who had come to Dublin during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

As the French Churches continued to have a place in the lives of French Protestants living in Dublin during the late eighteenth century, the limitation of church services during the 1770s requires some explanation. Loss of fluency in the French language amongst community members is likely to have been a significant factor in this change. This is reflected in the decision of the French Church Charity School to cease French lessons in 1770, as the cost of a teacher with both English and French was considered to be too much.<sup>94</sup> Another factor was the age profile of the ministers. While not explicitly stated in the records, it is notable that it was the ministers of the community who were behind the limitation of services in 1780, and it was these same ministers who were too old to properly fulfil their duties during the same period.

As well as these more mundane reasons, it seems likely that the wider political context was also a factor. It is interesting to note that the period during which services were limited at the French Churches correlates with the period during which the Patriot movement in Ireland achieved its goal of legislative independence for the kingdom in 1782. In her study of municipal politics during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Jacqueline Hill has shown that Dublin was a politically engaged city, central to the patriot movement that sought the independence of the Irish Parliament from the control of the British Parliament, but remaining under the sovereignty of the Georgian monarchy.<sup>95</sup> Hill's work has highlighted the high number of freemen in the city guilds who provided the impetus for this movement,<sup>96</sup> and we have seen in previous chapters that French Protestants constituted a significant proportion of the freemen of Dublin. These included David La Touche, a member of the French Protestant community in Dublin who was deeply involved in municipal politics during this period.

The limitation of services at the French Churches also correlates with the process whereby the confessional states of the Hanoverian monarchy were dismantled. This process began with the passage of the Quebec Act in 1774, which guaranteed the political and legal rights to French Catholics in the province taken from France after the Seven Years War. Karen Stanbridge has shown that the Quebec Act was the product of the changed circumstances of the British Empire following victory in the Seven Years War, and the practical necessity of extending concessions to the significant Catholic population in Quebec if they wished to hold

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<sup>94</sup> Le Fanu, 'The Huguenot Churches of Dublin', pp 125-7.

<sup>95</sup> Hill, *From Patriots to Unionists*, pp 112-70.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid*, pp 83-111.

the province and govern it effectively.<sup>97</sup> The Quebec Act was soon followed by the Roman Catholic Relief Act in 1778, which extended significant rights to Catholics in Britain and Ireland, and repeal of the Sacramental Test Act in 1780, which allowed Dissenting Protestants to serve in public office. This period saw the rebellion of the North American colonies during the American revolutionary war (1775-1783), partly inspired by the extension of legal rights to Catholics in Quebec in 1774 and ended with the French Revolutionary Wars (1792-1802) and the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815).

The correlation between the dismantling of the confessional states of Britain and Ireland, and the process of limiting services and eventually closing the French Churches in Dublin, is too close for it to be purely coincidental. The changes in the communal life of the French Protestant community in Dublin during this period should be seen in the context of the dismantling of the confessional states of Britain and Ireland, and the centrifugal forces of nationalism and sectarianism unleashed by this process. The passage of the Catholic Relief Acts encouraged sectarian conflict, as shown by the Gordon Riots in London in 1780, which occurred in direct protest against the Papist Act. Brad Jones has shown the widespread pamphlet campaign which followed passage of the 1778 Catholic Relief Act and helped precipitate the Gordon Riots, which couched opposition to Catholic emancipation in familiar terms of Protestant solidarity in the face of Catholicism and France.<sup>98</sup> These tensions were not unique to Britain, and this period saw the outbreak of the American War of Independence in the 1770s, which was in part precipitated by the implications of the Quebec Act for the Thirteen Colonies.

In Ireland, this process was closely related to the question of whether or not Catholics could be allowed to participate in public life, which came to dominate Irish politics in the late eighteenth century.<sup>99</sup> The La Touche family were particularly active in the Irish Parliament for many years thereafter and were committed to the confessional state in Ireland, actively defending its perpetuation once it became clear that it might be dismantled. This can be seen

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<sup>97</sup> Karen Stanbridge, 'Quebec and the Irish Catholic Relief Act of 1778: An Institutional Approach' in *Journal of Historical Sociology*, xxvi, no.3 (2003), pp 375-404.

<sup>98</sup> Brad A. Jones, '“In Favour of Popery”: Patriotism, Protestantism, and the Gordon Riots in the Revolutionary British Atlantic' in *Journal of British Studies*, lii, no. 1 (2013), pp 79-102.

<sup>99</sup> Thomas Bartlett, *The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation; The Catholic Question, 1690-1830* (Dublin, 1992), pp 45-145.

in the political careers of David La Touche<sup>100</sup> and William Saurin.<sup>101</sup> Both men came from families associated with the French Protestant community in Dublin, and while both were integrated into the Anglo-Irish Protestant community forming during the late eighteenth century, both also retained deep sentimental links to their French Protestant heritage. It was that heritage which explains their commitment to the confessional state in Ireland, and the opposition both men showed to any concessions to Catholics, as neither believed it possible for the state to be based on anything other than confession.

The high politics leading to the Act of Union reflected local life in Dublin, and Patrick Fagan has shown that it was during this period that Catholics became the majority of the city's inhabitants. While not directly quoted as the singular cause, the records of the Church of Ireland parish vestries do indicate that the city became increasingly disturbed from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, in line with this process. The growing instability of the city during the late eighteenth century had a direct impact on the documentary record of the French Churches, as some of the French Reformed Church documents were destroyed when their church building on Peter Street in St Bride's parish was broken into during the night of 16 February 1771.<sup>102</sup> The vestry records consulted in the course of research contain references to numerous robberies, riots, burglaries and murders during this period, with St Mary's parish standing out as one of the most disturbed, if the entries are to be believed.<sup>103</sup> There is very little specific evidence with which to confirm whether or not these incidents reflected the divide between the Catholic and Protestant confessions, but the concern of the Church of Ireland vestries to record these incidents at that time is remarkable.

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<sup>100</sup> Daniel Beaumont, 'David La Touche III' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (<https://www.dib.ie/biography/la-touche-david-iii-a4621>) (10 July 2021).

<sup>101</sup> Desmond McCabe, 'William Saurin' in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (<https://www.dib.ie/biography/saurin-william-a7930>) (10 July 2021).

<sup>102</sup> *Registers of Lucy Lane and Peter Street*, p. xii.

<sup>103</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Mary, Dublin, 1761-1788 (Representative Church Body Library, P. 277.5.3): p. 230, 27 Sept 1773, '.... for several Sundays past a most dangerous and outrageous mob have riotously assembled themselves in this Parish ....'; p. 326, 28 March 1780 '.... several robberies have been committed within this parish lately and in one outrageous attempt a Gent was mortally wounded.....'; pp 400-01, 6 Sept 1785, '.... several military officers .... violently assaulted .... sundry peaceable persons in Mary Street and Capel Street .... George Watson Inspector of the Watch .... now lies dangerously ill of his wounds ....'. Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1737-1774, 19 Oct 1763, Request by William Forbes, Lord Mayor, to increase the numbers and hours of the Watch, '.... given the significant disturbances affecting the city at this time.'; (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.02, p. 284). Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1774-1807, 20 May 1794 '.... if at any time a lawless Mob should attempt to break the windows of any of the Houses .... we bid ourselves to .... prosecute such offenders.'. (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.03, p. 293).



Certainly, it seems unlikely that either early eighteenth-century Dublin or Ireland were singularly tranquil. The research of Timothy Watt has shown the level of popular resistance to customs officials in Ireland generally,<sup>104</sup> while Patrick Fagan has demonstrated the assertiveness of Dublin Catholics in preventing the strict application of the penal laws against them.<sup>105</sup> Interestingly, Neal Garnham has shown that public disorder was a subject which was only taken seriously by the Anglican elite during the 1770s.<sup>106</sup> Accordingly, the increase in records of anti-social and riotous behaviour made at Church of Ireland vestries during the second half of the eighteenth century is remarkable. It correlates with the end of the Seven Years War, the growing strength of the Patriot movement in Ireland and the concurrent dismantling of the confessional states of Britain and Ireland. Furthermore, it correlates with the growing Catholic population of the city noted by Fagan in his study of Dublin's population during that period,<sup>107</sup> something which fed a sense of insecurity and marginalisation for ordinary Protestants living in the city.

These concerns began to increase in frequency after the Seven Years War, when Canada was ceded to the Hanoverian monarchy by France, and the Stuart claim to the British and Irish kingdoms no longer had the support of the French Monarchy or the Catholic Church. The end of the Stuart claim on the British and Irish thrones, in particular, meant that reliance on the Protestant Interest in Britain and Ireland was less crucial than in past years. This change, combined with a significant Catholic population to govern in the newly acquired province of Quebec, provided the grounds for some to argue for the removal of legal restrictions on Catholics, particularly their participation in the military, eventually leading to the Quebec Act in 1778.

Karen Stanbridge has shown that there was nothing automatic or inevitable about the Quebec Act, and that the British government intended to rule Quebec as part of a Protestant Empire, as was explicitly stated in a Royal Proclamation of 1763.<sup>108</sup> Stanbridge has shown that it was the impracticality of governing a former province of a Catholic empire as a Protestant one which inspired some significant figures in British and Irish politics to consider the Quebec

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<sup>104</sup> Timothy Watt, 'Taxation riots and the culture of popular protest in Ireland, 1714-1740' in *The English Historical Review*, cxxx, no. 547 (2015), pp 1418-48.

<sup>105</sup> Patrick Fagan, 'The Dublin Catholic Mob (1700-1750)' in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr*, iv, (1989), pp 133-42.

<sup>106</sup> Neal Garnham, 'Riot Acts, Popular Protest, and Protestant Mentalities in Eighteenth-Century Ireland' in *The Historical Journal*, xlix, no. 2 (2006), pp 403-23.

<sup>107</sup> Fagan, 'The Population of Dublin in the Eighteenth Century', pp 121-56.

<sup>108</sup> Stanbridge, 'Quebec and the Irish Catholic Relief Act', p. 377.

Act. It is worth noting that the personal emissary of the British governor of Quebec during this period was H. T. Cramahé, or Theophile Hector de Cramahé, son of Hector de Cramahé and Marianne de Berruil, who was baptised at St Patrick's on 13 October 1720.<sup>109</sup> Theophile Cramahé's godparents included Theophile Desbrisay, who was noted as a significant community member in the previous chapter, which discussed his efforts to acquire additional government funding for French Protestant ministers during the 1750s. Given the close involvement of community members such as Cramahé and La Touche in political events of this period, it is remarkable how closely the dates during which religious services were limited to commemorative events coincides with key dates in the dismantling of the confessional state in Ireland.

The Quebec Act removed reference to the Protestant faith in the oath of allegiance to the crown, and guaranteed freedom of worship to Catholics living in the province. In the opinion of many ordinary Anglophone Protestants, the passage of this Act set a worrisome precedent, and made a major contribution to justifying the American revolutionaries in their increasingly assertive demands for greater legislative autonomy, which soon led to rebellion. In Ireland, where the majority of the King's subjects were Catholic, the Act suggested to many Anglophone Protestants that their legal privileges might be revoked. This was particularly so given the ability of the British Parliament to overrule the Irish Parliament, where the penal laws that excluded Catholics and Dissenters from political power had been passed. In Dublin, the sentiment of being outnumbered and overwhelmed by the Catholic inhabitants of their parishes felt by Anglophone Protestants was crucial in forming their sense of political insecurity. It may have been this sense of insecurity that inspired the entry in the St Peter's parish vestry records for a meeting held on 6 February 1777 of the churchwardens and the 'Protestant' inhabitants of the parish.<sup>110</sup> William and Joseph le Fanu, and Jean Ladeveze were present at the meeting where this record was made, and the sentiments expressed in the record reflected the sense of marginalisation experienced by Irish Protestants following passage of the Quebec Act.

The dismantling of the confessional state in Ireland unleashed forces of sectarianism and nationalism that eventually led to the outbreak of rebellion during 1798. A key outcome of the rebellion was the Act of Union, which united the Irish and British kingdoms in 1801. Some

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<sup>109</sup> *Registers of St Patrick and St Mary*, p. 40.

