



9-1-2007

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Recommended Citation

The BYU Family Historian, Vol. 6 (Fall 2007) p. 83-163

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RESEARCHING HUGUENOT SETTLERS IN IRELAND¹

VIVIEN COSTELLO

PREAMBLE

This study is a genealogical research guide to French Protestant refugee settlers in Ireland, c. 1660–1760. It reassesses Irish Huguenot settlements in the light of new findings and provides a background historical framework. A comprehensive select bibliography is included. While there is no formal listing of manuscript sources, many key documents are cited in the footnotes.

This work covers only French Huguenots; other *Protestant Stranger* immigrant groups, such as German Palatines and the Swiss watchmakers of New Geneva, are not featured.

INTRODUCTION

Protestantism in France²

In mainland Europe during the early sixteenth century, theologians such as Martin Luther and John Calvin called for an end to the many forms of corruption that had developed within the Roman Catholic Church. When their demands were ignored, they and their followers ceased to accept the authority of the Pope and set up independent *Protestant* churches instead. Bitter religious strife throughout much of Europe ensued.

In France, a Catholic-versus-Protestant civil war was waged intermittently throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, followed by ever-increasing curbs on Protestant civil and religious liberties.³ The majority of French Protestants, nicknamed *Huguenots*,⁴ were followers of Calvin. The times when the persecution of Protestants was greatest are epitomised by events such as the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve in 1572, the siege (and fall) of La Rochelle in 1628 and the 1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Protestants in France had always been a small minority and never constituted more than one-eighth of the population.⁵ Until the 1660s however, despite their many vicissitudes, they managed to survive, finally mostly in small southwestern enclaves.⁶

¹ R. Hylton, *Ireland's Huguenots and their Refuge: An Unlikely Haven* (Brighton & Portland, 2005) is the most recently published full-length academic study of Huguenots in Ireland.

² R. A. Mentzer and A. Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559–1685* (Cambridge, 2003).

³ R. J. Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion, 1559–1598*, 2nd ed. (London, 1996).

⁴ Despite some intriguing theories, the origin of the term *Huguenot* has never been conclusively determined. (Editor's note: see www.wikipedia.org and www.google.com.)

⁵ R. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (Brighton, Portland, 2001), p. 14.

⁶ It should be remembered that French Protestants were not always the victims. They had been guilty of many acts of brutality against Catholics. “[in the late sixteenth century]...the civil wars which raged were dominated by the rivalries amongst grandees (duc de Guise and prince de Condé). Locally the wars were often conflicts of power and clashes between military bands, where religion was little more than a pretext...” J-P. Pittion, “The French Protestants and the Edict of Nantes” in Caldicott, Gough and Pittion, *The Huguenots and Ireland*, p. 40.

Between 1661 and 1679 there was a steady erosion of the privileges they had been granted by the Edict of Nantes of 1598, including the destruction of most of the Calvinist *temples* (570 were demolished, leaving only 243 by 1685).⁷ In 1681 in the Province of Poitou, the royal *intendant*⁸ Marillac devised the *dragonnades*, whereby Protestants were forcibly converted to Catholicism through the intimidation of having brutal and riotous troops billeted in their homes. The *dragonnades*' strategy was rapidly adopted in other parts of France. This was followed in 1685 by Louis XIV's Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which forbade all Protestant services, stipulated that all remaining *temples* were to be destroyed, and *pasteurs* were to be exiled. In addition, laymen were forbidden to leave the country and children were to be baptized and brought up as Catholics.⁹ Many Protestant men were imprisoned if they refused to abjure their faith or sentenced to become galley slaves if they tried to escape from France, while women and children were incarcerated in convents for the *nouvelles catholiques* (or *nouveaux convertis*), where they were to be converted to Catholicism under coercion.¹⁰ According to Robin Gwynn,¹¹ despite the tyrannization, the majority of Huguenots (approximately 550,000) remained in France to endure as well as they could. It is estimated by the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland¹² that the number of Huguenots who settled abroad was:

America	10,000
Denmark (and other parts of Scandinavia)	2,000
England	50,000
Germany (80% in Brandenburg-Prussia)	30,000
Ireland	10,000
The Netherlands	60,000
South Africa	400
Switzerland	22,000

A Chronology of French Protestant Immigration into Ireland

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Ireland would have been perceived by most continental Europeans as a small, geographically remote, politically turbulent and economically backward island. It therefore attracted very few French Protestant immigrants until after the Restoration to the throne of England of King Charles II in 1660 when a period of relative political calm was established. However, it was only after 1685, when the plight of the Huguenots was truly desperate and the Irish economy had begun to improve significantly, that French Protestant refugees started to arrive in large numbers.

1660–1684, The Reign of King Charles II

In 1662 *An Act encouraging Protestant Strangers and Others to Inhabit Ireland* was passed in the Irish parliament.¹³ Foreign Protestants were offered a seven-year tax

⁷ Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, p. 26.

⁸ Provincial governor.

⁹ Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, p. 28.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, pp. 29–32.

¹² www.huguenotsociety.org.uk.

¹³ 14 and 15 Charles II, c. 13, in *The Statutes at Large Passed in the Parliaments Held in Ireland*, 20 vols. (Dublin, 1786–1804). This was the first of a number of such acts which were passed over the following century.

exemption, with the possibility of becoming freemen of Dublin upon payment of a £20 fine, along with free admission to their relevant trade guild. Thereby the newly appointed Viceroy of Ireland, James Butler, the first Duke of Ormond,¹⁴ hoped to attract to Ireland skilled Protestant artisans, tradesmen and merchants fleeing from religious persecution. Ireland had been ravaged by civil war, famine and plague during the 1640s and 1650s. Ormond wished to rebuild the ruined and depopulated urban areas and to revitalize the economy with an inflow of suitable Protestant settlers (rather than foster the economic advancement of politically suspect Catholic Irish indigenous inhabitants). He was personally responsible for establishing a few small communities of textile weavers, mostly on land owned by his own Butler family. The number of largely homogeneous refugees who arrived in the period 1662–1684 probably totaled no more than 500 in the entire country. The Duke of Ormond himself was disappointed with the result of his efforts to attract Huguenot settlers. In a letter to his secretary Sir Cyril Wyche in 1679 he wrote:

If my sonne Arran had not forgotan to tell me what ye sayd to him about the French Protestants inclinations to come into this Kingdome ye had sooner received what I have now to say upon the subject. I have severall times since the King came in had overtures of that nature but either the proposers had some private aime at advantage to themselves and not finding their account let the thing fall, or those from whom they pretended to be authorised changed their minds or els supposeing this place to bee as desert as the unplainted parts of America and that they should have land for nothing findeing it was not so to bee had thought it beter to stay where they were, in short for some reason or other all motions of that nature have come to nothing and so will all of that kinde unlesse some men of intrest and considerable stock will undergoe the charge and trouble to come over to see the country to understand something in generall of the laws and customs of the Kingdome, to chuse where they will fix and to treat with masters of land their conditions of reception, and I dare say they can never have a fiter time whilst I am in this government it being my privat intrest to see them well setled and protected at their first establishment and haveing my self more walld townes more land and more secure places than any one man has to dispose of. Without men of this kind will doe this I doe not hope any thing of importance will be effected.¹⁵

From 1681 when the *dragonnades* campaign began in France, the situation changed dramatically and Huguenot refugees began to flow into Ireland in considerable numbers.

1685–88, The Reign of James II

James II's accession to the British throne and attempt to favor Catholicism was greeted with great enthusiasm by Irish Catholics and with enormous alarm by Protestants. Nevertheless, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 continued to drive significant numbers of Huguenot refugees to Ireland, especially to the larger urban areas. Although

¹⁴ T. Barnard and J. Fenlon eds., *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610–1745* (Woodbridge, 2000).

¹⁵ National Archives of Ireland, Wyche Papers Ref.: I/28 - dated 17th February 1678/9. Sir Cyril Wyche later became a Lord Justice [member of a committee serving as viceroy/governor] of Ireland.

anti-Protestant measures brought in by the Lord Deputy the Earl of Tyrconnell 1687–90 caused many Protestants to flee the country, including some Huguenots,¹⁶ immigration into Ireland continued unremittingly.

1688–1714, The Reigns of William III and Queen Anne

William of Orange's accession to the British throne in 1688, labeled the *Glorious Revolution* by Protestants in both England and Ireland, was viewed by Irish Catholics with a foreboding which, in the event, was amply justified. The adherence of the Catholic Irish to the deposed James II prompted William III to dispatch an army to Ireland commanded by the seventy-three-year-old Friedrich Herman, Duke of Schomberg,¹⁷ which landed at Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim on 12 August 1689.¹⁸ This heralded the onset of a war, the scale of which surpassed all previous (and subsequent) armed conflicts in Ireland. William III's forces included four regiments made up exclusively of Huguenot officers, with Huguenot soldiers forming a significant part of his entire army.¹⁹ The outcome of this war on Irish soil between the Catholic James II, supported by Catholic France, and the Dutch Protestant William of Orange, supported by several European states, was viewed by Huguenots to be relevant not only in terms of their immediate welfare in Ireland but also in terms of their prospects of ever returning to France in their lifetime. They believed that William's overall campaign against France's Louis XIV would, if successful, increase their prospects of returning home. Thus many young Huguenot settlers in England and Ireland enlisted in William of Orange's army for ideological reasons alongside Huguenot professional soldiers who were French army veterans or who had been in the service of one or another of the European Protestant states.

William III's victory in 1691 provided a new impetus, both practical and psychological, for Huguenot settlements in Ireland. In that year Henri de Massue, Marquis de Ruvigny (later made Earl of Galway)²⁰ embarked on a huge project to resettle thousands of destitute Huguenot refugees (who had been stranded in the Swiss Cantons) in Ireland.²¹ This overambitious plan failed, just as the Duke of Ormonde's previous large-scale planned colonies had come to nothing, but other smaller-scale Huguenot

¹⁶ See London Gazette No. 2461 (1–4 July 1689).

¹⁷ M. R. Glozier, *Marshal Schomberg, 1615–1690: The Ablest Soldier of his Age* (Brighton, Portland, 2005).

¹⁸ William III raised 23 new regiments for service in Ireland. In addition were the four Huguenot regiments, the two battalions of Dutch, the Enniskilleners, some Scottish regiments and a body of 6,000 hired Danes as well as standard British regiments.

¹⁹ V. Costello, "Researching Huguenot Officers in the British Army, 1688–1713" *Genealogists' Magazine*, Vol. 28, No. 8 (December, 2005), pp. 335–54; V. Costello, "Researching Huguenot Officers in the British Army, 1688–1713" [part 1 – research guide] *Huguenot Families*, No. 14 (March, 2006) and [part 2 – list of pensioners with regiments, ranks and places of settlement in England, Ireland and elsewhere] *Huguenot Families*, No. 15 (September, 2006).

²⁰ R. Vigne, "The Good Lord Galway: The English and Irish Careers of a Huguenot Leader," *Huguenot Society of GB & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 24 (1988), pp. 532–50. Henri de Massue de Ruvigny, Earl of Galway (1648–1720), created Earl of Galway by William III, commanded a cavalry regiment in Ireland, led English armies and diplomatic missions in the Low Countries, Savoy, Portugal and Spain, twice ruled Ireland as Lord Justice and served as a Privy Councillor. On his retirement in 1718 he became the first Governor of the French Hospital, London.

²¹ R. Vigne, "Le Project d'Irlande": *Huguenot Migration in the 1690s*, History Ireland, Vol.2, No.2 (Summer 1994); A manuscript collection relating to this project in the Berne Staatsarchiv is on microfilm P. 3601 in the National Library of Ireland.

settlement initiatives succeeded, such as Ruvigny's Portarlington project and the offering of military pensions to disbanded Huguenot officers on condition that they settle in Ireland.²²

King William's maladroit apportioning of Irish lands confiscated during the war succeeded in causing deep resentment among indigenous Irish Protestants as well as Catholics.²³ A few of William's close Continental associates were massively favored, obtaining 60 percent of the available land. Ruvigny, the one large-scale Huguenot grantee, was given 36,148 acres.²⁴ In 1697 Ruvigny was also promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General of the army and was moreover controversially appointed as one of the three Lord Justices of Ireland (a committee serving in the role of viceroy/governorship). The hostility toward William's Irish land allocations was so virulent that in 1700 the English Parliament passed the Resumption Act, declaring all William's land grants, including that to Ruvigny/Earl of Galway, null and void.²⁵ It is not clear whether Ruvigny resigned or was removed from the position of Lord Justice of Ireland, but he left this office and Ireland in 1701.²⁶ Without Ruvigny, who had been the leader of the Huguenot community in Ireland,²⁷ the refugees became rudderless and the Portarlington settlement languished without investment or direction.

In general though, few impediments stood in the way of Huguenots settling in Ireland in increasing numbers during this period. As the more convenient and familiar European refuges became overcrowded, especially after 1685, the refugees had begun to consider moving to remoter locations like Ireland. Ireland's attractiveness as a place of settlement was augmented through the various incentive schemes offered by the government and private landlords.²⁸ In 1697 a law extending the penal laws against Catholics in Ireland was enacted by the Irish parliament (for which many Irish Catholics blamed Ruvigny/Earl of Galway) and every effort was made to populate both urban and rural areas with skilled Protestants.²⁹

²² It should be noted that the majority of Huguenot officers did not have standard "standing" [full-time] commissions like their English counterparts. They were given "reformed" or "incorporé" positions which meant that they were only paid when on active service on the battlefield. Moreover they were not entitled to standard military half-pay pensions when they retired.

²³ J. G. Simms, *The Williamite Confiscation in Ireland 1690–1700* (London, 1956).

²⁴ Calendar of State Papers Domestic (1693), pp. 113 and 198.

²⁵ R. Shepherd, *Ireland's Fate – the Boyne and after* (London, 1990).

²⁶ He briefly returned to Ireland again as Lord Justice 1715–16, but at this stage he was in poor health, having been badly wounded in military campaigns abroad (he lost both his right arm and an eye) and he soon returned to his estate in England where he died in 1720.

²⁷ See Hylton, *Ireland's Huguenots and their Refuge: An Unlikely Haven*, pp. 138–47, which analyzes Ruvigny's role and points out that he was not universally popular amongst Huguenots in Ireland and moreover was regarded with considerable suspicion by the indigenous population (Catholic and Protestant).

²⁸ A. de Chambrier, "Projet de colonisation en irlande par les réfugiés français, 1692–1699," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 6, pp. 370–432.

²⁹ See P. Kelly, "Lord Galway and the Penal Laws" in C. E. J. Caldicott, H. Gough and J-P. Pittion (eds.), *The Huguenots and Ireland: anatomy of an emigration* (Dun Laoghaire, 1987), pp. 239–54. Many Irish Catholics, amongst others, viewed Ruvigny/Earl of Galway as the architect of the Irish Penal Laws and perceived them as being a Huguenot's revenge against Catholics in his adopted land. Dr. Kelly demonstrates that whilst Ruvigny was one of those responsible for implementing the laws he had not been involved in drawing them up, nor was he ideologically zealous about them; National Archives of Ireland M 2453–2457 (1696–1699) contain Ruvigny's official correspondence [c. 250 letters] as a Lord Justice of Ireland.

The French Protestants who came to Ireland after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 were from many different regions of France and from a wide spectrum of backgrounds. Laborers, artisans, craftsmen, tradesmen, and merchants, along with their wives and children, were joined in the period 1692–1714 by some 1,000 disbanded military officers, many from noble backgrounds, who were pensioned in Ireland after serving in King William III’s army in Ireland 1689–91, Flanders 1692–98, and in later campaigns under Queen Anne (mostly on the Iberian Peninsula).³⁰ Both Robin Gwynn and Raymond Hylton have estimated the total number of refugees who arrived in the period 1685–1720 to have been in the region of 10,000, though some other historians argue for a lower figure.³¹ In any event the numbers of immigrants declined significantly after the 1720s, with many opting to move on elsewhere, especially to England and America.³²

It should be noted that scarcely any Huguenots traveled to Ireland directly from France. Most first fled to neighbouring countries such as the Netherlands, Germany or Switzerland, finally reaching Ireland via England.

Summarized Overview of Irish Huguenot Settlements

(See Section 3 for a detailed survey of Irish Huguenot settlements)

Huguenot Communities with more than One Church and Minister

- **Cork, Co. Cork:** Nonconformist Huguenot services were held in a disused courthouse from 1694 on. A new church was built in 1712 and this site also encompassed some almshouses, a charity school and a cemetery. The existence of a second Huguenot church, about which there are only sketchy records for the period 1745–1796, suggests that the Cork Huguenot community was rather larger than has to date been estimated by historians.
- **Dublin, Co. Dublin:** There was a Huguenot church from 1665, and by the early 18th century Dublin had four Huguenot churches (two conformist and two nonconformist), three cemeteries, a charity school and an almshouse.

Huguenot Communities with One Church and a Minister (with more than 70 Huguenot families)

- **Carlow (formerly Caterlough), Co. Carlow:** A Huguenot church from c. 1693.
- **Kilkenny, Co. Kilkenny:** Had a Huguenot minister from 1694. The date of establishment and the location of the church are uncertain but it is thought likely to have been a wing of the Church of Ireland church of St. John the Evangelist.
- **Lisburn (formerly Lisnagarvey), Co. Antrim:** Had a Huguenot church from c. 1717, but had had a minister since c. 1704.

³⁰ Costello, “Researching Huguenot Officers in the British Army, 1688–1713” *Huguenot Families*. Some exclusively Huguenot regiments were created between 1689 and 1712 but many other Huguenots also served in mainstream British regiments.

³¹ Since many key records have been lost it would be impossible to arrive at a definitive guesstimate but the research undertaken for this paper would indicate that the most likely figure would be c. 8,000.

³² C. E. J. Caldicott, H. Gough, and J-P Pittion eds., *The Huguenots and Ireland: Anatomy of an Emigration* (Dun Laoghaire, 1987). This collection of essays comprises the proceedings of the Huguenot colloquium held in Dublin to mark the tercentenary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1985. It has stood the test of time remarkably well and is a must for anyone seeking an in depth academic analysis of diverse aspects of the Irish refuge in a wider context.

- **Portarlington, Co. Laois/Offaly (King's County/Queen's County):** A Huguenot church from 1694.
- **Waterford, Co. Waterford:** A Huguenot church from c. 1700.

Huguenot Communities with a Minister but no Church (with more than 50 families)

- **Clonmel & Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary:** had a Huguenot minister from 1699.
- **Dundalk, Co. Louth:** had a Huguenot minister from 1737.
- **Innishannon, Co. Cork:** had a Huguenot minister from 1760 (very briefly).
- **Wexford, Co. Wexford:** The Huguenots attended St. Mary's Church of Ireland and had their own minister from 1684.

Communities either too Small or too short-lived to have either a Church or a Minister

Most towns in Ireland had at least one or two Huguenot families and there were reputedly small Huguenot colonies in many locations, but the following towns/villages are those for which some documentary evidence of a settlement still exists:

- **Castleblaney, Co. Monaghan.**
- **Chapelizod, Co. Dublin.**
- **Killeshandra, Co. Cavan.**
- **Limerick, Co. Limerick (including Sixmilebridge, Co. Clare).**
- **Sligo, Co. Sligo.**
- **Youghal, Co. Cork.**

First-hand Huguenot escape stories describing flights from France with Ireland as the final refuge

Carolyn Lougee Chappell, "The Pains I took to save my/his family: escape accounts by a Huguenot mother and daughter after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes," French Historical Studies, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Winter 1999), pp. 1–64.

This study examines the two separate, sometimes conflicting, accounts of a mother and daughter: Marie de La Rochefoucauld, dame de Robillard de Champagné (died 1730), escaped first to the Netherlands with some of her children and then joined her eldest son in Ireland.³³ Suzanne de Robillard de Champagné (later Madame de La Motte Fouqué), 1668–1740, escaped to the Netherlands with her mother and other family members and then moved to Celle in Lower Saxony. Professor Lougee Chappell not only presents us with a fascinating analysis of the two memoirs but also supplies the texts of the originals in French along with English translations.

Robert Garrison (ed.), Mémoires inédits de Samuel de Péchels (Musée du Désert, 1936).

A complete English translation of these memoirs has not yet been undertaken. Samuel de Péchels, sieur de La Boissonade (1664–1733) from Montauban, was imprisoned in France, then transported to St. Domingo, from where he eventually

³³ See also T. P. Le Fanu, "Marie de la Rochefoucauld de Champagné and her escape from France in 1687," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, vol 13, pp. 454–473 and T. P. Le Fanu, "The children of Marie de la Rochefoucauld de Champagné" *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, Vol. 13, pp. 560–78 (these articles gives a detailed history of the Robillard de Champagné family).

escaped to England. He became a military officer colleague to Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet (*see below*) and after some years in London settled in Dublin. His wife in the meantime had managed to escape from France via Geneva and to eventually join her husband. A history of the Pechels de La Boissonade family, also by Samuel de Pechels, was translated, edited and annotated in Percy Burrell, "Castle Goring," *Sussex Archaeological Society Collections*, Vol. 25 (1875). An English summary of the escape story is Samuel Smiles's "The story of a Huguenot family: an account of the escape of Samuel de Pechels to England," *Good Words*, (February and April, 1877).

Dianne W. Ressinger (ed.) Memoirs of the Reverend Jaques Fontaine 1658–1728 (Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Publications, New Series, No. 2, 1992).³⁴

These memoirs, addressed to Reverend Fontaine's children (written in Dublin in 1722), forthrightly describe the Reverend's childhood, his family background, the fate of his family members after 1685, his own and his wife's experiences in fleeing to England, followed by an account of their lives in exile in England and Ireland. Ms. Ressinger, herself a descendant of Reverend Fontaine, has painstakingly researched the historical background to the journal and has undertaken a new translation into modern English.

Dianne W. Ressinger (ed.) Memoirs of Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet: a gentleman of Normandy (Huguenot Society of G.B. & Ireland Publications, New Series, No. 4, 2005).

This book contains the translated and edited memoirs, with extensive historical footnotes (the memoirs were completed in Dublin in 1693), of the experiences of Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet from the Pays de Caux in Normandy. Isaac describes his life in France before the Revocation and his exile as a military officer in the service of William of Orange. He fought in Ireland during the Williamite/Jacobite War 1689–91 and ultimately settled in Portarlington. The full memoirs³⁵ have never before been translated into English.

HUGUENOT GENEALOGY IN IRELAND³⁶

Hints and Tips

Genealogical research on Huguenots in Ireland is seriously hampered by the loss of much archival material either in the 1922 Public Record Office fire or through the ravages of time. The missing items include the original Huguenot church registers of Carlow, Cork, Dublin, Kilkenny, Lisburn and Waterford, as well as early 18th-century Church of Ireland registers for most of the parishes where Huguenots were numerous.

³⁴ The members of the Fontaine/Maury Society in the US are "dedicated to the perpetuation of the memory of their Fontaine and Maury ancestors, to the transmission to their descendants of the spirit and character of their ancestors, and to the research and preservation of materials relating to their lives" [descendants and their families of Jaques Fontaine and his wife Anne Elisabeth Boursiquot, 1660–1720, including their daughter Marianne and her husband Matthew Maury from Castel Mauron in Gascony, one of whose grandsons Matthew Fontaine Maury was the famous U.S. oceanographer and hydrographer]. Website: www.stithvalley.com/fontaine.

³⁵ The manuscript memoirs of Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet [MS 12N17] are in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

³⁶ G. L. Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland* (London, 1936). Both a book-form reprint and a CD version are available from www.genealogical.com. Particularly from the genealogist's point of view, this book is essential reading.

Fortunately, through the ingenious use of surviving material and thanks to the Huguenot Society of London [now Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland], which published all the Dublin Huguenot church registers and much other information on Huguenots in Ireland before the original documents perished in 1922 (*see details below*), it is usually still possible to trace most Huguenot families who settled in Ireland.

Irish Huguenots cannot be traced solely from the (mainly) specifically Huguenot sources listed in this paper. It is essential when undertaking research to also utilize general Irish family history resources. The best introductory Irish genealogical website is www.ireland.com/ancestor, which gives a detailed overview of Irish topography and place names along with the range of records and other available resources.

The website www.irishgenealogy.ie lists all the County Genealogy Centers in Ireland. These centers either have been or are in the process of computerizing and indexing all the parish registers in their areas. They undertake research for set fees.

- The website of the Association of Professional Genealogists in Ireland (APGI) is www.apgi.ie.
- www.irishorigins.com is a website offering a number of key online records.
- A wide range of source CDs are available from www.eneclann.ie.
- A selection of Irish genealogy guide books can be found at www.flyleaf.ie.
- The Gorry Research website (<http://indigo.ie/~gorry>) lists all the free online services available in relation to genealogical research in Ireland.

Irish Repositories³⁷

Despite the above-mentioned destruction of many Irish public records, some valuable manuscript sources remain. Most of these have been catalogued in R.J. Hayes, *Manuscript Sources for the History of Irish Civilisation*, [11 vols. & 3 vol. supplement] (Boston, 1965–79). Sets of these volumes are available in the National Library of Ireland, the National Archives of Ireland, and in other major research libraries in the UK and the US.

The two National Repositories of the Republic of Ireland

- **The National Library of Ireland Dublin.** This institution holds a vast collection of books and manuscripts relevant to all aspects of the history of Ireland. For details consult the National Library website: www.nli.ie. The National Library of Ireland offers a free Genealogical Advisory Service, to personal callers only, run by the Association of Professional Genealogists in Ireland (APGI).
- **The National Archives of Ireland, Dublin** (formerly the Public Record Office). While a large proportion of Ireland's public records were destroyed in the Public Record Office fire of 1922, some information has been retrieved or reassembled from alternative sources. For details consult the Irish National Archives website: www.nationalarchive.ie. The National Archives offers a free Genealogical Advisory Service, to personal callers only, run by the Association of Professional Genealogists in Ireland (APGI).

Provincial Repositories in Northern Ireland

³⁷ See S. Helferty and R. Refaüssé (eds.), *Directory of Irish Archives* (Dublin, 1988).

