



Portrait of Archbishop Narcissus Marsh (1638-1713)
attributed to Hugh Howard

The Making of Marsh's Library

*Learning, politics and religion in Ireland,
1650-1750*

Muriel McCarthy and Ann Simmons
EDITORS

For Ruth
With much love
Muriel

To Ruth
With love from
Ann



FOUR COURTS PRESS

Set in 10.5 on 12.5 pt Ehrhardt by
 Mac Style Ltd, Scarborough, UK for
 FOUR COURTS PRESS LTD
 7 Malpas Street, Dublin 8, Ireland
 e-mail: info@four-courts-press.ie
 and in North America
 FOUR COURTS PRESS
 c/o ISBS, 920 N.E. 58th Avenue, Suite 300, Portland OR 97213.

© the various contributors and Four Courts Press 2004

A catalogue record for this title
 is available from the British Library.

ISBN 1-85182-850-8

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise), without the prior written permission of both the copyright owner and the publisher of this book.

Printed in Great Britain
 by Antony Rowe Ltd, Chippenham, Wilts.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	7
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	8
LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS	9
Introduction MURIEL MCCARTHY	11
Edward Gibbon and clerical scholarship J.G.A. POCKOCK	32
Building Marsh's Library: the architecture of Marsh's in its European context EDWARD MCPARLAND	41
Robert Boyle, Narcissus Marsh and the Anglo-Irish intellectual scene in the late seventeenth century MICHAEL HUNTER	51
Archbishop Marsh's oriental collections in the Bodleian Library COLIN WAKEFIELD	76
Narcissus Marsh and his God RAYMOND GILLESPIE	85
Satanic libraries: Marsh's witchcraft books STUART CLARK	99
'To know the edition': erudition and polemic in eighteenth-century clerical culture JUSTIN CHAMPION	117
Marsh's Library and the reading public TOBY BARNARD	146

Will batter down the *London-Walls*,
and level quite the *Hague*.
And a Plundering we will goe, &c.

60

Then take advice, and bow before
His Holiness's Feet;
Both Hug and Kiss them with poor Lips
Tho' Sweaty still they're Sweet.
And a Kissing we will goe, &c.

65

And quickly send a Post to Rome,
That *Catholicks* may know,
If any that are *English men*
will stoop before his Toe,
And a stooping they must goe, must goe, must goe,
and a stooping they must goe.

70

Marsh's Library and the French Calvinist tradition: the manuscript diary of Élie Bouhèreau (1643–1719)

Ruth Whelan

This chapter is burdened by a grand title – ‘Marsh’s Library and the French Calvinist tradition’ – a title, I regret to say, chosen by myself for its roominess, but which I now feel compelled to deconstruct by way of a preface. Why? A grand title of this kind seems to promise a meta-narrative or at least the application of one of the grand explanatory narratives that once defined western culture – that is, Calvinism – to the collections of the library.¹ It would not be impossible to write a story of the library on such a grand scale but it is an open question as to whether that story would actually be meaningful. Why? I share the postmodern assumption that meta-narratives like ‘Calvinism’ and grand spaces like ‘Marsh’s Library’ are actually composed of dissonant voices, little narratives and individual texts, many of them unremarkable, unrecognized and often unacknowledged. Consequently, my approach in this chapter is shaped by the no longer ‘new’ cultural history (as it used to be called) which attempts to decipher meaning from close examination of the little narrative or the little text that may not readily fit into the grand narrative. Indeed, the idiosyncrasy of these *small* tales may even lead us to adjust our understanding, whether of the grand narratives or of the past.²

Thus the main focus of this chapter is not Marsh’s Library, but one manuscript in the library; not the French Calvinist tradition, but the shaping of one French Calvinist’s attitudes by that tradition. My subject is Élie Bouhèreau, the first librarian of Marsh’s, but not so much the person directly as his diary, which he kept for almost thirty years, from 22 August 1689 to 19 March 1719.³ There is no more unremarkable or more quotidian a narra-

¹ See J.-F. Lyotard, *The postmodern condition: a report on knowledge*, tr. G. Bennington and B. Massumi (Manchester University Press, 1984). ² I am influenced here by W. Brueggeman, *Texts under negotiation: the Bible and the postmodern imagination* (Minneapolis, 1993), 70; L. Hunt (ed.), *The new cultural history* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1989), ‘Introduction: history, culture and text’, 22. ³ The diary is the only surviving volume of what may have been a series of notebooks. The pagination (in Bouhèreau’s hand) of the surviving volume, which contains the diary, begins at p. cv suggesting that the previous 104 pages were bound separately. (Bouhèreau’s own numbering comes abruptly to an end

tive than the diary, which is composed from day to day, and 'written to the moment rather than from a retrospective time and stance', as Felicity Nussbaum has observed.⁴ The diary, or at least 'the great mass of diary-writing', as another theorist of the genre has observed, 'is poor stuff'.⁵ Diaries are composed of a series of monotonous, short and similar entries, which, by definition, have no overall structure, offer an incomplete picture of a life and times, and have, for the most part, few aesthetic pretensions. Bouhéreau's diary is no exception to this rule. The French Pepys, Bouhéreau is not. His serial jottings are, in fact, monotonous and mostly prosaic or inconsequential. Of the 1,175 entries he made in almost thirty years of diary-writing only a mere handful quicken into a narrative, making the past events described really present to the reader. In fact, Bouhéreau's diary – like so many others written before and after him – is by nature dry and stingy with words.⁶ So why study the diary?

Generally speaking, people read and study diaries because they give us access to a range of information that is not usually in the public domain. With the exception of the great diarists or major political figures of our own time, who write with publication in mind, diarists generally (although not always) write for themselves, recording what is most important and personal in their own lives. Historians love diaries, then, because they embody personal viewpoints on public affairs, record secrets and little stories, admit us into the domestic and interior realm, and leave a record of the shape of the diarist's life and, perhaps, consciousness. We also turn to diaries to discover the way notions of inwardness, selfhood and the person, or attitudes to privacy and individualism, were constructed and evolved over time. And diaries are also particularly favoured by biographers, historians of private life and students of autobiography. Robert Fothergill – who dismisses the mass of diaries as 'poor stuff' – defines a great diary as a serial autobiography because the succession of entries composed by the diarist turns in the end into 'a book of the self', imprinted with the personality of its author.⁷ In a word, what we most

at f. 31, that is on p. cci.) I return to this puzzle and its possible significance below. MS Z2.2.2 was given the title 'Bouhéreau's Diary' and was paginated from the page where the diary starts by one of Marsh's librarians. For an account of Bouhéreau's life and also of his diary, see M. McCarthy, 'Élie Bouhéreau, first public librarian in Ireland', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 27/4 (2001), 543–60 (hereafter HSP).
 4 F.A. Nussbaum, 'Toward conceptualizing diary', in J. Olney (ed.), *Studies in autobiography* (New York & Oxford, 1988), 128. Of course, every entry in a diary is written retrospectively but, unlike autobiography, there is no overall structuring retrospective gaze; on this, see B. Didier, *Le journal intime* (Paris, 1976), 9.
 5 R.A. Fothergill, *Private chronicles: a study of English diaries* (London, New York & Toronto, 1974), 2.
 6 See M. Foissil, 'The literature of intimacy', in R. Chartier (ed.), *A history of private life, iii: passions of the Renaissance*, tr. A. Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass., & London, 1989), 331 and 352.
 7 Fothergill, 38–63 and 192.

prize in the diary is its personal character, its chronological record of the quotidian self evolving – or not evolving, as the case may be – over time.

If these are the expectations with which we approach diaries (and for the most part they are), then we are bound to be disappointed by Bouhéreau's diary. A superficial examination of the entries reveals that what we most value in diaries has largely been omitted. Unlike the Englishman Narcissus Marsh or the Puritans (for want of a better term) of the same period, Bouhéreau does not engage in introspection, as it is conventionally understood.⁸ This means that the diary gives no easy access to his 'consciousness' because he prefers to note down instead the things he does and sees – or at least some of them. His is an outward- rather than an inward-looking diary – to borrow a distinction made by Georges Gusdorf – more of a chronicle of the world than of the self.⁹ In that case, we could look to the diary for what it might reveal about being a Huguenot refugee, about how Bouhéreau escaped from France, or about the traumatic experience of exile. There is disappointment here too. Bouhéreau begins his diary over two and a half years after his flight from France in January 1686. The story of his escape to England was obviously important to him because it entered into his family's folklore to survive in a version told by Jane Quartier-Freboul, his granddaughter.¹⁰ And he also alludes to it in the statement of intent with which he – like other diarists – opens his diary, observing that he might include the 'principal circumstances [...] in some part of this book'.¹¹ There is some evidence that he did actually write an escape narrative,¹² but he must have written it on a loose page or in another notebook because it has not been found. As for giving us a glimpse of the domestic interior of the first librarian to live in Marsh's Library, here too we are frustrated. Although the last sequence in the diary records some of the details of his life in Ireland the entries remain largely uninflected by personal insights. Elisabeth Bourcier's comment about autobiographers could be applied to Bouhéreau: 'They seem to have no home, no room, no bed and to notice nothing that goes on in the street.'¹³ Poor stuff, indeed, if we judge

