

THE DIARY (1689–1719)
AND ACCOUNTS (1704–1717)
OF
ÉLIE BOUHÉREAU
MARSH'S LIBRARY, MS Z2.2.2

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Cover image: page from the Bouhéreau accounts for 1705/6
(MS Z2.2.2, reproduced courtesy of Marsh's Library).

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INTRODUCTION

THE PORTABLE HOMELAND OF ÉLIE BOUHÉREAU

On Monday 30 August 1915, as the Great War played out across Europe, the firm of Mr P. M. Barnard, an antiquarian bookseller in the sleepy English town of Tunbridge Wells, posted a manuscript ‘on approval’ to the keeper of Marsh’s Library, the Rev. Dr Newport J. D. White. The contents of the package evidently pleased Dr White because a little more than a month later, on 2 October, the bookseller acknowledged receipt of a cheque to the value of £9 and 11 shillings, which would cover both the cost of the manuscript and one shilling added for postage and packing.¹

The manuscript that had caught Dr White’s attention was described laconically by Mr Barnard as ‘Bouhéreau (E.) Autograph Diary, 1689–1719’. It has been in the possession of Marsh’s Library since 1915, and it is a pleasure to introduce it to readers on the occasion of the three hundredth anniversary of the death of the man who wrote it, Dr Élie Bouhéreau (1643–1719). A native of La Rochelle on the western seaboard of France, Bouhéreau hailed from a wealthy Protestant family.² He studied at the Saumur academy in the late 1650s before moving to Paris in the early 1660s where he ‘became enmeshed in the literary and intellectual milieu of the capital and forged ties with the cultural elite’.³ He studied medicine at the University of Orange between 1664 and 1667, and travelled in Italy, before marrying and settling back into a quiet provincial life in La Rochelle as a medical doctor who was also active in church affairs. French Protestants, known as Huguenots, enjoyed a degree of religious liberty under the terms of the Edict of Nantes of 1598 which had brought an end to the disastrous interdecade Wars of Religion that had convulsed the kingdom during the second half of the sixteenth century. From the early 1670s, however, Huguenots across France began to detect open signs of Louis XIV’s attempts to roll back on their rights and privileges. The religious and political atmosphere became more oppressive after 1679, and four years later Bouhéreau found himself excluded from the medical

1 This is preserved within the box that houses the notebook which contains the diary and financial accounts at Marsh’s Library, MS Z2.2.2.

2 Newport J. D. White and M. Léopold Delayant, ‘Elias Bouhéreau of La Rochelle, first public librarian in Ireland’ in *R.I.A. Proc.*, xxvii (1908–9), section C, pp 126–58; Newport J. D. White, *Four good men: Luke Challoner, Jeremy Taylor, Narcissus Marsh, Elias Bouhéreau* (Dublin, 1927), pp 75–85; François Boulaire, ‘Élie Bouhéreau, immigrant Huguenot et premier bibliothécaire de la Marsh’s Library à Dublin’ in *Cahiers du Centre d’Études Irlandaises* [de U.H.B., Rennes], v (1980), pp 7–18; Muriel McCarthy, ‘Élie Bouhéreau, First Keeper of Marsh’s Library’, *Dublin Historical Record*, lvi (2003), pp 132–45; *DIB*.

3 Jean-Paul Pittion, ‘Un médecin protestant du dix-septième siècle et ses livres: anatomie de la collection Élie Bouhéreau à la Bibliothèque Marsh de Dublin’ in *Irish Journal of French Studies*, xvi (2016), p. 49.

profession in his home town solely on the basis of his faith.⁴ At around the same time he was exiled to the nearby region of Poitou, presumably because of his leading role in the Huguenot community of his home city, and troops were billeted on the family home. At least one of his children, the youngest girl, was forcibly placed in a convent at the behest of the authorities. This was ostensibly done to facilitate the conversion of the child, but also had the effect of making her a hostage for the future good behaviour of her family.⁵ The Bouhéreaus were far from the only Huguenot family to have a child taken from them in order to secure the quiescence of their immediate family and wider community. Early in 1686, Bouhéreau fled to England with as many members of his family as he could gather together. He was just one of as many as 200,000 Huguenots who left their homeland in the wake of the revocation of religious toleration by the ‘Sun King’, Louis XIV. As is well known, the experience of these French *réfugiés* led to the development of the English-language word, ‘refugee’.⁶

DIARY AND FINANCIAL ACCOUNTS OF ÉLIE BOUHÉREAU

The manuscript bought by Dr White is an unremarkable paper notebook of 115 leaves or 230 pages. It measures 33.4 cm high by 24 cm wide, and the pages have been ruled throughout into five columns of varying widths. This was probably done by the stationer who sold the notebook, which would indicate that it was originally designed to record financial transactions. At some point in the past the notebook was bound in a soft brown cover, but the covers are now missing and there are only four small portions of this covering extant on the spine. A system of original pagination on the top right-hand corner of the first page of the notebook makes it clear that two leaves (or four pages) are missing from the front of the volume. An unknown number of pages are missing from the back of the notebook.