- **The Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI)**, Belfast.³⁸ The website is www.proni.gov.uk. PRONI's records relate not only to the six counties of the province of Ulster—Fermanagh, Armagh, Tyrone, [London]Derry, Antrim, and Down—in Northern Ireland but often also to the three Ulster counties in the Republic of Ireland: Cavan, Donegal and Monaghan.
- **The Linen Hall Library**, Belfast. This fulfills the function of the provincial library of Ulster. It is one of the oldest surviving subscription libraries in the United Kingdom; it opened in 1788. It has a large collection of material relevant to genealogical research in Northern Ireland. The website is www.linenhall.com.
- **Lisburn, Co. Antrim**. It should be noted that Lisburn, Co. Antrim hosted the largest Huguenot community in Ulster and that the town's website (www.lisburn.com) enables one to download, free of charge, the entire book on the history of the Huguenots of Lisburn published by the Lisburn Historical Society: E. Joyce Best, *The Huguenots of Lisburn: The Story of the Lost Colony* (Lisburn, 1997) [edited and compiled by Kathleen Rankin].

Other Key Irish Repositories Relevant to Researching Huguenots in Ireland:

- **The Dublin City Archive and Library**, Dublin. For the local history of Dublin, this repository, formerly known as the Gilbert Library, is an essential research venue. The Gilbert Library website is www.dublincity.ie/living_in_the_city/libraries/heritage_and_history and it has an online catalog.

The Library has a unique collection of manuscripts, books and pamphlets including much material not available elsewhere. The Library building also houses the Dublin City Archives, the records of Dublin Corporation (now Dublin City Council), some of which date back to medieval times. An extremely valuable collection is Gertrude Thrift's transcript of the Freemen of Dublin registers,³⁹ which is a key source for tracing Huguenot settlers in Dublin. Under the 1662 Act to Encourage Protestant Strangers, Huguenots received special concessions to become Freemen of Dublin; Petra Coffey has identified more than 550 Huguenot Freemen of Dublin during the period 1660–1729.⁴⁰ Moreover, the Dublin City Archives hold many of the city's guild records, which include numerous Huguenot names.⁴¹

- **Marsh's Library**,⁴² Dublin [adjoining St. Patrick's Cathedral]. This library was built in 1701 by Archbishop Narcissus Marsh and was the first public lending library in Ireland. The Marsh's Library website is www.marshlibrary.ie. It includes an online catalog of all its printed and manuscript holdings.

³⁸ See I. Maxwell, *Tracing your Ancestors in Northern Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1997).

³⁹ For details of the extant freemen records of the corporate towns throughout Ireland see Mary Clark, "Sources for Irish freemen" in M. D. Evans and E. O. Duill eds., *Aspects of Irish genealogy* (Dublin, 1993).

⁴⁰ P. Coffey, "Huguenot Freemen of the City of Dublin, 1660–1729," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of GB & Ireland*, Vol. 26, no. 5 (1997), pp. 635–49.

⁴¹ See M. Clark and R. Refausse, *Directory of historic Dublin Guilds* (Dublin, 1993).

⁴² For a history of the library see M. McCarthy, *Marsh's Library: All Graduates and Gentlemen* (Dublin, 2003).

The Library building, a perfectly preserved early eighteenth-century library, is an architectural gem. Most of the books are still kept on the shelves allocated to them by the first librarian, the Huguenot Elie Bouhereau,⁴³ who also bequeathed his own books to Marsh's. Initially limited to "graduates and gentlemen" who were locked into cubicles with rods and chains, Marsh's is the repository of an extraordinary collection of 16th- and 17th-century books, including a wealth of historical material relating to French Protestants.⁴⁴ Marsh's also has a priceless manuscript collection relevant to researching Huguenots in Ireland:

- *Livre des Acres Consistoriaux de l'église française unie de Dublin*. This is a bound volume of the consistory minutes of the united French conformist churches of St. Patrick and St. Mary, Dublin, 1716–1901 plus the subsequent trustee meeting minutes of the French Huguenot Fund, 1904–29. It is the only surviving set of original Dublin Huguenot church records.
- *The French Huguenot Fund papers*. This is a large and diverse collection relating to the still extant Huguenot charity, the French Huguenot Fund, which was established as the *Société charitable des François réfugiés à Dublin* in 1716. As well as some transcripts of the Society's own eighteenth century records (in addition to the original later document collection), there are some transcripts of lost original Huguenot church records such as the Cash Book of the Bride Street nonconformist Huguenot church 1692–97, lists of the heads of families of the congregations of Dublin Huguenot churches 1694–1735, extracts of the Society minute books 1722–99 and extracts from the nonconformist Dublin church records 1703–1801.⁴⁵
- *The manuscript diary of Elie Bouhereau*.⁴⁶ This is in three parts: (i) Historical events from ancient Egypt to 1672, (ii) Bouhereau's journal 1689–1719, and (iii) Bouhereau's personal accounts 1704–19. Elie Bouhereau had an interesting career in exile, acting as tutor to the Duchess of Monmouth's children until 1689, as secretary to Thomas Cox in the Swiss Cantons in 1692, and as secretary to Henri Ruvigny, Earl of Galway in Savoy/Piedmont 1693–99. His appointment as Librarian of Marsh's Library came in 1701. While employed as secretary to Lord Galway, Bouhereau additionally acted in the role of private banker to disbanded Huguenot military officers and his diary records the payments of pensions in England and Ireland, the granting of loans and the purchase of stock as well as shares in tontines and lotteries.⁴⁷

⁴³ N. J. D. White, "Correspondence of Elie Bouhereau," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 207–53.

⁴⁴ J-P Pittion, "The French Protestants and the Edict of Nantes, 1549–1685: A Chronology based on Material in Marsh's Library, Dublin" in Caldicott, Gough, Pittion eds., *The Huguenots and Ireland*.

⁴⁵ There are two inventories of the French Huguenot Fund papers in Marsh's Library (a) V. Costello's calendar of one box of papers and (b) A. Forrest's calendar of a second box of papers.

⁴⁶ R. Whelan, "Marsh's Library and the French Calvinist tradition: the manuscript diary of Elie Bouhereau, 1643–1719" in M. McCarthy and A. Simmons eds., *The Making of Marsh's Library: Learning, Politics and Religion in Ireland, 1650–1750* (Dublin & Portland, 2004). See also E. Johnston, "The diary of Elie Bouhereau" *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, Vol. 15, no. 1, pp. 46–68.

⁴⁷ J-P Pittion, "The French Protestants and the Edict of Nantes," p. 60.

- **The Registry of Deeds**, Dublin. Unique to Ireland, the Registry of Deeds was set up in conjunction with the Penal Laws, to officially register Irish land in Protestant hands. The deed transcripts cover the entire island of Ireland from 1708. There are both names indexes (lessors only) and land indexes, allowing one to search either for individuals or to survey particular locations. As refugees, French Protestants in Ireland were generally particularly solicitous to register their ownership of Irish property, making the Registry of Deeds an exceptionally valuable research resource for finding Huguenots. The Registry of Deeds' website is www.landregistry.ie.
- **The Representative Church Body Library**, Dublin. This is both the library for the Church of Ireland Theological College and the repository for the publications, manuscripts and parish records relating to the Church of Ireland (the Anglican Church in Ireland). The RCB Library details can be found on the website <http://ireland.anglican.org/library>.
 - The vast majority of Huguenots attended the Church of Ireland when Huguenot services were not available.
 - The RCB Library houses the Irish Huguenot Archive, which was established by the Irish Section of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland in 1993. It consists of the Huguenot Society publications together with a miscellaneous collection of printed and manuscript material, most of which relates specifically to Huguenot settlers in Ireland.
- **The Royal Irish Academy**, Dublin. This was founded in 1785 to promote the study of sciences, humanities and social sciences in Ireland. Its website (www.ria.ie) includes an online catalog with a number of searchable databases for the Academy's unique manuscript, pamphlet and early printed book collections. The most important (but by no means the sole) item held by the RIA from the point of view of a Huguenot historian is MS 12N17, the manuscript memoirs of Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet.⁴⁸

The Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland

The Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland (formerly Huguenot Society of London) was established in 1885 to collect and publish information about the history and genealogy of Huguenots, particularly those who took refuge in Great Britain and Ireland. The Society's website is www.huguenotsociety.org.uk. This website also gives particulars about the Irish Section of the Huguenot Society and The Irish Huguenot Archive (*see also the RCB Library above*).

The Huguenot Society Library and Archive, London.

This incorporates the library of the Society and that of the French Hospital, London. It contains both extensive published and manuscript collections. The University College London Library Catalogue (eUCLid) includes the holdings of the Huguenot Library at <http://library.ucl.ac.uk/F> and also on the joint catalog COPAC. The Huguenot Library is open by appointment only (*see the Society website www.huguenotsociety.org.uk for details*).

The Huguenot Society Publications

⁴⁸ See D. W. Ressinger (ed.), *Memoirs of Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet: A Gentleman of Normandy* (Huguenot Society of GB & Ireland, New Series No. 4, 2005). See also Section 1.4.4. above.

The 59 volumes in the Huguenot Society Quarto Series Publications, published between 1888 and the present, consist mainly of hitherto unpublished ecclesiastical, civil, and military records, relating to the Walloon and Huguenot community of Great Britain and Ireland from the mid-16th to the early 19th century. Many of these records have recently been re-issued in CD format. For a full list of the Society's relevant publications and proceedings, see the Select Bibliography section below. For the full details of the books and CDs available for purchase, see the Society's website *as above*.

- Of especial Irish interest are:
 - **Huguenot Society CDRom 3: Denizations and Naturalizations.** Containing the six volumes of the Huguenot Society Quarto Series Publications relating to the denization and naturalization of aliens, including large numbers of Huguenot officers (often giving their parents' names and their birthplace in France):
 - **Volume 10:** *Lists of Aliens resident in London, Henry VIII to James I*
 - **Volume 57:** *Returns of strangers in the metropolis, 1593, 1627, 1635, 1639*
 - **Volume 8:** *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation for Aliens in England, 1509–1603*
 - **Volume 18:** *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation in England and Ireland, 1603–1700*
 - **Volume 27:** *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation in England and Ireland, 1701–1800*
 - **Volume 35:** *A Supplement to Dr W.A. Shaw's Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation in vols. 18 and 27.*
 - **Huguenot Society CDRom 4: Irish Extracts.** Containing the four volumes of the Huguenot Society Quarto Series Publications relating to Ireland:
 - **Volume 7:** *Register of the French Conformist Churches of St. Patrick and St. Mary, Dublin (1893) Digges de La Touche, J J., ed.*
 - **Volume 14:** *Register of the French Non-Conformist Churches of Lucy Lane and Peter St., Dublin (1901) Le Fanu, T.P., ed.*
 - **Volume 19:** *Register of the French Church of Portarlington (1908) Le Fanu, T.P., ed.*
 - **Volume 41:** *Dublin and Portarlington Veterans: King William III's Huguenot Army (London, 1946)*
 - Le Fanu, T. P. and W. H. Manchée, eds.

A DETAILED SURVEY OF HUGUENOT SETTLEMENTS IN IRELAND

Given the loss of countless key historical records, there has been an inevitable tendency to place an emphasis on those Irish Huguenot communities for which there is easily accessible data. This study aims to redress this imbalance by providing a more accurate appraisal of each settlement based on many years of research in Ireland (and elsewhere), whereby a myriad of information fragments gleaned from a wide variety of manuscript sources have been painstakingly pieced together.

By far, the largest Huguenot community in Ireland was that in Dublin, with approximately 3,000 members in the early eighteenth century. Cork City, with two churches, is likely to have had up to 1,000 Huguenot inhabitants, although the loss of all

Cork Huguenot records renders it impossible to arrive at an accurate figure. None of the other significant colonies that had Huguenot churches—Carlow, Kilkenny, Lisburn, Portarlinton and Waterford—are likely to have had an excess of 500 Huguenot settlers each. Government assistance was given to the larger settlements. Those with more than 70 families were eligible to receive a state grant for a church and a minister. Those with more than 50 families could apply to receive a minister’s stipend. An additional requirement for obtaining government aid was for the community to conform to the Church of Ireland (Anglican/Episcopalian) liturgy. This stipulation led to splits between conformists and nonconformists in several towns, since many Huguenots refused to abandon their nonconformist Calvinist (similar to Presbyterian) form of worship. Initially banned, along with all other nonconformist services in Ireland, the dissenting Huguenots were uniquely given freedom of worship after 1692 on condition that they conducted their church services in the French language. However, in contrast to the conformists, they did not receive any governmental financial assistance.

In an Irish context, any location known to have had at least a dozen Huguenot families tended to be counted as a settlement, even when there was neither a separate church nor a minister. There were, moreover, many individual families scattered throughout the country who resided beyond the boundaries of recognized Huguenot areas.

It should be noted that many of the ministers who served in the various Huguenot conformist churches also held ministries in the Church of Ireland.

Huguenot Communities with More than one Church and Minister

*Cork, Co. Cork*⁴⁹

- **Overview of the Cork Huguenot Community**

As the second city of Ireland and the largest commercial port in the Southeast, Cork was an attractive location for Huguenot merchants. It seems likely, since there were two churches, a charity school, and several almshouses, that the size of Cork’s Huguenot community was much larger than historians have hitherto suggested, possibly in the region of 1,000 members. The largest influx of refugees was in the period 1690–1710. The Cork Huguenots’ church records are thought to have been destroyed during flooding of the Cork city centre in 1796,⁵⁰ and the Cork Corporation records for the period 1643–1690 are also missing.⁵¹ It is nevertheless possible to partially fill these gaps through a variety of surviving

⁴⁹ A. St. Leger, *Silver, Sails and Silk - Huguenots in Cork 1685–1850*, (Cork, 1991); Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, pp. 28–68; E. H. Fairbrother, “French Protestants in Cork,” *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 11 (1915–17); T. A. Lunham, “Early French Refugees in Cork,” *Cork Historical and Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 24 (1918), pp. 8–15; M. McMahon, “French Refugees in Cork,” *Cork Historical and Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 24 (1918).

⁵⁰ C. F. A. Marmoy, “The Registers of the French Churches of Edinburgh and Cork,” *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 22 (1970–76), pp. 281–82.

⁵¹ R. Caulfield (ed.), *The Council Book of the Corporation of the City of Cork from 1609 to 1643, and from 1690 to 1800* (Guilford 1876); R. Caulfield, “Notes from the Register of the Freemen of the City and County of Cork,” *Cork Historical and Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 16 (1910).

sources. There is clear evidence of a vibrant, entrepreneurial community offering a wide range of goods and services.⁵²

- **The Cork Huguenot churches, their Ministers and the Cemetery**⁵³

From the late seventeenth century Huguenots held nonconformist services in a room in the County Court but eventually, in 1712, they built a church between Ballard’s Lane (now Carey’s Lane) and Lumley Street, which was subsequently called French Church Street. The land was donated by the merchants Joseph Lavit (*see below*) and Elias Lasarre. In 1733 an adjacent property was purchased and converted into a cemetery. There were also some Huguenot almshouses in the vicinity.⁵⁴ This church was apparently nonconformist.⁵⁵ Huguenot church services were held here until 1813. There are fragments of evidence about a second Huguenot church in Cork that was conformist, but very few details have emerged about it to date.⁵⁶ It is unlikely that the list of Cork Huguenot ministers below is complete, but it is clear that there is an overlap between the reputedly nonconformist Jean Pick (Pique) Sr. and Jr. and the conformists Jean Madras and Thomas Goetval. There are some fragmentary references to a Cork Huguenot charity school near the church in the early eighteenth century.

CORK HUGUENOT MINISTERS

NAME	PERIOD OF SERVICE
Jaques Fontaine	1694–1698
Jacob de Marcombes	1698
Etienne Abel Laval	? in London by 1730
Jean Pick [Pique] senior	1732–1783
Jean Madras	1735–1773
Jean Pick junior	1783–1810
Justin de Mont Cenis	1786 (appointed to Dublin)
Thomas Goetval	1783–1813

Sources: Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*; Le Fanu, *The Huguenot Churches of Dublin and their Ministers*; W.H. Manchee, *Huguenot Clergy List, 1548–1916*; W.H. Manchee, *Huguenot Clergy List: Supplemental*.

⁵² D. Dickson, “Huguenots in the Urban Economy of Eighteenth-century Dublin and Cork” in C. E. J. Caldicott, H. Gough and J. P. Pittion (eds.), *The Huguenots and Ireland: Anatomy of an Emigration* (Dun Laoghaire, 1987), pp. 321–32.

⁵³ National Archives of Ireland, MS 2/447/17, “Church Miscellaneous,” 25 February 1740—a petition from Rev. John Pick, the minister of the French Church Cork, likewise on 23 September 1788 “Jean Adam Malet and other members of the French reformed congregation at Cork complained to the Lord Lieutenant of the neglect of their minister John Pick”; National Library of Ireland Microfilm P 7171 [British National Archives Signet Office Letter Books SOI/24, pp. 451–453]—a petition from Rev. Pick to Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on 4 November 1774.

⁵⁴ National Archives of Ireland, MS. CSORP/1818/9P—Correspondence in 1818 between Sir Vesian Pick and officials at Dublin Castle on the viability of continuing with a French Protestant minister in Cork. A detailed history of the Huguenot population is given along with a list of Huguenots who donated bonds towards the upkeep of a church and minister.

⁵⁵ Caulfield, *The Council Book of the Corporation of the City of Cork*, p. xxix.

⁵⁶ National Archives of Ireland, MS 2/447/13, Kings and Queens letters, 1649–1852, A–F [under F] Payments to the French churches in Cork 25 November 1745, 4 November 1774 and 26 March 1796.

The first Cork Huguenot nonconformist minister was the ever unfortunate but resourceful Reverend Jaques Fontaine. He received no salary and initially survived by manufacturing woollen broadcloth; however, a law against Irish woollen products destroyed the business. Fontaine's ministry was not very successful either, lasting only until 1698, when, having (probably accurately) disparaged a prominent member of the congregation (merchant Isaac de La Croix) in a sermon, he was obliged to resign. He subsequently attempted to establish a fishing industry in Berehaven, Co. Cork, but after a number of disasters, including a gun battle with French Catholic pirates, he moved to Dublin in 1708 where for the following twelve years he ran a French school in a dilapidated, reputedly haunted house at St. Stephen's Green.⁵⁷

Rev. John Madras came to Cork in 1735, apparently via Amsterdam. He was appointed as minister of the French Church in 1739 and remained there until his death in 1773. He also was appointed chaplain to the earl of Kingston in 1740 and held various positions in the Church of Ireland, such as rector of Kilcully in the Cork diocese. He married twice. His first wife, Anne, died childless and his second wife, whom he married in 1768 and by whom he had two children, was Alice Baldwin.⁵⁸

- **The Cork Huguenot Cemetery**

The Huguenot graveyard at Careys Lane, Cork and that at Merrion Row, Dublin (*see the Dublin Section below*) are the only two surviving nonconformist Huguenot burial grounds in Europe. The Cork cemetery has shrunk in size due to encroaching building developments over the centuries, but a small portion remains with two standing gravestones, those of the above-mentioned minister John Madras (died 1773) and the merchant Simeon Henry Hardy (died 1810). The top of the Pick (Pique) family vault is also still visible. The *Friends of the Cork Huguenot Cemetery* group has successfully campaigned against further building on the graveyard, and the graveyard has now (Summer 2006) been bought by the Cork City Council, which is committed to preserving the site as a historic monument. It is hoped that a restoration project similar to that at Merrion Row (*see Dublin Section*) will be undertaken in the near future.

- **A Brief Selection of Cork's Huguenot Families**

The majority of Cork Huguenots were involved in commercial enterprises or crafts. A sailcloth factory in Douglas that began as Perry & Carleton was taken over in the mid-eighteenth century by Julius Besnard. It remained in the hands of the Besnard family until c. 1830. The Cork Besnards were descended from a Parisian lawyer and his wife, Marie du Bois, who had fled to Holland and had 22 children. Their eldest son, Pierre Besnard, came to Cork c. 1700 and both established a flourishing business and started a family.⁵⁹ The Lavitt family name is still remembered to this day through the existence of Lavitt's Quay. Joseph Lavitt

⁵⁷ Ressinger, *Memoirs of the Reverend Jaques Fontaine*.

⁵⁸ R. Henchion, "The Gravestone Inscriptions of Co. Cork IV," *Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Journal* (1969), p. 37, Desertmore Burial Ground notes—there is extensive information on the Madras family in Cork, including a family tree. Rev. John had two children: a daughter, Anne-Eliza, and a posthumous son, Rev. John Henry Madras, who left descendants.

⁵⁹ T. E. Evans, "Notes on the Besnard family" *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, Vol. 39 (1934), pp. 92–99.

arrived in the 1690s and became a merchant with shipping interests, a property portfolio, a sugar refinery, iron mills, and a paper mill. Moreover, Joseph Lavit became a Mayor of Cork in 1745.⁶⁰ The Hardys (the family originated in Languedoc but had moved to La Rochelle before coming to Ireland) were involved in the sugar and linen trades⁶¹ and the Perriers from Brittany had business interests ranging from ropemaking and sugar refining to property development.⁶² The Picks were especially versatile. One branch was involved in the wine trade and the other in religion, as ministers of the nonconformist Huguenot church. Sir Vespian Pick, a second-generation settler and son of John Pick, minister of a Cork Huguenot church 1732–83, was elected as mayor of Cork in 1796.⁶³

There were numerous skilled Huguenot craftsmen in Cork, most notably Robert Goble and his son Robert Goble Jr., examples of whose superb late seventeenth– and early eighteenth–century silver and gold articles are preserved in several museums and churches.⁶⁴ Robert Goble Sr. was Master of the Cork Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Guild in 1695 and Robert Goble Jr. was Master in 1719. Another Huguenot goldsmith who became Master of the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Guild was Anthony Semiroit in 1712 (he died in 1743). Some examples of his work can also be found in Irish museums, notably the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin.⁶⁵

*Dublin, Co. Dublin*⁶⁶

- **Overview of the Dublin Huguenot Community**

In the 1660s the Dublin Huguenot community was already sufficiently large to support both a conformist church and a nonconformist congregation; the

⁶⁰ Lee, *The Huguenot settlements in Ireland*, p. 60.

⁶¹ A large collection of manuscript notes on the Hardy family is in the Huguenot Library, London.

⁶² Lee, *The Huguenot settlements in Ireland*, pp. 58–59.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 46–47.

⁶⁴ W. J. L’Amie, *A note on the silver oar at Cork—work of M.[recte R. Goble] Goble, Cork Huguenot silversmith*, HSP, Vol. 12 ; C. A. Webster, *The church plate of the Diocese of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, Cork 1909; C. Cremin, “The silver oar,” *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, Vol. 24 (1918); M. S. D. Westropp, “The Cork goldsmiths, silversmiths, jewellers, watchmakers and apprentices,” Vol. 31 (1926); M. S. D. Westropp, “The goldsmiths of Cork,” *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, Vol. 12 (1906). On the Goble family see National Archives of Ireland MS No. 2559 et seq., D 15,236 et seq., T. 3924 et seq. (extracts)—Papers relating to the properties of the Goble family of Co. Cork. Edward Goble was a brazier in Cork in the 1660s.

⁶⁵ M. S. D. Westropp, “The Cork goldsmiths, silversmiths, jewelers, watchmakers and apprentices” *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, Vol. 31 (1926), pp. 8–13; M. S. D. Westropp, “The goldsmiths of Cork,” *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, Vol. 12 (1906), pp. 37–43; J. Evans, “Huguenot goldsmiths in England and Ireland,” *Huguenot Society of G.B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 14 (1930–33), pp. 496–554.

⁶⁶ R. P. Hylton, “Dublin’s Huguenot Refuge 1662–1817,” *Dublin Historical Record*, Vol. 11 (1986); R. P. Hylton, “Dublin’s Huguenot community: Trials, development and triumph 1662–1701,” *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland*, Vol. 24 (1985); R. P. Hylton, “Elites and assimilations: the question of leadership within Dublin’s *corps du refuge*, 1642–1740” 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/Portland, 2001); B. O’Mullane, “The Huguenots in Dublin,” *Dublin Historical Record*, Vol. 8–3 & 8–4; Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, pp. 215–55.

latter, because of the illegality of nonconformist worship, held services in various private houses. In the early eighteenth century, by which time nonconformist Huguenots had been granted freedom of worship, there were four Huguenot churches—two conformist and two nonconformist. According to Raymond Hylton who has conducted the most comprehensive in-depth study of the Dublin Huguenot community to date, the Huguenot population of Dublin veered between 100 and 200 in the period 1662–1680 (when the total population of Dublin was about 10,000) and in its heyday between 1690 and 1720 this rose to about 3,000 (when the total population of Dublin was about 60,000).⁶⁷

In the early eighteenth century Dublin blossomed and became, socially and economically, the second most important city in the British Isles (after London). It also had one of the largest Huguenot communities (after London and Canterbury). There was a marked contrast between the wealth and splendor of the capital and the poverty of rural Ireland and also between the upper-class districts of the city and the poorer quarters. The city's commerce (with the exception of linen, which was an indigenous industry) centered on a number of import trades such as wine, sugar and luxury textiles and catered to the aristocracy and landed gentry. There was also a diversity of specialist craftsmen and artisans who catered to the landed class.⁶⁸

Dublin's Huguenots spanned all social ranks and *métiers*. A few, mostly military pensioners, joined the ranks of the nobility and gentry; many more were able to benefit from the city's commercial opportunities and establish viable businesses. Others sank into grinding poverty but still had the advantage over other Dublin citizens in the same situation because of being eligible to receive financial support from Huguenot charities.⁶⁹

- **Dublin Huguenot Charities**

The conformist and nonconformist Huguenot church congregations established separate charities to assist the penniless refugees who continually flooded into Dublin. The earliest was the conformist Société charitable des François Protestants réfugiés à Dublin⁷⁰ (later known as the French Huguenot Fund), formed 7 September 1719. The origins of this society date back to 4 February 1693 when the Consistory of the French Church of St. Patrick's resolved to provide financial assistance and shelter for destitute refugees. Accommodation was provided in a house in Chequer Lane rented by the Consistory at £5.00 per annum. David Benoit, a parishioner, was appointed as caretaker. An almshouse providing board and keep for sick and indigent Huguenots was located in Mylers Alley beside the school.