<sup>110</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Peter and St Kevin, Dublin, 1774-1807, 6 February 1777 'At a Vestry held this day by Church Wardens and Protestant Parishioners ....' Joseph and William le Fanu and Jean Ladeveze sign as witnesses. (Representative Church Body Library, P.0045.05.03, p. 56).

sense of the impact of the rebellion and its aftermath can be seen in a letter written by Henry Arabin in Liverpool on 17 March 1801, which he sent to Richard Chevenix, another descendant of a French Protestant family which settled in Ireland, who was then in London.<sup>111</sup> In the letter, Mr Arabin states that he felt himself compelled to inform Mr Chenevix ‘.... of some circumstances relative to our manufactory, which appear to me to be detrimental and unjust, that it would be extremely proper to know from the highest authority, whether such injustice is, or is not intended....’.

Arabin had invested heavily in a gunpowder factory, which he had continued to operate at a loss since the rebellion in 1798. He stated that he had kept up production even though he was losing money in an effort to keep the employees busy ‘.... to prevent them from getting into mischief.’ Mr Arabin states that this had worked, as not one of his employees joined the rebels, though he notes that ‘.... they were almost all sworn....’, meaning that they had taken oaths with one of the rebel groups involved in the 1798 rebellion. As well as giving us an insight into Arabin’s experience of the rebellion, the letter also indicates the frustrations experienced by some Irish businessmen with regards the customs regime in the newly formed United Kingdom. Arabin had come to Liverpool hoping to find a market for his gunpowder in Britain. However, the Liverpool Customs Office informed him that the gunpowder would be subject to an excise as it had to be imported into Liverpool. Arabin had also learned that the saltpetre which he was obliged to buy from the East India Company to make the gunpowder, which had been subject to an excise in London, had also been excised on arrival in Ireland. Arabin questioned the legality of this under the Union, stating that ‘.... what has paid duty before in England, is not liable to duty in Ireland, or else the English duty is drawn back....’.

Beyond the information that this letter gives us of the effect of the duty system in Britain and Ireland, his letter is particularly interesting to us because of the unquestioning belief he displays in the idea of the United Kingdom. Arabin was a member of parliament for Dublin and had voted for the union when the subject was debated in the Irish Parliament. Even though he could see the negative effects of the Union as it stood, he believed in the necessity of it. This can be seen in the opening paragraph of the letter, where he states, ‘I am certain that your sentiments coincide with mine in respect to the Union, that we both would be silent upon any matter that could even throw a shade on that measure, whatever private injury it might entail upon us....’. Arabin was writing to Chenevix as an intermediary with Lord Castlereagh, a

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<sup>111</sup> Henry Arabin to Richard Chenevix, 17 March 1801, (National Archives, Kew Gardens, PRO 30/9/157, Fs 5-10).

significant figure in the Westminster Parliament. He states that he wishes Chenevix to pass on his statement of his problems, ‘... as I do not think the latter is at all intended, but merely arises from the misunderstanding which anything now is liable to...’. Arabin’s commitment to the union, despite his experiences in Liverpool, is remarkable, and further research might investigate the experience of Irish businessmen attempting to do business in Great Britain in the aftermath of the Act of Union in 1801.

### ***Elaboration of the Market Economy***

The closure of the French Churches in Dublin occurred while the nineteenth century market economy was being established, a process which was enabled by the dismantling of the confessional states of Britain and Ireland. As Karl Polanyi has shown, establishing the market economy was contingent on a change in approach to poor relief which treated poverty as the fault of the poor, rather than misfortune, making the poor the object of contempt, rather than concern.<sup>112</sup> Thomas Malthus and David Ricardo saw poor relief as distorting the natural laws of economics, and Anne Crowther has noted that their ideas became particularly influential during the period of war with revolutionary and Napoleonic France.<sup>113</sup> This issue affected Ireland as well as Britain, and like the move away from confession as a marker of loyalty, had its beginnings during the late eighteenth century. Mel Cousins has analysed the campaign to pass an act in the Irish Parliament during 1772 to establish houses of industry for the poor.<sup>114</sup> The vestry records of the Church of Ireland parishes of Dublin provide us with significant evidence for the attitudes of local community leaders on the question of poverty, as they were expected to provide poor relief to members of the Anglican confession. As in the case of violent disorder, those records show an increase in commentary on what vestry members saw to be the root causes of poverty, being idleness and drunkenness, from the mid-eighteenth century onwards.

Take for instance a record made in the vestry book of St Mary’s parish on 28 Sept 1769, noting an address to the then lord mayor of Dublin Benjamin Barton, which was published in Faulkner’s and the Freeman Journal’s.<sup>115</sup> As well as lauding the lord mayor’s management of the city’s markets, the entry states that ‘Licentiousness .... is every day gaining ground, and

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<sup>112</sup> Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: the political and economic origins of our time* (London, 1957), pp 77-129.

<sup>113</sup> Anne Crowther, ‘Health Care and Poor Relief in Provincial England’ in Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham and Robert Jütte (eds), *Health Care and Poor Relief in 18th and 19th Century Northern Europe* (London, 2002), pp 203-19, pp 204-05.

<sup>114</sup> Mel Cousins, ‘The Irish Parliament and relief of the poor: the 1772 legislation establishing houses of industry’ in *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, xxviii, (2013), pp 95-115.

<sup>115</sup> Vestry Book of the Parish of St Mary, Dublin, 1761-1788, 28 Sept 1769 (Representative Church Body Library, P. 277.5.3, pp 176-78)

idleness dissipation and the most shocking intemperance almost universally prevailing amongst the common people, suspending that industry so invaluable to the community, which while it shields the industrious poor from the distresses of poverty, is, at the same time, the preservation of their health and morals.’ The entry betrays an attitude to the poor which is inherently dismissive and is reflective of the attitude of Dean Richard Woodward, who promoted the 1772 Act, as well as those with property towards those without.<sup>116</sup>

Records of charitable giving in the French Church documents show that the institution of a market economy during the late eighteenth century had a significant impact on vulnerable members of the community. The records of the St Patrick’s consistory during this period were often focused on the problem of long-term unemployment for families like the Taveau family and caring for the aging group of ministers who were no longer able to perform their religious duties. Caring for less fortunate members of the French Protestant community in Dublin led to further agreements for the support of the poor between St Patrick’s and Peter Street during 1776 and 1782.<sup>117</sup> The list of weekly recipients of charity became so fixed and substantial during this period that it was decided to establish a house of charity for the poor of the church who were aided on a weekly basis on Easter Sunday 1784.<sup>118</sup> The actions of St Patrick’s and Peter Street reflected actions taken by the country squires of Speenhamland in England, whose efforts to mitigate the social dislocation associated with the establishment of the market economy led to the passage of the Speenhamland Act in the British Parliament in 1795.<sup>119</sup>

The case of the Morand family became a particular preoccupation of both French Patrick’s and Peter Street during this period and provides us with a good opportunity to consider how the consistories tried to care for destitute French Protestants in Dublin during what was a period of significant economic and social dislocation. The case first enters the St Patrick’s record on 23 June 1782, when it was noted that Morand, a poor member of the Peter Street French Church, was to receive 2 shillings, on the recommendation of Stuckey Simon.<sup>120</sup> On 27 October 1782, the consistory noted its concern for the young Morand, whom it stated was an

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<sup>116</sup> Mel Cousins, ‘The Irish Parliament and relief of the poor’, pp 97-101.

<sup>117</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin (Marsh’s Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, pp 174, 201).

<sup>118</sup> Ibid: p. 208, 11 April 1784, decision to establish house of charity; p. 209, 25 April 1784, lease agreed with Dillon; p. 209, 25 April 1784, distribution of rooms in the charity house; p. 210 rules of the charity house in Liberty lane.

<sup>119</sup> Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, pp 77-85.

<sup>120</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin, 23 June 1782 (Marsh’s Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, p. 196).

external student of the *ecole de chantré*.<sup>121</sup> The entry tells us that the young girl had been abandoned by her parents and was homeless. French Patrick's and Peter Street took it upon themselves to pay for her to lodge with Mr Bosc, the teacher at the French School, who was to be paid £6 per annum to add the child to the list of internal students at the French School.

On 19 January 1783 French Patrick's recorded their decision to give '*un demi ecu*' to *la Morand*, presumably the mother of the abandoned child, who is recorded as a member of the Peter Street French Church and who is described as being of a more and more infirm and miserable condition.<sup>122</sup> On 23 February, French Patrick's decided to give Morand 2 shillings 8 ½ pence in further assistance.<sup>123</sup> Anne Morand, the sister of Elizabeth Morand, received ½ *ecu anglois*, or English crown, on 11 April 1784.<sup>124</sup> Other members of the family also received assistance from French Patrick's, and on 25 April 1784 the said Elizabeth Morand was given a room in the charity house established by French Patrick's for the poor of their church despite the fact that she was a member of Peter Street, a further sign of the cohesive nature of the French Protestant community during this period.<sup>125</sup>

Problems arose at the charity house between Morand and Jeanne Goyer, another resident of the charity house who was a long term recipient of assistance from St Patrick's.<sup>126</sup> On Sunday 8 August 1784 it was recorded that Morand and Goyer had fought and where to be removed from the house, and were allowed to return to the house of charity on Sunday 19 September 1784.<sup>127</sup> The dispute between the two women was not settled, however, as they were called before the consistory on Sunday 16 October 1785 due to complaints about their behaviour. The women were told that they would be thrown out of the charity house once more if they did not behave in a sober and honest manner, and Goyer particularly was not allowed to let any of her children stay in her room. The situation became so serious that Morand was eventually evicted from the charity house on 7 January 1787. The entry recording this fact

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<sup>121</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin, 27 October 1782 (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, p. 201).

<sup>122</sup> Ibid, p. 203, 19 January 1783.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid, p. 204, 23 February 1783.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid, p. 208, 11 April 1783.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid: p. 227, 14 May 1786 Nanette in receipt of weekly assistance asks for more gets a guinea; p. 227, 13 August 1786, W. Morand's stipend to be increased to 6 sols anglois; p. 209, 25 April 1784, Elizabeth Morand given a room in the Charity House.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid: September 1784, argument between Goyer and Morand they are to be removed, p. 216; 19 September 1784, allowed back into charity house, p. 216; 16 October 1785, further complaints about the behaviour of Goyer and Morand threatened with eviction, p. 225; 7 January 1787, called before consistory to answer for disputes, p. 229; 14 January 1787, threatened with eviction once more given very last chance, p. 230.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid, 5 September 1784, p. 216; 19 September 1784, p. 216.

indicated that Morand had continually disturbed the peace of the charity house, meaning that the consistory saw itself as bound to evict her.

Not to be precipitous, the consistory noted that they would hold a further meeting with Mrs Goyer on the following Sunday to attempt to resolve the arguments between her and Morand.<sup>128</sup> The meeting held between the consistory and the two women was also attended by the other inhabitants of the charitable house, who claimed that the two women were often drunk and would argue with one another while drinking. On that basis the consistory felt it would have been justified in evicting the two women, but through pure compassion and charity sought to retain them in the house and set out the terms by which the women would have their very last chance to comport themselves properly.<sup>129</sup>

The charity house was a new development, and as this case touched on many of the issues that could cause problems in such an institution it was wise to record how they handled it to provide a precedent for any subsequent problems. Furthermore, it should be noted that the consistory saw itself as handling the matter as humanely as possible. The lengths to which the consistory of St Patrick's was willing to go in the assistance of a member of the French Reformed Churches shows the continued desire of the St Patrick's consistory, as an institution, to aid their fellows and act as a united French Protestant community. Their willingness to forgive the two women for what appears to have been fairly consistent anti-social behaviour shows that they saw the need to support them in difficult circumstances as being far too important to be neglected. Their unwillingness to cast either woman out of the charity house permanently shows that they saw reconciliation to be the end of consistorial discipline, not expulsion, as this would have undoubtedly made the position of these destitute women much worse.