8 See G. Gusdorf, 'De l'autobiographie initiatique à l'autobiographie genre littéraire', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 75 (1975), 957–94, which considers the influence of diaries kept for religious purposes on the development of autobiography.
 9 G. Gusdorf, *La découverte de soi* (Paris, 1948), 39–42, distinguishes between 'le journal externe' and 'le journal intime'.
 10 See N.J.D. White, *Four good men* (Dublin, 1927), 79–81; on the telling and retelling of escape narratives within Huguenot refugee families and communities, see C. 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', *French Historical Studies* 22 (1999), 1–64. Jane was the daughter of Marguerite, Bouhéreau's eldest daughter, and Louis Quartier, one of the ministers of the French Church at St Patrick's Cathedral. She married Jean Freboul on 12 July 1730 (White, 87).
 11 MS Z2.2.2, f. 1 (numbered clxii by Bouhéreau): 'les principales circonstances [...] en quelque endroit de ce livre'.
 12 Bouhéreau alludes to it again in his last will and testament, see White, 90. I quote this passage below.
 13 E. Bourcier, quoted by Foissil, 336.

it by what it fails to reveal. But is that the most fruitful way of approaching Bouhéreau's diary or, in fact, any diary from the early modern period?

The postmodern context that we inhabit provides us with alternative and more productive ways of studying diaries. It has helped us to recognize that theories of the 'personal', the 'private', the 'self', 'consciousness', 'autobiography', or what constitutes a great diarist are not eternal or unchanging truths but rather socially and historically constructed categories. Once we accept this, it becomes clear that our reasons for loving diaries, and our related concept of what a diary should be, are driven by post-Romantic expectations of, for example, personal intensity and privacy that lead us to dismiss as 'poor stuff' anything that does not conform to them. We think of diaries as recording an inward and private life that is articulated over against the collective and the public. But this attitude to diaries is in fact a historical construct, shaped by our own time and place. So, if we are to avoid anachronism, it is important to situate Bouhéreau's diary historically within the evolving habit of personal record-keeping and to determine its significance within his own time and cultural space.

Specialists are adamant that the diary as a personal chronicle (intensely, although not exclusively, focused on the self) came into being around 1800, during the vogue for confessional literature stimulated by Rousseau.¹⁴ Consequently, Bouhéreau's diary is shaped by other traditions of personal record-keeping from the Renaissance and early modern periods that I shall attempt to identify and interpret in this chapter. Given how very disappointing his diary is as an autobiographical document – we are struck by how much it fails to reveal – I shall read it here primarily as text.¹⁵ By abandoning the positivistic preoccupation with facts and adopting a more symbolic and literary analysis,¹⁶ I hope to demonstrate how much can be gleaned by reading not just the lines only but also between them, and by discerning patterns in Bouhéreau's silences and discontinuities as well as in his overt statements.¹⁷ Finally, I shall also examine it as a cultural artefact – as a thing or object – interrogating the physicality of the manuscript in order to release its well-kept secrets. It is my belief that this kind of properly historical and cultural attentiveness can make the monotony and sheer ordinariness of Bouhéreau's diary yield insights into diary-writing, concepts of selfhood, and

14 See A. Girard, *Le journal intime* (Paris 1963), p. ix; V. Del Litto (ed.), *Le journal intime et ses formes littéraires* (Geneva 1978), p. vii; Didier, 27 and 35. 15 I am influenced here by Didier, 21, Lougee, 3–4, and Nussbaum, 129. 16 I am influenced here by D. LaCapra, *Rethinking intellectual history: texts, contexts, language* (Ithaca & London 1983), and L.S. Kramer, 'Literature, criticism, and historical imagination: the literary challenge of Hayden White and Dominick LaCapra', in Hunt (ed.), 97–128. 17 M. Foisil (327) observes how important it is to discern not only what people say but also what they do not say in the literature of intimacy in the early modern period.

even French Calvinism – or at least one refugee's expression of it – in the early modern period.

Bouhéreau was not one of history's natural diary-writers, nor one of its most loquacious, if the overall shape of the finished text is anything to go by. One thousand one hundred and seventy-five entries initially seems like a lot of writing, but, on average, it is only slightly more than thirty-nine entries per year. However, there is a great unevenness in Bouhéreau's diary-writing, which is masked by the average figures and revealed only by considering the distribution of entries over the thirty-year period.¹⁸ There are three phases in the distribution. The first covers the years between 1689 and 1692, with Bouhéreau's efforts as a diarist peaking within the first eighteen months. In these three and a half years (he began the diary in August) he made five hundred and forty-three entries, slipping to a low of thirteen entries the following year, 1693. There is something very human about his early enthusiasm for a new project and the way it fizzles out, never again reaching the same high level of the two hundred and ten entries made in 1690. The second phase covers the period from 1694 to 1696, with a peak of one hundred and sixteen entries in '96, and a total of 318 entries for the three-year period. Thereafter, in the third phase of the diary, Bouhéreau's interest steadily falls away, with merely three hundred and one entries over a period of twenty-three years. There is a peak of forty-three entries in 1697, another little peak of twenty-three entries in 1708, but the average is thirteen entries annually and this plummets to two entries in the year he died – 1719 – one of which is his annual note of the date of Easter.

If we move from the overall shape of the diary to a preliminary glance at the contents, it becomes clear that the phases of the entries actually correspond to different kinds of diary-writing and perhaps even different concepts of diary. The bulk of the entries, in those first two phases of greater intensity, were made during two journeys Bouhéreau undertook on the continent. In the first instance, he was employed as personal secretary to Thomas Coxe, William III's envoy to the Swiss cantons. In the second phase, he acted in the same capacity to Henri de Massue de Ruvigny – later made earl of Galway – who was appointed commander-in-chief of the English auxiliary forces in Piedmont. The third and longest phase of the diary corresponds with Bouhéreau's move to Ireland, at the end of May 1697, where he was personal secretary to Galway (who was one of the lords justice from 1697 to 1701) and later – from June 1701 – the first librarian of Marsh's.¹⁹ During the different phases of his diary, Bouhéreau moves back and forth between the different models of diary-writing available to him at the time, namely, entry books, chronicles, travel diaries, journals of personal memo-

18 See Table for Distribution of entries, illustration 2, p. 233. 19 See White, 82; McCarthy, 545.

randa and family record books (*livres de raison*).²⁰ And the fact that the boundaries between these different kinds of life-writing are never watertight in his practice of them has something to teach us, as we shall see, about conceptions of the self and society, public and private in the early modern period.

It seems likely that Bouhèreau's imminent departure for the continent triggered his efforts as a diarist and that, at least initially, his working concept of diary-writing moved between that of the entry book, chronicle and travel diary. In his opening statement, where – like many another diarist – he offers a rationale for what he is about, he presents himself as engaged in the composition of a book.²¹ He also announces his intention of tracking what he calls 'the course of his adventures' from the moment he left his position as tutor to the children of the duchess of Monmouth in the summer of 1689.²² And he immediately follows this statement with the first entry recounting his engagement as Coxe's secretary and the arrangements made for their departure. The fall-off in the entries when he returns home in 1693 and their rise when he leaves for the continent again, this time with Galway, confirm this hypothesis. Bouhèreau's accounts of the two journeys differ somewhat, largely in pace and lavishness, but this is chiefly because of their different purposes. Coxe travelled as a diplomat and was welcomed and received accordingly in major towns and cities, whereas Galway was travelling to war and seems to have burned up the miles in order to get to his destination. This distinction aside, however, the entries recording day-to-day events during these two continental journeys fall into similar patterns.

Many of Bouhèreau's notations are of an apparently official or semi-official nature. In his capacity as secretary, he records the receipt and dispatch of official letters, meetings between Coxe or Galway and local dignitaries in the various places they pass through or stay, or, as the case may be, the absences of his two employers and their instructions to him. On the second journey to Piedmont, when His Majesty's troops enter the fray against the French, he also keeps a daily record of the dead and wounded. Bouhèreau moves seamlessly from these kinds of entries to noting down often racy sto-

²⁰ On these categories, see Fothergill, 11–37; Foisil, 327–61, studies the *livres de raison*. Fothergill believes that these kinds of personal records constitute the 'pre-history' of the diary, which assumes that they are somehow less authentic or less personal than the kind of confessional writing that occurred after Rousseau. Fothergill seems unaware that what is 'personal' may differ from age to age and that events – whether public, personal or pertaining to the family – told with apparent dryness may have affected the writer as profoundly as events effusively narrated. On this, see Didier, 27–8. ²¹ On this see Fothergill, 63 and 65. ²² MS Z2.2.2, f. 1 (Bouhèreau's n^o: CLXXI): 'suivre le fil de mes aventures'. Bouhèreau seems to have held this position from his arrival with his family in England in January 1686; see McCarthy, 545.