- **The Dublin Huguenot Charity School**

⁶⁷ Hylton, "Dublin's Huguenot Refuge 1662–1817"; D. Dickson (ed.), *The Gorgeous Mask: Dublin 1700–1850* (Dublin, 1887), p. vii.

⁶⁸ Dickson, *The Gorgeous Mask*, p. vii.

⁶⁹ A. Forrest, "The Origins, Development and Administration of French Protestant Charity in Dublin, 1692–1794" *Alumnus Chronicle: University of St. Andrews*, Vol. 3 (1993).

⁷⁰ French Huguenot Fund papers, Marsh's Library, Dublin; W. C. Waller, "Société charitable des François Protestants réfugiés à Dublin," *Huguenot Society of G.B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 8 (1905–08), pp. 280–90; E. H. Fairbrother, "The society in Dublin for the Relief of foreign Protestants," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 14 (1930–33), pp. 274–76.

In 1723 the conformist Société Charitable des François Refugiés founded a school for poor Huguenot children located in Mylers Alley, Cathedral Close in the vicinity of St. Patrick’s Cathedral. The first schoolmaster for the boys was M. Bruyer and the first schoolmistress for the girls was Mlle. Judith Vobileau. Subsequent teachers over the next two decades were Pierre La Boissière, Pierre Lantal, M. Tourqueaus and M. Noé Dufour from Lisburn (whose career at the school spanned from 1743 to 1770). During the period 1723 to 1770 both English and French were taught and there were usually about 20 boys and 10 girls on the rolls. After M. Dufour’s retirement the school remained open until 1822 but French was no longer on the curriculum. The ruins of the school were sold in 1853 along with the dilapidated almshouse.

- **Dublin Huguenot Churches, Cemeteries, and Ministers**⁷¹

Fortunately, although the original registers and other records of the Dublin Huguenot churches were destroyed in the 1922 Public Record Office fire, they had already been published by the Huguenot Society of London.

- **The Dublin Conformist Churches**

- **The Chapel of St. Mary in St. Patrick’s Cathedral (the Lady Chapel)**

This side-chapel in St. Patrick’s was granted to French Huguenot settlers in 1665, on condition that they abided by the discipline and canons of the (Episcopalian/Anglican) Church of Ireland. The first minister was Jacques Hierome.⁷² Services continued until Christmas Day 1817 when the congregation had fallen to about twenty members. We know that in 1694 the congregation consisted of 132 heads of families (about 330 individuals) and in 1705, given the move of forty families to the Chapterhouse in St. Mary’s Abbey (*see below*) since 1701, the number of communicants was about 400.⁷³ Its cemetery in Cathedral Lane (*see below*) closed in 1858. The Lady Chapel remains intact though unused.

- **The Chapel of St. Mary**⁷⁴

In 1701, due to severe overcrowding in the Lady Chapel, forty families leased the tiny Chapter House of the otherwise ruined St. Mary’s Abbey in Meetinghouse Lane, off Capel Street as an annex of the French Church of St.

⁷¹ T. P. Le Fanu, “The Huguenot Churches of Dublin and their Ministers,” *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 8; V. E. Smyth, “Epitaphs in the French Non-conformist Cemeteries of Peter Street and Stephen’s Green,” *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings* Vol. 10; T. P. Le Fanu, “Huguenot Graveyards in Dublin,” *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings* Vol. 11; D. L. Savory, “Huguenots and Dublin [notes on three cemeteries]” *Huguenot Society of G.B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 18; D. Parkinson, *Huguenot Cemetery 1693—Merrion Row* (Dublin, 1988).

⁷² He was a noted scholar who had graduated from the Protestant University of Sedan. See W. R. Le Fanu, “The Families of Hierome, Lanauze and Ligonier,” *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 19. Further details of the Hierome family can be found in the Carrick-on-Suir section below.

⁷³ Historical Ms. Commission, Report No. 2, 1871, Vol 1.—Appendix 11 to 2nd Report pp. 243–44. Letters to the Archbishop of Dublin from members of the congregation of St. Patrick’s Cathedral. 08.05.1705 from Captain Augustus Laspois. He mentions that there are 400 communicants at St. Patrick’s but few at St. Mary’s.

⁷⁴ The most detailed information about this church is in S. J. Knox, *Ireland’s Debt to the Huguenots* (Dublin 1959). He also has established some little-known facts about the other Huguenot churches.

Patrick's. In 1705 a disagreement arose with the St. Patrick's congregation.⁷⁵ The Chapel of St. Mary had separate ministers and officers from January 1705 until 1716 when the two congregations were reunited and their registers combined. The two ministers from 1705 to 1716 were Pierre Degalinière and Pascal Ducasse.⁷⁶

The registers of the Dublin conformist French Churches of St. Patrick and St. Mary were published in the seventh volume of the Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, edited by J. J. Digges La Touche (*see bibliography for details*).

Contained in the registers are the following:

	<u>Baptisms</u>	<u>Marriages</u>	<u>Burials</u>
St. Patrick's	1668–1687	1680–1716	1680–1716
St. Mary's	1705–1716	1705–1715	1705–1715
United Churches	1716–1818	1716–1788	1716–1830

MINISTERS OF THE CONFORMED CHURCHES

<u>NAME</u>	<u>PERIOD OF SERVICE</u>
Jacques Hierome	1666–1676
Moses Viridet	1676–1685
Josué Rossel	1692 (resigned the same year)
Gabriel Barbier	1692–1710
Jean Severin	1693–1704
George Louis de La Sara	1700–1701
Charles de La Roche	1700–1702
Abraham Viridet	1712–1738
Louis Quartier	1701 (resigned the same year)
Pierre Degalinière	1701–1721
Henri de Rocheblave	1701–1702
	1706–1709
Alexandre de Susy Boan	1710–1741
Pierre Bouquet de St. Paul	1715–1735
Pascal Ducasse	1701–1730
Amaury Fleury	1716–1734
Antoine Fleury	1730–1736
Louis Scoffier	1736–1781
Jean Pierre Droz	1737–1751
Charles de Villette	1737–1783
Daniel Beaufort	1752–1758
Jacques Pelletreau	1758–1781

⁷⁵ G. A. Forrest, "Schism and Reconciliation: the "Nouvelle Eglise de Ste Marie," Dublin, 1705–16," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 26, pp. 199–213.

⁷⁶ He was the son of Pascal Ducasse, seigneur de Meyrac de Pontar in Bearn. He had been chaplain to Col. Ecklin's regiment and had a living near London before coming to St. Mary's. He was a friend of Dean D'Abbadie of Killaloe and was appointed to the Deaneries of Ferns and Clogher 1724/1727. Descendants of Rev. Ducasse and his wife Catherine Dumeny (m. Dublin 1700) were known to have lived in Co. Wexford until recently.

François Bessonnet	1781–1788
Justin de Mont Cenis	1786–1795 (came from Cork)
Jean de La Douespe de Letablère	1795–1816

Sources: Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*; Le Fanu, *The Huguenot churches of Dublin and their ministers*; W.H. Manchee, *Huguenot clergy list, 1548–1916*; W.H. Manchee, *Huguenot clergy list: supplemental*.

- **The Conformist Huguenot Cemetery**⁷⁷
A plot in the “Cabbage Garden” burial ground near St. Patrick’s Cathedral⁷⁸ was used by the two Dublin conformist Huguenot congregations. It is located at the end of Cathedral Lane off Kevin Street. It is now a public park and very few headstones (stacked along the perimeter walls) survive.
- **The Dublin Nonconformist Churches**
 - **The Chapel of St. Brigide’s**
Apparently a nonconformist congregation had already existed in Dublin since the 1660s but, being illegal, had no formal place of worship.⁷⁹ Nonconformist Huguenots who refused to change to the Anglican liturgy and adhered steadfastly to their Calvinist traditions were accorded freedom of worship in Ireland in 1692. The congregation rented a house in Bride Street for use as a church from 1693. That same year the Bride Street congregation also acquired a cemetery, leasing a plot of land in Merrion Row, St. Stephen’s Green (*see below*). It is likely that one of the pre-1692 nonconformist ministers was David Pigou de La Grandnou, who bequeathed the Bride Street congregation a legacy of golden guineas and furniture in 1695.⁸⁰ The first official nonconformist minister was Joseph Lagacherie. Although nonconformist Huguenots outnumbered the conformists, they were financially disadvantaged in that they never received any of the generous financial assistance given to the conformist Huguenots by the Church of Ireland and the Crown.
 - **The Chapel of Lucy Lane**
In 1695, because of overcrowding in Bride Street the nonconformists acquired a larger premise, which was formerly a Jesuit church, in Lucy Lane (Mass Lane), now Chancery Place, north of the river Liffey. The church was also known as the French Church of the Inns and the French Church of Golblac Lane. It was sold to the Presbyterian congregation of Skinner’s Row in 1773.
 - **The Chapel of Wood Street**

⁷⁷ V. Costello, “Irish Huguenot cemeteries,” *Huguenot Families*, No. 9 (September 2003), pp. 3–35.

⁷⁸ A. M. Fraser, “The Cabbage Garden,” *Dublin Historical Record*, Vol. 14–3.

⁷⁹ *See* Ressinger, *Memoirs of the Reverend Jaques Fontaine*, p. 46. Rev. Jaques Fontaine’s brother-in-law and former tutor Rev. Isaac Sautreau, formerly minister at Saujon, Saintonge, came to Dublin in the 1670s with his wife Elizabeth Fontaine and their three sons and two daughters. Discovering that he would not be permitted to preach nonconformist services in Dublin officially, he decided to bring his family to Boston. They all drowned in a shipwreck within sight of Boston harbor.

⁸⁰ Transcript of the Cash Book for the Bride Street (St. Brigide) French Church of Dublin in the French Huguenot Fund manuscript collection in Marsh’s Library, Dublin F. H. F./I/10, p. 11.

In 1701 a dispute arose among the nonconformists and a second church was established in Wood Street. Their minister was Jean Pons, who served for seventeen years. This congregation leased its own cemetery at Newmarket in the Coombe. This cemetery was subsequently incorporated into the graveyard of St. Luke's Church of Ireland church.

○ **The Chapel of St. Peter's**

This was a new church built by the congregation of St. Brigide's/Wood Street when difficulties arose over the lease of the Wood Street house. St. Peter's was located on the south side of Peter Street and the building was completed in 1711 with a graveyard beside the church. In 1725 there were 222 heads of families (about 600 individuals) and we can assume this number was even higher in the previous decade. Contemporary records mention that for a period this church had more members than St. Patrick's. Services ceased in 1814 and the last burial in the cemetery was in 1879. The Merrion Row cemetery also continued to be used by nonconformists and the last burial there took place in 1901.

Even before the complete destruction of the nonconformist registers in 1922, a substantial portion of the nonconformist registers had been lost. Thieves had broken into the vestry of St. Peter's in 1771 and destroyed all the registers of the period 1732–1771. In addition, the post-1771 baptism and marriage registers were lost in the early nineteenth century. The remaining portions were published in the 14th volume of the Publications of the Huguenot Society of London, edited by T. P. Le Fanu (*see bibliography for details*).

Combined Nonconformist Registers:

Baptisms	Marriages	Burials
1701–1731	1702–1728	1702–1731 1771–1831

Also included in the nonconformist registers are Reconnaissances 1716–1730. A reconnaissance was the re-admission into the Protestant church of a member who, because of persecution in France, had attended Roman Catholic services for a time.

MINISTERS OF THE NONCONFORMIST CHURCHES

NAME	PERIOD OF SERVICE
David Pigou de La Grandnou	?
Joseph Lagacherie	1692–1694
Barthelemy Balaguier	1693–1724
Jean Darrassus	1696–1716
Jacques Gillet	1701 (also in Portarlinton)
Jean Pons	1701–1718
Jean de Durand	1704–1744
Paul de St. Ferreol	1717–1755
Paul de La Douespe	1717–1720

Gaspar Caillard	1720–1739
Jacob Pallard	1724–1736
? Baby	1735–1739?
Antoine Vinchon Des Voeux	1736–1760
Jacques Pelletreau	1740–1758
Louis Ostervald	1744–1754
Pierre Samuel Hobler	1760–1765
Isaac Subremont	1760–1814
Louis Campredon	1766–1770
François Bessonnet	1771–1781
François Campredon	1781–1784

During the ministry of Barthelmy Balaguier, two clerical students [proposants] also officiated: (1) Armand Boibellau de La Chapelle from Ozillac, Saintonge who was a grandson of Rev. Isaac Dubourdieu of London and cousin of Rev. Saumarez Dubourdieu of Lisburn and (2) Charles de La Roche. Both were subsequently ordained but did not again officiate in Ireland. *Sources:* Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*; Le Fanu, *The Huguenot churches of Dublin and their ministers*; W.H. Manchee, *Huguenot clergy list, 1548–1916*; W.H. Manchee, *Huguenot clergy list: supplemental*.

- **The Nonconformist Huguenot Cemeteries**⁸¹
 - A burial ground at Newmarket, now part of St. Luke’s Church of Ireland cemetery, was used by the Wood Street congregation before the cemetery beside the French Church of St. Peter’s was opened in 1711.
 - A burial ground beside the French Church of St. Peter’s.⁸² Although the church had long disappeared this cemetery remained (finally in a dilapidated state) until 1966 when the nearby Jacob’s Biscuit Factory sought to develop the site. The cemetery was the subject of a High Court action won by Jacob’s, so the Huguenot remains were re-interred in Mount Jerome Cemetery, Harold’s Cross, Dublin 6W in 1967. The Mount Jerome Plot contains a series of stone plaques listing those known to have been buried in Peter Street (taken from the nonconformist burial registers) along with the surviving headstones.⁸³
 - The Merrion Row Huguenot Cemetery, Stephen’s Green, Dublin 2⁸⁴ was established in 1693 at a site leased from the Blue Coat School (now King’s Hospital) to whom an annual (very nominal) ground rent is still payable. It is still owned by the French Huguenot Fund, which, somewhat anachronistically, remains in existence, being an amalgamation of the former separate conformist and nonconformist Sociétés charitables des

⁸¹ Costello, “Irish Huguenot Cemeteries.”

⁸² M. Germaine, *Peter Street Cemetery: Nonconformist French Huguenot Church and Cemetery “French Peters” Dublin, 1711–1878* (Dublin, 1999).

⁸³ The plot was renovated by Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Fellows Mona Germaine, Jack Arthure and friends in 1999.

⁸⁴ D. Parkinson, *Huguenot Cemetery 1693: Merrion Row, St. Stephen’s Green, Dublin* (Dublin, 1988).

François réfugiés.⁸⁵ The cemetery was restored in 1988 through joint funding from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Irish Ministry of Labour.⁸⁶ Although over 300 burials are documented as having taken place there in the nonconformist burial registers, the cemetery only has 34 headstones, none of which predate the eighteenth century.⁸⁷ In 1999 a stone triptych sculpted by Seamus Dunbar was erected that lists all those known to have been buried in Merrion Row (taken from the nonconformist burial registers).

- **A Brief Selection of Dublin’s Huguenot Families**

We are afforded a *tableau* of Dublin’s Huguenot community in the late eighteenth century by the Rev. Edward Mangin’s *Register*, which “opens a door into a vanished culture” by providing lighthearted descriptions of fifty-three eighteenth-century Dublin Huguenot personalities. The *Register* was compiled by Rev. Mangin in his 70th year, drawing not only from his own memories but also those of his family and friends.⁸⁸ The Rev. Mangin’s own Huguenot pedigree is a remarkable one in that he was able to trace an unbroken descent from one of the first Huguenot martyrs, Etienne Mangin of Meaux.⁸⁹ Among the most colorful of the characters whom Rev. Mangin describes is Captain Theophilus [La Cour de] Desbrisay⁹⁰, a retired army officer whose idiosyncrasies included fathering a son at the age of 78 and erecting a marble tablet on the side of his house in the centre of Dublin with a profile of William III and the inscription:

May we never want a Williamite to kick the [----] of a Jacobite.

⁸⁵ An entire bundle of French Huguenot Fund papers relate to the circumstances necessitating this amalgamation. In 1890 Francis E. Du Bédât, treasurer of the nonconformist French Huguenot Fund and President of the Dublin Stock Exchange absconded with a large sum of money including £3,852 belonging to the French Huguenot Fund. The operations of the Fund had to be suspended until it was combined with the Conformist Fund in 1916 with 3 nonconformist trustees being added to the four conformist ones. For further information about the Du Bédât family, including Francis see M. Wootton, *The DuBédât story: Killiney to Kommetjie* (Dublin, 1999).

⁸⁶ The restoration was coordinated by Sean Mulcahy. The wall, gate, railings and seating were designed by the architect Nicholas Sutton. The planting was designed by the Irish Garden Plant Society members Dr. David Jeffrey and Finola Reid. The style and manner of planting reflects pre-eighteenth-century French and Dutch ideas including old French climbing roses and aromatic shrubs. *Irish Garden Plant Society Newsletter*, No. 36 (April 1990).

⁸⁷ See A. Spicer, “‘Rest of their Bones’: Fear of Death and Reformed Burial Practice” in P. Roberts and W. G. Naphy (eds.) *Fear in Early Modern Society* (Manchester, 1997), pp. 167–83.

⁸⁸ The original bound manuscript is in the Huguenot Society Library, London—MS M21/1. A published transcription with background historical and genealogical notes was undertaken by P. Ewles-Bergeron, “Edward Mangin’s List of Huguenot Names, 1841,” *Huguenot Society of G.B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 26 (1997), pp. 611–34.

⁸⁹ H. M. Bower, “The fourteen at Meaux” *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 5 (1894–96), pp. 1–124; A manuscript pedigree of the Mangin family is in the Wagner Collection, Huguenot Society Library, London.

⁹⁰ D. Lowe, a descendant of the Desbrisay family has compiled a history of the family on the website www.islandregister.com/desbrisay.

One of the first Huguenot families to achieve prominence in Dublin was that of Desminieres.⁹¹ The Desminieres dynasty settled in Ireland in the 1630s and by the 1660s had established a powerful business empire, mostly concerning real estate and alcoholic beverages. Jean Desminières⁹² became the Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1666 and his brother Louis Desminières did likewise in 1669.

Many Huguenot merchants, either specializing in particular commercial sectors or having diverse business interests, have been recorded. The wine and spirit sector was especially profitable in Ireland. A major brewer was Paul Espinasse,⁹³ who also owned three taverns.⁹⁴ After Paul was tragically killed in a horseback riding accident in 1750 his brewery was purchased by Arthur Guinness.⁹⁵ One of Dublin's many wine merchants was Pierre Le Clerc⁹⁶ of Clarendon Street, a staunch nonconformist who worshipped in the Peter Street church. Pierre also dabbled in sugar baking, distilling, and some land speculation.⁹⁷ He died in Clarendon Street in 1773 at the age of 88.⁹⁸ A remarkable family that excelled in many different fields was that of Delamain.⁹⁹ Jacques Delamain, son of a marshall of Dublin named William Delamain, became involved in the brandy trade. Having first established himself as a brandy merchant in Dublin, he moved to Jarnac (near Bordeaux) and married into the Ranson family (changing religion and becoming a Catholic). The firm of Ranson and Delamain was in the forefront of the cognac business during the 1750s and 1760s, and Jacques' commercial links with Dublin remained strong.¹⁰⁰ Jacques

⁹¹ A pedigree of the Desminieres family was compiled by W. B. Wright, published in *The Irish Builder* Vol. 29 (1887), pp. 71, 339. See also British Library MS. 3,682.

⁹² Desminières lived over his tavern "The Sign of the Sugar Loaf" in Bridge Street. Gimlette's *The History of the Huguenot settlers in Ireland* records that he was a sheriff of Dublin during the Commonwealth and enjoyed much of the confidence of Oliver Cromwell's son Henry, who had been appointed as Governor of Ireland. Jean Desminières's political volte-face must have been convincing for him to become lord mayor of Dublin just 6 years after the Restoration.

⁹³ Some notes about this family were published in F. E. Ball, *History of the County Dublin*, Dublin 1902, Vol. 1 and also Agnew, *Protestant exiles from France*, Vol. II, p. 504. Espinasse was a native of Languedoc and, after serving as an army captain, settled in Dublin in 1689. His second wife was Anne Ball, a daughter of Alderman Robert Ball of Dublin by his wife Anne Desminières (daughter of John Desminières and his wife Katherine Billy. Anne Desminières was the widow of John Partington, goldsmith). His brewery was on the site of the present Guinness brewery at James's Gate, Dublin 8. Arthur Guinness bought it in 1759 from Paul Espinasse's son William.

⁹⁴ The Blue Boar's Head, Arran Street; The Robin Hood, Ormond Quay and the Brewer's Arms, James Street.

⁹⁵ Hylton, *Dublin's Huguenot Refuge*, p. 23.

⁹⁶ A retired army officer, Le Clerc was the son of Pierre Le Clerc, sieur de Boisdumay and Suzanne Dumas from St. Claud-sur-le-Son, Angoumois. The family had initially settled in Southampton, England and then moved to Edenderry, Co. Offaly.

⁹⁷ His wife Ester Rulland was from St. Jean D'Angély, Saintonge. She was related to the shipowning family of Roy. Many other Dublin merchant families, including the Chaigneaus and the Mazières were from St. Savenien/St. Jean D'Angély.

⁹⁸ M. Germaine, *Peter Street Cemetery: Nonconformist French Huguenot Church and Cemetery "French Peters," Dublin, 1711–1879* (Dublin, 1999), pp. 50–51 and Le Clerc pedigree, p. 82.

⁹⁹ V. Costello and D. Parkinson, "The Delamain family of Kilkenny and Dublin," *Huguenot Families* No. 8 (March, 2003), pp. 11–13.

¹⁰⁰ L. Cullen, "The Huguenots from the Perspective of the Merchant Networks of W. Europe (1680–1790): The Example of the Brandy Trade" in Caldicott, Gough & Pittion, *The Huguenots and Ireland*, p. 144.

Delamain's uncle Henri Delamain¹⁰¹ set up Ireland's largest and most successful delftware factory in the eighteenth century. Some examples of the factory's output are in the National Museum of Ireland. Several members of another branch of the Delamain family achieved prominence in the army of the East India Company.¹⁰²

There was a significant Huguenot involvement in Dublin sugar refining. Philip Rambaut¹⁰³ has identified twelve of Dublin's refineries as being in Huguenot hands; workers in the Bordeaux sugar-refining industry were said to have migrated to Dublin in the 1720s. Amongst the sugar bakers were Jean Du Bédat from Lacedede, Angenais¹⁰⁴ and Jean Rambaut from Bordeaux.¹⁰⁵

There were some notable Huguenot craftsmen such as goldsmiths, silversmiths, watchmakers, and jewelers.¹⁰⁶ Masters and wardens of the Dublin Goldsmiths/Silversmiths/Jewelers Guild included Isaac D'Olier (1740),¹⁰⁷ whose name survives through the name of D'Olier Street. Jewelers included James Vigne.¹⁰⁸

Two remarkable Huguenot artists have made a lasting contribution to the recording of Ireland's topography, landscapes and buildings. George Victor Du Noyer was born in Dublin in 1817, the son of Louis Victor Du Noyer and

Jacques' links were with more with the Catholic "Wild Geese" merchants who were also very prominent in the Bordeaux region of France rather than with Huguenots who would presumably have considered him a renegade.

¹⁰¹ A. Crookshank, *Irish Art from 1600*, Dublin 1979. The factory was established in 1753, and was continued by his widow and brother after his death in 1757, but was moved from Dublin to Belfast in 1771. Some delftware made in the Dublin factory has survived with designs being based mainly on English, Dutch and Chinese ones. Connections among all the various Delamains in Ireland have not been definitively established. See Nicholas Delamain, the mid-seventeenth-century merchant of Stonebeater Street, Jacques Delamain, merchant of Jarnac and Jonathan Sisson footnote—possibly the merchant Jacques and the delftware Henry were sons of Henry Delamain and Sarah Steele of Leixlip. Another Henry Delamain was a dancing master in Dublin in the 1730s; there was also a dancing master Lawrence Delamain of Cork who had a son called Henry.

¹⁰² A. Fuller, "The Delamain Family—Military Service in Nineteenth Century India," *Huguenot Society of G.B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (2004), pp. 220–29.

¹⁰³ P. M. Rambaut, "The Participation of Huguenot Settlers in Dublin's Sugar Bakeries in the 18th Century," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 25, No. 5 (1993), pp. 487–93.

¹⁰⁴ Wootton, *The Dubedat Story*.

¹⁰⁵ Linked by marriage to the Marland family, he himself married Marie Hautenville, whose family members were the foremost Dublin Huguenot silk merchants. See B. R. B. Rambaut, "The Huguenot Family of Rambaut," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 14 (1930–33), pp. 242–52, 428; B. R. B. Rambaut, "Account of the Huguenot Family of Rambaut in France," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 15 (1934–37), pp. 129–40.

¹⁰⁶ M. S. D. Westropp, "The Goldsmiths Company of Dublin," *Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Journal*, Vol. 8. The National Museum, Kildare Street has examples of the silverwork of Jean Pittar, François Gerrard, Antoine Lefébure, Jacques Le Bas and Isaac D'Olier.

¹⁰⁷ The D'Olier family originated in Toulouse. Charles Edouard D'Olier was the French Ambassador in Constantinople in 1673. His grandson Isaac D'Olier I had served in William III's army, and initially settled in Amsterdam but became a freeman of Dublin in 1697. Isaac I's son Isaac II was apprenticed to John Williamson, goldsmith in 1721 (Isaac II's son Isaac III continued the goldsmith business and his son Jeremiah became High Sheriff of Dublin). Lee, *The Huguenot settlements in Ireland*, pp. 241–43.

¹⁰⁸ Born in London in 1744, son of Jacques Vigne, goldsmith, jeweler and toyman from Dieppe and his wife Marianne Le Griel. Jacques settled in London and James, who had married Elizabeth Hardy Eustace of Tullow, Co. Carlow around 1768, settled in Dublin around 1777. James's daughter Marianne married the noted artist George Chinnery. Notes from R. Vigne.