### ***Conclusion***

The closure of the French Churches in Dublin occurred over a long period, beginning during the 1770s, and ending during the early nineteenth century. The limitation of services during the 1770s reflected the fact that French Protestants in Dublin were now attending weekly service at other Protestant Churches, while continuing to attend commemorative services and participate in quarterly communion, in line with French Protestant religious practice. These aspects of French Protestant religious practice continued into the early nineteenth century, and

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<sup>128</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin, 7 January 1787 (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, p. 201), p. 229.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid, 14 January 1787, p. 230.

there were occasional efforts to reinstitute communion services during the nineteenth century. While French Protestant religious services came to an end during the early nineteenth century, the consistory of St Patrick's continued in operation right into the twentieth century, as the administrative body for charity given to less fortunate descendants of the original refugees.<sup>130</sup>

The perpetuation of the mutual charity amongst descendants of the French Protestant refugees after the French Churches closed should be seen as a sign of continuity of the French Protestant community in Dublin. As noted by Jean-Paul Pittion, it was the charitable function of the French Churches which showed the greatest durability,<sup>131</sup> and the solidarity shown amongst descendants of the original refugees reflected their share heritage as French Protestants who came to Ireland to bolster the Protestant Interest in the kingdom. The continuity of poor relief reflected the fact this was the one part of the French Protestant community which could be preserved, in the context of the dismantling of the confessional state in Ireland. Another key factor was the change in attitudes towards the poor which facilitated the establishment of the market economy of the nineteenth century. While there was no longer a place for French Protestant worship in their daily lives, their concern for the wellbeing of their fellow descendants provided the basis for a French Protestant community based on mutual charity and remembrance, which existed throughout the nineteenth century.

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<sup>130</sup> Acts of the Consistory of the French united churches in Dublin, 1 January 1829, 'At a meeting of the Elders of the French Church held this day ....' (Marsh's Library, French Huguenot Fund Papers, FHF.II.1.viii, p. 278)

<sup>131</sup> J.P. Pittion, 'The question of Religious Conformity in the Irish Refuge' in Pittion, Caldicott, Gough, (eds), *The Huguenots and Ireland* (Dublin, 1987) pp 285-97.



## Conclusion

This thesis has examined the process of integration and assimilation experienced by the French Protestant community in Dublin during the eighteenth century. The thesis has focused on addressing the common misconception in current research, that the community swiftly assimilated into Anglophone Protestant society during the mid-eighteenth century. On the contrary, the preceding chapters have demonstrated that the community in Dublin maintained a distinct confessional identity as French Protestants through participation in the religious and communal life of the French Churches until the early nineteenth century. The thesis has shown that the assimilation of the community was neither a function of the divisions within the community generated by pressure to conform to Anglican practices, or of Ireland being a temporary refuge as a prelude to a return to France. It has shown that the end of religious services at the French Churches during the early nineteenth century should be seen in the context of the dismantling of the confessional state in Ireland. The thesis has shown that this process led to the perpetuation of an invisible community amongst descendants of the original refugees, based on inheritance, mutual charity and remembrance.

The first chapter of the thesis built on past research to provide a comprehensive overview of the French Protestant community in Dublin, using the baptism, marriage and burial registers of the French Churches. The chapter discussed the occupational profile of the community, showing the change from a merchant led community during the seventeenth century to one led by families who pursued careers associated with the confessional states of Britain and Ireland during the early eighteenth century. The second chapter discussed the place of the French Protestant community in the city of Dublin, adding to our knowledge of how French Protestants were integrated into the communal, occupational and municipal political structures of the city. The chapter has highlighted the potential development of a community lead by merchants and weavers during the late seventeenth century, as well as the potential reasons why such a community did not develop. The chapter expanded on the research of Hylton to identify the parts of the city in which the greatest numbers of French Protestant households could be found, showing that they were concentrated south of the river Liffey, in the area of St Bride's and St Peter's parishes.

The third chapter discussed the relationship between the French Protestant community in Dublin and the confessional state in Ireland. The chapter showed how successive Irish Parliaments refined the Protestant Strangers Act to limit the rights provided by the Act to

Protestants Strangers who chose to settle in Ireland, while protecting the freedom of worship granted to Protestants Strangers living in Ireland. The chapter showed the growing involvement of French Protestants in the institutions of church and state in Ireland, highlighting the loyalty to the Hanoverian monarchy forged through their shared commitment to the Protestant Succession in Britain and Ireland, and the Protestant Interest in Europe. The fourth chapter of this thesis discussed the religious and communal life of the French Protestant community in Dublin and demonstrated that the two distinct French Church institutions in Dublin served one French Protestant community. The chapter identified the key members of the French Church consistories, showing an elevated level of participation by Huguenot regiment veterans at St Patrick's during the early eighteenth century. The chapter expanded on past research to analyse the management of the community by the consistories, highlighting the importance of poor relief in the surviving records.

The fifth chapter discussed the key changes and continuities that marked the French Protestant community during the mid-eighteenth century. Past research has treated this as the period in which the French Protestant community assimilated into Anglophone Protestant society, and this chapter has shown that this was a period of integration, not assimilation. French Protestants participated in the religious and communal life of both the Anglican and Dissenting Protestant communities during this period, while continuing to record life events at the French Churches. These patterns of behaviour reflected the place of the French Protestant community in Dublin as integrated with though distinct from their Anglophone Protestant neighbours. The chapter has shown that the evidence of integration visible during this period was facilitated by the apogee of the confessional state in Ireland, from which members of the French Protestant community in Dublin benefited significantly.

The final chapter discussed the reasons for the closure of the French Churches in Dublin. The chapter has shown that the changes in the communal and religious life of the community noted above were closely linked to the dismantling of the confessional state in Ireland. This process unleashed centrifugal forces of nationalism and sectarianism that eventually precipitating the 1798 Rebellion in Ireland, leading to the Act of Union in 1801. It was in the context of this significant social and political upheaval that religious services at the French Churches ended, and this chapter shows that the end of religious services at the French Churches was a result of these changes. The chapter demonstrated that an invisible French Protestant community in Dublin based on commemoration and mutual charity was perpetuated

thereafter, allowing descendants of the original refugees to honour the memory of their ancestors.

Future research could focus on the other French Protestant communities in Ireland, to see if the trends identified in the case of Dublin were replicated elsewhere. In the case of some communities, such as those at Carlow, Kilkenny and Waterford, little or no research has been performed, meaning that we know little or nothing about their size, extent or duration. This is despite references to these communities made in the surviving documentation of the French Churches in Dublin, pointing to the need for further research to understand their size and extent. While surviving archives in Ireland are scarce, the archives of the French Churches in London and Holland, as well as the Reformed Church of Geneva, might provide further evidence with which to assess these communities, and might shed further light on the French Protestant community in Dublin.

The place of the French Protestant community in Dublin in the Protestant merchant networks of the early modern period deserves further research, as do the commercial activities of the merchant families of the community. Their role in the administration and provisioning of the British and Irish armies deserves significant attention, as does the role of French Protestants in the British and Irish armies during the eighteenth century. While their participation in the military conflicts of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is well researched, their continued service during the eighteenth century deserves further consideration. Many families forged traditions of service that lasted into the nineteenth century, while maintaining links with the French Protestant community, a topic which deserves further research.

This thesis has demonstrated the possibilities provided by the registers of French Churches for reconstituting families registering their life events at the French Churches. The evidence indicating that those families seemed to have enjoyed a good standard of living points towards the value of a comparative study of the demographic fortunes of French Protestants in exile. Phil Benedict has used this approach to demonstrate the slow, steady decline of the French Protestant community in France prior to the Revocation. A comparative demographic study of French Protestant communities in exile could compare the experiences of French Protestants in exile and in France, as well as with local populations. This would allow us to assess whether or not going into exile was of benefit to French Protestants who chose to do so, as well as the relative advantages presented to French Protestants in the different countries of exile.

The history of the charitable society that outlived the French Churches in Dublin is sorely in need of research. The surviving consistory book of the United Churches shows that the charitable function of the consistory was perpetuated right into the early twentieth century. An archive related to the administration of the charitable funds of the French Churches in Dublin is preserved at Marsh's Library, and a study of the administration of that fund would shed further light on the nature of the informal community of remembrance and mutual charity that existed amongst descendants of the original refugees during the nineteenth century.

Another interesting line of research would be a more thorough investigation of the long-term impact of the legislative changes regarding family and marriage made during the late Renaissance and early Reformation periods that have made this study possible. The legal changes that gave parents greater control over their children's choice of marriage partner, as well as the requirement to register life events at the local parish church, have provided this thesis with invaluable evidence. While no conclusive observations can be drawn, it would appear that this body of legislation, combined with the emergence of the confessional states of Europe, was an important factor in the formation of the ethno-religious communities of the modern period such as those described by Joyce Goodfriend in her work on New York. Further research might consider the consolidation of bonds of spiritual and legal affinity between families who formed part of the same confessional community, including across ethno-linguistic lines, to further investigate the impact family and faith had on the onward arrow of each family's fortunes through historical time.

Another interesting line of research which this thesis was not able to pursue is that of the role of women, both in the French Protestant community in Dublin and amongst the ethno-religious communities of the Reformed confession. Joyce Goodfriend noted that the women of the Dutch Reformed community in New York were crucial to perpetuation of their particular ethno-religious culture, arguing that this reflected their role as 'guardians of tradition in the home'.<sup>97</sup> In a recent article on the French Protestants in Ireland, Pittion highlighted an incident in which Ms. Pons was required to apologise for slandering Jean Jourdan, a French Protestant minister in the Church of Ireland.<sup>1</sup> Pons had allegedly stated that Jourdan was as likely to send his children to Rome for an education as to Geneva, a significant slight on the sincerity of Jourdan's Protestantism. This isolated incident points to the women of the French Protestant community fulfilling a similar role as guardians of tradition and culture to the women of the

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<sup>1</sup> Jean Paul-Pittion, "They shall have and enjoy the free exercise of their religion ...": Huguenots in Ireland' in *Diasporas*, xviii, (2011), pp 11-29, pp 18-9.

Dutch community in New York, and further research might investigate this interesting possibility.

The evidence reviewed in this thesis shows that a sense of community was perpetuated amongst French Protestants in Dublin, even after the closure of the French Churches. This speaks to the durability of the ethno-religious confessional identities such as that of French Protestants during the modern period. Interestingly, twentieth century sociologists have made similar observations regarding the importance of ethno-religious identities in perpetuating minority group identities in the major cities of Europe and North America during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Some of the seminal work in this area is contained in *Beyond the Melting Pot*, produced by Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan, who studied the ethnic communities of nineteenth and twentieth century New York. The inspiration for the work of Glazer and Moynihan came from the observation that the expected assimilation of the minority ethnic religious groups in New York into a greater American identity had not occurred. This went against the assumption that, in a state which did not establish any one faith above all others, a national identity formed around citizenship would emerge. In fact, they noted that family and faith were crucial in the perpetuation of the minority ethnic communities of nineteenth and twentieth century New York. In particular, Glazer noted that the reasons for this could be found somewhere within the cultural characteristics and family structures of these communities, with religion weighing heavily amongst them.<sup>2</sup>

The perpetuation of an informal community based on charity and commemoration amongst descendants of the original refugees in Dublin during the nineteenth century further highlights the importance of faith and family in the perpetuation of group identities during the modern period. The foundation of remembrance societies such as the Huguenot Society of London in the late nineteenth century, combined with the great interest in the history of the French Protestant communities shown in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* in the 1850s, provide evidence that some sense of French Protestant identity continued to exist amongst descendants of the original refugees during the nineteenth century. Given the informal community of mutual charity and commemoration that was perpetuated amongst descendants of the refugees in Dublin right into the twentieth century, future research might look at the

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<sup>2</sup> Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan (eds), *Beyond the Melting Pot; the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City* (London, 1970), 'Introduction to the Second Edition: New York City in 1970', pp vii-viii.

perpetuation of group identities amongst descendants of the French Protestant exiles during the nineteenth century.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1.a – St Patrick’s Families 1680-90

Family Name	Families	Baptism	Burial	Marriage
Moreau	Pierre Moreau & Widow Moreau	2	1	0
	Michel Moreau & Marie du Mont	1	1	0
Beliard de La Mozelle	Isaac Beliard de La Mozelle & Jeanne Cougillard	1	5	0
Perrot	Jacques Perrot & Catherine Ferré	2	1	0
	Jean Perrot & Susanne Bremont	1	0	0
	Jean Perrot & Marie Perrot	1	0	0
Guionneau	Jacques Guionneau & Mrs. Guionneau	3	2	0

