

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

Edited by

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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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As far back as 1981, Robert Yeoman and Margaret Wright, descendants of Élie Bouhéreau and his wife Marguerite Massiot, began the task of having the diary translated. Part of the translation was completed in 1983 by Professor Rob Alexander, University of Victoria, British Columbia, while he was a postgraduate student of early modern and modern French and British history at the University of Toronto. Almost thirty years were to elapse before Dr David Smith, emeritus professor, French department, University of Toronto, was asked in 2012 to translate the remaining part of the diary. Robert Yeoman and Margaret Wright arranged the translation because of their keen interest in family history. In order to reflect the historical context surrounding the diary, and to provide additional information regarding the Bouhéreau family's settlement in Ireland, a document entitled 'The dolphin: the story of Élie and Marguerite Bouhéreau of La Rochelle, France and Dublin, Ireland' was produced in 2013, within which the Alexander/Smith translation of the diary was fully incorporated. This document included important genealogical information about the family and was edited by Aisling Borough Yeoman. Unfortunately, Margaret Wright did not live to see the completion of 'The dolphin', as she passed away in 2012.

Unaware of the work of Mr Yeoman and Mrs Wright, Marsh's Library began a project in 2015 to publish an edition of Élie Bouhéreau's diary and financial accounts to mark the impending 300th anniversary of his death in 2019. The library had completed an initial full transcription and partial translation before a chance visit by Mark Tierney (another descendant of Élie Bouhéreau), his wife, Gönül, and daughter, Kathleen, brought us into contact with Mr Yeoman; old Élie would surely have detected the workings of Providence in forging this connection. Our project

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 internecine 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, Bouhériau 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 Bouhériau, but others are simply copies of letters he sent and received. Immediately after these notes, there is a diary kept by Bouhériau 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 Bouhériau (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 Bouhériau (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.

French, but there is occasional use of Latin, and a very small amount of Greek and Italian. Bouhéreau's handwriting is small, neat and precise, very much like his own physical appearance if we are to believe contemporary pen-pictures of him written by friends and colleagues.

The first page of the diary begins with a statement that Bouhéreau left France early in 1686 and after his arrival in England was employed until the middle of 1689 as a tutor to the children of the executed duke of Monmouth.⁹ Bouhéreau here refers to a separate, detailed description of the family's escape from France which, frustratingly, has not been located and may not have survived.¹⁰ The first dated entry in the extant diary is 22 August 1689 when Bouhéreau records that he began his employment under Thomas Coxe as a secretary on a British diplomatic mission (1689–92) to the Swiss cantons. Bouhéreau afterwards worked for the leading Huguenot refugee Henri de Ruvigny, Viscount Galway and later earl of Galway, during the diplomatic and military campaign of 1694–6 in Piedmont.¹¹ The well-travelled diarist first came to Dublin in 1697 when Galway was appointed one of the lords justices of Ireland. Bouhéreau became a prominent and well-connected member of the Huguenot community in the city and, when Galway fell from power in 1701, Élie found employment under the patronage of Archbishop Narcissus Marsh as the first keeper of Marsh's Library. The last entry in the diary is dated 31 March 1719, shortly before Bouhéreau's death.

After the diary, the manuscript notebook contains 40 pages of financial accounts, recording Bouhéreau's personal and professional incomings and outgoings between 2 June 1704 and 21 March 1717. These financial accounts contain slightly more than 2,000 entries across 40 pages and run to almost 25,000 words in total. They begin from the back of the notebook, and are upside down when one approaches them from the end of the diary. There is one blank page between the end of the diary and the last financial transactions.

The book in your hand does not reproduce the entire contents of the manuscript notebook. It eschews the lengthy Latin chronology of the world, which was a standard preamble to many diaries and was designed to fit the owner's life and times into the broader schema of sacred and secular history. This edition also omits the four pages of scholarly and personal notes which appear before the start of the diary, as they have previously been transcribed and examined in detail by Noreen Humble.¹² Instead,

9 On the precariousness and ubiquity of tutorships among exiled Huguenot intellectuals see Susanne Lachenicht, 'Huguenot immigrants and the formation of national identities, 1548–1787' in *Hist. Jnl*, 1 (2007), p. 313.