Margaret Du Bedat.¹⁰⁹ He worked on the Geological Survey of Ireland (which began in 1845) as a geologist but was also interested in antiquities and natural history. All of his interests are reflected in his superb pencil drawings and watercolors.¹¹⁰ A much less gifted artist than Du Noyer, with a somewhat naïve and heavy-handed style, was Gabriel Beranger, who had worked in the previous century. Nevertheless, Beranger painstakingly recorded most of the important antiquities and archaeological sites throughout Ireland and his work has considerable charm and appeal in addition to being of enormous value as a historical record. Apparently born around 1729 in Rotterdam to a Huguenot family, he came to Ireland at the age of twenty-one. He married twice, first to his cousin Louise Beranger and second to Elizabeth Mestayer, but he died without children.¹¹¹

One myth often stated about Dublin Huguenots is that most of them were weavers. This is quickly dispelled by even a cursory examination of the Dublin city freemen records. Only about 30 Huguenot freemen were listed as having trades linked to the textile industry from 1680 to 1720, with roughly equal numbers of serge, linen, silk and stocking weavers, wool combers, and dyers. There is no evidence of large-scale Huguenot involvement in the eighteenth century Dublin textile industry. Some successful Dublin textile enterprises did exist. David Dignes La Touche¹¹² established a poplin (tabbinet—a mixture of wool and silk) factory in 1693 and became a wholesaler of silks, woolens and poplins. He also became involved in other thriving business enterprises such as property development. In 1734 he went into partnership with Dublin's Lord Mayor Nathaniel Kane to form Dublin's largest bank, which in 1783 developed into the Bank of Ireland. The La Touches became Dublin's wealthiest and socially best-connected Huguenot family in the later eighteenth century. However, although David La Touche's textile interests might have been his initial introduction to Dublin business circles, it was not a major source of his later wealth.¹¹³

The Dublin gothic literary tradition was established by Rev. Charles Robert Maturin (1782–1824),¹¹⁴ who is credited with being the first gothic

¹⁰⁹ P. Coffey, "George Victor Du Noyer, 1817–1869: Artist, Geologist and Antiquary," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Vol. 123 (1993), pp. 102.

¹¹⁰ F. Croke (ed.), *George Victor Du Noyer, 1817–1869: Hidden Landscapes* (Dublin, 1995); P. Coffey, "George Victor Du Noyer, 1817–1869," *Sheetlines* [journal of the Charles Close Society], No. 35 (1993), pp. 14–26.

¹¹¹ P. Harbison, *Beranger's Views of Ireland* (Dublin, 1991); P. Harbison, *Beranger's Antique Buildings of Ireland* (Dublin, 1998).

¹¹² A. La Touche, "Records of the Family of Dignes La Touche," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 11 (1915–17), pp. 227–39; A. M. Fraser, "David Dignes La Touche and a few of his Descendants," *Dublin Historical Record*, Vol. 5–2; P. Bradley, "Case study of a Huguenot family: La Touche" in M. D. Evans (ed.), *Aspects of Irish Genealogy II* (Dublin, 1996).

¹¹³ D. Dickson and R. English, "The La Touche Dynasty" in *The Gorgeous Mask: Dublin, 1700–1850* (Dublin, 1987).

¹¹⁴ He was descended from the extraordinary Rev. Gabriel Jacques Maturin who had been the pastor of La Reolle, Basse-Guyenne. Having fled from France in 1685, he tried to return to preach in 1689. He was caught and imprisoned for 25 years. He became Dean of St. Patrick's in succession to Jonathan Swift, but died the following year in 1746. R. E. Lougy, *Charles Robert Maturin* (Cranbury, N.J., 1975); K. Brennan,

novelist and whose best-known work was *Melmoth the Wanderer*. The genre was further developed by another Dublin Huguenot Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu (1814–1873),¹¹⁵ who continued in this sinister vein with novels like *Uncle Silas* and *In a Glass Darkly*. Both these gentlemen were famed for their strange behavior in addition to their literary skills.

Rather more cheerfully, in the next generation Dion Lardner Boucicault¹¹⁶ (1820–1890) was very successful in London both as an actor and playwright with his individual brand of humorous “stage Irishman” melodramas, some of which, such as *The Colleen Bawn*, are still regularly performed.

A lasting visible contribution to Dublin was made by two leading architects who worked in eighteenth-century Dublin. Richard Cassels is thought to have been born in Hesse-Cassel, Germany in 1690. His father was a noted architect in Cassel and his family was reputedly Huguenot, changing their surname from Du Ry.¹¹⁷ Richard Cassels enjoyed a large architectural practice in Ireland from 1729 until his death in 1751. Amongst the celebrated buildings designed by him are Leinster House, Powerscourt and Carton House. Richard Gandon was the son of a London Huguenot settler who was born there in 1743. Amongst his famous buildings are the Custom House and the Four Courts. He died in Dublin in 1821.¹¹⁸

Huguenot Communities with one Church and a Minister

Carlow, (formerly Caterlough), Co. Carlow

- **Overview of the Carlow Huguenot Community**

Bordering on Counties Kilkenny, Laois (Queen’s County) and Wexford, Carlow was within easy reach of many other Huguenot settlements. The Huguenot church was established in c. 1693 and a succession of ministers was employed until 1747.

Because records about the Carlow Huguenot community are few and diffuse, Carlow is often omitted from articles about the Huguenots in Ireland. All

Charles Robert Maturin, Dublin Historical Record Vol. 32 (1979). An excellent online history of the Maturin family compiled by M. Osborne can be found at www.assr81.dsl.pipex.com.

¹¹⁵ W. J. McCormack, *Sheridan Le Fanu and Victorian Ireland* (Dublin 1980); T. P. Le Fanu, “Memoir of the Le Fanu Family,” *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 13 (1924–29), pp. 183–85; P. F. Byrne, “Joseph Sheridan Le Fanu, a centenary memoir,” *Dublin Historical Record*, Vol. 26–3, also *Letter—J. S. Le Fanu*, Vol. 26–2; K. Brennan, “J. Sheridan Le Fanu: Chapelizod and the Dublin connection,” *Dublin Historical Record*, Vol. 33–34 (1980).

¹¹⁶ R. Fawkes, *Dion Boucicault, a Biography* (London, 1978). His official Huguenot ancestry, derived from Samuel Smythe Boursiquot, wine merchant, and Anna Maria née Darley (26 years Samuel’s junior and of English descent), was considerably diluted by his having been (reputedly) fathered by the family’s lodger Dr. Dionysius Lardner, a lecturer at Trinity College (who apparently in due course emigrated to America to escape irate husbands and creditors). Samuel Smythe Boursiquot was the son of Peter Boursiquot, wine merchant of St. Werburg’s Street (he died at 8:00 a.m. on 12 October 1791 in his 87th year and was buried in the Cabbage Garden Huguenot cemetery). Peter’s wife Mary Anne née Smythe (m. 2 January 1768 St. Werburgh’s) died 23 March 1792 at 10:00 am, aged 72, and was also buried in the Cabbage Garden. See *The Irish Ancestor*, Vol. 2 (1974).

¹¹⁷ All books concerning 18th-century architecture in Dublin feature Richard Cassels and James Gandon. In particular see Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660–1860*, Dublin 1980. For additional research visit the Irish Architectural Archive, 73 Merrion Square, Dublin 2.

¹¹⁸ See Mulvany, *Life of Gandon*, Dublin, 1846.

traces of the church and its registers are now gone but the Church of Ireland registers of Carlow and neighbouring towns like Tullow along with a variety of other records, especially Registry of Deeds records,¹¹⁹ yield a considerable number of Huguenot names.

- **The Carlow Huguenot Church and its Ministers**

We know that the Huguenot church in Carlow was nonconformist in the 1690s. A state paper office memorial dated 1696 [destroyed in the 1922 PRO fire]¹²⁰ lists the French churches that observed the discipline of France and Geneva and gave the list of congregations and ministers (unfortunately not named) including Carlow. The Rev. Benjamin de Daillon¹²¹ came to Carlow in 1708 from Portarlinton to serve as a nonconformist minister consequent upon a bitter conformist/nonconformist split in Portarlinton. He died in 1710 and was buried in the churchyard along with his wife Pauline. It was clearly difficult for the community to replace Rev. de Daillon. A petition was sent to the Queen around 1711 requesting funding for a new minister as the Carlow Huguenot community could not themselves afford to support his salary, especially as many of the military officer settlers were fighting abroad.¹²² The petition signatories were: G. Fontiny, Al. St. Agnan,¹²³ Ch. Denroches,¹²⁴ J. Michel,¹²⁵ Jean Dumont, Ch. De La Boulay,¹²⁶ P. Lamy,¹²⁷ P. Balandrie,¹²⁸ Pierre Bermond, Jean Livraux,

¹¹⁹ See repository list above.

¹²⁰ Quoted in Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, 2:465.

¹²¹ T. P. Le Fanu, "Life and sufferings of Benjamin de Daillon," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 14, pp. 458–78.

¹²² National Library of Ireland MS. 2495, p. 359 [bound volume of undated petitions] "Petition of the French inhabitants of Carlow requesting pension for a minister."

¹²³ Alexander St. Agnan, a reformed lieutenant in La Meloniere's regiment who was disbanded and placed on the 1692 pension list. He was buried at Portarlinton on 2 April 1726—Le Fanu & Manchee, *Dublin and Portarlinton Veterans*, p. 62.

¹²⁴ Charles de Prévost, seigneur d'Enroche of Mauvezin, Gers. His wife was Blaise de Manas - J. W. de Grave, "Jacob de Rouffignace and his Descendants" *Huguenot Society of GB & Ireland Proceedings*, vol. 5 (1894–96), p. 261. He served as a reformed captain in La Meloniere's regiment and served in Holland and Ireland for 5 years. He was disbanded and placed on the 1692 pension list and was described as wounded and old with a numerous family in the 1702 pension list. W.A. Shaw, "The Irish pensioners of William III's Huguenot regiments" *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 6 (1898–1901), p. 320. He died 28 March 1740. A descendant Abraham Denroche established the newspaper *The Kilkenny Moderator* on 1 January 1814. The family was by then intermarried with the Quaker Pim family.

¹²⁵ Jacques Michel, quartermaster of dragoons who had served in Miremont's Dragoons in Piedmont and Flanders for 9 years and was disbanded in Ireland in 1699 - Shaw, "The Irish Pensioners of William III's Huguenot Regiments," p. 305.

¹²⁶ Charles Procureur de La Boulay du Champ was a pensioned officer who had served as an incorporé captain in Schomberg's regiment. He was aged 67 in 1702 and was granted 10 acres at Carlow by William III that became known as "Labully's fields" in the locality. His brother Jean Procureur de La Boulay du Champ, who had served as an incorporé lieutenant in Schomberg's regiment, settled in Portarlinton, where he died in 1708 (Kildare diocesan will). For further particulars about Charles (who died in 1715) and his family (ultimately only his granddaughter Elizabeth Fourreau, who married Peter Fontaine), see Ressinger, *Memoirs of the Rev. Jacques Fontaine*, pp. 190–91.

¹²⁷ Pierre de Lamy had served as a reformed Cornet with the Blue Dragoons, which was one of the Dutch regiments that had served with William III in the invasion of England in 1688 and had subsequently served in Schomberg's French Horse in Ireland. Pierre Lamy was disbanded in 1692 and placed on the pension list. Shaw, "The Irish pensioners of William III's Huguenot regiments," p.322. The Carlow Church of Ireland registers [in the RCB Library, Dublin see list of repositories above] record the birth of two sons to

Sam. La Motte Graindor,¹²⁹ L. Darques,¹³⁰ F. La Bastide Barbut,¹³¹ Jean Rouviere,¹³² Jean Gallant, Fr. Michel.

The next minister was apparently Rev. Henri Briel who was berated c. 1711 by Archbishop King for having been ordained by “schismatical presbyters among ourselves.”¹³³ The Archbishop expressed the fear that if Huguenots continued in this manner they would be “on the same foot as the dissenters in relation to communion which would be of ill consequence....” Despite the Archbishop’s misgivings, Rev. Briel would appear to have continued at Carlow until 1720, thereafter acting as minister in Swanfields, England (1721–34). His successor was dissatisfied with the salary offered. On 4 February 1721 another petition was sent to the Lord Lieutenant, Charles, Duke of Grafton from the churchwardens of the Carlow Huguenot church requesting an increase in salary for Rev. Charles Louis de Villette as they were in fear of losing him and not securing another clergyman at the present salary.¹³⁴ The Rev. de Villette whose family stemmed from Burgundy, although he was born in Lausanne in 1688, did in fact remain in Carlow until 1737 when he was appointed to the French Church of St. Patrick’s, Dublin. A further Carlow minister was David Chaigneau, who served from 1744 until his death in 1747.¹³⁵

Peter Lamie and his wife Susanna – Charles b. 1695 and John b. 1696. G. Thrift (ed.) *Indexes to Irish [diocesan] Wills*, 5 vols (London, 1909–21) – Leighlin Diocese: Pierre Delamy, Carlow, 1720.

¹²⁸ Pierre Balandrie had served as a captain in Miremont’s Dragoons - Shaw, “The Irish Pensioners of William III’s Huguenot Regiments,” p. 304. He purchased a house in Castle Street, Carlow. Registry of Deeds, Dublin, deed no. 23602, book 25, p. 532 dated 16 September 1717. He was buried in Castledermot Churchyard, Co. Kildare [not far from Carlow] on 29 May 1735, aged 75.

¹²⁹ Samuel La Motte Graindor [probably from Languedoc] had served as a reformed and standing lieutenant in La Melonière’s regiment. He had served for 13 years in Holland, Ireland and Flanders. He was disbanded in 1699 and placed on the pension list. Shaw, “The Irish Pensioners of William III’s Huguenot Regiments,” p. 306.

¹³⁰ Louis Darques was a reformed Cornet in Schomberg’s French Horse and had served in Ireland and Flanders for 10 years. He was disbanded in 1699 and put on the pension list - Shaw, “The Irish Pensioners of William III’s Huguenot Regiments,” p. 303. He died on 24 February 1738.

¹³¹ François La Bastide de Barbut had, like Pierre de Lamy *above*, served as a reformed Cornet in the Blue Dragoons and subsequently in Schomberg’s French Horse. He had served for three years in Holland and Ireland, was disbanded in 1692 and was placed on the pension list - Shaw, “The Irish Pensioners of William III’s Huguenot Regiments,” p. 322.

¹³² His father Antoine Rouviere was from the Des Arnoux district near Grenoble and also lived in Carlow. Jean was a lieutenant in Ruvigny’s regiment and married Lucy Ann Marriott. The family subsequently moved to Youghal. This family should not be confused with Jean Liron de La Rouvière of Dublin/Sligo or Jean Jacques Teissonnière de La Rouvière of Dublin (son of Jérémie Tessionnière of St. Germain, Languedoc).

¹³³ Trinity College Dublin Ms. N.3.11, p. 211 - *Archbishop King Correspondence*, Archbishop King to Bishop Vigors of Ferns.

¹³⁴ National Archives - Calendar of misc. church records 1652–1795 [originally in State Paper Office but transferred to PRO where the actual records were destroyed in 1922] - National Archives ref: 2/447/17.

¹³⁵ See footnote regarding Youghal settlement, where the Chaigneau family first settled. The Rev. David Chaigneau was the son of Isaac Chaigneau and Helena King, and was a first cousin of the David Chaigneau (son of Louis Chaigneau and Elizabeth Le Coudre) who was Lord Mayor of Dublin and a Member of Parliament. See Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, p. 73.

- **A Brief Selection of Carlow’s Huguenot Families**

One of the reasons why the Carlow Huguenots seem to have faded rapidly into obscurity is that there were few commercial enterprises and most of the settlers were military pensioners such as the signatories of the above-mentioned petition and also Pierre Gilbert de Pagez¹³⁶, Achille de La Colombine¹³⁷ and Marguerite de Najac de Geneste of Carlow, sister of Captain Mark Anthony Najac¹³⁸ (deceased) who received a pension in his stead (1714). She had married military pensioner Honorat de Bernardon¹³⁹ in Dublin 18th June 1695.¹⁴⁰ Their son Mark Anthony Bernardon died in Carlow in 1742.¹⁴¹ Their daughter Marguerite Bernardon¹⁴² married Rev. Charles Loius de Villette¹⁴³ who subsequent to his appointment at Carlow went to the French church of St. Patrick’s, Dublin.

Amongst the few traceable Carlow Huguenot craftsmen was Peter Le Maistre,¹⁴⁴ watchmaker of Dublin Gate, Carlow who had three sons Charles, William and Mathew. Elizabeth Le Maistre, resident in Carlow, is mentioned as being the mother of Michael Le Maistre, apprenticed to a Dublin goldsmith in 1739.

*Kilkenny, Co. Kilkenny*¹⁴⁵

- **Overview of the Kilkenny Huguenot Community**

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Kilkenny was the most important inland Irish city and was at the center of the Duke of Ormond’s family

¹³⁶ W. A. Shaw, *Denizations and Naturalisations for England and Ireland, 1701–1800*, HSP-Q, Vol. 27 records his naturalization 21 November 1705. He was son of Gilbert de Pagez by his wife Margaret of Ales, Languedoc. Pierre Gibert was a military engineer who served in Ireland, Flanders, Portugal and Spain. He was appointed engineer for the fortifications of Galway in 1717 and of Limerick 1718–19. His wife was Anne Esther de Goulaine. Their son Samuel Gilbert was baptized in the Dublin Huguenot church of St. Patrick’s 3 April 1714. Godparents were col. Jacques d’Aubussargues, major Charles de Goulaine and Mme. de Favière. Pierre Gilbert died in Carlow in 1721. See R. Loeber, “Biographical dictionary of Engineers in Ireland, 1600–1730” *The Irish Sword*, Vol. 13. Other members of this family settled in Bristol.

¹³⁷ The Carlow Church of Ireland registers record the births of five children to Achille de La Colombine and his wife Ann between 1704–1716—Charles in 1704, Olympia in 1708, twins Martha and Ann in 1709 and Francis in 1716; G. Thrift (ed.) *Indexes to Irish [diocesan] Wills*, 5 vols (London, 1909–1921) – Leighlin Diocese: Achilles La Colombine, Carlow, 1752.

¹³⁸ Captain Anthony Najac had served in Lord Ashburnham’s cavalry regiment.

¹³⁹ W. A. Shaw, “The Irish Pensioners of William III’s Huguenot Regiments, 1702,” *Huguenot Society of G.B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 6 (1898–1901), p. 321. Had been an incorporé captain in Du Cambon’s regiment and settled in Carlow with his wife. He died 18 November 1702.

¹⁴⁰ Dublin Huguenot conformist registers. The witnesses were Charles de Vignoles, J. Sperandieu de Vignoles, David de Poey and M de la Ramière.

¹⁴¹ Carlow Church of Ireland registers in Church of Ireland RCB Library (see above).

¹⁴² She died in Dublin aged 75 years 27 February 1773 (bur. St. Patrick’s).

¹⁴³ He was the son of a refugee from Burgundy and was born in Lausanne in 1688. As well as the appointment at Carlow he was at the same time rector of Kilruane, diocese of Killaloe. He was the author of several religious works. Apparently after the death of his first wife he married Julia Blosset, b. Dublin 19 August 1714 (daughter of Col. Paul de Blosset [son of Solomon Blosset de Loche of Dauphiné] and his wife Jeanne Susanne Cressial but if so he must have been over 85 years old! If the facts in Lee’s *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland* are correct he died in 1783 aged 95).

¹⁴⁴ Registry of Deeds, Dublin - deed no. 25147, book 38, p. 501 dated 8 April 1719; G. Thrift (ed.) *Indexes to Irish [diocesan] Wills*, 5 vols (London, 1909–21) – Leighlin Diocese: Peter Le Maistre, 1731.

¹⁴⁵ W. Nolan & K. Whelan (eds.), *Kilkenny: History and Society* (Dublin, 1990); W. G. Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History, 1391–1843* (Belfast, 1989), especially pp. 104–106.

territories.¹⁴⁶ Only sketchy information is available on the French colony established here by the Duke during the 1660s. Like the other post-Restoration Ormond settlements, Huguenot textile workers were brought in to develop the economy of the area and were provided with houses and looms. Among the seventeenth century industries of the city was the manufacture of woolen cloth, cordage, linen and sail cloth, transferred from Chapelizod (*see below*).

Despite the repeated efforts to establish manufacturing enterprises in Kilkenny using Huguenot expertise, the Huguenot community, like that of Carlow, does not appear to have become commercially viable. The majority of the settlers during its heyday between the 1690s and the 1720s were military pensioners with few merchants, traders or skilled artisans in evidence.

- **The Kilkenny Huguenot Church and its Ministers**

Kilkenny reputedly had its own Huguenot ministers from the 1660s but it is uncertain when or where its Huguenot church was established. It was possibly located in a wing of the Church of Ireland church of St. John the Evangelist (which incorporated restored ruins from a medieval monastery). Unlike the nearby nonconformist Carlow church, it was firmly conformist and under the jurisdiction of the Church of Ireland bishop.¹⁴⁷

The two earliest Kilkenny Huguenot ministers whose identities are known served concurrently though not amicably. Jean Baptiste Renoult a former Franciscan priest from Normandy who abjured in London in 1696 came to Kilkenny from Pearl St./La Tremblade, London in 1705 and served as a minister in Kilkenny until at least 1711.¹⁴⁸ Michel David from Geneva¹⁴⁹ was naturalized along with his sister Marguerite on 21 January 1685 in London. Before coming to Kilkenny he had, amongst other positions, served as the chaplain of the Duchess de La Force,¹⁵⁰ as the pastor at Thorney Abbey, Cambridgeshire and as the chaplain to St. Gabriel de Sylvius, Envoy Extraordinaire in Copenhagen. He was one of the ninety-five Huguenot refugee pastors in England who on 30 March 1691 signed a declaration in opposition to the Socinians [a sect that did not believe in the Trinity].¹⁵¹ He died on 3 July 1716, aged 76 years, and was buried

¹⁴⁶ T. Barnard & J. Fenlon (eds.), *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610–1745* (Woodbridge, 2000).

¹⁴⁷ J. B. Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes...* (Enniskillen, 1933), p. 357. British Library Add. Ms. 21,132, folio 41 is a petition from the mayor, aldermen and citizens of Kilkenny dated 19 July 1712, certifying that the French Protestant inhabitants have always conformed to the Church of Ireland (none of the signatories were Huguenot except for E. Chapellier, *sheriff*).

¹⁴⁸ La Touche, *Register of the French Conformist Churches of St. Patrick and St. Mary, Dublin*, p. 218.

¹⁴⁹ Personal comment Professor Ruth Whelan who found information on Michel David in the Court manuscript collection in the BPU (Bibliothèque publique et universitaire) Geneva. He was the son of François David, *citoyen et maistre d'eschole* of Geneva and his wife Marthe Chevrier.

¹⁵⁰ Shaw, *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Ireland, 1603–1700*, p. 165.

¹⁵¹ R. A. Brock, (ed.), *A Declaration of the Opinion of the French Ministers, who are now Refugees in England about Some Points of Religion, in Opposition to the Socinians* (Richmond, Virginia, 1886). The original document was appended to Lamothe, C. G., *Two Discourses on the Divinity of our Saviour* (London, 1693). See <http://php.pasteur.net> and *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 3, p. 337.

in the cemetery of the French Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin on 6 July.¹⁵² The Ossory Diocesan Register recorded on 7 September 1708:¹⁵³

A dispute arose between Michael David and [Jean-Baptiste] Renoult, at the administration of the Holy Communion on a Sunday in 1705, when Mr. David against the Bishop's wishes seized the cup to administer it though the Bishop had ordered that Mr. Renoult alone was to administer it.

It is ironic that Jean Baptiste Renoult, a former Catholic priest, was more acceptable to the Church of Ireland Bishop John Hartstonge than Michel David. The row between the two Huguenot ministers festered on with David publishing a libel against Renoult in 1708, stating that he had been refused the wine at Holy Communion and criticizing Renoult's sermons.¹⁵⁴ There were many cases of tensions between French Proselytes [French Roman Catholic priests who converted to Protestantism in England] and pastors who had been born into the Protestant faith.¹⁵⁵ Jean-Baptiste Renoult was appointed rector of the Church of Ireland church of Timahoe, Co. Kildare in 1706 and served there until 1719.¹⁵⁶ He also acted as an assistant minister at the conformist French church of St. Mary's on a number of occasions between 1725 and 1729.

A further Huguenot minister who served in Kilkenny was Jean [Destailleurs] de Questebrune and he was also appointed as Vicar of the Church of Ireland church of Burnchurch, some four miles from Kilkenny city in 1716.¹⁵⁷ Born in Colné, Picardy in 1684, he was the son of Jean Destailleurs, sieur de Questebrune.¹⁵⁸ His father had been a captain in the Romagnac regiment in Guisnes, near Boulogne where he married Madeleine Albouy daughter of the minister Isaac Albouy on 31 August 1681.¹⁵⁹ Jean Sr. became a captain in Schomberg's Huguenot cavalry regiment and retired to Dublin on a military pension in 1692.¹⁶⁰ He was an elder of the French Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin until his death in February 1699/1700, aged approximately 70 years.¹⁶¹ Jean Jr.

¹⁵² La Touche, *Register of the French Conformist Churches of St. Patrick and St. Mary, Dublin*, p. 218.

¹⁵³ The original register was destroyed in the Public Record Office fire of 1922 but is quoted in Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes...* p. 357.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Dr. Susanne Lachenicht of the Centre for the Study of Human Settlement and Historical Change at University College Galway has undertaken a study of the French Proselytes in England and Ireland and their relationships with Huguenots who had been baptized Protestant. She read a paper entitled *French Proselytes and French Education in Eighteenth Century London* at the Huguenot Round Table in the Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society's Annual Conference at Limerick University on 9 June 2005.

¹⁵⁶ Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, p. 125.

¹⁵⁷ Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, p. 207.

¹⁵⁸ G. D. Burtchaell and T. U. Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses* [registers of Trinity College Dublin] (Dublin, 1924), p. 688.

¹⁵⁹ M. Naert, "Les Huguenots du Calais au xviii^e siècle," *Bulletin de La Société de l'histoire protestantisme français*, Vol. 63 (1914–15), pp. 401–505.