### Appendix 1.b – St Patrick’s Families 1692-1716

Family Name	Families	Burial	Marriage	Total
Boivin	Jean Boivin & Marie Cassel	5	1	6
	Nicholas & Catherine Boivin	2	0	2
	Samuel Boivin	1	0	1
	Unknown	2	0	2
Vivien	Pierre Vivien & Marie Viridet	3	0	3
	Etienne Vivien & Suzanne Dauphine	2	0	2
	André Trinquet & Judith Vivien	0	1	1
	Unknown	3	0	3
Chaigneau	Louis Chaigneau & Elizabeth de Coudre	1	0	1
	David Chaigneau & Suzanne Tabois	1	0	1
	Jean Favre & Marie Chaigneau	N/A	N/A	N/A



	Etienne Chaigneau & Jeanne Chaigneau	0	1	1
	Daniel Marrault & Jeanne Chaigneau	0	1	1
	David Renouïard & Elizabeth Chaigneau	0	1	1
	David Chaigneau & Elizabeth Macarell	0	1	1
	Unknown	1	0	1
Jamar	Claude Jamar & Suzanne Malherbe	4	0	4
	Thimotée Jamar & Marie Foucher	4	0	4
	Jean Audoyer & Jeanne Jamar	1	0	1
Adrien	Paul Adrien & Marie Allenet	8	0	8
Gendrin	Abraham Gendrin & Jeanne Laing	7	0	7
Martinet	Olivier Martinet & Marthe Dubrueil	7	0	7
Bertin	Louis Bertin & Marie Perrault	6	1	7
Regnier	Louis Regnier & Madeleine Mariel	7	0	7
Du Beque	Salomon Du Beque & Helene le Blanc	6	0	6
Cannel	Benjamin Cannel & Sarah Cassel	3	1	4
	Jacques Cannel & Anne Cannel	2	0	2
Cassel	Jean Boivin & Marie Cassel	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Charles Rougissard & Elizabeth Cassel	1	1	2
	Gilles Le Moine & Elizabeth Cassel	1	1	2
	Benjamin Cannel & Sarah Cassel	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Louis le Roux & Elizabeth Cassel	2	0	2
	Jean Cassel & Elizabeth Michel	1	0	1

Gautier	Thomas Gautier & Suzanne Portrait	6	0	6
Garesché	Pierre Garrasché & Jeanne Allenet	5	1	6
Favre	Jean Favre & Marie Chaigneau	4	1	5
Perrault	Aimé Perrault & Marguerite Guinet	1	3	4
	Louis Bertin & Marie Perrault	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Clenet Chaucherie & Sara Perrault	2	2	4
	Jacques de Soignon & Jeanne Perrault	0	1	1
	Jacob Le Maignan & Suzanne Perrault	1	1	2
Allenet	Jean Allenet & Esther Adrien	3	3	6
	Pierre Garesché & Jeanne Allenet	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Jean Lartigue & Esther Allenet	0	1	1
	Jean Lagardere & Anne Allenet	0	1	1
	Paul Adrien & Marie Allenet	N/A	N/A	N/A
Pascal	Benjamin Pascal and Eleonor de Clerville	5	1	6

### Appendix 1.c – St Mary’s Families 1705-16

Family Name	Families	Baptism	Burial	Marriage
Chaigneau	Isaac Chaigneau & Marie Chesneau	2	1	0
	Etienne Chaigneau & Jeanne Chaigneau	1	1	0
	David Chaigneau & Elizabeth Macarell	2	1	0
	David Renoïard & Elizabeth Chaigneau	3	0	0
	Jean Chaigneau & Marguerite Chaigneau	1	0	0
Foulon	Claude Foulon & Anne Foulon	6	0	0
Brion	Paul Brion & Catherine Brion	3	2	0
Faure	Pierre Faure & Elizabeth Faure	4	0	0
Roy	Jacques Roy & Rachel Roux	4	2	0
Chataignier de Cramahé	Hector Chataignier de Cramahé & Marianne de Belrieu de Virazel	5	1	0
de Terrot	Charles & Suzanne de Terrot	3	1	1

Ducasse	Pascal Ducasse & Catherine Dumeny	4	2	0
Boissiere	Anthoine Boissiere & Elizabeth Harrison	5	1	0
Farjeon	David Farjeon & Marguerite Carrell	5	0	0
Gruber	Nicolas Gruber & Margaret Moore	5	0	0
Porter	Jean Porter & Marianne Macarell	4	1	0
Lagé	Etienne Lagé & Anne Boufard	4	1	0
Trapaud	Jean Trapaud & Marianne Guinebauld de la Milliere	4	1	0

## Appendix 1.d – .St Mary’s and St Patrick’s Heads of Families 1716

### St Mary’s Heads of Families

Association with Event	First Name	Family Name	Title Name
Head of Family	Jean	Aigoïn	
Head of Family	Abel	Amatis	
Head of Family	Louis	Bertin	
Head of Family	Anthoine	Boissiere	
Head of Family	Paul	Bonafon	
Member Consistory		Boubers	de Bernatre
Head of Family	Jacques	Boursiquot	
Head of Family	Jacques	Brusty	
Head of Family		Cavalier	
Head of Family	Isaac	Cells	
Head of Family	Louis	Chaigneau	
Member Consistory		Chataignier	de Cramahé
Head of Family	Jean	Corneille	
Head of Family	Adam	Danoüe	de Glatigny
Head of Family	Jean	Darquier	
Member Consistory	Jacques	Daubussargues	
Head of Family		de Belrieu	de Virazel
Head of Family	Abel	De Castelfranc	De Castelfranc
Head of Family	Pierre	de la Billiere	de la Billiere
Patron of Agreement	Henry	de Massue	Galway
Member Consistory	Alexandre	de Susy	de Susy
Member Consistory	Charles	de Vignoles	
Moderator Consistory	Pierre	Degaleniere	
Moderator Consistory	Paschale	Ducasse	
Head of Family	David	Farjeon	
Head of Family	Pierre	Faure	
Head of Family	Nicholas	Ferrand	
Head of Family	Nicolas	Gruber	
Member Consistory	Pierre	Guerin	
Member Consistory		Guinebauld	de la Milliere
Head of Family	Nicholas	Maucler	
Member Consistory	Charles	Perrault	de Sailly
Member Consistory	Jean	Porter	
Head of Family	David	Renouïard	

## United Churches Heads of Families

Association with Event	First Name	Family Name	Title Name
Head of Family	Bernard		
Head of Family	Jean		
Member Consistory	Paul	Adrien	
Head of Family	J.	Alançon	
Head of Family	Jean	Allenet	
Head of Family		Allenet	
Head of Family	David	Aubrespy	
Member Consistory	Charles	Bardin	
Member Consistory	Daniel	Bertrand	
Head of Family		Bontous	
Head of Family	Isaac	Bosnier	
Head of Family		Boubers	de Bernatre
Head of Family	Pierre	Bouquet	de St Paul
Head of Family	Jacques	Bournac	
Head of Family	Jacques	Brunier	de la Ville Sablon
Head of Family	Jean	Cells	
Head of Family		Chamerre	
Head of Family	Jacques	Champion	
Head of Family	Jacques	Daubussargues	
Secretary Consistory	Jean	Daulthier	de Bonvillette
Head of Family	Henry	Dauni	de la Lande
Head of Family	Daniel	de la Fontan	
Head of Family	Jean	de Mestre	
Head of Family	Pierre	de Poispaille	de la Rousselière
Head of Family	Jean	de Pradez	de Pradez
Moderator Consistory	Alexandre	de Susy	de Susy
Head of Family	Marc	de Valogne	
Head of Family	David	Digues	de La Touche
Head of Family		Drouart	de Vandierre
Head of Family	Pierre	Dumas	
Head of Family	Maximilien	Faviere	de Faviere
Agreement Party	Amaury	Fleury	
Member Consistory	Amaury	Fleury	
Head of Family	Pierre	Garesché	
Head of Family	D.	Gast	
Head of Family		Jalaquier	
Member Consistory		La Rousseliere	de la Rousselière
Head of Family	Charles	Le Fanu	de Cresserons
Head of Family	Jacob	Le Febvre	
Head of Family	Alexandre	L'Enfant	
Head of Family	Daniel	Marrault	de Marrault
Head of Family	Anthoine	Martin	de la Bastide
Head of Family	Jacques	Maucler	de St Philbert
Head of Family	C.	Nobileau	

Member Consistory	Jean	Paisant	
Head of Family	François	Pantin	du Parc
Head of Family	Charles	Perrault	de Sailly
Head of Family	Charles	Pillot	
Head of Family	Jacques	Roy	
Head of Family	Etienne	Saurin	de Marraul
Head of Family	Adam	Sorret	
Head of Family	Abraham	Tabois	
Head of Family	Durand	Therond	
Head of Family	Jean	Vareilles	
Head of Family	Anthoine	Vedel	
Head of Family	Jean	Vigier	
Agreement Party	Abraham	Viridet	

### Appendix 1.e – United Churches Families – 1716-40

Family Name	Number of Life Events	Present in Previous Cohorts
Darquier	17	Yes
Guinebauld de la Millière	12	Yes
Fleury	9	Yes
Chaigneau	9	Yes
Des Vories	8	No
Friboul	8	No
Penete	8	Yes
Le Fanu	7	Yes
Ducasse	7	Yes
de Vignoles	7	Yes
Corneille	7	Yes
Vareilles	7	Yes
Martin	5	Yes
General	5	No
Vauteau	5	Yes
Nicolas	5	Yes
Arabin	5	Yes
Pineau	5	Yes
Bouquet	5	Yes
Bachan	5	No
Gachet	5	Yes

## Appendix 1.f – Peter Street Families – 1700-30

Family Name	Baptised Person	Buried Person	Married Person
De Souches	19	3	0
Barré	10	3	0
Bues	10	3	1
Martin	9	3	1
Sanguinet	11	1	1
Bringuier	10	3	0
Combes	7	4	0
Roussell	8	2	0
Fonvieille	8	2	0
Clausel	8	1	0
Girard	7	1	1
Caillaud	6	3	0
Vabres	8	1	0
Pomarede	8	1	0
Bernard	4	3	1
Trulyé	7	1	1
Terson	6	2	0
Talmon	8	0	0
Alançon	4	3	0
de St Feriol	8	0	0
Triboulet	6	2	0
Brusty	7	0	0
Jausseau	7	0	1
Audoyer	6	2	0

## Appendix 1.g – Peter Street Subscription Lists – 1725-35

### 1725 List

Association with Event	First Name	Family Name
Church Member		Angles
Church Member		Armand
Church Member		Audouin
Church Member		Audouin
Church Member		Audouin
Church Member	Pierre	Audouin
Church Member	Jacques	Audouin
Church Member		Augier
Church Member		Premier
Church Member		Barbut
Church Member		Barbut
Church Member		Bardin
Church Member		Barré

Church Member		Barré
Church Member		Barré
Church Member		Bayze
Church Member		Beaufort
Church Member		Bellory
Church Member		Bertrand
Church Member		Blanchard
Church Member		Boileau
Church Member		Martin de la Bastide
Church Member		Bouteau
Church Member		Brassard
Church Member		Brocas
Church Member		Bruière
Church Member		Bruniquel
Church Member		Brusty
Church Member		Bues
Church Member		Cabanel
Church Member		Cabort
Church Member		Caleau
Church Member		Carteret
Church Member		Cassel
Church Member		Cassel
Church Member		Chauveau
Church Member		Chelainel
Church Member		Chomele
Church Member		Clausel
Church Member		Clervaut
Church Member		Combecrose
Church Member		Combes
Church Member		Conte
Church Member		Corbette
Church Member		Corneille
Church Member		Coudere
Church Member		de Blosset
Church Member		de Brasselay
Church Member		de Champlorier
Church Member		de Cresserons
Church Member		Le Clerc
Church Member		Dalizieu
Church Member		Dassas
Church Member		Daubigny
Church Member		Daulthier
Church Member		Davessein
Church Member		De Souches
Church Member		De Souches