The first 60 pages of the notebook contain a general chronology of the world from the birth of Noah’s son Japheth to the year 1672 CE with both entries and notes in Latin.⁷ One blank page is then followed by four densely written pages containing a series of notes of different lengths, primarily in French but with a few in Latin. Some of these notes pertain to reading undertaken by Bouhéreau, but others are simply copies of letters he sent and received. Immediately after these notes, there is a diary kept by Bouhéreau between 1689 and 1719. It covers 125 pages of the notebook. The 1,175 entries run to slightly more than 78,000 words.⁸ The text is almost all in

4 Geoffrey Treasure, *The Huguenots* (New Haven, CT, 2013), p. 340; Jean-Paul Pittion, ‘Medicine and religion in seventeenth-century France: La Rochelle, 1676–83’ in Sarah Alyn Stacey and Véronique Desnain (eds), *Culture and conflict in seventeenth-century France* (Dublin, 2004), p. 56.

5 Pittion, ‘Un médecin protestant’, p. 36.

6 Robin Gwynn, ‘Roger Morrice and the Huguenot Refugees’ in Jason McElligott (ed.), *Fear, exclusion and revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s* (Aldershot, 2006), pp 32–48; Anne Dunan-Page, ‘Roger L’Estrange and the Huguenots: continental Protestantism and the Church of England’ in Anne Dunan-Page and Beth Lynch (eds), *Roger L’Estrange and the making of Restoration culture* (Aldershot, 2008), pp 109–30.

7 Noreen Humble, ‘Élie Bouhéreau (1643–1719): a scholar at work in his libraries’ in *Lias*, xlv (2017), p. 147.

8 Ruth Whelan, ‘Marsh’s Library and the French Calvinist tradition: the manuscript diary of Élie Bouhéreau (1643–1719)’, in Muriel McCarthy and Ann Simmons (eds), *The making of Marsh’s Library. Learning, politics and religion in Ireland, 1650–1750* (Dublin, 2004), p. 213.

1689

[p. 1] Après la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes, Sur la fin de 1685 et les diverses persécutions excitées contre les Protestans, en France, je ramassay ce que je pûs de ma famille, et je passay en Angleterre, au mois de Janvier, 1685/6. 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, à la Rochelle; et dont je luy demande, tous les jours, la liberté. ^Elle y est morte, le 8/18 de May, 1690.^ Il a, aussi; pourvû à tous nos besoins. J'ay marqué, ailleurs, les principales circonstances du Soin qu'il a pris de nous: et je pourray, à loisir, les rapporter, en quelque endroit de ce Livre. À-présent, mon dessein est de Suivre le fil de mes aventures, depuis que j'ay cessé d'être auprès des Enfans de Madame la Duchesse de Monmouth, en qualité de leur Gouverneur. Je Suis Sorty d'avec eux au milieu de l'année 1689.

 Août 12/22. Lundy.

Je me Suis engagé avec Mr. Thomas Coxe, Envoyé Extraordinaire de S.M.B.¹ Guillaume 3e vers les Cantons Suisses, pour luy Servir de Secrétaire. Il me doit donner deux cents Livres Sterling, par an, avec un Valet entretenu, ma nourriture et mon logement dans Sa Maison, et les fraix de mes voyages.

^Son premier Quartier doit Se conter du 20e de Juillet précédent; auquel tems, il a baisé la main du Roy.^

Le même jour, je Suis allé, avec Mr. Coxe, de Londres à Gravesend.

[Août]14/24.

Mr. Coxe S'est embarqué pour Hollande: et je Suis retourné à Londres, pour quelques affaires, qui restent à terminer.

 Août 26/Septembre 5.

Mr. Fatio, de Duillier, chargé de la Procuracy de Mr. Coxe, a reçu pour luy, de l'Échiquier, £955 Sterling; Savoir, £455, pour Son premier quartier, qui doit luy être payé à l'avance, à raison de £5 Sterling par jour; et £500, pour Son Équipage. On m'a payé, là-dessus, £50 Sterling pour un Quartier, que j'ay mises entre les mains de ma femme. Le reste a été employé Suivant les ordres de Mr. Coxe.²

Ma femme a dépensé, pour les Hardes qu'elle m'a fait faire, et pour d'autres fraix, qui regardent mon voyage, £16.07 Shillings Sterling: et j'ay pris en monnoye, Sur moy, environ £6.05s. En-tout, autour de £22.12s Sterling.