Bouhèreau

Après la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes, Sur la fin de 1685 – et les diverses persécutions excitées contre les Protestants, en France je ramassai ce que je pus de ma famille, et je passai en Angleterre, au mois de Janvier, 1688. Dieu m'a fait la grâce de m'y rendre, depuis, le recteur, l'un des plus jeunes de nos Filles – qu'on me retient, encore, dans un convent à la Rochelle, et dont je suis aimant, tout les jours, la liberté. Il a, aussi, prouvé à tout nos besoins. J'y marque, ailleurs, les principales circonstances du tout, et j'ai pris de vous, et je pourrai, à loisir, les rapporter, en que'que endroit de ce Livre. R. présentement à Paris, et de suite le m'ont mis à ramasser, depuis que j'y cessai d'être auprès des Enfants de Mad^e la Duchesse de Monmouth, en qualité de leur Gouverneur. Je suis sorti d'avec eux au milieu de l'année 1689.

1689

1 Page from the Manuscript Diary of Élie Bouhèreau (1643–1719)

ries about European royalty, making notes concerning medical or natural curiosities, or recording the epitaph of a famous person or of a song composed especially for Galway.²³

When he makes these entries in his diary, Bouhèreau is consciously or unconsciously engaging in kinds of record-keeping that flourished in France (and, more generally, in Europe) from the fifteenth century onwards, namely, the entry book and the chronicle.²⁴ Entry books resulted from the officially imposed or self-appointed task of keeping account of everyday activities, whether by secretaries or other functionaries; chronicles – the antecedents of modern journalism – were accounts of current events that rescued them from oblivion by placing them in the public domain.²⁵ There is no way of telling whether this aspect of Bouhèreau's diary was the self-imposed task of an inveterate note-taker, or an undertaking officially prescribed by his position as secretary to Coxe and Galway – although I incline to the first of these views. What is interesting is the way these official notes of public usefulness rub

²³ See 18/28 septembre 1694, f^o67 and 31 mars/10 avril 1695, f^o73 (serial narrative about the princess of Hanover's love affair and punishment for adultery); 30 may/9 juin 1695, 13/23 juillet 1695, f^o77, 11/21 and 13/23 janvier 1695/96, f^o80 (serial narrative of Charles de Brandebourg's unhappy love affair); 3/13 août 1694, f^o65 (account of his trip to see a person believed possessed by the devil, whom Bouhèreau describes as a 'real hypochondriac'); 6/16 novembre 1694, f^o70 (note of his visit to see Siamese twins in Turin); 19/29 février 1695/6, f^o81 (the epitaph and song). ²⁴ On this see Didier, 27–35. ²⁵ Fothergill, 16, gives the following examples of entry books: transactions of public bodies, ships' log-books, military campaign annals etc. For the influence of the chronicle on diary-writing, see Didier, 28–30.

shoulders, as it were, with other personal entries of a similar but essentially private nature, recording letters in and out to wife and friends, meetings with relatives, friends and acquaintances, payment of the quarterly salary etc. In other words, the diary as entry book and chronicle seems not to recognize any division, let alone any opposition, between public and private – a theme to which I shall return later.

Many of the entries are a meticulous record of the arrangements made for and during the two journeys. Bouhéreau records the mileage covered in any given day, the state of the horses and the roads, the names of the inns they stayed at, the degree of comfort or the lack of it and, most importantly for a Frenchman, the quality of the food. These often daily one-, two- or three-line jottings made during the actual journey seem dull and pedantic compared with Bouhéreau's initial conceptualization of his diary as the story of his adventures. We have to bear in mind, however, the hazards of travel in this period and also Bouhéreau's responsibilities as a personal secretary. As Robert Fothergill reminds us, early modern travellers were important sources of information for their compatriots and friends and the diary helped them organize and record crucial information for easy retrieval and transmission to others.²⁶ It is interesting to note that Bouhéreau himself travelled with a route plan that may have been compiled from similar records by other travellers, and he notes the points at which his group inadvertently strayed from the expected route.²⁷ It is also telling that on the return journey with Galway in 1696, Bouhéreau's party stayed at some of the same inns he had used on the journey with Coxe, four and a half years previously.²⁸ So the diary was in part a document compiled by Bouhéreau for its personal and public usefulness. His monotonous jottings are a route plan written both as a past record and a future guide for both the self and others. This is not the whole story, however.

There are moments when his quotidian narrative quickens into life, leaving us with a fuller picture of Bouhéreau's travels. These entries are closer to the model of the published travel diaries of the period, which Bouhéreau both knew and used.²⁹ They also contain many of the details the essayist Bacon advised young men to record when on their grand tour. Bouhéreau, the son of a prominent family of La Rochelle, had gone on the obligatory tour of Italy in 1667, in the company of his cousin Élie Richard.³⁰ Although no account of this has survived, he may have acquired the habit while on tour of recording, as Bacon puts it, 'whatsoever is memorable' in the places he visited.³¹ At times, then, Bouhéreau the secretary and chronicler becomes

²⁶ Fothergill, 15. ²⁷ MS Z2.2.2, 20/30 novembre 1696, f. 94. ²⁸ MS Z2.2.2, 6/16 novembre 1696, f. 92; 18/28 novembre 1696, f. 93. ²⁹ MS Z2.2.2, 19/29 octobre 1696, f. 91. Bouhéreau toured Milan during Galway's absence and noted that he saw what was most interesting ('ce qu'il y a de plus curieux'), adding, as a kind of shorthand, that these sights or curiosities are described in the travel books. ³⁰ White, 74; McCarthy, 543. ³¹ Bacon,

Bouhéreau the early modern tourist, remarking on cathedrals, churches, palaces and other fine buildings, trying out the sulphur baths at Baden, standing in awe before public monuments, exploring libraries or collections of coins and cabinets of rarities.³²

Occasionally he embarks on solitary explorations, but most of the time he has company on these outings. Very often Bouhéreau seeks out relatives or old friends among the French refugee community who take him to see the sights or gain access for him to otherwise private collections. But sometimes Bouhéreau seems to have made contact himself with local dignitaries or members of the artistic and learned community, who invite him to see their collections of coins or other curiosities. There is nothing unusual in this behaviour. On the contrary, it conforms precisely to the advice given on travel by Bacon, who advises the young to seek 'recommendations to some person of quality' in the places they visit, including 'the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors'. In this way, he adds, travellers 'in one country' will be able to 'sucke the experience of many'.³³ In other words, like so many travel diaries of the period, Bouhéreau's diary is a narrative space where the record of the self and its activities is frequently elaborated in relation to others. These shadows flit through every page, surround the narrating self and remind us that the private space of the diary is also a common space, ringing with voices.

This is nowhere more obvious than in the entries – often the liveliest and longest – describing official ceremonies held to honour Coxe in his capacity as envoy, which clearly dazzled Bouhéreau and made him want to record them while they were still fresh in his memory. One such event is particularly vivid, namely the state reception and dinner at Saint Gal. Bouhéreau leaves us a word-picture of himself engaging his fellow guests in

Essays, ch. xviii, 'Of Travel'. ³² MS Z2.2.2, 5/15 octobre 1689, f. 2–3 (palace of the former dukes of Clèves); 31 octobre/10 novembre 1689, f. 5 (palace in Oettingen); 3/13 novembre 1689, f. 6 (Lutheran church in Ulm, where he enjoyed hearing the organ); 4/14 avril 1692, f. 47 (cabinet of rarities, containing many 'curiosities' and especially coins); 21/31 mai 1692, f. 49 (sulphur baths at Baden); 23 mai/2 juin, f. 50–1 (public library in Zurich); 3/13 juin 1692, f. 53 (the sights of Augsburg, particularly the city gate, the Hôtel de Ville, and the machine used to circulate water to various fountains); 5/15 juillet 1692, f. 55 (the anatomy theatre in Leiden); 3/13 août 1692, f. 56 (coin collection in Amsterdam, adding that it would take too long to list the sights); 9/19 août 1692, f. 56 (tomb of the House of Orange in the church at Delft); 4/14 and 5/15 août 1694, f. 65 (explores the area around Lucerne; climbs Mount Caours from which he could survey almost all of Piedmont, particularly Pignerol); 31 octobre/10 novembre 1694, f. 70 (explored the countryside along the Po, opposite Turin); 10/20 juillet 1695, f. 77 (explored the town, citadel and castle of Casal); 12/22 septembre 1696, f. 88 (visited the Carthusian monastery, five miles from Pavia, where François I's army was defeated and the king taken prisoner); 16/26 septembre 1696, f. 89 (did the sights in Pavia); 19/29 octobre 1696, f. 91 (explored Milan); 24 novembre/4 décembre 1696, f. 95 (the clock at the Hôtel de Ville in Heilbron); 7/17 décembre 1696, f. 96 (curiosities of Francfort). ³³ Bacon, *Essays*, ch. xviii, 'Of Travel'.

conversation in French, Latin, and Italian – a more gregarious and loquacious image than the often laconic diary entries might lead us to imagine. Then he suddenly recognized the bearded person beside him as Jean-Conrad Fels, a once clean-shaven youth, whom Bouhéreau had met twenty-two years previously in Rome, during his Italian tour.³⁴ At these moments, pleasure rather than pragmatism seems to motivate the writing of the diary. Unlike the records of the journey, which Bouhéreau made to serve a useful purpose, these entries are made simply for the pleasure of recollection. By writing them down, the diarist saves such special experiences from oblivion and thereby creates a verbal space of remembrance. The diary becomes at these points a cabinet of rarities in prose, a collection of memories stored in a narrative to which the returned traveller can have recourse to trigger recollection and revive and revisit the pleasures of the past. This is not all. Travel diaries are not written for the inward eye only but also for the pleasure of saving stories to tell them to others, to family and friends, who, as armchair travellers, can marvel at the curiosities stored in the prose of the diarist. The voices ringing in the diary are also those of the implied listeners, then, the circle of familiars for whom the diarist has saved these memories. In a word, the travel diary is a collective as well as an individual narrative space – noisy rather than silent – surrounded by those to whom its stories are told, no doubt over and over again.