Church Member		De Souches
Church Member		De Souches
Church Member		Delor
Church Member		Desclaux
Church Member		Despariat
Church Member		Despra
Church Member		Deuin
Church Member		Dexoudon
Church Member		Domergue
Church Member		Droulion
Church Member		Du Glas
Church Member		Duchal
Church Member		Duchesne
Church Member		Duclos
Church Member		Dufay
Church Member		Dumas
Church Member		Dumas
Church Member		Dumeny
Church Member		Durand
Church Member		Duselau
Church Member		Duval
Church Member		Estainier
Church Member		de Fontalba
Church Member		Fagnau
Church Member		Farsey
Church Member		Faviere
Church Member		Favre
Church Member		Femouse
Church Member		Fontaine
Church Member		Fontaine
Church Member		Fontaine
Church Member		Fonvieille
Church Member		Gabriel
Church Member		Gagnon
Church Member		Gales
Church Member		Gaspard
Church Member		Gau
Church Member		Gautron
Church Member		Janure de la Bouchetiere
Church Member		Gerlein
Church Member		Gervais
Church Member		Godeau
Church Member		Goumes
Church Member		Goüy
Church Member		Gregne



Church Member		Guibal
Church Member		Guinaud
Church Member		Guion
Church Member		Guionneau
Church Member		Le Febure
Church Member		de la Brissoniere
Church Member		de La Cailletiere
Church Member		de La Chapelle
Church Member		Dauni de la Lande
Church Member		Jausseau
Church Member		Jeanet
Church Member		Joamier
Church Member		Jonquiere
Church Member		La Barthe
Church Member		La Borde
Church Member		Maret de La Rive
Church Member		La Combe
Church Member		La Malquiere
Church Member		La Mothe
Church Member		La Porte
Church Member		de La Rousselière
Church Member		La Salle
Church Member		Lagardere
Church Member		Lagnan
Church Member		Lalane
Church Member		Languedoc
Church Member		Lartigue
Church Member		Le Conte
Church Member		Le Maitre
Church Member		Leger
Church Member		Lescalle
Church Member		Lescalle
Church Member		Lespinasse
Church Member		Lones
Church Member		Longpré
Church Member		St James
Church Member		Malet
Church Member		Malié
Church Member		Malret
Church Member		Mangin
Church Member		de La Rousselière
Church Member		Brunet de Rochebrune
Church Member		de Saily
Church Member	P.	Martin
Church Member		Masseau

Church Member		Masson
Church Member		Maturin
Church Member		Mauran
Church Member		Mauroumet
Church Member		Mauzé
Church Member		Metivier
Church Member		Morel
Church Member		Nicolas
Church Member		Nicolas
Church Member		Ouillet
Church Member		Pain
Church Member		Pechels
Church Member		Pechels
Church Member		Pelletreau
Church Member		Petry
Church Member		Pineau
Church Member		Pomarede
Church Member		Poncet
Church Member		Portal
Church Member		Poudanson
Church Member		Priustot
Church Member		de St Germain
Church Member		de St Mesmin
Church Member		de Terrot
Church Member		Cells
Church Member		de Quinsac
Church Member		de St Feriol
Church Member		de St Sauveur
Church Member		de Villeneuve
Church Member		Martin Du Cloussy
Church Member		Paie
Church Member		Pelat
Church Member		Penete
Church Member		Pineau
Church Member		Portal
Church Member		Rieusset
Church Member		Riorteau
Church Member		Roucouly
Church Member		Rouillé
Church Member		Roussell
Church Member	Suzanne	Royer
Church Member		Rulland
Church Member		Sanguinet
Church Member		Saurin
Church Member		Sauvagat
Church Member		Serman

Church Member		Soulier
Church Member	Charlotte	Sparras
Church Member		St Geme
Church Member		Geraud du Puychenin
Church Member		de Vignoles
Church Member		Boileau de Castelnau
Church Member		Talon
Church Member		Teret
Church Member		Thibout
Church Member		Trapaud
Church Member		Tremoullet
Church Member		Trinquet
Church Member		Trulyé
Church Member		Vandargues
Church Member		Vauteau
Church Member		Vauteau
Church Member	Elizabeth	Vebron
Church Member		Vesey
Church Member		Vidouze
Church Member		Vigneau
Church Member		Vigneau
Church Member		Voiries
Church Member		Wortful

### 1735 List

Association with Event	First Name	Family Name
Church Member	Marie	Archambaut
Church Member		Armand
Church Member		Armenaut
Church Member		Audebert
Church Member		Audouin
Church Member		Audouin
Church Member		Audouin
Church Member		Audouin
Church Member		Bancons
Church Member		Barbut
Church Member		Barbut
Church Member		Barré
Church Member		Barré
Church Member		Barré
Church Member		Barré
Church Member		Bertin
Church Member		Besnard
Church Member		Borderie
Church Member		Brassard
Church Member		Bruniquel

Church Member		de Blosset
Church Member		de Brasselay
Church Member		Ballange
Church Member		Barbault
Church Member		Bardin
Church Member		Bertrand
Church Member		Besnard
Church Member		Blanchard
Church Member		Boileau de Castelnau
Church Member		Bouigue
Church Member		Boyd
Church Member		Bruière
Church Member		Brusty
Church Member		Bues
Church Member		Burdeceau
Church Member		Cabrol
Church Member		Cahé
Church Member		Caillaud
Church Member		Caillaud
Church Member		Caillaud
Church Member		Caillon
Church Member		Carmentran
Church Member		Carnac
Church Member		Chaigneau
Church Member		Charrier
Church Member		Chateaneuf
Church Member		Combecrose
Church Member		Corneille
Church Member		Cornulete
Church Member		Coudere
Church Member		de Cressel
Church Member		de Cresserons
Church Member		le Ceansade
Church Member		Artigue Longue
Church Member		Combes
Church Member		Dagot
Church Member		Dagot
Church Member		Daliquieres
Church Member		Daniel
Church Member		Darrassus
Church Member		Dartis
Church Member		Dassas
Church Member		de Pradez
Church Member		De Souches
Church Member		De Souches
Church Member		Delor

Church Member		Desbordes
Church Member		Dexoudon
Church Member		Diaxarideun
Church Member		Droulion
Church Member		Duchal
Church Member		Duchesne
Church Member		Dufay
Church Member		Dumas
Church Member		Dumeny
Church Member		Dupuy
Church Member		Durand
Church Member		Durassart
Church Member		Espariat
Church Member		Estaunier
Church Member		Le Fanu
Church Member		Danoüe de Glatigny
Church Member		de Gually
Church Member		Farsey
Church Member		Faure
Church Member		Faure
Church Member		Faure
Church Member		Favelle
Church Member		Figuier
Church Member		Fonvieille
Church Member		Forrester
Church Member		Fraigneau
Church Member		Franquefort
Church Member		Franquefort
Church Member		Friboul
Church Member		Gervais
Church Member		Godeau
Church Member		Goderon
Church Member		Goumes
Church Member		Guerin
Church Member		Guibal
Church Member		Guimet
Church Member		Guion
Church Member		Le Fanu
Church Member	George	Purdon
Church Member		de La Cailletiere
Church Member		Janure de la Bouchetiere
Church Member		Joan
Church Member	Magdelaine	Jollivet
Church Member		Jonquiere
Church Member		La Barthe
Church Member		La Chapelle

Church Member		La Mothe
Church Member		La Porte
Church Member		Laffon
Church Member		Lagardere
Church Member		Languedoc
Church Member		Laplassete
Church Member		Larivaliere
Church Member		Larivane
Church Member		Lartigue
Church Member		Lasaritie
Church Member		Lautal
Church Member		Le Clerc
Church Member		Le Tore
Church Member		Le Vieux
Church Member		Leger
Church Member		Louis
Church Member		Maret de La Rive
Church Member		Malet
Church Member		Malié
Church Member		Marconnay
Church Member		Martin Du Cloussy
Church Member		Martin
Church Member		Martin de la Bastide
Church Member		Masseau
Church Member		Massoniere
Church Member		Mauroumet
Church Member		Mauzé
Church Member		Metivier
Church Member		Miott
Church Member		Mongen
Church Member		Montauban
Church Member		Morel
Church Member		Morel
Church Member		Nairac
Church Member		Nicolas
Church Member		Pechels
Church Member		Pelat
Church Member		Pelletreau
Church Member		Pendier
Church Member		Penete
Church Member		Picard
Church Member		de Pineau
Church Member		Pomarede
Church Member		Poncet
Church Member		Poncet
Church Member		Portal

Church Member		Portal
Church Member		de Saily
Church Member		Brunet de Rochebrune
Church Member	Suzanne	Caudesonne
Church Member		de St Sauveur
Church Member		Paulin
Church Member		Poitevin
Church Member		Pradel
Church Member		Quetin
Church Member		Regnaud
Church Member		Ribould
Church Member		Richard
Church Member		Rulland
Church Member		Sainonemain
Church Member		Sainyennes
Church Member		Sanguinet
Church Member		Saurin
Church Member		Sauvaget
Church Member		Seguin
Church Member		Seigné
Church Member		Serman
Church Member	Rose	Smith
Church Member		Stafford
Church Member		de Terrot
Church Member		de Villeneuve
Church Member		Talon
Church Member		Teret
Church Member		Terson
Church Member		Terson
Church Member		Thibout
Church Member		Tournois
Church Member		Tremoulet
Church Member		Trorde
Church Member		Vandargues
Church Member		Vassal
Church Member		Vauteau
Church Member	Elizabeth	Vebron
Church Member		Vergine
Church Member		Viale
Church Member		Vidouze
Church Member		Villebois
Church Member		Vincent
Church Member		Wortful

## Appendix 2.a – French Protestants receiving Freedom 1693

Number	First Name	Family Name	Occupation	Occupation Status
1	Elie	Rideau	Seaman	Marine
2	Jean	Verger	Seaman	Marine
3	Theodore	Vincent	Clothworker	Artisan
4	John	Defos	Clothworker	Artisan
5	James	Sabourin	Baker	Artisan
6	Peter	Michell	Baker	Artisan
7	Andrew	Trenquier	Baker	Artisan
8	William	Dumas	Tailor	Artisan
9	Samuel	Vayssier	Skinner	Artisan
10	John	Dartiguell	Tallow Chandler	Artisan
11	James	Godfrey	Cabinet Maker	Artisan
12	David	Reboul	Skinner	Artisan
13	Paul	Espinasse	Skinner	Artisan
14	Peter	Ferrieu	Skinner	Artisan
15	Samuel	Thivan	Mason	Artisan
16	Isaac	Voteau	Tanner	Artisan
17	Nicholas	Leroy	Chirurgion	Artisan
18	Michael	Moucan	Carpenter	Artisan
19	Samuel	Collier	Carpenter	Artisan
20	Isaac	Collier	Carpenter	Artisan
21	Paul	Noe	Shoemaker	Artisan
22	Adrian	Morance	Blacksmith	Artisan
23	Peter	Ferrier	Cobbler	Artisan
24	Claudius	Jamar	Shoemaker	Artisan
25	Peter	Soit	Silkweaver	Artisan
26	James	Soit	Silkweaver	Artisan
27	John	Maillet	Glover	Artisan
28	James	Paige	Distiller	Artisan
29	Auber	Gely	Brazier	Artisan
30	Daniel	Gely	Brazier	Artisan

## Appendix 2.a – French Protestant Merchants' Guild Members

Number	First Name	Family Name	Time of Admittance	Year	Method
1	John	Aigoin	Christmas	1729	B
2	David	Aigoin	Midsummer	1734	B
3	Simon	Audouin	Easter	1726	S
4	Simon	Augier	Easter	1730	S



5	Jeremiah	Bancons	Christmas	1723	S
6	Peter	Barré	Easter	1728	G
7	William	Berry	Michaelmas	1702	G
8	Lewis	Bertin	Michaelmas	1705	G
9	John	Bertrand	Midsummer	1725	S
10	Isaac	Boursiquot	Michaelmas	1720	S
11	Peter	Boursiquot	Christmas	1733	G
12	Isaac	Brunet	Christmas	1721	S
13	David	Buisson	Midsummer	1701	G
14	John	Bureau	Christmas	1700	G
15	John	Bureau	Michaelmas	1736	B
16	Peter	Callage	Michaelmas	1723	S
17	Gabrielle	Canasille	Midsummer	1703	G
18	Sarah	Carter	Midsummer	1713	B
19	Isaac	Chaigneau	Midsummer	1701	G
20	David	Chaigneau	Christmas	1711	S
21	Francis	Clarice	Midsummer	1715	G
22	Jean	Clamouse	Midsummer	1717	S
23	Benjamin	Cossart	Michaelmas	1708	S
24	John	Cossart	Easter	1737	B
25	Lewis	Crommelin	Michaelmas	1706	G
26	Benjamin	Daniel	Midsummer	1738	G
27	Henry	Daniel	Midsummer	1727	G
28	John	Darquier	Midsummer	1709	G
29	William	Darquier	Midsummer	1729	G
30	Mark	Desmynieres	Midsummer	1709	G
31	David	Digues La Touche	Christmas	1724	
32	James	Digues La Touche	Midsummer	1734	G
33	David	Dupont	Christmas	1704	G
34	David	Dupont	Christmas	1724	B
35	John	Farange	Christmas	1725	S
36	Stephen	Fouace	Midsummer	1720	S
37	Peter	Garesché	Christmas	1700	G
38	Thomas	Gautier	Midsummer	1706	G
39	Francis Nicholas	Gruber	Christmas	1728	B
40	Daniel	Hattenville	Christmas	1711	G
41	Samuel	Hattenville	Christmas	1725	S
42	Samuel	Horner	Easter	1734	G
43	Henry	Jourdan	Easter	1724	S
44	George	Lapierre	Midsummer	1735	B