1 Sa Majesté Britannique.

2 Bouhéreau a utilisé le signe 'tt' pour désigner indifférament toutes les monnaies dont il s'est servi pendant ses missions diplomatiques sur le continent, qu'il s'agisse de livres sterling, de guilders des Pays Bas, de livres tournois, de la monnaie en cours dans le Piémont, ou de la monnaie du Saint Empire Romain Germanique.

1689

[p. 1] After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, at the end of 1685, and the various persecutions fomented against the Protestants in France, I gathered together those I could of my family and I travelled to England, in the month of January, 1685/6. It has since pleased the Lord to grant me the return of the remainder of my family, with the exception of the youngest of my daughters, who is still withheld from me, in a convent in La Rochelle, and for whose freedom I implore the Lord every day. ^She died there, the 8/18 May 1690.^ The Lord has also provided for all our needs. I have noted elsewhere the main circumstances of the care that He has taken of us; and I will be able to give an account of them, at my leisure, at some point in this book. At present, my aim is to trace the thread of my fortunes, from the time that I ceased to be with the children of the duchess of Monmouth, in my capacity as their tutor. I left them in the middle of the year 1689.

August 12/22. Monday

I have been appointed to Mr Thomas Coxe,³ envoy extraordinary of His Britannic Majesty William III to the Swiss cantons, to serve him as secretary. He is to pay me two hundred pounds sterling per annum, and provide me with a manservant, as well as food and lodging within his household, and travel expenses.

^His first quarterly instalment is to be counted from the 20th of July last, on which date he was appointed by the king.^

On the same day, I went with Mr Coxe from London to Gravesend.

[August] 14/24

Mr Coxe embarked for Holland; and I returned to London, to deal with some outstanding matters of business.

August 26/September 5

Mr Fatio de Duillier,⁴ who is looking after Mr Coxe's affairs, has received £955⁵ sterling from the exchequer on his behalf, namely, £455 for his first quarter, which is to be paid to him in advance, at a rate of £5 sterling per day, and £500 for his retinue. Out of this money, £50 sterling was paid to me as a quarterly instalment, which I have placed into the care of my wife. The rest was used as directed by Mr Coxe.

My wife spent £16.07 shillings sterling on the clothes that she had made for me, and on various other expenses related to my journey: and I took with me, in coin, approximately £6.05s. In total, around £22.12s sterling.

3 Thomas Coxe, envoy extraordinary 1689–92, whose credentials and instructions were dated 30 Aug. 1689: D. B. Horn (ed.), *British Diplomatic Representatives 1689–1789* (Camden, ser. 3, xkvi, 1932), p. 144.

4 Nicolas Fatio de Duillier (1664–1753), mathematician and friend of Sir Isaac Newton: *ODNB*.

5 Bouhéreau used the symbol 'tt' throughout the manuscript to denote currencies, whether he was referring to pounds sterling, Dutch guilders, livres tournois, Piedmontese coin, or that of the Holy Roman Empire. Whenever 'tt' refers to pounds sterling it has been altered to '£', but in all other instances the editors have retained the original 'tt'.

Septembre 11/21.

Je Suis party de Londres, ayant terminé les affaires dont Mr. Coxe m'y avoit chargé.

Couché à Gravesend; ayant avec moy Mr. Nathanaël Coxe, frère de Mr. l'Envoyé, Son Maître d'Hôtel, Son Cuisinier, et un petit Laquais.

Mr. [^]Ash[^]Dasley, petit-fils de feu Mr. le Comte de Shaftbury, Chancelier d'Angleterre, S'est aussi joint à nôtre Troupe, avec Mr. Denoune, [^]Écossois,[^] Son Gouverneur.

[Septembre] 12/22.

Traversé Rochester, et passé Sur Son beau Pont de Pierre. Dîné un-peu par-delà; et couché à Cantorbury, où nous avons vû toutes les curieuses antiquitez de Sa belle Cathédrale.

[Septembre] 13/23.

Arrivé à Deale, pour nous embarquer aux Dunes, par ordre de l'Amirauté, Sur la Frégate le Guernzey, qui doit Servir de Convoy, avec le Newcastle, a des Yachts, et à d'autres Vaisseaux, qui vont en Hollande.