¹⁶⁰ T. P. Le Fanu and W. H. Manchee (eds.), *Dublin and Portarlington Veterans: King William III's Huguenot Army* (Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Quarto Series Publications, Vol. 41, 1946), p. 59.

¹⁶¹ La Touche, *Register of the French Conformist Churches of St. Patrick and St. Mary, Dublin*, p. 164.

received his B.A. from Trinity College Dublin in 1702. He had arrived at Trinity College with his brother Charles, who was one year older, on 3 May 1698, but there is no further record of Charles. Jean Jr. received an Irish denization on 12 February 1710/11¹⁶² and on 30 April 1719 married Susanne Grimaudet in the French Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin.¹⁶³ The couple had at least one child, Benjamin, who was baptized at the French Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin on 1 October 1720¹⁶⁴ and who graduated from Trinity College Dublin in 1739.¹⁶⁵ Rev. John [Destailleurs] Questebrune wrote *A Short Introduction to Natural Philosophy* in Kilkenny between 1718 and 1720.¹⁶⁶

The financial support received by Kilkenny Huguenot ministers in the early eighteenth century was clearly uncertain since in 1712 the Huguenot community of Kilkenny was obliged to present a petition requesting to have a minister paid by the Civil List.¹⁶⁷ The signatories were Estienne Chapellier, William Crommelin, Boullengey, Simon Aubarel, J. Croharé, Joseph Lapoé, Josias Villeneuve, Balthazar Farmel, Louis Deperes, John Gallier, L. de Fontjulian, St. Germaill, André de Labat de Bellay, Isaac Estaunié, and Francois Le Tort.

Kilkenny College, founded in 1584, had a number of Huguenot children in its registers but not all of these had families resident in Kilkenny.¹⁶⁸

- **A Brief Selection of Kilkenny's Huguenot Families**

All Kilkenny pre-1800 Church of Ireland registers have been lost and no Huguenot records except for the petition have survived. Despite this, it is possible to assemble a few details about the Huguenot community. In the early 1700s William Crommelin,¹⁶⁹ a brother of Louis Crommelin of Lisburn (see above) was sent to Kilkenny to establish a linen project similar to that at Lisburn but it did not flourish to the same extent. An offer to train spinsters and weavers in a new school to be funded by the duke, nobility and gentry of the county and city was made by Kilkenny Corporation in 1705. Materials would be provided but the pupils would have to purchase their own wheel for four shillings and six pence and would work without pay for their first six months. Boys aged fifteen years and upwards would be taught weaving, but their first three years would be without pay. All interested parties were to contact Mr. William Crommelin "director of the said manufactory house in Kilkenny."¹⁷⁰ In 1705 the lord chancellor, the

¹⁶² Shaw, *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Ireland, 1701–1800*, p. 231.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

¹⁶⁴ La Touche, *Register of the French Conformist Churches of St. Patrick and St. Mary, Dublin*, pp. 40, 44.

¹⁶⁵ Burtchaell and Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, p. 688.

¹⁶⁶ At least one copy of this book survives in the library of the American Philosophical Society, 105 South Fifth Street, Philadelphia, PA 19106-3386. The website www.amphilsoc.org gives a summary of the contents of the book along with a reproduction of the title page.

¹⁶⁷ British Library Add. Ms. 21,132 (Extracts) also Microfilm P. 521 in the National Library of Ireland.

¹⁶⁸ The Register of Kilkenny College 1685–1800 was published in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* (1925).

¹⁶⁹ He married a member of the Butler family (a relative of the Duke of Ormond). Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, p. 126.

¹⁷⁰ National Library of Ireland MS 11,070 quoted in Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History, 1391–1843*, p. 104.

bishop of Ossory and a number of other dignitaries inspected the Linen manufactory. The bishop wrote to the Duke of Ormond that the venture

is in great forwardness and most probably will succeed to the great advancement of this place. There is still some warm contentions amongst the French, but I hope in God they will soon vanish.¹⁷¹

Fortunately some marriages of Kilkenny Huguenots took place in Dublin Huguenot churches, so some information is available. Among the military pensioners who settled in Kilkenny were Isaac Estaunié,¹⁷² Louis de Fonjuliane,¹⁷³ Joseph de Langé de Saint Faust,¹⁷⁴ Louis Le Blanc du Perce¹⁷⁵ and André de Labat de Bellay.¹⁷⁶ The merchant John Desaroy, who lived in High Street, also became an alderman of the city. Estienne Chapelier of Kilkenny married Ester Romain of Dublin 29 September 1715¹⁷⁷ and Marie Till on 5 February 1718/19.¹⁷⁸ François Le Tort of Kilkenny married Adriane Standeau 17 December 1711.¹⁷⁹ Nicholas de Batt, chirurgon (surgeon), had a house in

¹⁷¹ National Archives of Ireland MS M 592, no. 22 quoted in Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History, 1391–1843*, p. 106.

¹⁷² He served as a Lieutenant in La Caillemotte's regiment. His total military service was 13 years in Brandenburg, Piedmont, Flanders, and Ireland. According to his pension statement he had a wife and three children. He lived in Kilkenny until his death 4 November 1748.

¹⁷³ Gideon de Fonjuliane (presumably Louis' brother) was a major in Miremont's Dragoons who had served in Brandenburg, Piedmont and Flanders for 11 years (on both the 1702 and 1714 pension lists) and was described as an "old pensioner" in the 1702. Louis was a major in Caillemotte's regiment and had served in Holland, Ireland and Flanders for 13 years and had come to serve in Ireland from the Rhine. He mentions having a wife in the 1702 pension list. He subsequently became the lieutenant colonel of Nassau's infantry regiment raised in 1706 to fight in the war of Spanish Succession. Charles Fontjulian entered Kilkenny College in May 1709.

¹⁷⁴ Both Estienne Sainte Fauste and Joseph Langé are on the 1702 pension list as old pensioners but only Joseph de Langé de St. Faust is on the 1714 list. Both were incorporé lieutenants in La Melonière's regiment and had served for 3 years in Holland and Ireland. Both were described as sickly. Estienne does not mention any family or property but Joseph states he has a family and owns 300 acres of land. They were from the town of Mauvezin, Gers. Joseph's original naturalization declaration of 21 December 1706 signed by the ministers of the Huguenot church of the Savoy, London is in British Library Add. MS. 61,648, folio 100.

¹⁷⁵ He was a native of Claret, near Montpellier and served as a captain in La Melonière's regiment. He initially settled in Portarlington with his wife Marie Pifard. A daughter, Mariane, was baptized in Dublin 20 April 1697 and three further children were born in Portarlington 1696–1703. The family had moved to Kilkenny by 1714 and he died there in 1736.

¹⁷⁶ Shaw, "The Irish Pensioners of William III's Huguenot Regiments, 1702," p. 307—he is described as old and sickly with a family. Was an incorporé captain in La Melonière's regiment. His total military service was thirteen years in Holland, Ireland and Flanders. He lived in Portarlington for some years before moving to Kilkenny. Note the brothers Joseph and Isaac Labatte, who moved to Youghal in 1740.

¹⁷⁷ La Touche, *Register of the French Conformist Churches of St. Patrick and St. Mary, Dublin*, p. 122.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

¹⁷⁹ La Touche, *Register of the French Conformist Churches of St. Patrick and St. Mary, Dublin*, p. 119. François Le Tort was from Caen, Normandy. One of the witnesses was his sister Mme. Larpan. Adriane Standeau was born in Orthés, Province of Bearn. She was the widow of Pierre Clavier, a 1702 military pensioner formerly a lieutenant in La Caillemotte's regiment who died 3 February 1702/3. (There was also a Pierre Clavier jun., a 1702 military pensioner who had been a Cadet in the same regiment).

Kilkenny North Quarter.¹⁸⁰ Dr. Jean Pelissier¹⁸¹ and Charles Pelissier were elected freemen of Kilkenny 10 August 1748.¹⁸² Subscribers to the Kilkenny Charity School Society 1793–96 included Nicholas de Neefe of High Street, Francis Lapparel, perfumier of Parade,¹⁸³ John Lapparel, Charles Petitprex of High Street, Mrs. Vaille of Patrick Street, and Mr. Vernejoul of High Street.¹⁸⁴ The Dublin goldsmith guild records include the apprenticeship of John Freboul, son of Peter Freboul of Kilkenny, merchant in 1741.

L. Chappelar (Chapellier) is recorded as having owned a bleaching green until about 1770, which suggests that some remnant of the linen industry with a Huguenot connection survived until then. Louis Chappelier is mentioned as a juror in an inquisition taken at Graces, Old Castle, Co. Kilkenny in the mid-eighteenth century,¹⁸⁵ and in 1789 we note that Lewis Chapelier, late of the city of Kilkenny, left £400 in trust to be vested to provide every second year a marriage portion to the daughter of a Protestant tradesman of the city, provided that she married a Protestant.¹⁸⁶

*Lisburn (formerly Lisnagarvey) [including Lambeg], Co. Antrim*¹⁸⁷

- **Overview of the Lisburn Huguenot Community**

Lisburn was the only Northern Irish Huguenot community which had both a minister and a church and was also the only settlement in an all-Ireland context with a large-scale textile industry throughout the eighteenth century. Moreover, it was here that Huguenot nepotism was at its strongest. Especially in the early years of the eighteenth century, very few people of any importance in the Huguenot community were other than kith or kin of Louis Crommelin¹⁸⁸ who, taking advantage of William III's 1697 act of parliament to foster the linen trade in Ireland, decided to establish a colony of Huguenot linen weavers in Lisburn. The

¹⁸⁰ Registry of Deeds, Dublin Deed no. 27393, book 44, p. 29 dated 11 November 1724. Theophilus Debat, "son of surgeon Debat" entered Kilkenny College in June 1746.

¹⁸¹ Members of this family also settled in Dublin. See B. R. R. Rambaut, "Notes on the Family of Pelissier in Ireland," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 17 (1942–46).

¹⁸² *Journal of the Royal Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Vol. 1 (1856).

¹⁸³ *The Irish Provincial Directory* 1788.

¹⁸⁴ *The Old Kilkenny Review*, (1960), p. 10.

¹⁸⁵ Ainsworth's *Reports on Private Collections* - Vol. 4, p. 924. [National Library of Ireland manuscript calendar of historical manuscript collections in private hands].

¹⁸⁶ Leslie, *Ossory clergy and parishes*, pp. 356–57.

¹⁸⁷ The Lisburn town website (www.lisburn.com) enables one to download, free of charge, the entire book on the history of the Huguenots of Lisburn published by the Lisburn Historical Society: E. Joyce Best, *The Huguenots of Lisburn: the story of the lost colony* (Lisburn, 1997) [edited and compiled by Kathleen Rankin]. See also: Lee, *The Huguenot settlements in Ireland*, pp. 176–189; Charles Nicholas de La Cherois Purdon, "The Huguenot Colony at Lisburn, Co. Antrim," *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Vols. 1 and 2; R. A. McCall, "Huguenots in Ulster," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 10 (1912–14), pp. 467–84; J. Allan, "Huguenot Families in Ulster," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 14 (1930–33), pp. 257–8; Public Record Office of N. Ireland MS. CR1/35A/3 – Christ Church Cathedral, Lisburn [Church of Ireland] Register of baptisms, marriages and burials including a list of children baptized by Rev. Charles Lavalade, minister of the French congregation of Lisburn, 1709–36.

¹⁸⁸ The Public Record Office of Northern Ireland has a collection of notes on the Crommelin/de La Cherois family – D- 3739 and D-2471; I. Scouloudi, "Louis Crommelin: Director of the Linen Manufactory," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 20 (1958–64), p. 681.

Crommelins had been the leading merchant family in St. Quentin, Picardy and had also been engaged in cultivating flax at their nearby country estate at Armandcourt for some generations. “Foreseeing the coming storm,” Louis Crommelin and many members of his extended family left France before 1685 and settled in the Netherlands, where Louis became a banker. Louis moved to Lisburn in 1698 and worked assiduously to develop the linen industry along the lines of the St. Quentin model.¹⁸⁹ He settled 75 French families and brought in 1,000 looms. New houses were built in the village for the refugees and in due course a minister was invited to conduct services and a church was erected. In all Louis Crommelin invested £10,000 in the project and in turn received £200 a year for life. He was appointed “Overseer of the Royal Linen Manufactory of Ireland.” For the period from 25 September 1711 to 25 March 1712 the following “Account of Royal Manufacture of Linnen Cloth” in Lisburn was given:¹⁹⁰

Names of subsidized residents	£ Value of abodes [Lisburn]		
	£	s	d
Louis Crommelin	182	05	09
Samuel Crommelin	166	00	10
Samuel Lewis Crommelin	338	09	07
Daniel Crommelin	149	08	10
Alexander Crommelin	516	01	04
James Truffet	353	18	07
Louis Poiriez	326	03	11
Abel Dartigues	184	17	09
Nicholas Laurent	136	14	00
Ann La Valade	50	06	08
Salomon Lubia	70	01	01
John Doulliez	32	04	06
Peter Doulliez	20	09	10

Names of Salaried Officials	£ Salaries
Lewis Crommelin, <i>overseer</i>	100.00
Mons. Lavalade, <i>minister, Lisburne</i>	30.00
Lewis Poirier, <i>assistant at Lisburne</i>	20.00
Marc Du Pre, <i>reedmaker at Lisburne</i>	4.00

By 1720 Lisburn was the eighth largest town in Ireland, with a population of about 3,700. However, unlike Portarlington (*see below*), the Huguenots were a small minority. Although Louis Crommelin gained the reputation of establishing the Lisburn linen industry (some sources give him credit for being the founder of the entire Ulster linen industry), the contribution of Huguenots to the development of the industry was short-lived and limited.¹⁹¹ Linen weaving had been widespread in Ulster, including the Lisburn area long before the advent of the

¹⁸⁹ L. Crommelin, *Essay Towards Improving the Hemen and Flaxen Manufactures of the Kingdom of Ireland* (Dublin, 1705).

¹⁹⁰ “Gilbert Library,” Dublin [see repository list above] MS. G 1 [Phillipps MS. 9737] “Civil Affairs” – Letter Book of the Duke of Ormond, 1711–1713, pp. 15–16.

¹⁹¹ W. H. Crawford, *Domestic Industry in Ireland: the Experience of the Linen Industry* (Dublin 1972).

Huguenots.¹⁹² Nevertheless, the substantial Crommelin investment in the Lisburn industry in the early eighteenth century revived its fortunes at a time when they were at a low and his contribution should not be undervalued. Moreover it was highly beneficial for the town to reap the commercial opportunities created by access to the Crommelin's international trading links.

- **The Lisburn Huguenot Church and its Ministers**¹⁹³

Before the Huguenot church was built in Lisburn, the refugees attended either the Church of Ireland church in Lambeg or the Church of Ireland Cathedral in Lisburn. The Huguenot church was built in Castle Street c. 1717 (it was demolished in 1830 to make way for the town hall). There are Huguenot names in the registers of both parishes and their respective graveyards contain Huguenot graves. The registers of the Lisburn Huguenot church were lost in the mid-nineteenth century and all subsequent efforts to trace them have failed.¹⁹⁴ The first Huguenot minister in Lisburn was Charles de La Valade from Languedoc, who arrived in 1704. His elder sister had been married to Jacques du Bourdieu of Montpellier (presumably a kinsman of Saumarez du Bourdieu below) who was killed in the dragonnades (she managed to escape to London). His younger sister was married to Alexander Crommelin, a brother of Louis, who settled in the Netherlands. Charles de La Valade served as the pastor of the Lisburn Huguenot church for forty years. After his death in 1755 he was succeeded by his brother for two years. In 1757 the third and last minister to be appointed was the Rev. Saumarez Du Bourdieu¹⁹⁵ from Montpellier, son of one of the ministers of the French church of the Savoy in London. His ministry in the Lisburn Huguenot church, which he held concurrently with the curacy of Lambeg, lasted for over fifty years as did his teaching post in the Lisburn Classical School. When he died in 1812, an elaborate headstone was erected in Lambeg cemetery and also an impressive marble memorial in Lisburn Cathedral.

- **A Brief Selection of Lisburn's Huguenot Families**¹⁹⁶

The majority (though by no means all) of the Lisburn Huguenot population were involved in the textile industry and were either related to or former retainers of the Crommelin¹⁹⁷ family. The Crommelins, who were

¹⁹² T. O'Neill, *Merchants and Mariners in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin 1987). Among the surviving 15th-century records there is documentation of sizable Irish linen exports to Bristol and Avignon. Linen production during the 16th century is also recorded as having been on a large scale. There was an undoubted decline, along with all other economic activities, in the turbulent seventeenth century, but as it was a cottage industry, production did not cease entirely even then.

¹⁹³ J. Best, W. A. Maguire and J. C. Combe, "The Huguenots and Worship" *The Huguenots & Ulster*; Best, *The Huguenots of Lisburn*, chapter 4.)

¹⁹⁴ G. Gilligan, "The Lost Register of the French Church of Lisburn," *Huguenot Society of G.B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 3, pp. 352–53.

¹⁹⁵ J. Best, "The Dubourdieu family of Lisburn," *The Huguenots & Ulster* (Lisburn, 1985).

¹⁹⁶ Best, *The Huguenots of Lisburn: The Story of the Lost Colony*, gives biographical details of many of Lisburn's leading Huguenot families.

¹⁹⁷ Public Record Office of N. Ireland MS. MIC 321 – Military, mercantile and family correspondence, genealogical papers about the de Lacherois and Crommelin families of Lisburn, Co. Antrim and Donaghadee, Co. Down, 1685–1785; Angélique Day, "The Crommelins" in *The Huguenots & Ulster* (Lisburn, 1985).

intermarried with, among others, the de La Cherois,¹⁹⁸ Truffet, Gillot, de Blacquiere, de La Valade, de Berniere and Mangin¹⁹⁹ families, were able to take advantage of their extensive family merchant network with cousins still resident in St. Quentin and others in Holland and London. Through these connections they became one of the most prosperous and influential Irish Huguenot families. The de La Cherois family came from Ham in Picardy, of whom the brothers Daniel and Nicholas were both officers in William III's army; both married Crommelin wives and settled with their families in Lisburn, bringing two of their sisters, Louise and Judith.²⁰⁰ Captain Jean Antoine de Berniere, the only son of Jean de Berniere of Alençon, first escaped to the Netherlands. He joined the army of William III, serving in Ireland and in Spain, where he lost his left hand in the battle of Almanza in 1707. He married Mary Magdeline Crommelin, daughter of Louis and had three children born in Lisburn. Louis Crommelin himself tragically lost his only son Louis in 1717.²⁰¹

Of the above-mentioned linen industry officials, Marc Dupre, who introduced improved reedmaking to Lisburn, came from Cambrai and arrived in Ireland via La Rochelle. There are a number of Dupre baptisms in Lisburn between 1709 and 1736. Marc Henri Dupre married Jane Russell of Lisburn in 1706 and they had two sons, Peter and Marc Alexander. A Jacob Dupre had two sons, John and Lewis. Another Huguenot textile enterprise in Lisburn was a cambric factory established by Peter Goyer from Picardy, but this was later moved to Lurgan.²⁰²

Amongst the Lisburn Huguenot merchants was Samuel Ammonet, who is mentioned in the Lisburn rent roll of 1691. He wrote the first Irish manual on double-entry bookkeeping—S. Ammonet, *The Key of Knowledge* (Dublin, 1696).²⁰³ It seems likely that Samuel was related to the Parisian merchant Francis Ammonet (whose wife was Jane Crommelin),²⁰⁴ who became one of the wealthiest Huguenot merchants in London.²⁰⁵ Samuel had been in Ireland for some time, as he was made a freeman of the city of Waterford (as a hatter) in 1676.²⁰⁶ Like many of the early eighteenth century Lisburn settlers, Samuel Ammonet apparently did not remain long in Lisburn but moved to Dublin.

¹⁹⁸ A Wagner manuscript pedigree in the Huguenot Library, London details the interconnections of the Crommelins, de Lacherois families; A. Day, "Marie Angélique de La Cherois: Life of a Huguenot Heiress, 1700–1771" in Caldicott, Gough and Pittion, *The Huguenots and Ireland*, pp. 377–397.

¹⁹⁹ Best, *The Huguenots of Lisburn* gives genealogical details of all these families.

²⁰⁰ See footnotes 128 and 129.

²⁰¹ Best, *The Huguenots of Lisburn*.

²⁰² Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, p. 193.

²⁰³ P. J. Clarke, "The First Irish Accounting Publication: Ammonet, 1696" in A. J. Richardson (ed.), *Disorder and Harmony: 20th Century Perspectives on Accounting History* (Kingston, Ontario, 1996).

²⁰⁴ W. A. Shaw, *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation in England and Ireland, 1603–1700* (Huguenot Society of G.B. & Ireland Quarto Series Publications, Vol. 18, 1911), p. 132 – denization on 28 March 1682 of Francis Ammonet of the city of Paris, merchant and 12 others (including Jane Crommelin his wife, 6 children [none called Samuel] and some servants).

²⁰⁵ R. Gwynn, "The Huguenots in Britain, the 'Protestant International' and the Defeat of Louis XIV" in Vigne and Littleton, *From Strangers to Citizens*, p. 415.

²⁰⁶ S. Pender (ed.), *Council Books of the Corporation of Waterford, 1662–1700* (Dublin, 1964), p. 161.

Portarlington, Co. Offaly²⁰⁷

- **Overview of the Portarlington Huguenot Community**

In 1696 the town of Portarlington and much of the surrounding countryside formed a portion of the 36,000 acres granted to Henri de Massue, Marquis de Ruvigny (he had already had a custodian grant for three years), who was rewarded for his service as a general in William III's army both with a grant of land in Ireland and Irish titles—first Baron Portarlington, then Viscount Galway and later Earl of Galway.²⁰⁸

The Earl of Galway had ambitious plans to turn his Irish town into a model Huguenot colony. He appointed agents to organize a settlement scheme bringing refugees from a variety of locations: Marquis d'Arzellers;²⁰⁹ Jacques de Belrieu, Baron de Virazel;²¹⁰ Jean Nicholas;²¹¹ Jean Boyer²¹² and Charles Perrault de Saily.²¹³

Portarlington was the only town in Ireland in which the Huguenots (estimated to have been about 500 in 1703), albeit briefly, outnumbered the Irish and Anglo-Irish population. The Huguenots here remained French-speaking long after the language had died out in all the other Huguenot settlements of the British Isles. The Portarlington settlers consisted of three main groups. Firstly, there were the military officers and rank and file soldiers from William III's Huguenot regiments in Ireland who, after the Treaty of Limerick in 1691, were deemed unfit for further military service and were awarded pensions. They were mostly old,

²⁰⁷ R. P. Hylton, *The Huguenot Settlement at Portarlington, 1692–1771* (University College Dublin, MA Thesis, 1982); R. P. Hylton, "The Huguenot Settlement at Portarlington, 1692–1771" in Caldicott, Gough, Pittion, *The Huguenots and Ireland*, pp. 297–320; Lee, *The Huguenot Settlers in Ireland*, pp. 134–75; J. S. Powell, *Huguenots, Planters, Portarlington* (York, 1994); J. S. Powell, "Rethinking Portarlington," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings* Vol. 27, No. 2 (1999), pp. 246–56; E. D. Borrowes, "The Huguenot Colony at Portarlington," *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 3 (1855) continued in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 6 (1858). See also J. S. Powell's website on the history of Portarlington: www.frenchchurch.freeseve.co.uk.

²⁰⁸ R. Vigne, "The Good Lord Galway, the Irish and English Careers of a Huguenot Leader: Biographical Notes," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 24, No. 6 (1988), pp. 532–50.

²⁰⁹ He was based in Berne. Copies of his correspondence with and from the Huguenot refugees of the Swiss Cantons are in the library of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, Paris - *Fonds Court, Fichier Géographique, Irlande, 780*.

²¹⁰ He came from Bordeaux and was the principal agent for establishing Portarlington on a sound footing. He held property in both Dublin and Portarlington and died in Dublin in 1719, but members of his family continued to live in Portarlington for some time.

²¹¹ One of the more prosperous of the Portarlington settlers. He owned 2,000 acres around Lea Castle, Portarlington, had been a Lieutenant in the Earl of Galway's cavalry regiment. He came from Jonsac, Saintonge.

²¹² An "old officer" from Civray, Poitou.

²¹³ He initially carried out surveys of much of Ireland including Kilkenny, Cork, Waterford, Bandon, Carlow and Wicklow to gauge their suitability for new Huguenot colonies. His journal describing the survey of Ireland is part of the Collection Antoine Court in the Bibliothèque de Genève and was published in *Bulletin du Protestantisme français*, Vol. 17 (1868). His wife was Jeanne de la Corne. He had previously lived at Cassel, Germany. He was subsequently sent to organize a Huguenot settlement in Virginia 1700/1701 but the expedition was not a success. His son, also Charles Perrault de Saily, born in Cassel, became Director of the French Hospital, London 1740. Isaac Perrault de Saily brother of Charles sen. had been a Captain in Miremont's Dragoons, but returned to France and abjured at Dijon in 1695. See *Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 8, p. 387.

sick and single, with comparatively few established families. Secondly, there were craftsmen, laborers and small merchants who were mainly from Dauphiné, Burgundy and Lyonnais. This group often came with their families. The third category of Portarlington settlers was the younger military pensioners who served with Huguenot regiments under the Earl of Galway in Flanders and Piedmont. They were granted pensions when their regiments were disbanded after the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. Many of them had families or married soon after arriving in Portarlington.

Much uncertainty ensued when in 1700 the Act of Resumption stripped the Earl of Galway of his Portarlington lands, which were then sold to the Hollow Sword-Blades Company of London,²¹⁴ but two years later an act of parliament confirmed the Earl of Galway's leases of houses and gardens to the Huguenots. In 1703 Portarlington was sold to Ephraim Dawson, M.P. for Queen's County.

Portarlington grew steadily in the period 1692–1703. Many houses were built; there were two churches (one French and one English), two schools (one French and one classical), and one cemetery.