45	Clenet	Lapree	Michaelmas	1736	S
46	Daniel	Le Clerc	Easter	1719	S
47	David	Le Gaigneur	Michaelmas	1700	G
48	David	Le Gaigneur	Michaelmas	1715	S
49	John	Macarell	Christmas	1701	G
50	John	Macarell	Michaelmas	1716	S
51	Francis	Malet	Midsummer	1729	S
52	Peter	Verdoen	Midsummer	1727	B
53	Nicholas	Maucler	Michaelmas	1709	G
54	John	Molie	Midsummer	1700	G
55	John	Nairac	Michaelmas	1727	G
56	Charles	Nobileau	Midsummer	1740	S
57	Nicholas	Oursell	Christmas	1711	G
58	Raymond	Penettes	Christmas	1717	G
59	Peter	Pereaube	Christmas	1708	G
60	Peter	Picard	Christmas	1708	G
61	Henry	Pineau	Christmas	1719	S
62	John	Porter	Midsummer	1700	G
63	Joseph	Porter	Midsummer	1708	G
64	Albert	Prevost	Midsummer	1703	G
65	Lewis	Regnier	Midsummer	1708	G
66	John	Rieusset	Michaelmas	1707	G
67	Andrew	Rulland	Christmas	1714	G
68	John	Sican	Midsummer	1708	S
69	James	Simon	Christmas	1728	G
70	Abraham	Tabois	Christmas	1710	G
71	John	Therould	Easter	1705	G
72	John	Vareilles	Michaelmas	1700	G
73	Anthony	Vareilles	Michaelmas	1716	S
74	James	Vareilles	Midsummer	1733	B
75	Peter	Vauteau	Michaelmas	1727	G
76	Lewis	Vedell	Christmas	1701	G
77	Peter	Verdoen	Christmas	1702	G

### Appendix 2.c – Weavers’ Guild Members

Number	First Name	Family Name	Other Name	Years
1	Louis	le Roux		1693-1716
2	François	le Tore		1693-1720
3	Olivier	Dugast		1693-1733
4	Giles	le Moyne		1693-1709
5	Abraham	Tabois		1697-1735

6	David	La Touche		1700-1740
7	Henry	Menard		1704-1735
8	Nicholas	Boivin		1720-1730
9	Isaac	De Souches		1720-1740
10	James	De Souches		1720-1740
11	David	Chaigneau		1730-1740
12	David	Sanguinet		1735-1740
13	John	Macarell		1735-1740
14	David	Guion		1735-1740
15	James	Brion		1735-1740
16	Simon	Augier		1735-1740
17	Paul	Guinnet		1735-1740
18	James	La Touche	Digges	1740
19	David	Grou		1740
20		Martin	Du Clousy	1740
21	William	De Souches		1740

### Appendix 2.d – French Protestant City Council Members

Common Council 1714				
Number	First Name	Family Name	Guild Representing	Total Representatives
1	Nicholas	Gruber	Merchants	c. 30
2	John	Porter	Merchants	
3	Louis	Chaigneau	Merchants	
4	Israel	Jalibert	Bakers	4
Common Council 1717				
Number	First Name	Family Name	Guild Representing	Total Representatives
1	Nicholas	Gruber	Merchants	c. 30
2	David	La Touche	Merchants	
3	John	Macarell	Merchants	
4	Israel	Jalabert	Bakers	4
Common Council 1720				
Number	First Name	Family Name	Guild Representing	Total Representatives
1	John	Macarell	Merchants	c. 30
2	David	La Touche	Merchants	
3	Nicholas	Gruber	Merchants	
4	John	Vareilles	Merchants	
5	John	Rieusset	Merchants	
6	John	Porter	Tailors	4
7	Israel	Jalabert	Bakers	4
8	Paul	Espinasse	Brewers	4

<b>Lord Mayor &amp; Council 1723</b>				
<b>Number</b>	<b>First Name</b>	<b>Family Name</b>	<b>Guild Representing</b>	<b>Total Representatives</b>
1	John	Sican	Merchants	c. 30
2	David	La Touche	Merchants	
3	John	Rieusset	Merchants	
4	John	Vareilles	Merchants	
5	Nicholas	Gruber	Merchants	
6	John	Aigoin	Merchants	
7	Israel	Jalabert	Bakers	4
8	Paul	Espinasse	Brewers	4
<b>Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Sheriffs' Peers</b>				
<b>Number</b>	<b>First Name</b>	<b>Family Name</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Year</b>
1	John	Porter	Mayor	1723-6
2	Joseph	Macarell	Sheriffs' Peer	1723-6
3	David	Chaigneau	Sheriffs' Peer	1723-6
<b>Lord Mayor &amp; Council 1726</b>				
<b>Number</b>	<b>First Name</b>	<b>Family Name</b>	<b>Guild Representing</b>	<b>Total Representatives</b>
1	John	Sican	Merchants	c. 30
2	David	La Touche	Merchants	
3	Nicholas	Gruber	Merchants	
4	John	Vareilles	Merchants	
5	John	Porter	Tailors	4
6	Israel	Jalabert	Bakers	4
7	William	Espinasse	Brewers	4
8	Paul	Espinasse	Brewers	
<b>Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Sheriffs' Peers</b>				
<b>Number</b>	<b>First Name</b>	<b>Family Name</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Year</b>
1	John	Porter	Alderman	1726-9
2	John	Macarell	Sheriffs' Peer	1726-9
3	David	Chaigneau	Sheriffs' Peer	1726-9
<b>Lord Mayor &amp; Council 1729</b>				
<b>Number</b>	<b>First Name</b>	<b>Family Name</b>	<b>Guild Representing</b>	<b>Total Representatives</b>
1	John	Sican	Merchants	c. 30
2	Paul	Espinasse	Brewers	4
<b>Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Sheriffs' Peers</b>				

Number	First Name	Family Name	Position	Year
1	John	Porter	Alderman	1729-32
2	John	Macarell	Sheriffs' Peer	1729-32
3	David	Chaigneau	Sheriffs' Peer	1729-32
<b>Lord Mayor &amp; Council 1732</b>				
Number	First Name	Family Name	Guild Representing	Total Representatives
1	John	Sican	Merchants	
2	Charles	Rossell	Merchants	
3	David	La Touche	Merchants	Jnr
4	Israel	Jalabert	Bakers	4
5	Peter	Bertrand	Glovers	2
6	William	Espinasse	Brewers	4
7	Paul	Espinasse	Brewers	
<b>Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Sheriffs' Peers</b>				
Number	First Name	Family Name	Position	Year
1	John	Porter	Alderman	1732-8
2	John	Macarell	Alderman	1732-8
3	David	Chaigneau	Sheriffs' Peers	1732-8
<b>Lord Mayor &amp; Council 1738</b>				
Number	First Name	Family Name	Guild Representing	Total Representatives
1	David	La Touche	Merchants	Jnr c. 30
2	James	Digues La Touche	Merchants	
3	Anthony	Vareilles	Merchants	
4	Anthony	Perrier	Bakers	4
5	John	Audibert	Bakers	
6	Noah	Vialas	Goldsmiths	4
7	John	Espinasse	Brewers	4
<b>Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs and Sheriffs' Peers</b>				
Number	First Name	Family Name	Position	Year
1	John	Macarell	Mayor	1738
2	John	Porter	Alderman	1738
3	Charles	Rossell	Sheriffs' Peer	1738
4	David	Chaigneau	Sheriffs' Peer	1738

### Appendix 3.a – French Protestant Denizations and Naturalisations 1680-90

Association with Event	First Name	Family Name
Event Person	Jacques	Hierome
Event Person	Jean	Comtesse
Event Person	David	Cossart
Event Person	Moyse	Viridet
Event Person	Jean	Le Febure
Event Person	Charles	Perrault de Sailly
Event Person	Pierre	Nau
Event Person	Jean	Roy
Event Person	Jean	Roy
Event Person	Jacques	Roy
Event Person	Catherine	Roy
Event Person	Jacques	Roy
Event Person	Jeanne	Le Febure
Event Person	Pierre	Le Febure
Event Person	Pierre	Le Febure
Event Person	Jean	Paisant
Event Person	Jacques	Roy
Event Person	François	Gruber
Event Person	Nicolas	Gruber
Event Person	Jean	Roy
Event Person	Jean	Roy
Event Person	Pierre	Martin
Event Person	François	Gruber
Event Person	Nicolas	Gruber
Event Person	Henry	Chataignier de Cramahé
Event Person	Marie	Chaigneau
Event Person	Esther	Chaigneau
Event Person	Jean	Severin
Event Person	Pierre	Chaigneau
Event Person	Claude	Nobileau
Event Person	Philippe	Fleury
Event Person	Louis	Scoffier
Event Person	Elie	Bouhereau
Event Person	Richard	Bouhereau des Herbieres
Event Person	Blandine	Bouhereau
Event Person	Elias	Bouhereau
Event Person	Marguerite	Bouhereau
Event Person	John	Bouhereau
Event Person	Amateur	Bouhereau
Event Person	Magdelaine	Bouhereau
Event Person	Amaury	Fleury
Event Person	Marguerite	Matlot
Event Person	Jean	Chaigneau
Event Person	Isaac	Martin

Event Person	Anthoine	Vareilles
Event Person	Françoise	Morel
Event Person	Pierre	Chaigneau
Event Person	Jean	Espinasse
Event Person	Jacob	Le Febvre
Event Person	Barthelemey	Van Homrigh

### Appendix 3.b – French Protestant Denizations 1690-1717

Association with Event	First Name	Family Name	Title Name
Event Person	Jean	Pineau	
Event Person	Jean	Faure	
Event Person	William	Nau	
Event Person	Pierre	Guerin	
Event Person	Jacques	Teissonnière	
Event Person	Louise	Beauchamp	
Event Person	Daniel	Guion	
Event Person	Jean	Guion	
Event Person	Isaac	Martin	
Event Person	Marie	Martin	
Event Person	Jacques	Boursiquot	
Event Person	David	Martin	
Event Person	Barthelemy	Balaquier	
Event Person	Jean	Darrassus	
Event Person	Jacques	Roy	
Event Person	Henry	de Rocheblave	
Event Person	Jean	Trapaud	
Event Person	Alexandre	L'Enfant	
Event Person	François	Durand	
Event Person	François	Duroure	
Event Person	Charles	de Vignoles	
Event Person	Auguste	de Laspois	
Event Person	Jacques	Bontous	
Event Person	Jeremie	Lambremont	
Event Person	Marc	de Valogne	
Event Person	John	Jourdan	
Event Person	Elie	Bouhereau	
Event Person	Jacques	Abbadie	
Event Person	P.	Martin	
Event Person	Paul	Espinasse	
Event Person	Abraham	Sandoz	
Event Person	Louis	Ramsé	
Event Person		Caillaud	
Event Person	David	Renoiard	
Event Person	Charles	Boileau	
Event Person	Pierre	Bonafon	
Event Person	Rodolphe	Corneille	