The diary as entry book, chronicle or travel narrative is for the most part turned outwards towards the world, as we have seen. But Bouhéreau's diary is also a private journal, turned inwards to the domestic and personal sphere. Private, not in the sense that it expresses inner states or gives vent to immediate emotion – that is a Romantic conception of privacy. It is private in the sense that Bouhéreau wrote it for himself and not for publication – it is far too mundane for that – and that he includes in it a significant number of entries which record personal details and personal losses, or the personal details and losses of his family. In other words, he thinks of his diary and uses it as a private or family record book (*livre de raison*) such as Montaigne described in one of his essays:

[My father] order'd him whom he kept to write for him, to keep a paper journal, and in it to set down all the remarkable occurrences, and day by day the memoirs of the histories of his house: very pleasant to look over, when time begins to wear things out of memory, and very useful sometimes to put us out of doubt, when such a thing was begun, when ended, what courses were debated on, what concluded; our voyages, absences, marriages, and deaths, the reception of good, or ill news; the change of principal servants, and the like. An ancient

34 MS Z2.2.2, 9/19 novembre 1689, f. 7.

custom, which I think it would not be amiss for everyone to revive in his own house; and I find I did very foolishly in neglecting the same

Bouhéreau owned a copy of Montaigne's *Essais* and I had hoped that I would find this passage heavily annotated in Bouhéreau's hand, or at the very least marked with the capital N he used as an abbreviation of the Latin 'nota'. But that was not to be. There are some slight annotations in the early part of his copy of the *Essais*, but not on this essay. As Montaigne remarks, however, the keeping of such personal entry books was an ancient custom. It was also one that was practised within Bouhéreau's extended family, judging from the manuscript journal kept by his grand-uncle, which is also preserved in the manuscript collection of the library.³⁵ In continuing that custom, Bouhéreau succeeds in creating a personal and family record of significant events and 'remarkable occurrences' that time might otherwise have worn out of memory. And because he did, his jottings continue to convey to us the sense of a life being lived from day to day, with its significant moments and rites of passage etched in either joy or sorrow.

The diary gives glimpses of Bouhéreau as a son, husband, father and grandfather, who was embedded in a network of relationships that gave emotional depth and meaningfulness to his life.³⁶ His wife, Marguerite Massiot, who was also his cousin, is present in the diary as the companion of his days on whom he depended for many of the practicalities of his existence. She took care of his quarterly salary during his long absences on the continent, arranged for him to be appropriately equipped for his journeys, corresponded with him regularly, kept the household accounts and, we presume, tended to the needs of their eight surviving children – although this is not mentioned in the diary.³⁷ There are no other insights into their relationship, nor any indication of Marguerite's character or appearance, which is typical of the *livre de raison*,³⁸ and it is only on Marguerite's death that their closeness as a couple is revealed. The entry on 22 May 1704 is unusual for the tender, emotional language and the personal tone used by Bouhéreau: 'I have lost my good and beloved wife after a long and painful illness that ended in a gentle death in the Lord. [...] She leaves me with a sharp sense of affliction and a burning desire to join her.'³⁹ The words carry an emotional charge, revealing the extent of his sorrow

35 MS Z2.2.5, Journal françois de ce qui s'est passé en la Rochelle, depuis 1584 jusqu'à 1643, par Joseph Guillaudeau. 36 See MS Z2.2.2, 21 septembre/1 octobre 1693, f. 57; 12/22 janvier 1696/7, f. 98. 37 MS Z2.2.2, 12/22 août 1689, f. 1; 17/27 juin 1690, f. 21; 7/17 mars 1690/1, f. 35; 21 avril/1 mai 1692, f. 47; 18/28 juillet 1692, f. 56; 11/21 octobre 1695, f. 79; 2/12 juin 1697, f. 100. For the names of the eight surviving children, see White, 76. 38 See Foissil, 342–5, for the typical portrait of the wife in the *livre de raison*. 39 MS Z2.2.2, 22 may 1704, f. 112: 'J'ay perdu ma bonne et chère femme, après une longue et douloureuse maladie, qui s'est terminée par une mort douce au Seigneur. [...] Elle me laisse dans une vive affliction, et dans un ardent desir de la rejoindre.'

and loneliness. This is, nonetheless, a very laconic evocation of thirty-six years of what Bouhèreau obviously thought of as a happy marriage. His discretion is characteristic of keepers of family record books, who, like him, express feelings in very few words, leaving the careful reader to sense the depth of emotion they convey.⁴⁰

Bouhèreau is no less laconic in the entries concerning other family members that are scattered throughout the diary. Marriages, births and deaths are generally recorded in the manner of an official record with little to no personal or emotional inflection. The diary was started too late for Bouhèreau to note the births of his own ten children, but he notes the marriages of his children and the births (sometimes followed by the deaths) of his grandchildren without either congratulation or sentimentality.⁴¹ In June 1690 and April 1700, he records the deaths respectively of his youngest daughter, Madelon, and his mother, Blandine Richard, in the level tone of the family chronicler, more concerned with recording their age than with giving any indication of his own feelings.⁴² It would be incorrect to assume from these entries that Bouhèreau was cold and unfeeling; all they can be made to tell us is that his sensibility differed from our own.⁴³

Besides, there are actually moments when the love and concern that Bouhèreau felt for his family can be glimpsed in his journal. One such occasion is the unexpected death of his eldest son, Élie, who had accompanied him on his second journey in the role of under-secretary and who died on the journey homewards. Bouhèreau had left him in the care of Henri de Mirmand, no doubt expecting his son to follow on when he had recovered from his illness. Instead, he received the news that he had died and was already buried in the French Church at Wesel. Bouhèreau's distress is carried in the entry by the one word 'sad', the 'sad news of the death of my eldest son'.⁴⁴ It is a phrase that recurs one week later when Bouhèreau arrives back in London and mentions that the joy of his homecoming had been greatly overshadowed by the sad news of his son's death.⁴⁵ In a context of almost

40 On the discretion of writers of *livres de raison*, see Foissil, 342. 41 For example, MS Z2.2.2, 13/23 April 1698/9, f. 107 (marriage of daughter Blandine to Jean Jourdan); 21 juillet 1703, f. 110 (marriage of daughter Marguerite to Louis Quartier); 1 avril 1705, f. 113 (baptism of Quartiers's daughter, Louise Marguerite); 9 avril 1705, f. 113 (baptism of the daughter Richard, also called Des Herbières – Bouhèreau's son); 23 février 1705/6, f. 114 (death of Louise Marguerite, aged precisely 11 months). 42 MS Z2.2.2, 29 mai/8 juin 1690, f. 20 (news reaches him that Madelon had died on 8/18 mai); 7/18 avril 1700, f. 108 (death of his mother). 43 On this see Foissil, 345–8. 44 MS Z2.2.2, 4/14 janvier 1696/7, f. 98 (the death of Élie occurred 30 décembre/9 janvier 1696/7); Bouhèreau notes poignantly that his son, who died of pleurisy or pneumonia, would have been twenty-seven years old in February. 45 MS Z2.2.2, 12/22 janvier 1696/7, f. 98. There are similarly discreet indications of emotion when Marguerite, his eldest daughter, dies (21 avril 1707, f. 116), and when Richard, his second son, loses his arm (16/26 octobre 1697, f. 101); in each case,

unvarying reticence, these linguistic patterns carry a weight of bewilderment and grief, which is almost unconsciously recorded, but is all the more powerful as a result.⁴⁶

The diary is more than simply a family record book, however. It is private and personal in yet another way: it is a document written from day to day by himself and – at least in the first instance – for himself. Bouhèreau did not engage in the kind of self-examination and soul-searching favoured by Archbishop Marsh or by Puritan diarists in this period. His was a different sensibility altogether, one shaped by French Calvinism and classicism.⁴⁷ But there are textual signs in the diary which indicate that Bouhèreau used it as a narrative space of self-encounter, dialogue (I mean, where he talked to himself, as we all do in private) and interaction between his past and present selves. Cross-references are added retrospectively to link one entry to another; earlier entries are corrected in the light of information that became available at a later date; certain entries are serial narratives to which the diarist returned with more information and renewed insight. Such signs reveal a diarist taking pleasure in his own company and his own memories, which he is patiently preserving from oblivion. They also show him constructing a life narrative within which he is content to dwell as he returns to his quotidian – and to us monotonous – jottings to enrich and develop them.