10 The closest we have to this 'lost' document is an account from 1798 by a granddaughter of Élie named Jane Freboul. This note, excerpts of which were reproduced by Newport White in 1927, suggests that Élie went back to France at some point after the initial departure to bring out one of his young sons who had remained behind. Freboul also suggests that her grandfather got his books out of France by pretending to sell them to the English ambassador to France. Research in the papers of the then ambassador, Sir William Trumbull, will be required to ascertain whether there is any factual basis to this family story. It is not currently known whether the Freboul note that Newport White saw has survived to the present day: White, *Four good men*, pp 79–80.

11 Marie M. Léoutre, *Serving France, Ireland and England: Ruvigny, earl of Galway, 1648–1720* (London, 2018).

12 Humble, 'a scholar at work', pp 143–98.

this publication by the Irish Manuscripts Commission concentrates on Bouhéreau's diary and his financial accounts because they give fascinating insights into the life of a refugee from the French provinces who suffered persecution and exile during the 1680s, sided with Britain against Louis XIV in the long-running wars of the period, and lived out the last two decades of his life in the Liberties area of Dublin.

Although the word 'diary' is a convenient term to describe the manuscript, it is somewhat misleading as Bouhéreau did not intend the text as a record of his private life.¹³ Readers searching for a memoir which captures the author's inner life and deepest emotions, or which reflects in an imaginative literary way upon the events described, may be somewhat disappointed. Rather than being a diary (with all that this word suggests to modern readers about private emotions, thoughts and feelings) much of the manuscript follows the format of an entering book, a contemporary genre of manuscript writing which consisted of regular entries about public activities and politics compiled by the personal secretaries or functionaries of powerful men.¹⁴ An entering book was sometimes kept as a record for the use of the leading figure who employed the secretary who compiled it, or it could provide the basis for the dissemination of information to a network of individuals with whom the compiler and his employer were linked. The functional nature of an entering book explains the 'relentless matter-of-fact plainness'¹⁵ of Bouhéreau's manuscript and its focus on public events, even when he happened to find himself at the centre of dramatic events such as the siege of Casale in 1695. The genre of the entering book also helps to explain a number of lacunae in the text, most notably Bouhéreau's failure to assess, or reflect upon in any way, the outcome of Coxe's failed three-year diplomatic mission to the Swiss cantons.

Yet, Bouhéreau's manuscript cannot be classified solely as an entering book as it does not confine itself exclusively to public events. There is a considerable wealth of factual information about the lives (and deaths) of his friends and family, including his children and grandchildren. It provides telling insights about his interests in cultural matters, particularly his evident joy in seeing the most interesting sights and meeting the most erudite scholars and collectors on his travels. Given the hybrid nature of the manuscript, it is perhaps best to describe it as a 'diary', so long as one remembers the important caveat about the difference between what a Calvinist of Bouhéreau's generation would have understood by the term, and what it signifies to modern readers.

Bouhéreau's financial accounts also display an interesting mixture of the public, the personal, and the private. They list his private income and expenses as well as transactions which arose from his public work on religious and political matters. Intriguingly, the financial accounts begin at precisely the point in time when the number of public and private entries in the diary begins to fall away from the height of his recording at the time of his two missions to the continent. The financial accounts will certainly be mined by historians for the wealth of information they provide

13 Mark Goldie *et al.* (eds), *The entering book of Roger Morrice, 1677–1691* (7 vols, Woodbridge, 2007–9), i, 99.

14 Whelan, 'manuscript diary of Élie Bouhéreau', p. 215.

15 Goldie *et al.*, *Entering book of Roger Morrice*, i, 99.

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, à 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 arrivés, 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} le, 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 Prêche ^Sermon^ François. Le Soir, je Suis retourné à Vyane. Mr. Coxe y a régalé 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*.

le Maître-d'hôtel, le Sommelier, le Cuisinier, un Homme d'affaires pour le dehors, un Valet-de-chambre, un Laquay, deux Cochers, et deux Postillons. ~~L'équipage étoit d'un Carrosse à six Chevaux~~ Mr. le Marquis d'Arseillers, et Madame Sa femme, nous y ont joints, avec la Demoiselle de Madame la Marquise. L'équipage étoit d'un Carrosse à Six chevaux, d'un Charriot de-même, et de Six Chevaux de Selle, y compris celui de Mr. d'Arseillers. Outre cela, un Carrosse ou Charriot de voiture, pris à loège.