- **The Portarlington Huguenot Church and its Ministers**

The Portarlington Huguenot church of St. Paul's was built in 1694 at the Earl of Galway's own expense. The first minister was Jacques Gillet, followed by Benjamin de Daillon²¹⁵ in 1698. Both used a nonconformist form of worship that proved unacceptable to the local Church of Ireland Bishop. de Daillon left Portarlington for Carlow in 1708 and was replaced by Antoine Ligonier de Bonneval.²¹⁶ This caused a bitter split in the congregation, and Raymond Hylton has estimated that thirty-seven families left Portarlington between 1703 and 1720 and joined nonconformist congregations in Dublin.²¹⁷

PORTARLINGTON HUGUENOT MINISTERS

NAME	PERIOD OF SERVICE
Jacques Gillet	1694–1696
	1696–1698
Barthelmy Balaguier	1696
Jean Darassus	1698
Pascal Ducasse	1698
Benjamin de Daillon	1698–1702 (also Carlow)
Antoine Ligonier de Bonneval	1702–1729

²¹⁴ This company was formed by a syndicate of property speculators with the sole aim of buying Irish land cheaply. It bought approximately half the Irish land which came on the market consequent to the Act of Resumption. The company failed and was obliged to re-sell most of its lands to private buyers. Portarlington was eventually sold to Ephraim Dawson.

²¹⁵ T. P. Le Fanu, "The life and Sufferings of Benjamin de Daillon," *Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 14.

²¹⁶ "Family of Bonneval," *Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 6 [note]; H. Wagner, "Family of Ligonier," *Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland Proceedings*, Vols. 8 and 9; W. R. Le Fanu, "Families of Hierome, Lanauze and Ligonier," *Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 19.

²¹⁷ Hylton, *The Huguenot Settlement at Portarlington*, p. 312; R. Whelan, "De Daillon, Moreton and the Portarlington Affair" *Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (1996), pp. 463–89.

Theodore Desvories	1729–1739
Gaspard Caillard	1739–1767
Antoine Vinchon des Voeux	1767–1793
Jean Des Vignoles	1793–1817
Charles Des Vignoles	1817–1841

Sources: Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*; Le Fanu, *The Huguenot Churches of Dublin and their Ministers*; W. H. Manchee, *Huguenot Clergy List, 1548–1916*; Manchee, *Huguenot Clergy List: Supplemental*.

In 1715 the Princess of Wales, later Queen Caroline, wife of George II, presented the congregation with a church bell and with a silver alms dish and communion vessels. On the dish and vessels, in addition to the motto: “Honi soit qui mal pense ici Dieu” (Evil be to him who evil thinks. The Lord is with us.) was the inscription “Donné par son Altesse Royale Madame Wilhelmina Carolina Princesse de Galles en Faveur de l’Eglise Française conformiste de Portarlington le 1 Mars 1714/5” (Donated by Her Royal Highness Wilhelmina Caroline, Princess of Wales to the conformist French Protestant church of Portarlington, 1st March 1714/15).

The Portarlington Huguenot church registers from 1694 are still extant in the parish and were also published in the 19th Volume of the *Publications of the Huguenot Society of London*, edited by T. P. Le Fanu (*see bibliography below for details*).

The French church of St. Paul’s was rebuilt in 1857 and now serves as the Church of Ireland parish church. A cemetery adjoins the church but the earliest headstone is dated 1737 and only one inscription is in French, even though French services were held in Portarlington until 1817. Some Huguenots were buried in the graveyard at Lea, just outside Portarlington. The last Huguenot minister was Charles Des Vignoles²¹⁸ who retired in 1841, but throughout his ministry he conducted services in English.

- **A Brief Selection of Portarlington’s Huguenot Families**

The Earl of Galway’s initial plan to develop Portarlington into a hive of commerce and industry was never realized. A preponderance of military officers of the noble class meant that the community’s income depended to a considerable extent on military pay and pensions. One of the most prominent of the pensioners was Captain Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet,²¹⁹ whose memoirs provide us with much fascinating insight into the plight of refugee families and also invaluable information about the Huguenot regiments in the Williamite War. Amongst many other pensioners, some of whom became merchants, were François d’Aulnis de Lalande²²⁰ and the dynamic Josias de Robillard, seigneur de Champagné.²²¹ While

²¹⁸ J. Vignoles, “A Tale of Two Vignoles Families: and the Labalme–Vignoles Connection” *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (2004), pp. 230–40.

²¹⁹ D. W. Ressinger (ed.), *Memoirs of Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet* (Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Publications, New Series, No. 4, 2005).

²²⁰ C. E. Lart, “Family of D’Aulnis de Lalande,” *Huguenot Society of G.B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 9.

²²¹ Descended from Chevalier Josias de Robillard, seigneur de Champagné from Torcé in Saintonge, a Captain in Scravenmore’s Regiment of Dragoons who died in Belfast in 1689. His son Josias, an Ensign in La Melonière’s Huguenot infantry regiment, settled in Portarlington. See T. P. Le Fanu, “Marie de La

there were also non-military merchants, tradesmen, artisans and craftsmen, there was only one known attempt to develop a manufacturing enterprise. The brothers Henri, Philippe, and Jacob de Foubert²²² arrived in Portarlington in 1698 and set up a small linen factory, which had some limited success for a time. The leading merchant was Jacques Beauchant who had originally been a rank-and-file soldier in William III's army. Etienne Durand was both a bootmaker and a teacher. Another teacher Louis Buliod was also a shopkeeper. Joseph Ladroy was a brewer and only Gédéon Nautonier de Castlefranc,²²³ a pensioned naval officer who also owned a malthouse, was also involved in farming on a modest scale. Generations of Blancs were butchers in the town, Daniel Guiot was a baker, and the Comtes, Fréaus, Pastres and Espériats were all described as *laboueurs*.

A celebrated resident of Portarlington who lived there for some years was the Cévenol folk hero Jean Cavalier.²²⁴ At the age of seventeen, he had become one of the guerilla leaders of the Camisard insurrection in the Cevennes. He subsequently served with the English forces in Spain under the Earl of Peterborough and on 4 March 1706, when he was still only twenty-six, he was made commander-in-chief of a Huguenot regiment that fought at Almanza, where he was badly wounded. He was awarded a half-pay army pension and settled in Portarlington, there marrying Elizabeth, daughter of Captain Charles de Ponthieu. The marriage was unfortunately not a success, probably because of the extreme disparity of the couple's backgrounds. Cavalier more-or-less dropped out of sight for a time, but once more achieved prominence when on 27 October 1735 he was made a Brigadier-General and Governor of Jersey, where he died in 1740 (he was buried at St. Luke's, Chelsea).

Rochefoucauld de Champagné and her Escape from France in 1687," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 13 and *ibid.*, *The children of Marie de La Rochefoucauld de Champagné*. Josias Jr. married Lady Jane Forbes, daughter of the Earl of Granard, and was a personal friend of Dean Swift; 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*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Winter 1999), pp. 1-64; C. Lougee Chappell, "Family Bonds Across the Refuge" in Van Ruymbeke, B., and Sparks, R. J., (eds.), *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora* (Columbia, South Carolina, 2003).

²²² This family was probably connected to the London Fouberts and later Foubert settlers to Cork. See W. H. Manchee, "The Fouberts and their Royal Academy," *Huguenot Society of G.B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 16 [this includes a memorandum regarding the Portarlington Fouberts].

²²³ He was born in 1665 in the Lot Department. He became a Lieutenant in the French navy, escaped to the Netherlands after the Revocation and joined William III's forces. He was disbanded in 1699. One of his sons settled in Jamaica. See John de Courcy Ireland, *Maritime aspects of the immigration* in Caldicott, Gough and Pittion, *The Huguenots and Ireland*.

²²⁴ He was an exceptional individual. The son of a baker, he not only displayed military skill but he also wrote *Memoirs of the Wars of the Cevennes...*, first published in Dublin in 1726. The memoirs are preceded by a long dedication to Carteret pleading for religious toleration on all sides. He appealed to Protestants "not to condemn persecution and plead for penal laws with the same breath." His views brought him into direct conflict with the Huguenot minister of Portarlington Rev. Antoine Ligonier de Bonneval. See also A. P. Hands, "Jean Cavalier: notes on the publication of the memoirs," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 20; P. J. Shears, "Jean Cavalier and the Camisard Insurrection," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 20; A. P. Grubb, *Jean Cavalier, Baker's Boy and British General* (London, 1931); M. Pin, *Jean Cavalier*, (Nimes, 1936). No modern academic study of Cavalier in English has as yet been undertaken. For a brief summary of his family history [in French] see www.camisards.net/bio-cavalier.

One of the earliest refugee families (pre-1700) to settle in Portarlinton was that of Champ. The Champs were Vaudois (Waldensian) from the Piedmont/Savoy alpine district west of Turin, Italy. The Waldensians/Vaudois *heretics*, now often referred to as *pre-Reformation Protestants*, survived from the thirteenth century in remote districts on both the Italian and French sides of the Alps, having been brutally suppressed by the Roman Catholic Church in other parts of Europe where they once flourished. Persecutions in successive centuries did not succeed in wiping them out and as they were invariably French-speaking [albeit with a distinctive dialect], some fled alongside Huguenots to other parts of Europe and America in the 1680s.²²⁵ Only a tiny number came to Ireland and it is likely that the Champ family was brought to Portarlinton by the Earl of Galway who had served in Piedmont/Savoy. The first Portarlinton Champ settler was Michel, son of Jean Champ and Marie Ruivol from the village of Fenestrelle in the Comune di Pragelato. He married (in Portarlinton) Marie Pastre, daughter of Jean and Jeanne Pastre, from the village of Travers in the same Pragelas valley on 12 August 1697.²²⁶ There are still descendants of this couple with the surname Champ in Ireland today.

*Waterford, Co. Waterford*²²⁷

- **Overview of the Waterford Huguenot Community**

On 27 March 1693, the Corporation of Waterford

...concluded, that this citty and liberties may provide habitacions at reasonable rents, for fifty families of the French Protestants to drive a trade of lynnens manufactory, they bringing with them a stock of money and materials for their subsistence till flax can be sown and produced in the lands adjacent; and that the freedom of this citty be given them *gratis*; and that Mr. mayor and recorder be desired to acquaint the lord bishop of this dioceses therewith.²²⁸

Unlike many of the Irish urban communities on whom colonies of French Protestant refugees were imposed by outside authorities, in the case of Waterford it was the municipal leaders themselves who decided to invite a group of immigrants to their city. The Waterford Corporation records show that from the outset Huguenots were actively participating as part of the locality and were not regarded as outsiders on the fringes of society.

²²⁵ W. S. F. Pickering, "The Responses to the Persecution of the Vaudois in the French High Alps," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, vol. 28 (2005), pp. 325–35. For further information on Waldensian/Vaudois family history see: <http://homepage.rootsweb.com/~waldense>.

²²⁶ Le Fanu, T. P., (ed.) *The Registers of the French Church of Portarlinton* (Huguenot Society Quarto Series Publication, Vol. 19, 1908).

²²⁷ R. P. Hylton, *The Place of the Waterford Colony in the Huguenot Settlements of Ireland*, Decies Journal of the Old Waterford Society, Autumn 1985; Rev. Thomas Gimlette, "The Huguenot Settlement in Waterford," *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 4; T. J. Gilbert (ed.), *Archives of the municipal corporation of Waterford*. Historical Manuscripts Commission rep. 10, app. V (1885); Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, pp. 92–114.

²²⁸ S. Pender (ed.), *Council Books of the Corporation of Waterford, 1662–1700* (Dublin, 1964), p. 301.

Although the Waterford Huguenot registers have been lost, a considerable amount of information can be pieced together from alternative sources such as The Corporation Book of Waterford,²²⁹ the registers of St. Olaf's Church of Ireland church, and from several printed sources that have compiled additional details from miscellaneous fragments of information. It is known that a sailcloth factory, run by the brothers Peter and Simon Vashon, (each of whom during this period served for a year as Mayor of the city) was operating in the 1720s and 1730s. Waterford Huguenots were also involved in ropemaking and in a sea fishery, which developed an export trade to France. Several were ship owners and a number of merchants were engaged in wine importation. The Corporation Book of Waterford lists a number of Huguenots with a variety of trades as freemen of the city from the 1680s.

- **The Waterford Huguenot Church and its Ministers**

The ruins of what is locally referred to as *the French Church* still exist. It would be more correct to describe them as the remains of a medieval Franciscan friary founded in 1240. The choir of the building was granted to a congregation of Huguenots in 1693. A number of Huguenot headstones remain, well preserved, within the ruined walls of the friary, alongside earlier medieval Catholic ones.

The first Huguenot minister was Rev. David Gervais, whom the Corporation agreed to grant an annual salary of £40 per annum. He died in 1716 and was succeeded by Rev. James Denis, who had rather more difficulty in obtaining his salary. On 22 January 1717 he petitioned the Corporation and the following was recorded in the Corporation book:

Upon reading the petition of the Rev. Mr. Jacobus Denis, Minister of the French Church of Waterford, setting forth that he has a great family of a wife and eight children, and that this board did give a yearly pension to the late Minister of the French Church, and humbly prayed to have a pension allowed him....

The Rev. Denis did succeed in getting paid eventually and continued in office for some years. He died in Waterford in 1735.²³⁰ The Huguenot church in Waterford survived throughout the eighteenth century, and the full succession of ministers (their years of service have not definitively been established) was the following²³¹:

- David Gervais
- James [Jacob] Denis
- Gedeon Richon
- George Dobier
- Daniel Sandoz
- Josiah Franquefort

²²⁹National Library of Ireland Microfilm P. 5558.

²³⁰G. Thrift (ed.) *Indexes to Irish [diocesan] Wills*, 5 vols (London, 1909–1921) – Waterford and Lismore Diocese: Jacob Denis, minister French congregation Waterford city, 1735.

²³¹Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, p. 94.

- Augustus Desvories
- Peter Augustus Franquefort

The Rev. Daniel Sandoz was the son of Abraham Sandoz and his wife Marthe Jerome.²³² Abraham, son of Jonas and Ann Sandoz, had been born in Lorla, in the province of Neufchastel in Switzerland, and was naturalized in England in 1698.²³³ He received a commission in Lord Mountjoy's regiment of foot in April 1694 and was disbanded in Ireland in 1698. He became a military pensioner on the Irish establishment and settled in Waterford. Both Abraham and Marthe Sandoz left prerogative wills, Abraham in 1732 and Marthe in 1749.²³⁴ The Rev. Daniel Sandoz died in 1795 and a copy of his will is in the Registry of Deeds.²³⁵ Daniel's wife Mary had died before him and his surviving relatives were his sisters and a nephew. The last minister, Rev. Peter Augustus Franquefort, was appointed in 1762 and died in 1797. The Franquefort family from Soullignonne in Saintonge first settled in Portarlinton. Peter Augustus, son of François Franquefort, was an army officer and his wife Angelique de Coutiers was a descendant of Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet through Bostaquet's daughter Judith-Julie. François was the nephew of the above-mentioned Rev. Josiah Franquefort.²³⁶

As a bonus for the Waterford Huguenots, Richard Chenevix, grandson of Rev. Philip Chenevix of Portarlinton, was appointed as the Church of Ireland Bishop of Waterford in 1746 and he made every effort to support and assist the Huguenot population of the city during his term of office.²³⁷

- **A Brief Selection of Waterford's Huguenot Families**

²³² J. Griffith, "Hierome – also Hierosme and Jerome," *Huguenot Families*, No. 2 (March 2000), pp. 14–15. Martha was one of the five daughters of Rev. Jacques Hierome/Jerome and his third wife Martha Le Roy—see Carrick-on-Suir/Clonmel section. One of the children of Abraham and Marthe, Guillaume, was buried in the French conformist Huguenot Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin on 10.03.1704/5 at the age of approximately six years. See Digges de La Touche, J. J. (ed.) *Register of the French Non-Conformist Churches of St. Patrick and St. Mary, Dublin* (Huguenot Soc. of G. B. & Ireland Quarto Series Publications, Vol. 7, 1893), p. 188.

²³³ W. A. Shaw (ed.), *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalisation in England and Ireland, 1603–1700* (Huguenot Soc. of G. B & Ireland Quarto Series Publications, Vol. 18, 1911), p. 268.

²³⁴ *Archive CD Books Ireland: Arthur Vicars, Index to the Prerogative Wills of Ireland, 1536–1810* (Dublin, 1897); see Footnote: 170.

²³⁵ Book 626, page 176, No. 429912. An abstract is in E. Ellis and P. B. Eustace (eds.), *Registry of Deeds Dublin: Abstract of Wills, 1785–1832*, Vol. III, (Dublin, 1984), pp. 248–249. See also "Jennings Waterford Will Extracts" [Part 2], *Decies: Old Waterford Society Journal*, Vol. 17 (1981), p. 22. There are also will extracts for Peter de Rante, Waterford surgeon (1753), p. 87 and Martha Sandoz, widow (1749/1764), pp. 30–31.

²³⁶ Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, pp. 98–99.

²³⁷ L. Trench, "Richard Chenevix, Bishop of Waterford: A Story of Patronage and Advantage," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (2005); H. Wagner, "The Chenevix Family" *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 8 (1905–08), pp. 356–72.

Jean La Trobe²³⁸ from Montauban, who was an associate of William Crommelin of Lisburn, was appointed as Chief Inspirer of the sailcloth industry. He was sent to Waterford in 1715 to establish a sailcloth industry there. However, this Waterford linen enterprise was not successful (it was possibly this manufactory that was taken over by the Vashon brothers [*see above*]) and after some years Jean moved from Waterford to Dublin, where he died in 1766. He and his wife, Malfré Raymond, had had three sons in Waterford, of whom only James (who also moved to Dublin) had issue. Numerous eminent descendants around the world stem from James La Trobe and two of his sons Benjamin and James Gottlieb, including some leading ministers in the Moravian church, the architect of the White House in Washington, and the first governor of Victoria, Australia.

Dr. James Reynett from Aubenas, Vivarais became a freeman of Waterford on 20 October 1692 and took on the duties of municipal doctor in the town.²³⁹ He was the son of Jacques Renet, apothecary, and Catherine Charbonnier. On 21 May 1693 in the Dublin conformist Huguenot Church of St. Patrick's, he married Charlotte Barbier, a native of Courtaumer, Normandy, daughter of the late Abel Barbier, a former Huguenot minister, and his wife Renée Pousset.²⁴⁰ There were Reynette descendants of this couple in Waterford for a number of generations, including a son, Dr. James Reynette, and a grandson, James Henry Reynette, mayor of Waterford from 1775 to 1776. A putative descendant was General Sir James Henry Reynette, who began his military career as an ensign in the 52nd regiment of foot on 25 November 1799. He became an equerry to the Duke of Cambridge in 1822 and served as aide de camp to the Sovereign 1830–1841; later he was the Lieutenant-governor of Jersey 1847–52. He died at Hampton Court, near London, in 1864.²⁴¹

Among the Huguenot military pensioners who settled in the city, such as the above-mentioned Abraham Sandoz, was an ensign, Francois Sautel (Sautelle) of du Cambon's (later Lifford's) Huguenot Regiment, who served in Brandenburg, Piedmont and Flanders for seven years.²⁴² The Sautelle family had fled from Tours, and became prominent in Waterford life. Francis Sautelle became an alderman in 1729. His daughter Mary Susannah Sautelle married John Roberts, Waterford's leading architect. The couple had twenty-four children including two of Ireland's most noted eighteenth century landscape painters:

²³⁸ The Association Latrobe International Symposium organized an international symposium of the Latrobes from around the world, held in Paris in 1997, and published the family history book *The Latrobes Around the World*. Since then other family meetings have taken place. There are currently two websites that give information on the Latrobe family history: www.latrobefamily.com and <http://home.netcom.com/~latrobe>.

²³⁸ W. A. Shaw, "The Irish Pensioners of William III's Huguenot Regiments, 1702," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 6 (1898–1901), p. 314.

²³⁹ H. F. Morris, "The Reynet Family of Waterford," *Decies: Journal of the Waterford Archaeological & Historical Society*, Vol. 48 (1993), pp. 33–48. This is a meticulously researched pedigree of the different branches of the Reynette family in Ireland but regrettably it has not been possible to definitively connect them even though family tradition and circumstantial evidence support the existence of relationships.

²⁴⁰ La Touche, *Register of the French Non-Conformist Churches of St. Patrick and St. Mary, Dublin*, p. 92.

²⁴¹ Morris, "The Reynet family of Waterford," p. 48.

²⁴² A. Crookshank and the Knight of Glin, *The Painters of Ireland, 1660–1920* (London, 1978), pp. 127–44.

Thomas Roberts (1748–1778) and Thomas Sautelle Roberts (1760–1826).²⁴³ One of their grandsons was General Sir Abraham Roberts, whose son was Field-marshal Frederick Sleigh Roberts.²⁴⁴

It is noteworthy that because of their speedy integration with the local Protestant community, there was a significantly higher rate of exogamous marriages among first generation Waterford Huguenot settlers than was the case in other Irish Huguenot communities of a similar size.

Huguenot Communities with a Minister (but no church)

*Carrick-on-Suir and Clonmel, Co. Tipperary*²⁴⁵

- **Overview of the Carrick and Clonmel Huguenot Communities**

As both these towns had Huguenot colonies established by the Duke of Ormond in the 1670s and are also geographically close, it is expedient to study them together. To date only tiny fragments of information have come to light on Huguenots in Co. Tipperary.

M. de Page, a Huguenot who was one of the Duke of Ormond's secretaries, was sent to survey the towns in 1668. Agents were appointed to organize the settlements: Captain Grant for Clonmel and Surgeon-General Desfontaines for Carrick. Dr. Desfontaines wrote on 28 March 1671 that he had engaged some Huguenot merchants to settle at Carrick.²⁴⁶ The refugees were offered houses at nominal rents and long leases. Half the houses in the town were put at their disposal along with 500 adjoining acres at peppercorn rents for three lives.

It was the Duke of Ormonde's intention to develop the woolen industry in both places; manufactories were set up during the 1670s. With low labor costs and raw wool cheaper than in England, the industry built up a substantial export trade until the end of the seventeenth century. An act was passed by the English parliament in 1699 to prohibit the export of Irish woolens in order to safeguard the English woolen industry. Thereafter woolens continued to be manufactured in Carrick and Clonmel but could be produced only for the home market.²⁴⁷

- **The Carrick-on-Suir and Clonmel Ministers**

Rev. Jacques Hierome, the Duke of Ormonde's former chaplain and first minister of the French Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, transferred to Carrick-on-Suir as minister from 1676 until his death in Carrick in 1682.²⁴⁸ Rev. Hierome

²⁴³ Lee, *The Huguenot settlements in Ireland*, p. 106.

²⁴⁴ He was born in 1832 in Cawnpore, India and his mother was Isabella Bunbury form Kilfeacle, Co. Tipperary. His family still owned Newtown Park, Waterford, which he visited and met his wife Norah Bewes from Newtown, Waterford. They were married at St. Patrick's Church Waterford in 1859. See *Dictionary of National Biography*.

²⁴⁵ *Ormond Mss.* Vol. 3, H.M.S.O., London, 1903.

²⁴⁶ Historical Manuscripts Commission, New Series, Vol. 3 (Ormond) (1904), p. 312—letter to the Duke's half-brother and agent Captain George Mathew.

²⁴⁷ T. P. Power, *Land, Politics and Society in Eighteenth-century Tipperary* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 15, 16, 234; Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, pp. 117–18.

²⁴⁸ Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, pp. 221–22. While in Dublin he was granted by the Duke of Ormonde "in consideration of his learning, piety and being a stranger" the vicarage of Chapelizod (Ormonde property) and a licence to graze 2 horses and 8 cows in the Phoenix Park, the Lord Lieutenant's official residence.

was a native of Sedan and had been a minister at Fécamp.²⁴⁹ He had married three times. His first two wives were both buried in St. Laurence's Church, Chapelizod, where there is a memorial tablet to both of them: Henriette, who was French (maiden name unknown), and Elizabeth Spottiswoode, daughter of James Spottiswoode, the Bishop of Clogher and widow of Thomas Golborne.²⁵⁰ His third wife, Martha Le Roy, bore him at least five daughters.²⁵¹ We know that Rev. Hierome's widow and daughters continued to live in Carrick for some time after his death in 1682. Both Prudence Hierome, who married the Dublin merchant Estienne La Pierre in 1698, and Ester Hierome, who married the Dublin merchant Antoine Chabrier in 1701, were stated in the Dublin conformist Huguenot registers to be "of Carrick-on-Suir."²⁵² The accession of a new minister was obviously the subject of some controversy and some months after Dr. Hierome's death on 21 November 1682 Sir John Temple²⁵³ wrote the following to the Duke of Ormond:²⁵⁴

I humbly beg your Grace's leave... how the matter stands about the living of Carrick which I have been informed you once intended for one M. Bredin son-in-law of Dr. Hierome who in hopes of it has served the cure there ever since the Dr. died and is, as I am assured, very well liked by the inhabitants there, but is this week come thence upon his being informed that your Grace designed that living for one Mr. Christian and that Mr. Christian should resign to him some other livings in the Diocese of Ossory to the like value of his of Carrick...If your Grace should be pleased to grant to Mr. Bredin your presentation to Carrick it might be a means to preserve Dr. Hierome's widow and children from ruin and beggary, who are left in a very ill condition...

Regrettably no information is available on which minister was appointed to replace Dr. Hierome in Carrick-on-Suir, but it might have been Rev. Gideon Richon of Carrick, who died there in 1768.²⁵⁵

A Huguenot minister who preached in Clonmel in 1699 was M. de Fountisne and another minister during the same period was Charles de La Roche, who also occasionally acted as an assistant minister at the French Church of St. Patrick's, Dublin from 1699 to 1703.²⁵⁶ He was appointed chaplain of Col. Louis Fontjuliane's regiment in 1706.

²⁴⁹ Upton Papers, Royal Irish Academy; Le Fanu, T. P., "The Huguenot Churches of Dublin and their Ministers," *Huguenot Society of G.B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 8 (1905–08), pp. 91–93.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

²⁵¹ J. Griffith, "Hierome – also Hierosme and Jerome," *Huguenot Families*, No. 2 (March 2000), pp. 14–15.

²⁵² La Touche, *Register of the French Non-Conformist Churches of St. Patrick and St. Mary, Dublin*, pp. 96, 102.

²⁵³ Sir John Temple was Speaker of the Irish House of Commons and was a son of Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls in Ireland.