Some of these textual signs also reveal a diarist using that private narrative space to express not just pleasure only but also grief. For example, at some point after the death of his daughter Madelon, Bouhèreau returned to the first entry in the diary, where he had noted his safe arrival in England with some members of his family. The entry continues:

God was gracious to me and subsequently restored the rest of my family to me, with the exception of the youngest of my daughters, whom they are still holding from me in a convent in La Rochelle, and for whose release I ask God every single day.⁴⁸

And in the margin, in a different ink, he notes laconically, 'She died there on 8/18 May 1690'. In the later entry recording her death, Bouhèreau uses the same phrase – 'whom they were holding from me in a convent' – suggesting, perhaps, how keenly he felt this injustice and how bruised and bewildered he was by it.⁴⁹ But he does not confide those feelings to the page; we

Bouhèreau's feelings are conveyed by a single adjective. 46 On this, see Foissil, 348. 47 See R. Zuber, 'Calvinisme et classicisme', *XVII^e siècle* 76–7 (1967), 5–22; J.M. Goulemot, 'Literary practices: publicizing the private', in Chartier (ed.), 363–95. 48 MS Z2.2.2, f. 1: 'Dieu m'a fait la grace de m'y rendre, depuis, le reste, hormis la plus jeune de mes filles, qu'on me retient, encore, dans un convent [*sic*], à La Rochelle; et dont je lui demande, tous les jours, la liberté'. 49 MS Z2.2.2, 29 mai/8 juin, f. 20: 'qu'on m'y retenoit dans un couvent'.

guess at them as much from what is not said as from the patterns in what is. In other words, the diary provides a private narrative space where its author may turn for solitary communion with the self, in joy and sorrow. And it also provides a safe and hidden place simultaneously to tell and conceal the pain that threatens to overwhelm the self.

The textual signs in the text also point to another kind of communion at work in Bouhéreau's diary. Theorists of diary-writing puzzle over the question as to whether the concept of a diary includes the idea of its being intended for a reader.⁵⁰ Clearly, the cross-references placed retrospectively by Bouhéreau indicate that his concept of his own diary did include a reader. I have just argued that the reader was himself, Bouhéreau, in this solitary and sometimes silent narrative space of the diary. But the cross-references are framed in the second-person plural, 'Voyez', suggesting more than the singular self, mulling over what was written. At the heart of these more personal parts of the diary there is, therefore, a 'shadowed dialogue', to use Carolyn Lougee's term, with other readers whom the diarist expects to come after him.⁵¹ Who are these expected readers invited into the privacy of the diary?

Most Huguenot life-writing was composed with the children of the writer in mind. The first generation of refugees who took up the pen to leave a record of their lives behind (and there were not many of them) seem conscious of the cultural and other losses involved in being a displaced person, a refugee. They write their lives in order to hand on traditions, family lore and an identity, lest time wear such things out of memory and they be lost. They very often inscribe their children into the text by addressing them, as Bouhéreau does, in the second-person plural, 'vous'.⁵² And Bouhéreau's children were his readers. The diary was only acquired by Marsh's Library in 1915 and we may presume that until that time it had been hoarded by the family until time did wear these things out of memory.⁵³ What this tells us, among other things, is that the concepts of privacy and selfhood in French culture in the early modern period are not the individualistic ones that we operate with. Even at its most personal, the narrative space of the diary is also a shared space, where the self is linked into networks of filiation with others in the text and by the text. This brings me to Bouhéreau's religious sensibility.

A great number of the entries Bouhéreau made during his two continental journeys include references to other French Calvinists whom he met or

⁵⁰ Fothergill, 15. Obviously, diaries written for publication of necessity are written with the reader in mind. ⁵¹ See Lougee Chappell, 10. ⁵² See R. Whelan, 'Writing the self: Huguenot autobiography and the process of assimilation', in R. Vigne and C. Littleton (eds), *From strangers to citizens: the integration of immigrant communities in Britain, Ireland and colonial America, 1550-1750* (Brighton and Portland, 2001), 463-77. ⁵³ See White, 97. ⁵⁴ One such passport was issued to Henry Ussher, grand-nephew of the archbishop of Armagh, see MS Z2.2.2, 30 mars/10 avril 1690, f. 18.

sought out in the course of his travels. These notes fall into three main categories. Firstly, it obviously fell to Bouhéreau, in his capacity as secretary, to issue passports to those to whom Coxe had granted them, and he jots down the names of many of these in the diary. Some passports were to people of other nationalities wishing to travel to England – for example Irish or Spanish travellers.⁵⁴ But the great mass of names recorded by Bouhéreau are those of French refugees and of 'proselytes' (as he calls them) to the French Reformed tradition, whom he generally describes as 'left France for the sake of our Religion', or, on occasion, as travelling to England, Germany or Holland in order 'to enjoy freedom of conscience'.⁵⁵ Whether these are official records required by his position or notes for his own use, it is difficult to say, and they quite possibly served a dual purpose. The second category comprises the names of the French refugees he met as he moved across northern Europe in Coxe's entourage and on the second journey with Galway. These were not necessarily people he had known previously in France, but were sometimes new acquaintances encountered in the course of his duties, or at the French Church, or through the intermediary of someone else. Finally, he notes the names of his old friends and relatives with whom he had joyful reunions and reluctant partings as he travelled.⁵⁶ Some of these encounters were probably by chance, but many were carefully arranged. On one occasion he sent an express letter the previous day to announce his presence and invite two of his friends to lunch, since they were separated by a mere two-hour journey on horseback – and they came.⁵⁷ What purpose is served by these different lists of names and encounters?

Obviously, they point to Bouhéreau's gregariousness and his emotional need to be surrounded by his own people, by those to whom he is bound by religious as well as social ties, by shared experiences and reciprocal affection. In this respect, the diary functions as a narrative space which both records and expresses a communal sociability that is defined by religious and, to an extent, regional boundaries: he is clearly at his happiest when he meets up with circles of refugees from La Rochelle.⁵⁸ Thus, the diary – like all other Huguenot life-writing at the time – holds together the displaced and fragmented community that was French Calvinism after 1685. However, the diary is also a record of strangers (albeit fellow refugees), who were not part of Bouhéreau's community of origin and who simply pass through its pages as

⁵⁵ See, for example, MS Z2.2.2, 25 février/7 mars, 1689/90, f. 16; 20/30 mars 1690, f. 17; 5/15 mai 1690, f. 20. ⁵⁶ See, for example, MS Z2.2.2, 30 octobre/9 novembre 1689, where one of Bouhéreau's relatives goes part of the journey with him, just to prolong their conversation. ⁵⁷ See, for example, MS Z2.2.2, 20/30 juillet 1692, f. 56; 10/20 juin 1692, f. 53. ⁵⁸ On these occasions, Bouhéreau, the careful note-taker, throws caution to the wind and refers simply to the 'great number of my friends, especially from La Rochelle'; see, for example, MS Z2.2.2, 5/15 juillet 1692, f. 55 (in Leiden); 23 juillet/2 août 1692, f. 56 (in Amsterdam).

they passed through his life, leaving, we presume, no other trace. Why did he make a point of listing their names?

The Huguenots who fled France in the 1680s were often scattered to the four winds, divided from family and friends who ended up in different towns, refugee centres, or even countries. Other life-writings by Huguenots reveal just how desperate the refugees could be for news of loved ones from whom they had been separated and just how far they would travel to meet someone reported to have had a sighting of wife, child, husband, father, mother, friend or lover. Bouhéreau had personal experience of this kind of anguish and we may assume that his diary is an attempt to ease it in others. As he travelled from one place to the next, he brought with him records of his own many sightings of refugees, whether friends or strangers, whose names he had carefully noted, lest time wear them out of memory. The diary, then, is more than a simple expression of religious sociability. It also functions as an instrument whereby a broken community can be knitted back together through shared memories that simultaneously recall and recreate communal solidarity.