Event Person	Jean	Ducros	
Event Person	Jean	Darquier	
Event Person	Louis	Bertin	
Event Person	Durand	Therond	
Event Person	Jean	Aigoin	
Event Person	Jacob	Perrault	
Event Person	Paul	de Blosset	
Event Person	Jean	Bertrand	
Event Person	Daniel	Abbadie	
Event Person	Paul	Guion	
Event Person	Jean	Boivin	
Event Person	Jeanne	Bonafon	
Event Person	Jean	Beaume	
Event Person	Abraham	Viridet	
Event Person	Jean	Espinasse	
Event Person		Bontous	
Event Person	Charles	Bardin	
Event Person	Daniel	Nobileau	
Event Person	Jean	Vareilles	
Event Person	Paschale	Ducasse	
Event Person	Jean	Chaigneau	
Event Person	Richard	Martin	
Event Person	Pierre	Martin	
Event Person	Henry	Dabzac	
Event Person	Jean	Maret	
Event Person	Pierre	Moulin	
Event Person	Marie	Hattenville	
Event Person	Amateur	Bouhereau	
Event Person	Louis	Saurin	
Event Person	Jacques	Le Roy	
Event Person	Daniel	Pelletreau	
Event Person	Louis	le Roux	
Event Person	Jean	Severin	
Event Person	Louis	Chaigneau	
Event Person	Jacques	Cassel	
Event Person	Sarah	Cassel	
Event Person	Daniel	Bertrand	
Event Person	Philippe	Morel	
Event Person	Abel	Amatis	
Event Person	Pierre	Dumas	
Event Person	Mathieu	Brion	
Event Person	Jacques	Bournac	
Event Person	Jacob	Pechels	
Event Person	Jean	Morel	
Event Person	Jacques	Morel	
Event Person	Jean	Corneille	



Event Person	Louis	de Rocheblave	
Event Person	Charles	Porter	
Event Person	Marc	Saurin	
Event Person	Pierre	Dragaud	
Event Person	Scipion	Duroure	
Event Person	Pierre	Boissiere	
Event Person	Jacques	Le Fanu	
Event Person	Alexander	Duroure	
Event Person	David	Aubrespy	
Event Person	Marguerite	Faure	
Event Person	André	Paisant	
Event Person	Guillaume	Bouquerar	
Event Person	Paul	Chastel	
Event Person	Jacques	Fontaine	
Event Person	Jacques	Brusty	
Event Person	Anthoine	Vedel	
Event Person	Nicolas	Cassel	
Event Person	Charles	Pillot	
Event Person	Jean	Brunet	
Event Person	David	Farjeon	
Event Person	Paul	Bonafon	
Event Person	Nicholas	Ferrand	
Event Person	Simon	Chabert	
Event Person	Pierre	Degaleniere	
Event Person	Samuel	Cavalier	
Event Person	Jacques	Daubussargues	
Event Person	Noé	Desclaux	
Event Person	Gabriel	Barbier	
Event Person	Louis	Quartier	
Event Person	Guillaume	Maret	
Event Person	Daniel	de la Fontan	
Event Person	Isaac	Cells	
Event Person	John	Bouhereau	
Event Person	Jean	Therould	
Event Person	Jean	Paisant	
Event Person	Jean	Cells	
Event Person	Etienne	La Pierre	
Event Person	Louis	Simon	
Event Person	Paul	Pineau	
Event Person		Bosnier	
Event Person	Pierre	Faure	
Event Person	Benjamin	Pascal	
Event Person	Jean	de Mestre	
Event Person	Jeanne	de Blosset	
Event Person	Nicholas	Maucler	
Event Person	Jean	Porter	

Event Person	Jean	Chabert	
Event Person	Isaac	Chaigneau	
Event Person	Isaac	Nau	
Event Person	Catherine	Naveau	
Event Person	Jean	Vauteau	
Event Person	Marie	Bosnier	
Event Person	Marthe	Morel	
Event Person	Paul	Brion	
Event Person	Magdelaine	Bonafon	
Event Person	Sarrah	Taveau	
Event Person	Jacques	Champion	
Event Person	Jeanne	Maucler	
Event Person	Guillaume	Espinasse	
Event Person	Abraham	Tabois	
Event Person	Marie	Beaume	
Event Person	Françoise	Beaume	
Event Person		Darquier	
Event Person		Vauteau	
Event Person	Isaac	Vauteau	
Event Person		Brunier	
Event Person	Anthoine	Vareilles	
Event Person	Elizabeth	Therould	
Event Person	Marie	Macarell	
Event Person	Lucie	Monceau	
Event Person	Pierre	Garesché	
Event Person	Anne	Mantaud	
Event Person	Jeanne	Arabin	
Event Person	Rachel	Charrurier	
Event Person	Marianne	Guinebauld	
Event Person	Catherine	Duroure	
Event Person	Jeanne	Pascal	
Event Person	Marie	de Terrot	
Event Person	Marie	Viridet	
Event Person	Marianne	Macarell	
Event Person	Elizabeth	Chaigneau	
Event Person	Angelique	Pillot	
Event Person	Pierre	Cacau	
Event Person	Madeleine	Martin	
Event Person	Suzanne	Tabois	
Event Person	Daniel	Pineau	
Event Person	Marquise	de Thierry	
Event Person	Anne	Duroure	
Event Person	Maturine	de Mestre	
Event Person	Judith	Pillot	
Event Person	Jean	Moulin	
Event Person	Suzanne	Duroure	

Event Person	Jeanne	Chaigneau	
Event Person	David	Chaigneau	
Event Person	Etienne	Ducasse	
Event Person	D.	Gast	
Event Person	Henry	Pascal	
Event Person	Pierre	Darquier	
Event Person	Jean	Nicolas	
Event Person	Jean		de Grangues
Event Person	Jean		de Lacger
Event Person	Marie		de Lacger
Event Person	Philippe		de St Jean
Event Person	Barthelemy	Arabin	de Barcelle
Event Person	Daniel	Boubers	de Bernatre
Event Person	Richard	Bouhereau	des Herbieres
Event Person	Pierre	Bouquet	de St Paul
Event Person	Jacques	Brunier	de la Ville Sablon
Event Person	Marianne	Cassel	La Fitte
Event Person	Hector	Chataignier	de Cramahé
Event Person	Samuel	Daniel	de Grangues
Event Person	Adam	Danoüe	de Glatigny
Event Person	Elizabeth	Darrassus	de St Paul
Event Person	Mariane	Darrassus	de St Paul
Event Person	Henry	Dauni	de la Lande
Event Person	Pierre	Dauni	de la Lande
Event Person	Daniel	de Belrieu	de Virazel
Event Person	Jacques	de Belrieu	de Virazel
Event Person	Marianne	de Belrieu	de Virazel
Event Person	Solomon	de Blosset	de Loche
Event Person	Abel	De Castelfranc	De Castelfranc
Event Person	C.	de Cresserons	de Cresserons
Event Person	Paul	de la Billiere	de la Billiere
Event Person	Pierre	de la Billiere	de la Billiere
Event Person	Isabelle	De la Caux	De la Caux
Event Person	Jeanne	de la Corne	de Saily
Event Person	Magdelaine	de la Cour	de la Cour
Event Person	Charlotte	de Laspois	de Laspois
Event Person	Henry	de Massue	Galway
Event Person	Pierre	de Poispaïlle	de la Rousselière
Event Person	Jean	de Pradez	de Pradez
Event Person		de Questbrune	de Questbrune
Event Person	Jean	de Questbrune	de Questbrune
Event Person	Alexandre	de Susy	de Susy
Event Person	Theophile	Desbrisay	de la Cour
Event Person	David	Digues	de La Touche
Event Person	Judith	Digues	de La Touche
Event Person		Drouart	de Vandierre

Event Person	Charles	Drouart	de Vandierre
Event Person	Madeleine	Drouart	de Vandierre
Event Person	Jean	Durand	de Durand
Event Person	Japhet	Geraud	du Puychenin
Event Person	Anne	Geraud	du Puychenin
Event Person	Pierre	Gilbert	de Pagez
Event Person	Florent	Guinebauld	de La Milliere
Event Person	Charles	Guinebauld	de la Milliere
Event Person	Cyrus	Guinebauld	de la Milliere
Event Person	Henry	Guinebauld	de la Milliere
Event Person	Charlotte	Guinebauld	de La Milliere
Event Person	Jaques	Hattenville	de Quivremont
Event Person	Charles	Janure	de la Bouchetiere
Event Person	Charles	Le Fanu	de Cresserons
Event Person	Elizabeth	Le Feron	de la Rousselière
Event Person	Suzanne	le Noir	de Maret
Event Person	René	Letablere	de Lestablere
Event Person	Anthoine	Ligonier	de Bonneval
Event Person	Daniel	Marrault	de Marrault
Event Person	Anthoine	Martin	de la Bastide
Event Person	Anne	Martin	de la Bastide
Event Person	Jean	Martin	Du Cloussy
Event Person	Paul	Martin	du Cloussy
Event Person	Jacques	Maucler	de St Philbert
Event Person	Suzanne	Maucler	de St Philbert
Event Person	Etienne	Mesmin	de St Mesmin
Event Person	Rachel	Mesmin	de St Mesmin
Event Person	Jeanne	Mesmin	de St Mesmin
Event Person	Marie	Morel	de Lambermont
Event Person	François	Pantin	du Parc
Event Person	Samuel	Pechels	La Boissonnade
Event Person	Charles	Perrault	de Sailly
Event Person	Isaac	Perrault	de Sailly
Event Person	Pierre	Pineau	de Clairac
Event Person	Marie	Pineau	de Pineau
Event Person	Etienne	Saurin	de Marraul
Event Person	Barthelemy	Arabin	de Barcelle
Event Person		de Belrieu	de Virazel
Event Person	Benjamin	de Dailon	

#### Appendix 4.a – St Patrick’s Godparents 1660-90

Gender	First Name	Family Name	Family Occupation	Witness	Godparent	Total
Female			Military Officer	0	7	7
Male	Louis	le Roux	Silkweaver	1	3	4
Male	Isaac	Bonouvrier	Merchant	0	4	4
Female	Judith	Cossart	Merchant	0	4	4

Male	Daniel	Hays	Merchant	0	4	4
Male	Pierre	Bonnin	Surgeon	0	4	4
Male	Jacques	Fontaine	Surgeon General	0	4	4
Male	Jean	Casaré	Unknown	1	2	3
Male	Pierre	Parquot	Unknown	1	2	3
Female	Marie	Guillet	Unknown	0	3	3
Female	Elizabeth	Rouleau	Unknown	0	3	3
Female	Jeanne	d'Oizy	Unknown	0	3	3
Male	Pierre	Vatable	Unknown	0	3	3
Male	Mathieu	de la Roche	Unknown	0	3	3

#### Appendix 4.b – St Patrick’s Ministers 1660-90

First Name	Family Name	Marriage	Burial	Baptism	Count
Josué	Roussell	7	45	37	89
Moyse	Viridet	6	11	36	53
Antoine	Nabez	3	0	4	7
Jacques	Hierome	0	0	4	4
Jean	Majou	0	1	1	2
	Rule	1	0	0	1

#### Appendix 4.c – St Patrick’s Godparents & Witnesses 1692-1716

Gender	Family Occupation	First Name	Family Name	Witness	Elder	Total
Male	Porter	Pierre	Cacau	34	0	34
Male	Clothmaker	Louis	le Roux	33	0	33
Male	Attorney	Pierre	Guerin	25	1	26
Male	Apothecary	Isaac	Bosnier	19	0	19
Male	Unknown		St Philbert	15	0	15
Male	Merchant	Louis	Chaigneau	13	0	13
Male	Church Minister	Gabriel	Barbier	13	0	13
Male	Military Officer	Japhet	Geraud du Puychenin	13	0	13
Female	Church Minister	E.	Severin	13	0	13
Male	Military Officer	Jean	de Tailleur Seigneur de Questebrune	11	0	11
Male	Church Reader	Paul	Bonafon	10	0	10
Male	Military Officer	Jean	Allenet	10	0	10
Male	Military Officer		de la Fontan	10	0	10

#### Appendix 4.d – St Patrick’s Ministers 1692-1716

First Name	Family Name	Burial	Marriage	Count
Gabriel	Barbier	216	65	281
Jean	Severin	97	33	130
Charles	de la Roche	114	14	128
Abraham	Viridet	112	9	121
Louis	Quartier	74	9	83
Alexandre	de Susy	17	2	19