Octobre 2/12.

Nous Sommes partis de Vyane, après midy; et ayant passé par Utrecht, nous Sommes venus coucher à Zeyst, à quatre heures de Vyane. Payé 43tt.12s, monnoye de Hollande, pour la couchée.

[Octobre] 3/13.

Dîné à Rhémen, où il y a un beau Clocher, à cinq heures de Zeyst. Payé 18tt.10s.

Couché à Renkum, à deux heures et demie de Rhémen. Payé 44tt.02s au Daim.

[Octobre] 4/14.

Ayant passé le Rhein, près d'Arnhem, Sur un Pont de Bateaux, à deux heures et demie de Renkum, nous Sommes venus à Nimméghe, à trois heures d'Arnhem. Nous y avons, de-nouveau, traversé le Rhin, ou le Wahal, en partie Sur un demy-pont de Bateaux, le reste Sur un Bac de deux grands Bateaux joints ensemble, que d'autres petits Bateaux, disposez en long, à quelque distance l'un de l'autre, retiennent contre le courant de l'eau; et que les Bateliers conduisent, d'un côté à l'autre, par la force du même courant, Sans autre aide que celle du Gouvernail. Nous avons couché-là, au Cygne, et payé 60tt.18s, pour la couchée. Mr. de Vignolle, Gentilhomme de Nîmes, S'y est joint à nôtre troupe.

[Octobre] 5/15.

Étant Sortis des Terres qui dépendent des Provinces Unies, nous Sommes venus coucher à Clèves, à cinq heures de Nimméghe. Nous y avons vû le Palais des anciens Ducs, à-présent de S.A.E.¹⁸ de Brandebourg; [p. 3] et les belles avenuës, tout-autour de la Ville, qui reconnoît Jules César pour Son fondateur. Les Habitans en Sont partie Catholiques Romains, partie Protestans. Nous y avons trouvé Madame et Mademoiselle de Pellissary. Couché-là, à la Cour de Hollande; et payé 74tt, monnoye d'Allemagne: et ainsi jusqu'en Suisse.

maître d'hôtel, the sommelier,¹⁹ the cook, a steward in charge of provisions,²⁰ a valet, a foot servant, two coachmen, and two postilions. The marquis d'Arselliers and Madame his wife joined us there,²¹ with the marquise's lady-in-waiting. The retinue consisted of a coach and six, a wagon with the same number of horses, and six saddle horses, including that belonging to the marquis d'Arselliers. Besides that, there was also a rented coach or wagon for transporting goods.

October 2/12

We left Vianen in the afternoon, and having passed through Utrecht, we stopped for the night at Zeist, four hours from Vianen. Paid 43tt.12s, Dutch currency, for the lodgings.

[October] 3/13

Dined five hours from Zeist, in Rhenen, where there is a fine bell tower. Paid 18tt.10s.

Stayed in Renkum, two and a half hours from Rhenen. Paid 44tt.02s at the Deer.

[October] 4/14

Having crossed the Rhine, near Arnhem, on a floating bridge, two and a half hours from Renkum, we arrived in Nijmegen, three hours from Arnhem. There we crossed the Rhine again, or the Waal, in part by floating bridge, in part using a ferry of two large boats joined together and held against the current of the water by other smaller boats, moored lengthwise at some distance from each other. The boatmen guide the ferry from one side to the other, by the force of the current, without any other aid than that of the rudder.²² We stayed there, at the Swan, and paid 60tt.18s, for the lodgings. Mr de Vignolle, a gentleman from Nîmes, joined our group there.

[October] 5/15

Having left the United Provinces, we stopped for the night in Cleves, five hours from Nijmegen. There we saw the palace of the former dukes, now the property of His Electoral Highness of Brandenburg,²³ [p. 3] and the fine avenues, all around the city, which was founded by Julius Caesar. Some of the inhabitants are Roman Catholic, some Protestant. We found Madame and Mademoiselle de Pellissary there. Lodged there, at the Court of Holland, and paid 74tt, German currency, and continued to use this currency until we reached Switzerland.