A second solidarity is elaborated in the diary, alongside the anamnetic engagement with the community of origin, but this second one is oriented more to the present and the future. As some of the entries in the diary make clear, Bouhéreau shared the ideological commitment of the majority of the refugees to the Protestant interest and the international Protestant alliance against Louis XIV.⁵⁹ He seems to make a distinction between Roman Catholicism as a system of beliefs, and popery, as it was known at the time, which was believed to be synonymous with tyranny and treachery.⁶⁰ He presents the dragonnades and the persecution of French Protestants as one episode in a European struggle between violence and oppression – personified in Louis XIV and the Jesuits – and liberty and true religion – exemplified by William III and the Protestant alliance.⁶¹ This political commitment to the Protestant interest shapes his attitude to the celebrations ordered by Coxe to mark the battle of the Boyne in 1690 and the treaty of Limerick a year later. He refers to the rejoicing in the form of bonfires, fireworks, feasting, dancing and drinking that marked ‘the good news we had just recently received about the great victory won by the King over the army of king James’. He also notes the festivities that marked ‘the reduction of

⁵⁹ See R. Whelan, ‘Persecution and toleration: the changing identities of Ireland’s Huguenot refugees’, *HSP* 27/1 (1998), 20–35; and ‘Remembering with integrity’, *HSP* 27/2 (1999), 281–3. ⁶⁰ See R.D. Tumbleson, *Catholicism in the English Protestant imagination: nationalism, religion, and literature, 1660–1745* (Cambridge, 1998). ⁶¹ MS Z2.2.2, 28 avril/3 mai 1692, f. 48: this is a fairly extensive account of a play put on in the Grande Église in Bern and may not actually express Bouhéreau’s personal opinions, although it does fit those opinions as they are expressed more allusively elsewhere. Presumably the space allotted and the time spent making the entry speak of the importance of the subject to the author.

Limerick’, as he puts it, remarking that this was the last stage in the ‘conquest of Ireland’.⁶²

Festivities of this kind, as David Cressy has argued, provided a framework for disseminating a distinctively Protestant political culture.⁶³ Bouhéreau’s record of them and the language he uses to describe them position him within that culture which defined itself by opposition to the menace of popery, whether French or Irish.⁶⁴ This is why he refers to the armed forces of Louis XIV in Piedmont as ‘les Français’ (rather than ‘nos Français’) and reserves the possessive adjective for what has become his side (‘nos partis’).⁶⁵ In many ways, the clientage of early modern Europe, and the network of relationships it involved, facilitated Bouhéreau’s transfer of allegiance from the home to the receiving society and its allies. But it is the Protestant interest that enables him to hold together the old solidarity with French Calvinists – who are not counted with ‘les Français’ but with ‘nos partis’ – and the new one with England (France’s historic enemy), and its political engagements and public representatives, Coxe and Galway.⁶⁶

The diary also has something to reveal – although, as usual, in an understated way – about Bouhéreau’s religious practices. All of the evidence points to his having been a deeply pious person. He never missed an opportunity to attend church on Sundays. If his travels brought him to a town with a French Calvinist church he made haste to worship with his own people, twice when he could, in the morning and the afternoon. Occasionally, of a Sunday, a French refugee minister was invited to preach in Coxe’s chapel, usually in the afternoon, since presumably an Anglican service was held in the morning.⁶⁷ Bouhéreau often recorded the verses from the Bible on which the sermon was preached – the sermon, as we know, was a central part of Reformed worship – and he may have returned to meditate on those verses subsequently. He certainly treated the sermon with deep seriousness. In hap-

⁶² MS Z2.2.2, 24 juillet/3 août, f. 26: ‘C’étoit le jour destiné pour la réjouissance de la bonne nouvelle qu’on avoit tout-fraichement reçue de la grande victoire obtenue par le Roy, le 1/11 juillet, sur l’armée du roy Jaques, en Irlande’; 4/14 novembre 1691, f. 42: ‘M. l’Envoyé a célébré la fête de la réduction de Limérick, qui se soumit à l’obéissance de S.M.B. il y a précisément un mois: ce qui a achevé la conquête de l’Irlande.’ ⁶³ D. Cressy, *Bonfires and bells: national memory and the Protestant calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London, 1989). ⁶⁴ MS Z2.2.2, 20/30 mars 1689/90, f. 18: Bouhéreau notes the passport granted to Henry Ussher and observes that he was fleeing Ireland ‘pour éviter les mauvais traitemens du party papiste’. ⁶⁵ For example, MS Z2.2.2, 29 juin/9 juillet 1696, f. 84: ‘pendant lesquels [=jours] les François et nous [...] demeurerons, comme nous sommes, séparés par le Pô, sans rien entreprendre les uns sur les autres.’ ⁶⁶ I have developed these ideas at greater length in ‘Huguenot autobiography’, 469–72. ⁶⁷ See MS Z2.2.2, 2/12 août 1691, f. 39, sermon preached by André Martel on Job 22.25. Bouhéreau notes that Martel was at that time professor of theology in Bern, as he had been previously in the Protestant Academy of Montauban-Puylaurens.

pier days, he had a tendency to initiate a discussion by correspondence with one of his friends about the meaning of certain words or expressions in the biblical verses that had been the focus of a particular sermon.⁶⁸ The signs all point, then, to a genuinely Reformed piety on Bouhéreau's part, focused on the Scriptures which were the object of both his own personal examination and group discussions, as they were also at the centre of the communal worship he attended faithfully. The only idiosyncrasy is the peculiarly bookish, even slightly pedantic flavour of his religious practice, which is, of course, consistent with his personality as it is revealed elsewhere.⁶⁹ While this sets him apart, his otherwise rather ordinary piety provides a good example of a life structured and shaped by the Reformed tradition.

Bouhéreau is not doctrinaire, however, in his devotion to the values and practices of French Calvinism. The diary shows him moving easily between services in Anglican, Lutheran and Calvinist churches while on his travels. Obviously, clientage comes into play here again; Bouhéreau is working for a diplomat and he behaves with appropriate diplomacy in the host societies where he is welcomed. But there is also real personal conviction at work. On the day of Pentecost 25 May 1692, he records that he went with Coxe's chaplain, who was presumably Anglican, to take communion with 'the Germans' (that is, German Reformed) in Bern, 'as a sign of communion', adding that they had taken communion with the French the previous week. They concluded the day of Pentecost by taking communion according to Anglican rites in Coxe's chapel.⁷⁰

This entry reveals a number of things about Bouhéreau's religious attitudes. Clearly, the eucharistic rite had as central a place in his life as it did for the founder of his tradition, Calvin, for whom it was a sacramental act of communion with God.⁷¹ But this is not an individualistic spiritual experience. Bouhéreau's pointed participation in the Lord's Supper ('Cène') with two other confessions suggests that for him the eucharistic rite was a communal act that both expressed an underlying consensus and actually created it through performative utterances.⁷² Such ecumenism, even limited as it is to

68 In the section of MS Z2.2.2 preceding the diary, which Bouhéreau used as a notebook, he makes an entry on the sermon preached on Mark 11.13 in Bègle, near Bordeaux, on 15 April 1682 by Isaac Sarrau. Bouhéreau notes the letter he wrote to Sarrau, who was evidently a regular correspondent and friend, on 23 janvier 1683 raising certain queries about the verse in Mark's gospel and the reply he received five days later. He also minutes their conclusions. 69 On this see McCarthy, 549–50. 70 MS Z2.2.2, 15/25 mai 1692, f. 49, 'Mr nôtre chapelain, et moy, avons été faire la Cène avec les Allemans, à la grande Eglise de Berne, en signe de communion; comme nous avons fait avec les François, huit jours auparavant. Nous avons, en-suite, communié à l'Angloise, dans la Chappelle de Mr l'envoyé.' 71 For a summary of Calvin's attitude to the Lord's Supper, see B.M.G. Reardon, *Religious thought in the Reformation* (London & New York, 1995, 2nd edn), 189–90. 72 The phrasing used by Bouhéreau in his will also points to the spiritual importance the

Protestant denominations, was relatively unusual at the time, and it points to a commitment above the ordinary on Bouhéreau's part not to the different forms of worship but to the underlying unity of faith of the Protestant tradition. It was a practice that Bouhéreau continued in Ireland. He conformed to Anglicanism, and was eventually ordained, but worshipped in the Lady Chapel and possibly also at times with the French Reformed Church, to which he also paid annual dues.⁷³ Worshipping with others was obviously, for him, a way of holding together before God the shattered identity of the immigrant community and knitting it together with the host community. This brings me to my final point: Bouhéreau and his God.