Pierre	Degaleniere	7	9	16
Henry	de Rocheblave	5	0	5
Paschale	Ducasse	2	1	3
Jacques	Abbadie	0	3	3
John	Jourdan	0	3	3
Pierre	Maturin	2	1	3
Jean	Icarne	0	2	2
Pierre	Bouquet de St Paul	0	1	1
Jean	Droz	0	1	1
Anthoine	Ligonier de Bonneval	0	1	1
François	Le Jau	1	0	1

#### Appendix 4.e – St Mary’s Ministers 1705-1716

First Name	Family Name	Baptism	Marriage	Burial	Total
Pierre	Degaleniere	136	17	45	198
Paschale	Ducasse	43	21	18	82
Abraham	Viridet	4	1	2	7
Jean	Renault	6	1	0	7
Jean	Icarne	2	0	0	2
Alexandre	de Susy	1	0	0	1

#### Appendix 4.f – St Mary’s godparents & witnesses 1705-1716

First Name	Family Name	Gender	Godparent	Witness	Total
Louis	Chaigneau	Male	6	1	7
Jean	Boyd	Male	4	1	5
	Desbrisay	Female	0	4	4
Jean	Porter	Male	4	0	4
Jacques	Daubussargues	Male	3	1	4
	Desbrisay	Male	0	3	3
Paschale	Ducasse	Male	2	1	3
Henry	de Massue	Male	3	0	3
Samuel	Pechels de La Boissonnade	Male	1	2	3
Jeanne	Darquier	Female	3	0	3
Magdelaine	Desbrisay	Female	3	0	3
Samuel	Cavalier	Male	3	0	3
Pierre	Faure	Male	3	0	3
Jean	Bertrand	Male	3	0	3
Madelaine	Olivier	Female	3	0	3
Solomon	de Blosset de Loche	Male	2	1	3
Jacques	de Belrieu de Virazel	Male	2	1	3

Marthe	Degaleniere	Female	3	0	3
Jean	Vareilles	Male	1	1	2
	Desbrisay	Male	0	2	2

#### Appendix 4.g – United Churches Consistory 1716-40

First Name	Family Name	Total Events
Alexandre	de Susy	45
Pierre	Bouquet de St Paul	45
Paschale	Ducasse	37
G.	Maret	35
Jean	Daulthier de Bonvillette	26
Etienne	Saurin de Marraul	20
David	Aubrespy	19
Daniel	Jonquet	18
Amaury	Fleury	18
Philippe	Morel	17
Anthoine	Fleury	16
	Guinebauld de la Milliere	16
	Chabert	16
Guillaume	Darquier	15
Daniel	Boubers de Bernatre	14
Jacques	Boursiquot	14
Pierre	de la Billiere	14
Jean	Droz	13
Pierre	Chaigneau	13
Charles	Bardin	13
D.	Gast	11
Charles	de Villette	10
Solomon	de Blosset	10
	Vauteau	10

#### Appendix 4.h – United Churches ministers 1716-40

First Name	Family Name	Baptism	Burial	Marriage	Total
Abraham	Viridet	53	20	12	85
Paschale	Ducasse	57	8	8	74
Pierre	Bouquet de St Paul	36	11	12	59
Anthoine	Fleury	30	22	4	56
Alexandre	de Susy	20	19	3	42
Amaury	Fleury	24	5	12	41
Louis	Scoffier	31	5	4	40
Pierre	Degaleniere	25	5	0	30

Jean	Droz	12	7	0	19
Charles	de Villette	7	3	0	10
Louis	Saurin	9	0	0	9
Theodore	Des Vories	9	0	0	9
Jean	de Questbrune	4	0	2	6
Jean	Renault	3	1	0	4
Unnamed		3	0	0	3
Jean	de Durand	1	1	0	2
Jacques	Pelletreau	2	0	0	2
Daniel	Viridet	1	1	0	2
Pierre	Maturin	2	0	0	2
Levi	Durand	0	0	1	1

#### Appendix 4.i – United Churches godparents & witnesses - 1716-40

First Name	Family Name	Title Name	Gender	Baptism	Marriage	Burial	Total
Theophile	Desbrisay	de la Cour	Male	4	0	0	4
Daniel	Boubers	de Bernatre	Male	4	0	0	4
Charles	Perrault	de Saily	Male	3	1	0	4
Jeanne	Grimaudet	de Grimaudet	Female	3	1	0	4
Boniface	de Volder	de Volder	Male	3	0	0	3
Henry	Guinebauld	de la Milliere	Male	3	0	0	3
David	Digues	de La Touche	Male	3	0	0	3
Etienne	Saurin	de Marraul	Male	3	0	0	3
Jeanne	Perrault	de Saily	Female	2	1	0	3
Pierre	de la Billiere	de la Billiere	Male	2	1	0	3
Henry	de Massue	Galway	Male	3	0	0	3

#### Appendix 4.j – Peter Street ministers - 1700-30

First Name	Family Name	Baptism	Burial	Reconnaissance	Marriage	Abjuration	Total
	Pons	157	0	1	6	0	165
Jean	de Durand	133	6	18	3	3	163
Barthelemy	Balaquier	84	0	4	9	2	99
Paul	de St Feriol	47	8	6	2	1	64
Gaspard	Caillard	36	6	7	3	2	54
Jean	Darrassus	32	0	0	0	0	32
Jacob	Pallard	21	6	1	0	0	28
	Letablere de la Douespe	16	0	0	1	2	19
Michel	David	2	0	0	0	0	3
Jacques	Gillet	3	0	0	0	0	3
Abraham	Viridet	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Fontanier	0	0	0	0	0	1
Alexandre	de Susy	1	0	0	0	0	1



Blount	Ogier	1	0	0	0	0	1
Jacques	Abbadie	0	0	0	1	0	1
Pierre	Degaleniere	0	0	0	1	0	1
Jean	Icarne	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Daubigny	1	0	0	0	0	1
Charles	de la Roche	1	0	0	0	0	1

#### Appendix 4.k – Peter Street godparents & witnesses - 1700-30

First Name	Family Name	Baptism	Reconnaissance	Marriage	Abjuration	Burial	Total
Janssen	de Teudebeuf	173	4	9	1	0	189
François	Terson	111	13	5	3	0	132
Claude	La Blache Belet	76	0	2	0	0	78
Charles	Reboul de Louprez	45	0	0	0	0	46
Jean	Lasserre	37	0	1	0	0	38
Daniel	Guion	26	4	0	0	0	30
Jean	de Durand	8	1	0	0	5	15
Suzanne	Brossi	11	0	0	0	0	11
Isaac	De Souches	9	0	0	0	0	9
Sarah	Rulland	8	0	1	0	0	9
Marc	Blanc	8	0	0	0	0	9
Jacques	De Souches	8	0	0	0	0	8
Rachel	Rieusset	8	0	0	0	0	8
Pierre	Roussell	6	0	1	0	0	7
Pierre	Clausel	7	0	0	0	0	7
Jerome	Rey	7	0	0	0	0	7
Christine	Nicholson	7	0	0	0	0	7
Elizabeth	de Marcon	6	0	0	0	0	7
Abraham	Malet	6	0	0	0	0	6
Louise	Martin	6	0	0	0	0	6
Simon	Vesey	5	0	1	0	0	6
Moïse	Bringuier	6	0	0	0	0	6
Paul	Espinasse	5	0	0	0	0	6
Marie	Masson	6	0	0	0	0	6
Claude	Roussell	5	0	1	0	0	6
Michel	Duchesne	5	0	0	0	0	6
Jean	Bertrand	5	0	0	0	0	5
Thomas	Terson	3	0	2	0	0	5
Isaac	De Souches	5	0	0	0	0	5
David	Sanguinet	5	0	0	0	0	5
Marthe	Roussell	5	0	0	0	0	5
André	Rulland	5	0	0	0	0	5
Anne	Cabanel	5	0	0	0	0	5
David	Fonvielle	5	0	0	0	0	5
Paul	Guiraud	5	0	0	0	0	5

Madelaine	Olivier	5	0	0	0	0	5
Phillip	Moutet	5	0	0	0	0	5
Jeanne	Audoyer	5	0	0	0	0	5
Samuel	Cavalier	5	0	0	0	0	5
Pierre	Picard	4	0	1	0	0	5
Theodore	Vincent	5	0	0	0	0	5

### Appendix 5.a – United Churches Consistory – 1740-73

Name	Role	References	Year Family Name First Recorded	New Community Member
Jacques Pelletreau	Minister	47	1737	Yes
Charles de Villette	Minister	45	1738	Yes
Simeon Boileau	Elder	31	1699	No
Louis Scoffier	Minister	28	1735	Yes
Pierre Besnard	Elder	21	1722	Yes
François de La Rousselière	Elder	14	1701	No
David Beaume	Elder	11	1694	Not Clear
Paul Adrien	Elder	11	1695	No
Jean Droz	Minister	11	1737	Yes
Daniel Jonquet	Elder	11	1736	Yes
Guillaume Darquier	Elder	10	1699	No
Pierre Chaigneau	Elder	8	1685	No
Jean Friboul	Elder	8	1730	Yes
Jean Chaigneau	Elder	8	1743	No
Vauteau	Elder	7	1702	No
Daniel de Beaufort	Minister	7	1742	Yes
Paul de la Billiere	Elder	6	1701	No

George La Pierre	Elder	5	1698	No
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### Appendix 5.b – United Churches families – 1740-73

Family Name	Number of Life Events	Present in Previous Cohorts	Occupation	Year First Recorded
Butler	15	No	Not Recorded	1736
Chaigneau	11	Yes	Army Agent	1685
Moulin	10	Not Definitively	Not Recorded	1701
Guinebauld de la Milliere	10	Yes	Church Minister	1698
Adrien	9	Yes	Grocer	1695
de la Billiere	8	Yes	Military Officer	1701
Droz	8	No	Church Minister	1737
Dragaud	8	No Life Events	Not Recorded	1709
Darquier	7	Yes	Merchant	1699
Vareilles	7	Yes	Not Recorded	1687
Hattenville	6	Yes	Not Clear	1694
Martin	6	Yes	Perfume maker	1683
Boileau	6	Yes	Merchant	1699
Horner	6	No Life Events	Merchant	1727
Le Fanu	6	Yes	Merchant	1701
Pascal	5	Yes	Church Musician	1693
Dignes de la Touche	5	Yes	Banker	1699
Maignon	5	No	Sugar Baker	1756
Lanauze	5	Yes	Grocer	1692
Goyer	5	No	Not Recorded	1753

### Appendix 5.c Marriages recorded in Church of Ireland parishes – 1740-73

Church of Ireland Parish	Number of Recorded Marriages
St Peter and St Kevin Parish	98
St Bride Parish	31
St Anne Parish	15
St Luke Parish	11
St Andrew Parish	10
St Mary Parish	8
St Werburgh Parish	3

St Catherine Parish	2
St Audoen Parish	2

### Appendix 6.a – St Patrick’s families 1773-1818

Family Name	Baptisms and Marriages	Present in previous cohorts
Bessonnet	10	No
Dumoulin	6	No
Erck	6	Yes
Cayre	5	No
Forrester	5	Yes
Byrne	4	No
Martin	4	Not Clear
Rambaut	4	No
Boileau	3	Yes
Chaigneau	3	Yes

### Appendix 6.b – French Church burials 1773-1818

French Reformed Burials		St Patrick's Burials		Combined Burials	
Family Name	Count	Family Name	Count	Family Name	Count
Corneille	10	Digues de La Touche	11	Chaigneau	12
Mangin	10	Hattenville	10	Mangin	11
Dufour	9	de la Billiere	8	Digues de La Touche	11
Lunell	8	Lambremont	7	Corneille	10
Chaigneau	8	Dragaud	6	Hattenville	10
Maziere	8	Taveau	6	Martin	9
Martin	6	Butler	5	Dufour	9
Goyer	6	Moulin	5	Lunell	8
Erck	6	Lanauze	5	Butler	8
Dabzac	6	Darquier	5	Maziere	8
Pitart	6	Faviere	5	de la Billiere	8
Cayre	6			Erck	7
Pain	5			Lambremont	7
de la Masiere	5			Goyer	6
Johnson	5			Dabzac	6
Mercier	5			Pitart	6
				Cayre	6
				Dragaud	6
				Taveau	6
				Pain	5
				Grand	5
				de la Masiere	5
				Johnson	5
				Mercier	5
				Miller	5

					Moulin	5
					Lanauze	5
					Darquier	5
					Faviere	5