²⁵⁴ Historical Manuscript Commission, New Series, Vol. 6 (1911), p. 481.

²⁵⁵ G. Thrift (ed.) *Indexes to Irish [diocesan] Wills*, 5 vols (London, 1909–21) – Waterford and Lismore Diocese: Rev. Gideon Richon, Carrick, 1768.

²⁵⁶ Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, pp. 118–20; T. Gimlette, *The History of the Huguenot Settlers in Ireland* (Waterford, 1888), p. 186.

- **A Brief Selection of Carrick and Clonmel’s Huguenot Families**

In the absence of any surviving parochial records, the names of very few Clonmel Huguenot settlers have been handed down to us and even less for Carrick-on-Suir, where we only know of François Mesandiere, who died there in 1681.²⁵⁷ Apparently the well-known Tipperary family of Going was descended from a Huguenot refugee. The first member of the family to come to Ireland was Robert Goin, who went to Clonmel in 1693.²⁵⁸ Jean de Vaury of La Melonière’s Huguenot regiment received a captain’s commission on 15 July 1690.²⁵⁹ He was disbanded in 1699, having served for ten years in Ireland and Flanders.²⁶⁰ He was listed as a military pensioner who lived in Clonmel in 1714,²⁶¹ but he is also known to have lived in Waterford.²⁶² Charles de La Sigonniere, officer of Clonmel died in 1712.²⁶³ Bartholomew La Granière Labarthe from Haute Gironde²⁶⁴ became a vintner in Clonmel and resided in High Street.²⁶⁵ Some of Bartholomew Labarthe’s descendants were still living in Clonmel in the 19th century, for example in 1839 Richard C. Labarthe,²⁶⁶ attorney, was listed as of 29 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin and Clonmel. Theodore and Stephen Pourquier initially both settled in Clonmel at the beginning of the 18th century but Stephen

²⁵⁷ G. Thrift (ed.) *Indexes to Irish [diocesan] Wills*, 5 vols (London, 1909–1921) – Waterford and Lismore Diocese: François Mesandiere, Carrick, 1861.

²⁵⁸ C. C. Ellison, “The Going Family of Munster,” *Irish Ancestor* (1977, No. 1). The family subsequently settled at Cranna near Birdhill, Co. Tipperary.

²⁵⁹ British Library Add. MS. 38,698, folio 178r.

²⁶⁰ W. A. Shaw, “The Irish Pensioners of William III’s Huguenot Regiments, 1702,” *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 6, p. 314.

²⁶¹ J. J. D. La Touche, Manuscript Index to the 1713/14 Huguenot military pension declarations formerly in the Public Record Office of Ireland [the declarations themselves were destroyed in 1922] in the Huguenot Library, London.

²⁶² T. P. Le Fanu and W. H. Manchee, *Dublin and Portarlington Veterans* (Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Quarto Series Publications, Vol. 41, 1946), p. 7.

²⁶³ UK National Archives Documents Online: www.nationalarchives.gov.uk—Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills [PCC wills]—Will of Charles De La Sigonniere, officer of Clonmel, Co. Tipperary, 13 June 1712, PROB 11/542, Barnes Quire Nos. 96–134.

²⁶⁴ Information supplied in 1987 by Mr. Antony Ivan Smith of Utah, U.S.A. Bartholomew initially settled in Waterford c. 1685 and was reputed to have been a viticulturist. Some members of the family emigrated to Australia - Joseph Moore Labarthe (b. Dublin 1835), son of Joseph Moore Labarthe of Clonmel (d. in St. Paul’s, North Australia 09.02.1910) and Alice Kathleen Lavinia Labarthe (d. Brisbane 10 September 1946). Generally Labarthes in England/Ireland are particularly confusing. We have Samuel Vidouze de Labarthe, Mathieu de Labarthe de Mont Corneil, a lieutenant-colonel Labarthe (christian name unknown but likely to have been John Thomas) who was the military governor of Thurles, Co. Tipperary 1689–91, and Colonel John Thomas Labarthe, whose regiment, established in 1706, fought during the war of Spanish Succession. A Jean Labarthe was recorded as being a merchant and freeman of Cork in 1799 (his son Edward moved to Clonmel). An Antoine Labarthe of Dublin was a 1714 military pensioner and a Thomas Labarthe resided in Kilkenny in the mid–19th century. The accuracy of Mr. Smith’s information about Bartholomew Labarthe’s residence in Clonmel, also that of his descendants, is independently verified through the surviving index of Irish prerogative wills [only the indexes remain, not the the wills themselves]—1739 Bartholomew Labarte of Clonmel, Co. Tipperary, merchant; 1767 John Labarthe of Clonmel; 1781 Frances Labarthe of Clonmel, widow; 1809 Joseph Moore Labarthe of Clonmel, attorney. See also *Decies, the Old Waterford Society Journal*, Vol. 19 (Jan. 1982), “Jennings’ will extracts” - transcript of the 1820 will of John Labarthe of Clonmel.

²⁶⁵ Registry of Deeds book no. 18, deed no. 9083, p. 295.

²⁶⁶ Watson’s *Gentleman’s and Citizen’s Almanack* (1839).

later became a merchant in London while Theodore remained in Clonmel, trading as a vintner at Broad Street.²⁶⁷ Another probable Huguenot was James Castell, who rented a house in High Street, Clonmel in 1719.²⁶⁸

*Dundalk, Co. Louth*²⁶⁹

- **Overview of the Dundalk Huguenot Community**

A colony of cambric weavers was established in Dundalk by the brothers Ciprian and Estienne de Joncourt (cousins of the Crommelin/de La Cherois family of Lisburn),²⁷⁰ under the auspices of the Irish Linen Board in 1736. Funding was provided for two flax dressers, two weavers, two spinning mistresses, a bleaching green and seed for growing flax. Black soap and bleaching linen were manufactured in addition to cambric. The Primate of Armagh wrote the following to the Duke of Dorset 28 April 1739:

...since his [**Estienne de Joncourt's**] arrival we have a linnen board and we have furnished him and his brother with money to go with their workmen to Dundalk where we have fixed this new manufacture...²⁷¹

- **The Dundalk Minister**

The Rev. Henri David Pettipierre from Tournai was appointed minister of Dundalk in 1737. Although the cambric weaving business continued until the end of the eighteenth century, the Huguenot settlers ceased to have a separate minister after the Rev. Pettipierre's retirement in 1782.

- **A Brief Selection of Dundalk's Huguenot Families**

No documentary evidence survives on the names of the Dundalk Huguenot cambric weavers, but descendants of the Jennette/Jonett/Genett family, who still live in the Dundalk area, have a family tradition that they are descended from Huguenot weavers who initially lived in Dublin but moved to Dundalk when the cambric factory began operations. The Dublin part of the story can be substantiated since Antoine Jonett, weaver, became a freeman of Dublin 23 January 1681/2,²⁷² and in the 1720s two children of Pierre Jenet and his wife Marie Magdelaine were baptized in the Peter Street, Dublin nonconformist Huguenot church: Jean (9 September 1724) and Jeanne (5 June 1726).²⁷³ When J. Dalton was writing his history of Dundalk (published in 1864) he came across a weaver called Flanagan who stated that his grandfather had been a Huguenot

²⁶⁷ Registry of Deeds book no. 21, deed no. 10923, p. 111, dated 12 April 1718; G. Thrift (ed.) *Indexes to Irish [diocesan] Wills*, 5 vols (London, 1909–1921)—Waterford and Lismore Diocese: Catherine Pourquire, 1753.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, book no. 23, deed no. 13328, p. 266 dated 23 May 1719.

²⁶⁹ Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, pp. 190–93.

²⁷⁰ Day, “Marie Angélique de La Cherois,” in Caldicott, Gough, Pittion, *The Huguenots and Ireland*, p. 395.

²⁷¹ Dalton, J., *The History of Dundalk and its Environs* (Dundalk, 1864).

²⁷² Coffey, “Huguenot Freemen of the City of Dublin,” *Huguenot Society of G.B. and Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 26, No. 5 (1997), p. 643.

²⁷³ Le Fanu, *Register of the French Nonconformist Churches of Lucy Lane and Peter Street, Dublin*, pp. 72, 76.

weaver called Stephen Gidleau.²⁷⁴ Some members of the de Joncourt family married and settled in the Dundalk area. Ciprian de Joncourt married Sarah Patterson, daughter of Jeremiah Patterson of Mount Hamilton, Co. Louth, in 1739 having purchased a house at Middle Third, Dundalk.²⁷⁵ Madelaine de Joncourt married John Briluin also in 1739. Isaac de Joncourt married Mary Hamilton in 1779 and Jane de Joncourt who married a Mr. Jameson had emigrated to New York c. 1770.²⁷⁶ In 1799 Anthony de Joncourt married Amelia Owens, and Mary de Joncourt (alias Cluff) married Alexander Patterson in 1836.²⁷⁷

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the cambric factory had ceased its operations and the site was used to build a cavalry barracks.²⁷⁸

*Inishannon, Co. Cork*²⁷⁹

- **Overview of the Innishannon Huguenot Community**

The Huguenot colony at Innishannon, Co. Cork was the sole aspect of a large-scale Irish Huguenot settlement project plan 1751–53 that came to fruition.²⁸⁰ During the 1740s there had been renewed persecution of Protestants in France and a group of Protestant pastors in Switzerland led by Antoine Court of Geneva²⁸¹ formed a network to raise funds for the establishment of new Huguenot settlements abroad. The Irish-based *Société pour l'assistance du Protestants étrangers* liaised with this group and suggested locations in Ireland suitable for new Huguenot communities. For a variety of reasons, not least of which was lack of adequate funding, the initiative was a failure.²⁸²

Mathew Belsaigne²⁸³ from Castres, one of the organizers of the Irish settlement scheme, along with approximately 60 Huguenot families from Dauphiné, was brought to the village of Innishannon, picturesquely situated on the banks of the river Bandon on the upper reaches of Kinsale Harbour. Houses were built for the refugees and they were given leases for 21 years at low rents by the local landlord, Thomas Adderley, member of parliament for Bandon, Co. Cork and a member of the above-mentioned *Société*.²⁸⁴

²⁷⁴ Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, p. 193, Dalton; *The History of Dundalk*, p. 331.

²⁷⁵ Registry of Deeds book no. 112, deed no. 78099, p. 291 dated 28 August 1739.

²⁷⁶ Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, p. 193.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, based on notes provided by T. P. Le Fanu based on Dublin diocesan marriage licence bonds.

²⁷⁸ Dalton, *The History of Dundalk and its Environs*.

²⁷⁹ A. M. Alcock, "The French Colony of Innishannon," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 6 (1898–1901);

A. M. Alcock, "The Huguenot Settlement at Innishannon," *Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Journal*, Vol. 3 (1894), pp. 39–40; J. H. Cole, "Innishannon and its Neighbourhood," *Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Journal*, Vol. 13 (1907), pp. 53–64, 127–134.

²⁸⁰ R. Vigne, "The Second Projet d'Irlande." *Huguenot migration to Ireland in 1751 to 1753*, *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 27 (2000), pp. 428–30.

²⁸¹ Antoine Court's correspondence is in the Court manuscript collection in the BPU (Bibliothèque publique et universitaire) Geneva. A calendar of the manuscripts is: Waddington, F., "Inventaire des manuscrits d'Antoine Court conservés à la Bibliothèque de Genève," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*, Vol. 11, (1862), pp. 80–104.

²⁸² Vigne, "The Second Projet d'Irlande."

²⁸³ A. C. Carter, "Family and Business of Belesaigne, Amsterdam," *Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 20.

²⁸⁴ Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, p. 82.

The intention was to establish a silk-weaving industry in the village. A substantial acreage of white mulberry trees was planted to feed a large number of imported silkworms. Unfortunately the damp Irish climate did not suit either silkworms or mulberry trees and both the trees and the worms died. Despite the failure of the silk manufactory, there is some evidence that there was a change in focus from silkweaving to carpetmaking;²⁸⁵ however, the community did not last for more than two decades. Presumably many of the refugees migrated to nearby Cork city. Nowadays the sole souvenir of the Innishannon Huguenot community is the place-name Colony Hill (beside Dromkeen Wood just outside the village).

- **The Innishannon Minister**

The Innishannon settlers had been accompanied by a pastor Rev. Pierre Corteiz who had studied in Lausanne and became a minister in Zurich. He brought with him his fifteen-year-old sister Elizabeth Corteiz.²⁸⁶ The Rev. Corteiz died in 1802 and was interred in the tomb of the above-mentioned Mathew Belsaigne, who had died in 1761 at the age of 57. The Belsaigne headstone (in very poor condition) was still extant at the end of the nineteenth century.

The Huguenots worshiped in St. Mary's Church of Ireland church in Innishannon and reputedly had an annex built for their use beside the main church.

- **A Brief Selection of Innishannon's Huguenot Families**

Hardly anything is now known about individual Innishannon Huguenot settlers. Mathew Belsaigne's son Mathew Hodder Belsaigne remained in the Cork area and died in Cork city in 1833.²⁸⁷

Wexford, Co. Wexford

- **Overview of the Wexford Huguenot Community**

Instrumental in initiating a Huguenot settlement in the city of Wexford during 1680s was Thomas Knox (appointed governor in 1690), who had been granted land in Co. Wexford by Charles II.²⁸⁸ He undertook negotiations with a number of Huguenot merchants with a view to organizing a Wexford colony. Some 42 Huguenot families were recorded as living in the town when on 21 April 1684 the Wexford Huguenots sent a petition to the Earl of Arran, Lord Deputy General and Governor of Ireland, requesting assistance for the establishment of a Huguenot church and the employment of a minister.²⁸⁹

- **The Wexford Huguenot Ministers**

The Wexford Huguenot community was never granted a church and had to be content to hold services in St. Mary's Church of Ireland church but was granted ministers. The first pastor was the Reverend Antoine Nabes who was

²⁸⁵ *Gentleman's Magazine*, June 1770.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

²⁸⁷ Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, pp. 82–85.

²⁸⁸ P. H. Hore, *History of the Town and County of Wexford*, London, 1901 (reprint Oxford, 1979) is a comprehensive study of all aspects of Wexford's history.

²⁸⁹ National Library Ms. 1619—typewritten transcript extract from the Registry Book of the Diocese of Ferns and Leighlin.

appointed in 1684.²⁹⁰ Rev. Nabes, son of David Nabes and Catherine Roussillon of Puilaurens, Languedoc had arrived in Dublin at least one year previously and had occasionally acted as an assistant minister in the French Church of St. Patrick's. He had married in St. Patrick's, Dublin 25 June 1684 Henriette Pinguet from Bersuire, Poitou. In 1700 Antione Nabes moved from Wexford to Rye in England. Who might have replaced Rev. Nabes as Huguenot minister after 1700 is not known but subsequent to his ordination in London in 1711, Rev. Pierre Bouquet de Saint Paul served in Wexford for a few years until he was appointed as a minister to the French church of St. Patrick's, Dublin in 1715. There is little to suggest that the community in Wexford was sufficiently large after that date to warrant a Huguenot minister.

- **A Brief Selection of Wexford's Huguenot Families**

The signatories of the Wexford Huguenot congregation's petition of 1684 were: Peter Baudouin, merchant; Anthony Vareille, merchant; Peter Torneur, merchant; Samuel Pillon, tallow chandler; Abel Franc, ship's carpenter; Michael Franc, ship's carpenter; John Chadaine, ship's carpenter; Peter L'Anglois, ship's carpenter; Joseph David, [ship's] carpenter and Charles Vallot, carpenter.

Further information has come to light on two of the above signatories from The Registry of Deeds, Salem, Massachusetts, USA. A deposition signed by Sylvanus Stirrop in Dublin 17 July 1684 states:

Peter Bodouin a protestant stranger and made a denisen of this city of Dublin pursuant to the act of parliament in the case made and provided, and now inhabitant of the town of Wexford, came this day before us and hath deposed on the Holy Evangelists the ship or barque now called the John of Dublin whereof John Chadeayne (sic.) is master, being a forraigne built ship, being twenty tunn burthen or thereabouts, doth wholly and solely belong to him ye Peter Baudouin.²⁹¹

Accompanying this deed is a receipt dated 6 May 1686 signed by Caesar Colclough, customs collector of Wexford, certifying that duties were collected on the merchandise laden aboard the "John of Dublin" on that day from Peter Bodwin, merchant. Pierre Baudouin sailed to America on the "John of Dublin" the same year and arrived in Salem, Massachusetts on or before November 1686. A further record in the same collection records the sale of "John of Dublin" dated 9 November 1686:

I Peter Bowden in my own right and as true and lawfull attorney unto John Chadwine being both of the city of Wexford in Ireland and now residentery in Salem accepted forty pounds for the barque.

²⁹⁰ British Museum Add. Ms. 38,143 also National Library Microfilm P. 1045, *John Price's Receipts and Disbursements from 20th March, 1684–25th December, 1684 signed by R. Chapell, Deputy Auditor General of Ireland* - "Anthony Nabes, clerk. appointed minister to the congregation of the French Protestants in the town of Wexford."

²⁹¹ Vol. VII, pp 505–506 (No. 91) of the records of the Essex County Registry of Deeds - Salem, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

Appended to the above is a deposition signed at Salem by John Chadeayne dated 15th November 1686 giving Peter Bodouin power of attorney in the transaction.

Jean Chadaine²⁹² fled from Hiers near Brouage in 1682 with his wife, mother-in-law, four children and a niece. He was listed amongst the settlers of Frenchtown in Narragansett County (now East Greenwich, R.I., USA). Another Wexford Huguenot settler who accompanied Pierre Baudouin and Jean Chadaine to America was Elie Rambert, who fled from Hiers in 1683 and settled in Frenchtown along with Jean Chadaine. Elie Rambert had, like Pierre Baudouin, initially settled in Dublin, where two of his daughters were buried in the French Church of St. Patrick's 4 January 1684. Pierre Baudouin remained in Massachusetts, buying land in the Casco Bay area near Salem and also having a residence in Boston. His wife was called Elizabeth but no details about his origins in France have been found. Pierre Baudouin's son James Baudouin was one of Boston's best known Huguenot settlers. He was one of the first merchants to settle there, and his son, also James Baudouin, became governor of Massachusetts after the Revolution, giving his name to Bowdoin College, Maine (then part of Massachusetts).²⁹³

Apparently a number of the other signatories of the Wexford Huguenot congregation petition knew each other prior to coming to Wexford, and some at least had initially travelled via London and Dublin. Peter Tourneur was probably related to Michel Tourneur, ship's master from Marennes who along with his wife Marie Audouard and children John, John-Peter and Mary had received assistance to travel to Ireland from the Threadneedle Street Church, London.²⁹⁴ Mary Tourneur, who had been born 24 March 1682, was belatedly baptized at St. Patrick's Huguenot church, Dublin on 1 April 1683 with Pierre Baudouin as godfather. Michael [Le] Franc also received an Irish travel allowance from Threadneedle St., as did Peter L'Anglois, ship's carpenter from Rochefort, along with his wife Mary and four children Martha, David, Peter and Mary; so did Joseph [Josué] David, carpenter [shipwright]. Furthermore, Abel Franc, Joseph David and Pierre Langois, all described as ship's carpenters, became freemen of Dublin in 1682. Although the Wexford Church of Ireland registers are extant from 1674 (vestry minutes from 1662),²⁹⁵ no Huguenot records have been found and little in the Church of Ireland registers relates to Huguenots. Possibly connected to Samuel Pillon is Peter Pilhaint, who married Ann Fargion 8 May 1692. A further 1680s settler is Claudius Perolz [Perrould], who married Sarah King in August 1685 and was buried 30 March 1705. Presumably either his widow or sister Elizabeth Perrould married John Nicholls 1 December 1705. The scarcity of

²⁹² C. W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America* (New York, 1885), 2:21–22.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 205–207.

²⁹⁴ A. P. Hand and I. Scouloudi, *French Protestant Refugees through Threadneedle Street Church, London, 1681–1687*, (Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Quarto Series Publications, vol. 49) has 81 entries relating to assistance given to individuals/families to pay their passage to Ireland.

²⁹⁵ National Archives microfilm 94/1, Vol. 22 - registers 1674–1753; Vol. 32 - vestry minutes 1662–1871.

entries in the Church of Ireland registers suggests that separate Huguenot registers might once have existed.

Given Wexford's importance as a port (in the 1680s a third of Ireland's timber exports were shipped from Wexford) and from the evidence of the 1684 petition, we can assume that most of the Wexford Huguenot community were either merchants or involved in maritime pursuits. Apparently the settlement was still expanding in the 1690s, since the Marquis de Ruvigny, Earl of Galway wrote a letter of introduction for Thomas Knox in London to Sir Robert Southwell 2 June 1692:

The bearer of this Mr. Knox being in treaty with several French Protestant merchants and others about transporting themselves and families to the town of Wexford in Ireland to which place he is also going with them, I could not press upon this occasion than recommend him to your Lordship for encouragement of having quitted his employment in the Prince's service in so good and profitable an undertaking for his Majesty's Service.

²⁹⁶

No further records had been discovered about the 1680s mariner settlers and their descendants, all of whom apparently moved on to the US and elsewhere. In the early eighteenth century a new influx of Huguenot settlers came to the town. There does not seem to be any continuity between the 1680s settlers and the later ones.

The post-1700 settlers can be found mostly through the Wexford Church of Ireland registers and the Registry of Deeds, Dublin. They included 1702/1714 military pensioner Estienne Gaubert who had been a sergeant in Lifford's infantry regiment and had served in Ireland and Flanders for 9 years.²⁹⁷ He established himself as a merchant in Wexford, residing in the parish of Selskars, and died on 3 February 1750.²⁹⁸ Captain Paul Pigou (probably a sea captain) lived in the parish of St. John, Wexford²⁹⁹ and John Brisson, who married Elizabeth Esmond (10.11.1706), resided at Garrycleary, Co. Wexford.³⁰⁰ Ambrose Oziell leased the parks and garden adjoining the high road near Clonard from Wexford Corporation.³⁰¹

- **Huguenot Communities with neither a Church nor a Minister**

Most towns in Ireland had at least one or two Huguenot families in the early eighteenth century and in an Irish context any town or village with more than half a dozen families tended to regard itself as a settlement. However, for many places very few tangible records remain, either because they were very small or too shortlived. The settlements below were selected because some information on them survives.

²⁹⁶ British Library Add. MS. 34,079 also National Library Microfilm P. 763.

²⁹⁷ Shaw, "The Irish Pensioners of William II's Huguenot regiments," p. 317.

²⁹⁸ Registry of Deeds, Dublin book 42, deed no. 26739, p. 389, dated 8 June 1723.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., book 62, deed no. 42543, p. 204 dated 12 January 1729.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., book 68, deed no. 48211, p. 307 dated 21 April 1732.

³⁰¹ Ibid., book 88, deed no. 62289, p. 214 dated 5 April 1736.

Castleblaney, Co. Monaghan

The town of Castleblaney, Co. Monaghan was established by Sir Edward Blaney at the townland of Ballinlurgan in 1606.³⁰² In 1694 M. La Bat organized an agricultural Huguenot colony there. Houses were provided by Lord Blaney, along with land, livestock and seed.³⁰³ M. La Bat issued a list of edicts to the settlers. They were to live peacefully and in a Christian manner, to be docile and work diligently and to value the land given to them. They were forbidden to either sell or kill the horses and cattle with which they had also been bestowed. Bad behavior giving rise to scandal and failure to adequately develop the donated land would not be tolerated. Lord Blaney would be requested to consign blasphemers, deserters and dissipaters to prison. Any ill usage towards the “biens du roi” (property of the king) would result in the settlers having to undertake laboring work until they had paid off the debts thereby incurred.³⁰⁴ Whether M. La Bat’s exhortations were a reaction to misconduct already perpetrated by the Castleblaney settlers or a manifestation of a dictatorial personality is unclear. The community was nonconformist and militated against receiving official assistance. Baron de Virazell and Charles de Saily sent a petition to the Irish House of Commons 22 November 1695 requesting assistance for the nonconformist congregations, including Castleblaney.³⁰⁵ This stated that the colony lacked a *chirurgien* and apothecary. A further petition sent to the King by Baron de Virazell in 1696 stated that Castleblaney also lacked a minister and would not be able to support one from its own resources.³⁰⁶ Due probably, at least in part, to the absence of a grant for a minister, the colony was shortlived and does not appear to have survived even to 1700.

*Chapelizod, Co. Dublin*³⁰⁷

In 1668 the Duke of Ormonde, as part of his strategy to encourage additional manufacturing industry in Ireland, directed Sir William Temple, the British Ambassador at Brussels, to send 500 artisan families from the Brabant to Ireland in order to establish a textile industry at Chapelizod, a village a few miles from Dublin beside the river Liffey. Additional families were to be brought from La Rochelle and the Isle of Rhé. The Duke of Ormonde also requested Sir George Carteret to send families from Jersey and neighboring areas of France. The project was surprisingly placed by the indomitably Royalist and anti-dissenter Ormonde under the direction of Colonel Richard Lawrence, a former Cromwellian and leading member of Dublin’s Baptist community.³⁰⁸ Lawrence

³⁰² Rolf Loeber, *The Geography and Practice of English Colonisation in Ireland, 1534–1609* [Irish Settlement Studies, No. 3] (Athlone, 1991).

³⁰³ French Huguenot Fund Papers, Marsh’s Library, Dublin.

³⁰⁴ A. de Chambrier, “Projet de colonisation en irlande par les réfugiés français 1692–1699,” *Huguenot Society of G.B. & Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 6.

³⁰⁵ Journal of the Irish House of Commons, Vol. 2 (1695).

³⁰⁶ Calendar of State Papers Domestic, (1696).

³⁰⁷ F. E. Ball, *The History of County Dublin*, Vol. 4 (reprint: Dublin 1979), pp. 171–74.