The received interpretation of French Protestantism in this period is that it was spiritually impoverished, compared with the great richness of Calvinism at the time of the Reformation. E.G. Léonard points to the rise of rationalism to explain the dry preaching of the pastors and what he calls the 'religious exhaustion' of French Protestants generally.⁷⁴ This is why, it is argued, the Huguenots were so easily overcome by the forces of Louis XIV, fleeing before the soldiers, or converting to Catholicism for the sake of a quiet life. The sermons of the period seem to reinforce these views, since they constantly point to the sins of the Huguenots and what the preachers call their religious indifference in an attempt to explain what is happening to them and give it a religious meaning. Indeed, it was widely accepted that God was allowing these tribulations to be visited on the Protestants in order to revive them spiritually.⁷⁵ Sermons, however, are an unreliable source for understanding religious *mentalités*, since by definition they admonish people and exhort them to believe or behave more appropriately, when, in fact, their reproofs may be more a matter of perception than reality. Bouhéreau's diary tells a different story about its author's relationship to his God, but it does it so unemphatically that we might easily miss it. French Protestants are not Puritans, committing the life of the conscience to paper in eloquent outpourings. Nor is the *livre de raison* or family record book designed as a repository for the secrets of the spiritual life. Besides, knowledge of God or belief, generally speaking, is assumed in the sources available to us, rather than written down. So we

eucharistic rite had for him; he speaks of 'the design I allways had of dying within the communion of the Reformed Churches of France, in which, by the grace of God, I constantly lived, till they were utterly destroy'd ...', White, p. 89; communion is understood here as a binding together of individuals (Bouhéreau) and churches into one community. 73 MS Z2.2.2, 9/20 juillet 1701, f. 109, ordained deacon; 21 septembre/2 octobre 1701, ordained priest; ordination was a requirement of Bouhéreau's appointment as librarian of Marsh's Library. In his will he made a very strong statement of commitment to the Reformed tradition, in which he includes the Church of England. For the dues paid to the Dublin churches, see McCarthy, p. 550. 74 E.G. Léonard, *Histoire générale du protestantisme* (Paris, 1988, 3 vols, 2nd edn), ii, 350, iii, 30–70; the title of this chapter is 'Épousement religieux'. 75 See Léonard, ii, 366.

have to approach the question of Bouhéreau and his God laterally, studying the physicality rather than the spirituality of the diary, that is, the diary as object or textual artefact.

Bouhéreau's diary began life as a notebook, in fact it is the second of what was possibly a series of commonplace books, as Bouhéreau called them in his last will and testament when he bequeathed them to his son John.⁷⁶ The first sixty pages of the notebook contain chronological tables beginning in the year 2001 BCE, with the first entry after that noting the birth of Japheth, one of Noah's sons. The fact that the table begins there, rather than in the year 4004, the date of the creation of the world according to the traditional assumptions of the time, confirms that this is the second notebook. In these pages Bouhéreau draws up a comparative chronology of the Jewish and other peoples of the ancient world, continuing on to the foundation of Christianity and the Roman Empire, and carrying on to 1672, when the chronology abruptly stops. This is followed by four pages of notes and comments, which Bouhéreau calls 'articles', and then by the diary. Bouhéreau starts the serial jottings of the diary with the general statement of intent, alluded to above, in which he laconically mentions his escape from France and safe arrival in England with his family. He attributes this to the grace of God, adding that '[God] has also provided for all our needs'.⁷⁷

He returns to this theme in his last will and testament, where he makes a very strong statement of faith.

I earnestly above all entreat my dear children never to forgett that signall mercy of God, by which they were taken out of a country, which may be so justly looked upon as a place of slavery. There are few families, upon whom Providence hath bestowed the same favour, with such remarkable circumstances, as do better deserve to be kept in perpetual remembrance; the chiefest of which I have purposely sett down in another writing [...].⁷⁸

⁷⁶ On John Bouhéreau, see White, 88. There is a certain lack of clarity in the way Bouhéreau describes his papers in his will. He bequeathed to Richard 'such papers as concern the affairs of the family'. Does this mean Richard inherited the diary, which was, at least in part, a *livre de raison* recording the main events in the family's life? To John, he left 'all such things as have any relation to sciences, and learning, as my geographical maps, and chronological tables, what few medals I have, my common-place books ...' (White, 90). The notebook containing the diary starts as a chronological table and ends with Bouhéreau's financial accounts and contains the cross-reference to 'mon premier livre de remarques' (commonplace book?) (f. clxviii). These internal textual signs seem to suggest that it was among the papers that went to John. What happened to all the other papers, including at least one other commonplace book? If they were located we could begin to work out the shape of Bouhéreau's intellectual life because they probably hold the key to his puzzling system of annotations. ⁷⁷ MS Z2.2.2, f. clxxi: '[Dieu] a, aussi, pourvü à tous nos besoins'. ⁷⁸ White, 90.

Is this an allusion to the escape narrative that has not yet been found? Most probably. But it serves to remind us that for Bouhéreau the quotidian is actually sacred and that its remarkable and unremarkable happenings are occasions for praise and thankfulness to God. Indeed, throughout the diary Bouhéreau attributes certain mercies – a safe arrival, a recovery from illness – to the grace of God.⁷⁹ It is a commonplace attitude but it takes on a new meaningfulness when it is read within the overall narrative frame of the diary. Just as the diary is framed in a chronology that starts with God, so the events of his own and his family's lives are framed in a deeply personal assumption that time and history have been providentially ordered from the foundation of the world. And the diary, like the lost escape narrative, functions almost liturgically to keep this in 'perpetual remembrance'.⁸⁰

The chronology into which the diary is inserted is significant in another way. It is, as I have observed, a comparative chronology, with the biblical story functioning as the control by which other timelines are measured. The frame narrative is, therefore, that of the chosen people of God, first the Jews and then the early Christians, continuing through to the Reformation and on to the present day. It is telling that the first of the 'articles' or notes made by Bouhéreau after the chronology comes to an end is a lengthy summary of a manuscript letter by Jacob Spon that someone had lent him. Spon is answering the commonplace accusation that Protestantism is a new religion that appeared at the time of the Reformation and that it is therefore illegitimate since it cannot be traced back to Christ. Bouhéreau summarizes Spon's reply as follows:

... he had carefully and without prejudice sought the antiquity of his religion, which was only new to those who had no acquaintance with it, but which, in truth was as old as the world, as it necessarily had to be if God was its author; that it differed from the Jewish religion only in the way a grown man is different from what he was before, when he was a child.⁸¹

His religion 'was as old as the world'. This is surely the guiding assumption of a life that is inscribed into a chronology that goes back to the precise

⁷⁹ For example, MS Z2.2.2, 21 septembre/1 octobre 1692, f. 57, 'Je suis arrivé à Londres, où Dieu m'a fait la grace de retrouver ma famille en bon état, après trois ans d'absence'; 20 juillet/2 août 1695, f. 78, recovery from illness. ⁸⁰ See Lougee Chappell, 11–13, for the liturgical setting of many Huguenot life-writings in this period. ⁸¹ MS Z2.2.2, f. CLXVII, 'qu'il avoit recherché avec soin, et sans préjuger, l'antiquité de sa religion, qui n'étoit nouvelle, que pour ceux qui ne la connoissoyent pas, mais qui, dans la vérité, étoit aussi ancienne que le monde, comme il falloit nécessairement qu'elle le fût, si elle avoit Dieu pour auteur: qu'elle ne diffère de la religion judaïque que comme un homme fait diffère de ce qu'il a été autrefois, étant enfant'.

moment when – as chronologists of the period believed – God said, 'Let there be light'.

Thus, Bouhéreau assumes that his life and the lives of his family are the object of a special Providence who, from the foundation of the world, selects from the mass of humanity a people for protection and grace: the Jews, the early Christians and, finally, the Protestants. To put it another way, the diary is framed in the belief that Bouhéreau and his family are members of the elect whom God has chosen as witnesses and saved from the persecution that is periodically visited on the elect and which, the Huguenots believed, was actually a sign of their election. While he was at Saumur, studying theology, Bouhéreau may have dabbled in Amyraut's hypothetical universalism and been caught up in debates about grace and election, but faced with persecution he is a thoroughgoing Calvinist.⁸² And it is this Calvinist belief in the particular providential oversight and protection of the elect that gives him a security in the face of the sorrows, disruptions and displacement of exile. Unlike Marsh, Bouhéreau does not need to look for signs of his election, or prove or externalize it in diary entries, dreams and prophecies.⁸³ Why? Because he is nourished by an inward certainty that enables him to live through the changing landscape of his life – with its sorrows and its joys – trusting the God who shapes and orders all history, even Bouhéreau's own.

These are not the only things to be learned from the physicality of the diary, however. The notebook in which Bouhéreau chose to write the diary is ruled as an account book and he also uses it for that purpose. A number of the entries in the diary are accounts of sums lent or received to fellow refugees or of payments made to Galway's demobbed soldiers. But on 25 March 1704 he made a decision to use the notebook more officially for accounts, writing from back to front, which is why the writing in the diary section gets smaller and smaller towards the end – he is afraid of running out of space.⁸⁴ In this section notes of personal expenditure on wigs and barbers, contributions to churches and charitable causes are listed along with sums of money received from the English Treasury and paid out in pensions to well-known figures of the Irish Huguenot diaspora.⁸⁵ There is nothing unusual in this second narrative frame. In the early modern period, diaries and *livres de raison* were often little more than account books, where to the daily reckoning of expenditure were added a few notes about the things or events that

82 B. Armstrong, *Calvinism and the Amyraut heresy: Protestant scholasticism and humanism in seventeenth-century France* (Madison, Milwaukee & London, 1969) is still the most useful summary in English of the theology of grace developed at Saumur. 83 See the chapter in this volume, 'Narcissus Marsh and his God', by R. Gillespie. 84 MS Z.2.2.2, 25 mars 1704, f. 112, 'Je commence aujourd'hui, dans ce livre, le tournant dans l'autre sens, un état de recettes et de mise, pour l'argent qui me passe par les mains, ce que je faisais, cy devant, sur des feuilles volantes'. 85 On this, see McCarthy, 550–1.

brought about that expenditure.⁸⁶ Extant manuscripts of Huguenot memoirs and escape narratives also reveal that these life-writings were sometimes recorded in notebooks used for accounts.⁸⁷ Béatrice Didier has observed that this financial dimension marks these writings out as resolutely bourgeois.⁸⁸ From this perspective, life-writing becomes both a form of accounting for the way time is spent and a savings book in which the events of a life are preserved from oblivion. What is the significance of this for Bouhéreau's diary?