19 A sommelier would have overseen linen, tableware and food supplies, as well as wine and other liquors. The role corresponds to that of a type of butler, the term by which early modern bilingual dictionaries translate it.

20 The original French formulation is odd and necessarily produces a correspondingly awkward English translation.

21 Gaspar Perrinet (1645–1710), marquis d'Arsellières, British diplomat in Switzerland, 1695–1710. With Henri de Mirmand, he was involved in a failed scheme to settle a colony of refugees in Ireland.

22 There had been a floating bridge at Arnhem since 1603.

23 Frederick III of Brandenburg (1657–1713), later Frederick I of Prussia: *ADB*.

Octobre 6/16.

Dîné à Calkar, qui, dans Sa grande Place, a un Tilleau, disposé de telle Sorte, par art, en divers étages, que plusieurs personnes y peuvent faire des parties de divertissement, Sans S'incommoder les uns les autres. Il y en a un pareil, dans le Faubourg de Clèves; d'où il n'y a que deux heures et demie jusques à Calkar. Autant de Calkar à Santen, où nous avons couché; et qui a une Église, où il y a quelques Antiquitez, que nous n'avons pas eu le loisir de voir. Trois *Messieurs* François nous y ont joints, pour venir avec nous, de compagnie. Ces deux Villes sont Catholiques Romaines. Nous avons logé, dans la première, au Cerf; et payé 31tt.15s, pour la dînée: dans la Seconde, au Cygne; et payé, pour la couchée, 54tt.

[Octobre] 7/17.

À trois heures de Santen, traversé Rhinberg, place forte de l'Électorat de Cologne, Sur le Rhin, où Mr. l'Envoyé a été reçu tambour batant. On y fait profession de la Religion Romaine, comme Sur le reste de nôtre route, jusques à Francfort. Dîné à deux heures de-là, dans un Hameau de la Comté de Moeurs, qui est du Domaine de *Messieurs* les Princes d'Orange. Payé 25tt.

À cinq heures de-là, couché à Nuys, autre Ville de l'Électeur de Cologne: ayant traversé Ordingen, près du lieu où les François, commandez par Mr. de Sourdis, furent défaits, au commencement de cette campagne. En arrivant à Nuys, nous avons entendu le Canon de Dusseldorp, de l'autre côté du Rhin, qu'on tiroit pour Saluër Mr. l'Électeur de Brandebourg; qui, allant à Clèves, après la prise de Bonn, passoit par-là, où est la nouvelle Reine d'Espagne, fille de Mr. l'Électeur Palatin, Duc de Newbourg. Elle y attend l'occasion d'aller S'embarquer à Rotterdam, ou à Flessingue, Sur l'Escadre de Vaisseaux, qu'on doit luy envoyer d'Angleterre, pour la porter en Espagne. Payé 53tt, pour nôtre couchée.

[Octobre] 8/18.

Ayant passé une fort-méchante nuit à Nuys, où tout étoit rempli par les gens de S.A.E. de Brandebourg, et par des Officiers revenant du Siège de Bonn, nous avons dîné à quatre heures de-là, dans un Village, que nous avons trouvé en alarme, pour des partis de l'Armée Allemande, qui vont au fourrage. Payé 48tt. Après trois autres heures de marche,²⁴ nous Sommes arrivés à Cologne, Ville impériale, grande et belle, Sur le Rhin. Il y a, particulièrement, une riche Église, Sous le nom des trois Rois, Gaspar, Balthasar, et Melchior. On prétend que leurs Corps y Sont. Nous avons Séjourné un jour à Cologne, et avons logé à la Cour de Hollande, où nous avons payé 233tt. Nous y avons Salué Mr. le Baron Spaen, Général des Troupes de S.A.E. de Brandebourg, qui nous a donné un Passeport pour nos hardes, un Ordre pour avoir une Escorte, et un Billet pour loger dans Son Quartier devant Bonn, où une partie de l'Armée Allemande est encore campée; les François n'en étant Sortis que depuis cinq ou Six jours.

²⁴ Le groupe se déplaçait à cheval, et par conséquent le terme «marche» indique que l'allure des chevaux était le pas.