Dimanche 15/25.

Nous Sommes allez, le matin, au Service de la Paroisse, qui est un-peu éloignée de la mer; et après midy, à une assemblée de Presbytériens.

[Septembre] 17/27.

Nous nous Sommes embarquez: mais le mauvais tems nous a fait retourner à terre.

[Septembre] 19/29.

Nous nous Sommes r'embarquez, pour aller au-devant des Yachts, que nous avons appris qui descendoient la Rivière. Mr. Nathanaël Coxe nous a quittez, ne voulant pas continuer le voyage.

[p. 2] Septembre 20/30.

Les Yachts nous ont joints, Sur les Sept heures du Soir; et nous avons mis à la voile, avec un vent favorable.

Septembre 21/Octobre 1.

Nous Sommes arrivez, Sur le Soir, devant les Côtes de Hollande: mais la Mer étant trop grosse, nous n'avons pû nous faire mettre à-terre.

Septembre 22/Octobre 2.

Nous Sommes entrez dans un Bateau de Pilotes Hollandois; et nous Sommes fait porter à la Brille. Le Soir, arrivé à Rotterdam.

September 11/21

I left London, having completed the business with which Mr Coxe had charged me.

Stayed in Gravesend, in the company of Mr Nathaniel Coxe, brother of the envoy,⁶ his maître d'hôtel, his cook, and a lackey.⁷

Mr Ashley,⁸ grandson of the former earl of Shaftesbury, chancellor of England, also joined our party, with Mr Denoune,⁹ ^a Scotsman^ his tutor.

[September] 12/22

Went through Rochester, and passed over its fine stone bridge. Dined a little further on; and stayed in Canterbury, where we saw all the curious antiquities of its fine cathedral.

[September] 13/23

Arrived in Deal, to embark from the Downs,¹⁰ by order of the Admiralty, on the frigate *Guernsey*, which, along with the *Newcastle*, will serve as convoy for some yachts¹¹ and other vessels going to Holland.

Sunday [September] 15/25

In the morning we went to the service in the parish church, which is a little set back from the sea; and in the afternoon, to a Presbyterian assembly.

[September] 17/27

We embarked [the frigate], but bad weather forced us to return to land.

[September] 19/29

We re-embarked, to go out to meet the yachts, which we had learned were making their way down river. Mr Nathaniel Coxe left us, not wanting to continue the journey.

[p. 2] September 20/30

The yachts joined us at seven o'clock in the evening, and we set sail with a favourable wind.

September 21/October 1

We arrived at the coast of Holland in the evening, but since the sea was too rough, we were not able to disembark.

September 22/October 2

We boarded a Dutch pilot boat and were brought to Brielle. Arrived in Rotterdam in the evening.

6 Throughout the text, Thomas Coxe is referred to as 'Mr l'Envoyé', his wife as 'Madame l'Envoyée', the canton deputies as 'Messieurs les députés'. Since there is no satisfactory formal equivalent in English, the titles have been omitted and 'the envoy', 'the envoy's wife', 'the deputies' used throughout.

7 The French word used is 'laquais' which Furetière defines in the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* (1694) as 'A young servant who goes about on foot and follows his master or mistress'.

8 Hon. Maurice Ashley (c. 1675–1726): *HoP*.

9 Daniel Denoune had graduated MD from Utrecht in 1684. His will (as of St Giles-in-the-Fields, Middx.), was proved on 19 Jan. 1696 (TNA, PROB 11/433/250).

10 An area of sea off the east Kent coast.

11 In early modern usage, a yacht was a light fast-sailing ship, used especially for the conveyance of royal or other important persons: *OED*.

Septembre. 23/Octobre. 3.

Party de Rotterdam, Sur les deux heures après midy. J'y ay vû plusieurs de mes Amis; et j'y ay laissé Mr. Tessereau dangéreusement malade. ^Il est mort de cette maladie.^ Traversé Delft; et arrivé, le Soir, à la Haye, où Mr. Coxe m'attendoit, avec la meilleure partie de Sa famille.

J'y ay trouvé, encore, un grand nombre de mes Amis. J'ay écrit à ceux d'Amsterdam, ne pouvant les aller ^voir^: et j'ay prié Mr. Jean Tourton, Sur qui j'ay une Lettre de crédit, de m'envoyer ~~de l'ar~~ quelque argent, pour acheter du Linge, et quelques autres choses, dont j'ay besoin. Il m'a envoyé 125 Florins, monnoye du paÿs; et je luy en ay donné double Quittance, dont il enverra l'une à Londres, pour être remboursé par ma femme. Mr. Ashley, et Son Gouverneur, Se Sont, icy, Séparez de nous.