It is obvious that Bouhéreau's whole approach to diary-writing was one of saving, saving experiences, events, good stories and family records in order to ensure that they were not worn out of memory. It is also clear that his diary is a form of accounting, the adding up of a life through incremental daily fragments until the summation of the whole becomes visible at the end. But to whom are these accounts being made? Certainly, to the self, as I have argued, who is engaged in a process of self-reflection in the textual space of the diary. To the family, to whom the diary will pass after death, and who are inscribed into its text as expected readers. Also to all those others present in the pages of the diary – not simply those to whom money was given or lent, but also those whose lives contributed to the richness of Bouhéreau's life, and whose contribution is noted for posterity. Ultimately, however, given the other narrative frame of Bouhéreau's diary, the providential framework, the account and reckoning of a life is given to the One whose investment of grace and protection shaped that life and brought it to its journey's end. The diary is, then, an act of moral and religious accountability based on self-examination and recollection.⁸⁹ This is actually a form of introspection and it is also a spiritual exercise which was, I believe, shaped by the liturgical traditions of French Calvinism. Services of worship opened with prayers and exhortations followed immediately by a general confession.⁹⁰ In his formative years, Bouhéreau learned this habit of self-examination and inward, silent confession in the presence of both God and – as in the diary – of the silent but witnessing presence of others, who are also engaged in offering the examined life as an act of worship. Thus Bouhéreau's diary is, in a very real sense, a confession in which the writer is engaged in the most important act of accountability of all.⁹¹

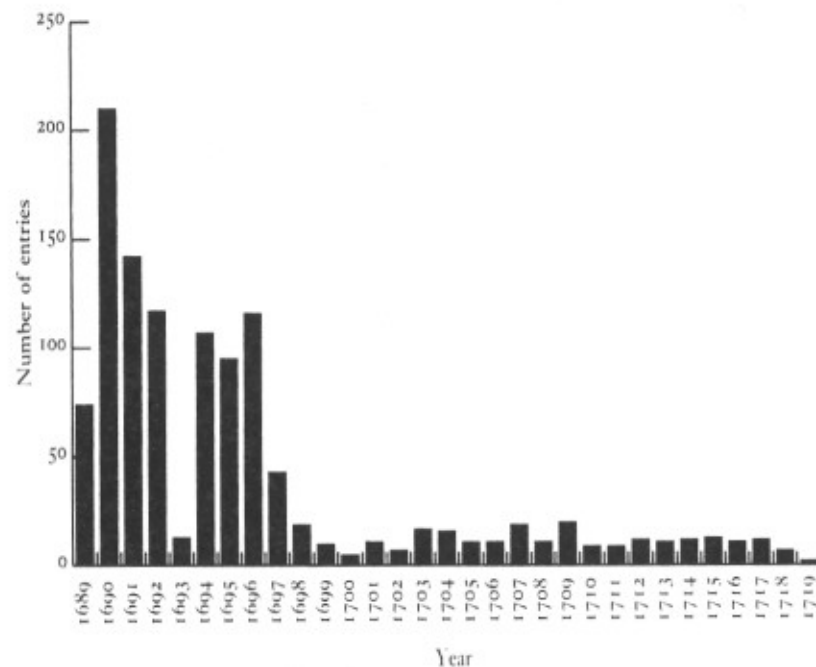
A number of conclusions may be drawn from the quotidian jottings of Élie Bouhéreau and some of them challenge existing assumptions. While it would

86 See Didier, 27–46. 87 See Lougee, 4. The manuscript of Dumont de Bostaquet's Memoirs is held by the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, MS 12 N 17. Dumont noted certain financial transactions in the opening pages before starting his memoir. 88 Didier, 28, 47–84. 89 Didier, 56, remarks on this aspect of diaries in the early modern period. 90 R. Whelan, 'Sanctified by the Word: the Huguenots and Anglican liturgy', in K. Herlihy, *Propagating the word of Irish dissent, 1650–1800* (Dublin, 1998), 74–94. 91 I consider other aspects of the life narrative as confession in 'Huguenot autobiography', 468–9.

be unwise to make broad generalizations based on one Huguenot's expression of his faith, Bouhéreau's diary does allow us to question the view that French Calvinism was spiritually arid in this period. The diary testifies to a life motivated, shaped and sustained by a Reformed faith that appears to bestow an exceptional serenity on Bouhéreau in often very testing circumstances. It is, however, a faith that is easily overlooked not just because belief tends to be assumed rather than explicitly stated in this, as in other sources available to us, but also because of the sheer ordinariness of the piety that may be intuited from the diary. Other French Protestants in this period had noisier and more dramatic forms of belief, most notably in the Languedoc, which may have distracted historians from the solid, essentially bourgeois piety of Bouhéreau and those like him.⁹² His is a religious sensibility rooted in discretion and communal consensus, as we have seen, but it is no less genuine or deeply felt for all that. It is at least possible that the often heroic choices made by other ordinary French Protestants, whether they became refugees or stayed home, were actually based on a similarly understated and rather mundane piety, which time has worn out of memory because historians have failed to recognize and record it.

The diary also challenges overly categoric understandings of the emergence of a private sphere and notions of selfhood. By the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, we are told, 'public affairs were no longer confounded with private interests' and a 'private realm' became possible, which was 'totally divorced from the public service and completely autonomous'.⁹³ Yet, Bouhéreau's daily jottings reveal a life in which the public servant and the private individual were inseparable rather than opposed and also a life embedded in client, friendship and religious networks that had both private and public functions. The conviviality of the narrative space of the diary and the presence of others at almost every point – even the most 'private' – confirm, then, that early modern patterns of communal and collective sociability extended into the early eighteenth century. A certain ambiguity remains, however. The very act of writing a diary is private and it is an act that attaches importance to the individual rather than the collective. The writing self may be essentially reserved – as is the case in Bouhéreau's diary – and not given to dwelling on the inner life, but the diary-writer is, nonetheless, preserving an account unique to that self and an individual view of events, whether public or private.⁹⁴ So there is in fact a paradoxical affirmation of the private and the individual in Bouhéreau's diary alongside the rep-

⁹² This bias is visible in Léonard, iii, 14–29 and 59–70, who obviously admired what he calls the 'ardent piety' of the Protestants of Languedoc, which he sees as a spiritual renewal made necessary by the rationalism and aridity of late seventeenth-century French Protestantism (71). ⁹³ P. Ariès, 'Introduction', Chartier (ed.), 10. ⁹⁴ See Goulemot, 382.



2 Bouhéreau's Diary: distribution of entries, 1689–1719.

resentation of the self as caught in webs of filiation, suggesting that the progression towards modernity, and its public–private divide, was complex rather than clear-cut.

Finally, Bouhéreau's diary has something to add to our understanding of the history and evolution of autobiographical writing. Specialists have a tendency to accept uncritically the definition of the autobiographical act provided by Philippe Le Jeune, which insists on the personal and even the intimate nature of autobiographical narratives.⁹⁵ But, as Georges Gusdorf has consistently argued, life-writing does not necessarily have to be centred on the self, as defined by our modern conceptions, in order to be counted as autobiography.⁹⁶ Indeed, Bouhéreau's diary suggests that life-writing, which is more concerned with the exterior than the interior world, also expresses

⁹⁵ P. Le Jeune, *Le Pacte autobiographique* (Paris, 1975, 2nd edn, 1996), 14–15; although Le Jeune has recently accepted the limitations of this definition, see P. Le Jeune, 'Pour l'autobiographie', *propos recueillis par M. Delon, Magazine Littéraire* 409 (2002), 21. While Le Jeune maintains that autobiography took a new direction with Rousseau, he now accepts that this occurred as a result of 'several evolutions' that preceded Rousseau. ⁹⁶ See footnotes 8 and 9 above.

concepts of self and of inwardness that can be deduced by alternative methods of reading. As I hope I have shown in this chapter, literary methods, with their sensitivity to narrative structures and form, have much to contribute to a history of autobiography. Such methods reveal the diverse narrative modes that contributed to the evolution of the autobiographical act. They also enable us to reconstruct the writing self, who is both the subject and the author of these texts, and to bring that self back to life from the inconsequential and often dry entries of an early modern diary. But such a reconstruction would remain incomplete without due attentiveness, as we have seen, to the text as object and cultural artefact. Indeed, the physicality of texts and their means of production can be as important as their contents if we want to retrieve from forgetfulness the *mentalités* embodied in the books and manuscripts in Marsh's Library.