³⁰⁸ He had been a commander of Cromwellian soldiers in Dublin during the period 1659–60. He seems to have been successful in changing his allegiances after the Restoration and in fostering a reputation for entrepreneurial prowess. K. Herlihy, “The faithful remnant: Irish Baptists, 1650–1750” in K. Herlihy (ed.), *The Irish Dissenting Tradition, 1650–1750* (Dublin, 1995), pp. 71–72.

was confident of his ability to establish and manage the enterprise.³⁰⁹ He organized the building and leasing of houses and purchased 15 acres of land adjacent to the village. 300 people were said to have been employed in the making of cordage, sailcloth, ticking, linen cloth and diaper, the manufacture of freizes and blankets, and in wool combing. The project's overseer was Joseph Scardeville, a naturalised Frenchman. With the Duke of Ormond's encouragement the contract for bleaching yarn for Leinster was given to Chapelizod as was a contract for supplying the army with linen. The entire project ended 11 years later when the army withdrew its contract. Reputedly the sailmaking division of the enterprise was transferred to Kilkenny.

Killeshandra, Co. Cavan

In 1695 there were reputedly at least 12 Huguenot families living in Killeshandra but only two names have been identified so far: the Lanauze family³¹⁰ and the military pensioner Guy Alexandre de Millery. The Irish La Nauzes were descended from the family of Tessier de La Nauze from the Bordeaux region.³¹¹ Dr. [François?] Lanauze, apparently called "the good doctor" because of his acts of charity, is likely to have been the father of George Lanauze described in the Dublin conformist Huguenot registers (in 1788) as being of Kill[eshandra], Co. Cavan and of Alexandre Lanauze. George apparently commuted between Dublin and Killeshandra, with a house and land in Killeshandra and a grocery shop in William Street, Dublin. He and his first wife, Marthe La Pierre,³¹² had at least one child, Henry, baptized in St. Bride's Church of Ireland church Dublin 18 November 1737.³¹³ By his second wife (name unknown)³¹⁴ he had a son, François.³¹⁵ George himself died 27 May 1800, aged 94.³¹⁶

³⁰⁹ R. Lawrence, *The interest of Ireland in its trade and wealth stated* (Dublin, 1682); Correspondence between Col. Richard Lawrence and Duke of Ormonde re. woollen factory at Chapelizod, Co. Dublin c. 1670–79 in Historical Manuscript Commission Report 10, Appendix 4 (1885), p. 151.

³¹⁰ G. Griffith, "La Nauze," *Huguenot Families* No. 2 (March, 2000), p. 15; Upton Papers, Royal Irish Academy; A. de Chambrier, "Projet de colonisation en irlande par les réfugiés français 1692–1699" [This article is largely based on the correspondence of Henri de Mirmand preserved in the Collection Antoine Court {a kinsman of Miremand's} in the Geneva Library]. Dr. Lanauze's wife was Anna Hierome, one of the daughters of the Rev. Jacques Hierome [See Carrick-on-Suir Section]. An F. La Nauze was an elder of the Dublin Huguenot Church of St. Patrick's in 1692 but was stated to be absent from the city by 1693 [FHF Papers, Marsh's Library, Dublin]. He was probably the Dr. Lanauze who settled in Killeshandra. Jean Antione de La Nauze, who had been a standing captain in Caillemotte's regiment, was on the 1702 pension list. He had joined Caillemotte's regiment from the Rhine and had served for nine years in Piedmont, Flanders and Ireland. Isaac La Nauze was a cadet in La Melonière's regiment. Alexandre de la Nauze, painter of Dublin, sold lands in the parish of Killdrumferton, Co. Cavan in 1736 - Registry of Deeds, Dublin, deed no. 62153, book 84, p. 485. Alexandre was a portrait painter who lived in William Street, Dublin. He died in 1767. Members of the La Nauze family continued to live in Dublin until the early 20th century.

³¹¹ Upton Papers.

³¹² La Touche, *The Registers of the French Conformed Churches, Dublin*, p. 231 - she died in May 1754. She was his half-cousin. J. Griffith, "La Pierre," *Huguenot Families* No. 2 (March, 2000), p. 15. [See also notes on the Hierome family in the Carrick-on-Suir Section].

³¹³ Trinity College Dublin Ms. 1478 - manuscript transcript extracts from the registers of St. Brides (originals destroyed in P.R.O. fire).

³¹⁴ La Touche, *The Registers of the French Conformed Churches, Dublin*, p. 253 - Burial of [...] La Nauze, 2nd wife of Mr. George La Nauze of Kill, Co. Cavan 22.02.1788 aged 50.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 253 - François Lanauze, son of George Lanauze, d. December 1788, aged 24 yrs.

³¹⁶ Griffith, "La Nauze."

Limerick, Co. Limerick (including Sixmilebridge, Co. Clare)

Limerick city and county are more associated with Dutch merchants and German Palatines than French Protestant settlers. In 1660/61 the Earl of Orrery, Governor of Limerick, settled 40 Dutch families consisting of artisans, tradesmen and merchants in the town.³¹⁷ Some lived in Sixmilebridge a few miles away from Limerick city in the neighbouring county of Clare. Of these Restoration settlers, the d’Esterre [de Staar] family was of French origin.³¹⁸ Merchants Abraham and Henri d’Esterre were naturalized in Ireland on 31 August 1669³¹⁹ and were reputedly descended from the Counts of Aix. We know that Henri d’Esterre initially fled from France to the Netherlands, where he married Annie Amy Van Boffar. The couple is reported to have sailed up the river Shannon bringing with them an immense treasure in money, jewels, china and table linen.³²⁰ Abraham d’Esterre leased the castle and two ploughlands at Rosmanagher, Sixmilebridge, Co. Clare from the Earl of Thomond in 1675. Henri and his wife Annie moved in shortly afterwards, renaming the property Castle Henry.³²¹ Isaac d’Esterre of Dublin was married to Maria Clignet, aunt of John Clignet,³²² probably also of Huguenot ancestry, who had come from Aachen, Germany and had settled in Sixmilebridge.³²³ Isaac d’Esterre’s brother, the above-mentioned Abraham, married Maria’s sister Geutgen Clignet at Aix La Chapelle.³²⁴ Links were forged with other French and Dutch families in Ireland. Marie Isabelle de Staar, daughter of Isaac de Staar Jr. and his wife Jochina Elison, was baptized at the French Church of St. Patrick’s, Dublin 28 June 1685 with Jacob Elison, the wife of Isaac de Staar Sr. and Sara Dacket, widow of Pierre Victorin as godparents. Baptized at St. Patrick’s on 6 November 1693 was Marie Vankruys Kerk[en] daughter of Henry Vankruys Kerk[en] and Caterine de Staar.³²⁵ Godparents were Essayé de Staar, the wife of Charles Renieres [Anna Desminières]³²⁶ and the wife of Isaac de Staar Jr. Charles Renieres was from a Huguenot merchant family mostly based in either Rotterdam or London.³²⁷ The Desterres remained well connected. They married into

³¹⁷ Loeber, *Dutch economic activity in Ireland*.

³¹⁸ E. F. H. Colley, “D’Esterre of Rosmanagher,” *The Irish Genealogist*, Vol. 5, No. 6 (Nov. 1979), pp. 720–27.

³¹⁹ British Library MS. Bibl. Egerton 77, Plut. DXV. This is a list of Irish denizations under Acts for encouraging Protestant strangers 1662–1737. For a transcription see Christmas, B. W. “Some Protestant Settlers in Ireland, 1662–1737,” *The Irish Genealogist*, Vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 349–57.

³²⁰ Lee, *The Huguenot settlements in Ireland*, pp. 205–6.

³²¹ H. W. L. Weir, *Houses of Clare*, (Whitegate, Co. Clare, 1986), pp. 42, 77, 192, 235, 284.

³²² Weir, *Houses of Clare*, p. 77. The Clignet/d’Esterre family tree is among the Wagner manuscript pedigrees in the Huguenot Library, London. John Clignet, who was naturalized in Ireland on 28 February 1662, lived in Clonmacken House, Co. Limerick, owned many curiosities such as a glass-enclosed model of the Sixmilebridge oil mills and was responsible for the invention of an independent suspension system for four-wheel horse-drawn carriages. See K.T. Hoppen, *The common scientist* (London, 1970).

³²³ He became a freeman of Dublin in 1680. See Coffey, “Huguenot Freemen of the city of Dublin” p. 647.

³²⁴ Clignet/d’Esterre pedigree, Huguenot Library.

³²⁵ Two other children of this couple were Diliansa, who married Hugh Brady, and Jacoba Susanna, who married Thomas Beevin of Camas, Co. Limerick. See B. de Breffny, “Bevan of Co. Limerick,” *The Irish Ancestor*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1974), pp. 1–5.

³²⁶ She was the daughter of Louis Desminières of Dublin. She had married Charles Reinieres in 1677. She died 21 December 1702 and was buried in the cathedral at Clonfert, Co. Galway. See Dublin Section and W. B. Wright, “Pedigree of the Desminieres Family,” *The Irish Builder*, p. 339.

³²⁷ He became a freeman of Dublin in 1680. See Coffey, “Huguenot Freemen of the City of Dublin” p. 647.

many prominent Anglo-Irish families in subsequent generations. They held Castle Henry, Sixmilebridge for almost 250 years. One descendant, John Desterre,³²⁸ was most noted for having been killed in a duel by Daniel O'Connell *the Liberator* in 1815. The last male heir was Henry William Desterre who, forced to sell his family property in 1918, caught a train from Limerick to Dublin never to be seen in the locality again.³²⁹

In the eighteenth century Limerick was noted for the manufacture of lace and of very fine leather gloves. Despite the lack of records, undoubtedly some Huguenots would have been attracted to these industries in a city important both as a mercantile center and a port. Among the very few Huguenots to have been traced to Limerick is military pensioner Jean Boucherie, who had been a quarter master in Miremont's Dragoons and had served in Piedmont/Savoy and Flanders for nine years.³³⁰ It is surely significant however that the Lord Mayor of Limerick in 1739 was Isaac Clampett and that John Tounadine was a sheriff in 1764, which suggests that there was an appreciable Huguenot involvement in the commercial life of the city even though information on this has not so far been traced.

A recent article in the *Huguenot Society of G.B. and Ireland Proceedings* by Jean-Philippe Labrousse "Letters home from Ireland to France, 1711–25"³³¹ provides us with English translations of letters from the brothers Paul Farie, who settled in Limerick, and Pierre Farie, who settled in Cork, to their relatives in Mauvezin, Gers, France. Not only are the letters of great interest in terms of their descriptions of the lives of the two brothers in Ireland and the fate of the family members who remained in France, but also because they highlight the existence of unrecorded Irish Huguenot settlers. The Farie brothers cannot be found in any Irish source that has to date come to light.

Sligo, Co. Sligo

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Sligo was the most important commercial port in the West of Ireland and a shipbuilding yard was established here in the 1660s. The town apparently had a minister for some years in the early eighteenth century.

The earliest known Huguenot settler to Sligo was merchant Robert Desminières. He was the son of Daniel Desminières³³² (b. Rouen 1614, m. Dublin 1638, d. Dublin 1643) and Elizabeth Johnson and was related to the Desminières of Dublin and Enniskillen. Robert married Elizabeth (widow of William Hunter Jr., merchant of Sligo) and was an ancestor of the Duke of Wellington.³³³ He died in Sligo in 1693 and as his

³²⁸ J. Kelly, *The Duel in Irish History*, History Ireland, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring 1994).

³²⁹ Weir, *Houses of Clare*; "Pedigree of the D'Esterre family," *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* (2nd series), Vol. 34 (1928–29), p. 47.

³³⁰ Shaw, "The Irish Pensioners of William III's Huguenot regiments," p. 305.

³³¹ *Huguenot Society of G. B. and Ireland Proceedings*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2003), pp. 56–66.

³³² Wright, "Pedigree of the Desminières family."

³³³ V. Costello, *The Desminières/Colley/Wesley/Wellesley Connection*, unpublished note 1990. Ellinor Desminières, daughter of Robert and Elizabeth Desminières of Sligo, married John Sale, Registrar of the Diocese of Dublin and M.P. for the Borough of Carysfort, Co. Wicklow. John and Ellinor Sale's daughter Elizabeth married Richard Colley (later Wesley), heir at law of Garrett Wesley of Dangan, Co. Meath. He was elevated to the peerage of Ireland under the title Baron Mornington. Richard and Elizabeth's son Garrett became Viscount Wellesley and Earl of Mornington. Garrett's third son Arthur became the first Duke of Wellington.

surviving children were four daughters, there was no further Desminières connection with Sligo.

René de La Fausille of Anjou, who immigrated first to Switzerland and then to Holland, became a Captain of Grenadiers in La Caillemotte's infantry regiment. He was severely wounded at the Battle of the Boyne and, being unfit for further military service, was made Deputy Governor of the town of Sligo in 1702. René de La Fausille had property at Stephen Street, Sligo. In an undated petition to Queen Anne³³⁴ he pleaded for a restoration of his military pension. He married Jane Feltman and had six children. Three of his four daughters were Ann, Mary and Susanna, who moved to Templeogue, Co. Dublin.³³⁵ One of his two sons, John, became Major-General and Colonel of the 66th Regiment. John died on board the H.M.S. Marlborough off Cuba in 1762.³³⁶

Two other Sligo settlers were military pensioners Jaques Rousse³³⁷ and 1702 pensioner Jean Liron de La Rouvière.³³⁸ A minister of Huguenot origin, who described himself as "rector of Sligo," was Rev. John Fontanier. He petitioned for a military pension 9 December 1729, having for many years been a military chaplain in the regiments of Neville, Rich and Stanhope.³³⁹ Another family from Sligo likely to have been of Huguenot descent was that of Pettipiece, several members of which emigrated to the Ottawa area of Canada in the 1820s.³⁴⁰

*Youghal, Co. Cork*³⁴¹

There were two phases to the Youghal Huguenot settlement. In the early seventeenth century this town was part of the vast land holdings (nearly a quarter of all "planted" land in Ireland) of Richard Boyle, the first Earl of Cork.³⁴² In the 1600s he

³³⁴ Sligo County Library MS. F.C./D.2/63.

³³⁵ Registry of Deeds, Dublin: book no. 63, deed no. 42880, p. 103, dated 4 March 1729.

³³⁶ Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, p. 211–12.

³³⁷ He was an incorporé lieutenant in Schomberg's regiment who had served in Ireland and Flanders for ten years. See Shaw, *The Irish Pensioners of William III's Huguenot Regiments, 1702*, p. 302.

³³⁸ He was the son of Jacques Liron and Marie de Briguier of the Cevennes. He had been a Cornet in the Blue Guards and transferred to Schomberg's regiment. He was wounded during his twelve years' service in Holland, Ireland and Flanders. He initially settled in Dublin, where he married Marie Cholet de Fetilly in 1703, but died in Sligo in 1713. See Shaw, *The Irish Pensioners of William III's Huguenot Regiments, 1702*, p. 303; Le Fanu & Manchee, *Dublin and Portarlinton Veterans*, p. 62.

³³⁹ 58th Report of D.K.P.R.I., p. 83. - Calendar of "Church Miscellaneous State Papers."

³⁴⁰ Information from Wayne Pettapiece of Edmonton, Canada.

³⁴¹ A. R. Orme, "Youghal, Co. Cork: Growth, Decay, Resurgence," *Irish Geography*, Vol. 3 (1966); S. Hayman, "The Huguenot Settlement at Youghal," *Co. Cork*, UJA, Vol. 2 (1854); R. Day, "The Huguenot Settlers in Youghal," *Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Journal*, Vol. 1 (1895); J. Colman, *The Huguenot Settlers at Youghal*, *Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Journal*, Vol. 3 (1894); R. Caulfield (ed.), *The Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal from 1610 to 1659, from 1666 to 1687 and from 1690 to 1800* (Guilford 1878); Gravestone inscriptions in the Collegiate Church are in W. G. Field, *The Handbook for Youghal*, 1896 (reprinted 1973).

³⁴² The history of the small town of Youghal, bridging the counties of Cork and Waterford, is exceptionally interesting during the reign of Elizabeth I and is perhaps worthy of a temporary digression from the topic of this paper. Originally part of the estates of the Earl of Desmond, he was dispossessed and 3,028 acres, including the town of Youghal, were granted to Sir Walter Raleigh (his total Irish holdings were 46,000 acres) in 1586. Sir Walter was Mayor of Youghal in 1588. He lived at Myrtle Grove beside the medieval abbey. In the garden of Myrtle Grove he reputedly planted the first potatoes grown in the British Isles. A frequent visitor to Myrtle Grove was his good friend the poet Edmund Spenser, who had been granted the nearby estate of Kilcoleman (which he called Hap Hazard), Buttevant, Co. Cork, where he composed part

organized settlements of “Protestant Strangers” to his estates, including the Youghal area. Boyle was Ireland’s leading industrialist. Among the surnames of Youghal’s early settlers are some who subsequently can be found in the Youghal church and municipal records such as Armour, Boisrond, Casaubon, Carré (Quarry), Chaigneau, de La Haye, Gillet, Lampier/Lampire, Paradise, Portingal, Ricket and Vallentin.

The first member of the Chaigneau family recorded in Ireland was Jaques Channeau, native of France, who obtained an Irish naturalization on 21 November 1623. This family established a successful mercantile network with different branches of the family residing principally in Dublin, Youghal and Carlow.³⁴³

A new influx of emigrants gradually came to Youghal after the Restoration. In 1660 lieutenant Richard Gillette of Youghal was a member of the 1st Foot Company, raised at Youghal.³⁴⁴ On 25 October 1681 John Luther (descended from an early seventeenth century German settler to Youghal), Mayor of Youghal, wrote to the Duke of Ormond:

...he craves leave to represent that there lately arrived in this part a French vessel with 43 Protestants from Rochelle and the Isle of Ré or thereabouts, whence they had fled on account of the persecution against those of that religion, and also in a vessel belonging to Youghal, one Daniel Penegant, his wife and two children, who declare that they are Protestants, and fled from their habitation at the Isle of Ré upon like account. Notwithstanding the great decay of their trade by means of the act for prohibiting transportation of cattle the chief support of their town, they have not been wanting in contributing towards the relief of these poor strangers...

³⁴⁵

Additional Huguenot settlers to the town, such as military pensioners, arrived in the late seventeenth century. John Gimlette, ancestor of the Rev. Thomas Gimlette of Waterford, came to live here in 1699.³⁴⁶ The settlement in Youghal was never large enough to have

of “Faerie Queene.” See W. L. Renwick, *Complete Works of Spenser*, Vol. 4 (London, 1934), which contains Spenser’s *A View of the State of Ireland in 1596*. Growing restless in his rural retreat, Sir Walter Raleigh returned to London, having in 1602 (for £ 1,500) sold Youghal to the Earl of Cork, the most successful and sagacious of the Elizabethan adventurers in Ireland. Richard Boyle, an Englishman who later obtained the title Earl of Cork, had studied law in London. He arrived in Ireland 23rd June 1583 with £27, some personal effects, a rapier and a dagger. Through a series of brilliant intrigues he succeeded in amassing a vast amount of lands (including Tallow, Co. Waterford and Youghal, Co. Cork) in Ireland and reputedly became one of the richest men in the British Isles. His thirteenth child was Robert Boyle the famous physicist (as an adult Robert resided in London and rarely came to Ireland). Details of the activities of Richard Boyle, the first Earl of Cork, are to be found in his diaries recording every event of his life – A. B. Grosart (ed.), *The Lismore Papers*, (10 volumes) (London 1886–8). See also T. O. Ranger, “Richard Boyle and the Making of an Irish Fortune, 1588–1603,” *Irish Historical Studies* Vol 10 (1957). In 1748, 60,000 acres of Boyle’s Munster property passed by marriage to the Cavendish family and survived as the Irish estates of the Dukes of Devonshire until the 20th century. Myrtle Grove is the only completely unfortified Tudor house in Ireland to have survived intact—complete with dark oak paneling and an elaborately carved chimneypiece incorporating faith, hope and charity. See Mark Bence-Jones, *Burke’s Guide to Country Houses*, Vol. 1 - Ireland (New York, 1978).

³⁴³ Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, p. 73–74.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

³⁴⁵ Historical Manuscripts Commission, New Series, Vol 6 (Ormond) (1911), p. 206.

³⁴⁶ Gimlette, *The Huguenot Settlers in Ireland*.

its own minister, though Rev. Arthur d'Anvers,³⁴⁷ who settled there around 1730, may have conducted services. In addition, a number of military pensioners came to the town, such as Lieutenant James de Hays,³⁴⁸ who apparently was a man of means. He developed a demesne from the amalgamation of several tracts of land called “five-place,” “south green” and “the poison bush.”³⁴⁹ His burial (15 April 1757) and that of his wife Marie Ducros (30 August 1785, aged 74 years) were both recorded in the Dublin Conformist Huguenot registers. Captain Jean Rouvière, son of Antoine Rouvière of Carlow, married Lucy Ann Marriott, daughter of Francis Marriott.³⁵⁰ Their daughter Susanna Rouvière (b. Youghal 1728), goddaughter of James de Hays, married in 1745 Thomas Day of Ballyvergin, Co. Cork.³⁵¹ Perot Duclos from Metz lived in Youghal with his wife Margaret, son Guillaume and daughter Margaret.³⁵²

The fact that Youghal's Church of Ireland and municipal records are still extant facilitates research into this community. Two further early settlers whose French origins are known were Richard Paradise and his kinsman Samuel Paradise, who fled from Limousin. In the 1670s/80s Richard became a bailiff, alderman and mayor of Youghal. Richard Paradise married a daughter of Alderman Luther. Their eldest daughter, Elizabeth Paradise, married Samuel Hayman³⁵³ of Myrtle Grove. The Hayman family continued to live at Myrtle Grove until the late nineteenth century. One of several Huguenots who played a part in Youghal civic affairs was Edward Gillett, one of the few silversmiths/goldsmiths who did not work in either Dublin or Cork city³⁵⁴ and who served as Mayor in 1721. The Youghal Corporation was still keen to attract new Huguenot settlers in the mid-eighteenth century. In January 1753 they resolved that

...whereas application has been made to the Corporation to consider of ways and means to encourage and assist the French Protestant refugees now come and coming into this kingdom, £ 20 a year, at least for three years, for as many families as shall come and settle in this Parish, be paid them yearly towards their support, out of Corporation rates.³⁵⁵

³⁴⁷ He was educated at Kilkenny College—entered April 1697.

³⁴⁸ He served in Col. William Windress' infantry regiment (37th Foot) and married Marie Ducros. He died in Dublin in 1757. See Le Fanu & Manchee, *Dublin and Portarlinton Veterans*, p. 45. P. B. Eustace, *Abstract of Wills in the Registry of Deeds, Dublin*, Vol. 2 includes a transcript of his will dated 17.05.1757. It mentions among others his cousin John Godart, watchmaker, his goddaughter Susanna Rouvier, Peter Ducros of Dublin and John Ducros, apothecary of Dublin, and Augustus Fryard, perukemaker. His bequests included £100 to the Protestant poor of Youghal and one to the French Hospital, London, but after 30 years negotiation the legacy to the hospital remained unpaid. The Huguenot Society Library, London MS. E. 2/3 consists of the correspondence on this matter between the hospital and the Irish Court of Chancery.

³⁴⁹ Caulfield, *The Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal – 1728*.

³⁵⁰ R. Day, “Huguenot Settlers in Youghal,” *Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Journal*, 2nd series, Vol. 1 (1895).

³⁵¹ Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, pp. 77–78.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 75–76.

³⁵³ This family later intermarried with the Gimlettes. Two descendants of this family wrote on Huguenot history: Rev. Samuel Hayman wrote on the Youghal community—published in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 2 (1854)—and Rev. Thomas Gimlette (whose mother was a Hayman) wrote on Waterford in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 4 (1856) and a posthumously published book, *The History of the Huguenot Settlers in Ireland*.

³⁵⁴ Examples of his silverwork are in the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin.

³⁵⁵ Caulfield, *The Council Book of the Corporation of Youghal*.

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Indeed, the entire collection is invaluable, dealing with English and other Huguenot records in addition to the Irish material. It is worthy of note that many Huguenots who settled in Ireland first passed through England and information can often be found there, especially in the London Huguenot churches such as Threadneedle Street.

Most major research libraries have sets of the Huguenot Society Publications and Proceedings.

Many of the more recent Publications and Proceedings are available for purchase, as are all the CD-ROMs from the Society website, www.huguenotsociety.org.uk.
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Reprint available from: www.frenchchurch.freeserve.co.uk

Huguenot Genealogical Resources in the Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City, Utah, USA

Thanks to the holdings of the FHL it is now possible to access some Huguenot records from Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and elsewhere, which open up scope for finding the French roots of Huguenots in Ireland and linking up other branches of the family that might have settled in other refuges.

Among the innumerable research resources available in the FHL Library and online from www.familysearch.org, some important examples are:

- *Family History Library Research Outline: France* www.familysearch.org (downloadable free of charge). This includes information on Huguenot research.
- *Henry Wagner Huguenot Pedigrees [FHL film 0087860–0087865]* (the original manuscript collection with c. 1,000 Huguenot names is in the Huguenot Library, London). A substantial proportion of these pedigrees relate to Huguenot families that settled in Ireland.
- *Bibliotheque Wallonne (Leiden University, the Netherlands)—Collectie Mirandolle, 1644–1858 [FHL films 0199963–0199983]* (card index of Huguenots who settled in the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Germany, and elsewhere—a proportion of the people mentioned moved on to England, Ireland, and America).
- *Bibliotheque Wallonne (Leiden University, the Netherlands) – Waalse Registers, 1500–1828 [FHL films 0199755–0199953] and [FHL fiches 6312188–6312191]* (card index collection in Dutch or French of Huguenots in the Netherlands , Belgium , France , Germany, and elsewhere).
- *Bibliotheque Wallonne (Leiden University, the Netherlands) – Collectie Montauban, 1647–1682*
- *[FHL films 0199957–0199962]* (card index of Huguenots of Montauban, Tarn-et-Garonne , France).
- *Bibliotheque Wallonne (Leiden University, the Netherlands) – Collectie La Rochelle, 1602–1685*
- *[FHL films 0199954–0199956]* (card index of Huguenots of La Rochelle, Charente-Maritime, France).
- *Archives Nationales, Paris, France – Property belonging to Protestants (religionnaires) – Conseil d’Etat: Bureau de la Religion Prétendue Réformée – Serie TT* (details of property confiscated from Protestants, 1671–1750). These dossiers relate to a large number of families in many parts of France.

The FHL film numbers are too numerous to list here. Consult the Family History Library Catalog at www.familysearch.org.

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