Septembre 27/Octobre 7.

Je Suis party de la Haye, avec Mr. Coxe, et partie de Son train. Ayant traversé Leyde, Sur les deux heures après midy, Sans nous y arrêter, nous Sommes venus coucher à Bodegrave. De la Haye à Leyde, il y a trois heures de chemin; de Leyde à Bodegrave, cinq.

Septembre 28/Octobre 8.

Nous Sommes arrivez à Vyane, Souveraineté de *Monsieur* le Comte de la Lippe; ayant fait Six heures de chemin, et passé par Woerden, Monfort, et Yselstein. Nous avons Séjourné à Vyane trois jours francs; *Monsieur* Coxe, qui y avoit Sa Maison, y ayant encore quelques affaires. Le Diman^{che} ~~he~~, lendemain de nôtre arrivée, j'ay été à Utrecht, qui n'est qu'à deux heures de Vyane, voir Mr. *B* Baudry, qui y est Professeur en Histoire Sacrée. J'y ay aussi vû Mr. Voet van Winssen, Secrétaire des États de la Province: et j'ay été au Prê^{che} ~~he~~ ^Sermon^ François. Le Soir, je Suis retourné à Vyane. Mr. Coxe y a regalé ses Amis; et y a formé toute Sa troupe, composée de luy, et de *Madame* Sa Femme ^nommée Marie Péchel^, avec leurs deux Enfans, le Secrétaire, le Chappelain, une Demoiselle, une Femme-de-chambre,

September 23/October 3

Left Rotterdam at two o'clock in the afternoon. I met several of my friends there, and I left Mr Tessereau dangerously ill. ^He died from this illness^.¹² Passed through Delft, and arrived in the evening at The Hague, where Mr Coxe was awaiting me, with the greater part of his family.

I also found a large number of my friends there. I wrote to those in Amsterdam, since I was not able to visit them, and I requested Mr Jean Tourton, on whom I have a letter of credit, to send me some money to purchase some linen, and some other items that I require. He sent me 125 florins, the currency of this country, and I gave him a double acquittance,¹³ one of which he will send to London to be reimbursed by my wife. Mr Ashley and his tutor departed from us here.

September 27/October 7

I left The Hague with Mr Coxe, and some of his party. Having passed through Leiden, at two o'clock in the afternoon, without stopping there, we came to stay in Bodegraven. It is a three-hour journey from The Hague to Leiden, and from Leiden to Bodegraven, five hours.

September 28/October 8

Having travelled for six hours, and passed through Woerden, Montfoort, and Ijsselstein, we arrived in Vianen, which belongs to the Count of Lippe.¹⁴ We stayed in Vianen for three full days, since Mr Coxe, who has his household there, had some outstanding business to attend to. On Sunday, the day after our arrival, I went to Utrecht, which is only two hours from Vianen, to see Mr Bauldry,¹⁵ who is professor of sacred history¹⁶ there. I also saw the secretary of the states of this province, Mr Voet van Winssen,¹⁷ and I attended the French ^service^. I returned to Vianen in the evening. Mr Coxe invited friends to dinner there, and assembled his travelling party, consisting of himself, Madame his wife ^Marie Péchel^, their two children, the secretary, the chaplain, a lady-in-waiting, a chambermaid, the

12 Marsh's Library holds letters of Abraham Tessereau (*d.*1689): Marsh's Library, Z2.2.15(1.3) and Z2.2.16(11.1–3). It also holds his important two-volume collection of material documenting the history of Huguenot sufferings from the 1650s to the Revocation: Marsh's Library, Z2.2.9–10.

13 A written note acknowledging the payment of a sum owed. In the case of a double acquittance, one copy was retained by the provider of the money, the other given to the receiver.

14 Frederick-Christian, count of Schaumberg-Lippe (1655–1728): *ADB*. Bouhéreau uses the verb *marcher* throughout the original French in describing their journey, evoking the pace of the horses' walk at which they would have advanced, as well as the tedium experienced. *Marcher* therefore is translated usually as 'to travel'. However, whenever it is clear that the terrain did force Bouhéreau and his companions to dismount, *marcher* has been translated as 'to walk'. In these cases the qualification 'à pied' [on foot] has usually been added in the original.

15 Paul Bauldry (1639–1706), college friend of Bouhéreau's: *DBF*. One hundred and three letters to Bouhéreau are housed in Marsh's Library at Z2.2.13(1–103).

16 Religious history.

17 Paulus Voet van Winssen (1651–1720): *BWN*.