9-1-2007

Vol 6 Fall 2007 The BYU Family Historian

The BYU Family Historian

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Recommended Citation
The BYU Family Historian, Vol. 6 (Fall 2007)
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This will be the final issue of the BYU Family Historian due to department restructuring at Brigham Young University.

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I come from a long line of genealogists. Besides many great genealogists on my mother’s side, my patriarchal great-grandfather was Joseph Hatten Carpenter, who started doing genealogy work at the turn of the century. He received the Certificate of Merit in Genealogy from the Institute of American Genealogy in Chicago in 1939, wrote articles about genealogy from the 1920s to the 1960s, and was an early member of many genealogical societies that were precursors to those we have today. As he wrote back and forth to his native England, he kept records of some 40,177 people and traced lines back to the 1000s and 1200s.

The only genealogical work that I know of that my grandfather Alvin Carpenter (Joseph Hatten Carpenter’s son) did was to write a book about his father. I was about ten years old when it was published, and as one of the descendants, I got a copy. It sat on the little white bookshelf in my room and whenever I had a school report about an ancestor, I would use the book to tell about Joseph Hatten. Although I had many other famous ancestors that I knew little about, Joseph Hatten became the person I knew and loved, because of the many times I pulled that book off the shelf in the quiet of my room. As I have grown up and become fascinated with genealogy, I have grown to really appreciate this man introduced to me by my grandfather’s book.

When you have had several genealogists in your family, it can be overwhelming to begin to dabble in your family’s history. However, even if you only accomplish one thing, like my grandfather Alvin did, it will enrich your life and the lives of your descendants. There are many things you can do to build on the work of the other genealogists in your family. I have collected some ideas here. They are organized into four categories: collection, computerization, finding new information, and processing it and passing it down.

**COLLECTION**

If you know that people have worked on collecting your genealogy but it hasn’t come into your hands yet, you might have to go out looking for it. In that case, you follow the general rules any beginning genealogist follows: start with yourself and work out. Start first with your close relatives and work to obtain copies of what they have that might be of interest. Then ask those close relatives about distant relatives. Ask questions like, “Who is interested in genealogy? Who inherited the journals or pictures? Will you help me contact them?” Family reunions, weddings, and funerals are great times to start asking questions. When I began to collect my paternal great-grandfather’s work, I went to my dad and asked him where my grandfather’s journals and genealogy work had gone when he died. My dad then helped me contact some of his cousins that I had only briefly met. With their help, the ball began rolling.
Sometimes you lose touch with distant relatives or you just have a huge family to deal with. In that case, you start with the same resources that a beginning genealogist would start with. Look first in compiled sources, such as Internet databases like Ancestry.com or FamilySearch.org. And try compiled histories by looking for books by surname. Then try posting to a surname forum or bulletin board that can be found on Ancestry.com or Cyndislist.com. If you find something relating to your family, always contact the person who submitted the information. You may find some cousins to work with.

**COMPUTERIZATION**

You next come to the issue of computerizing the information. As you work with other family members, matching and merging large computer files becomes an issue. You will probably be dealing with .ged or GEDCOM files. These are stripped down versions of genealogy information that can be imported into your personal genealogy software. You and the cousins you have found to work with are probably using different personal genealogy software, such as Personal Ancestral File (PAF), RootsMagic, Family Tree Maker, Legacy, etc. As you share with each other, you will move data between programs and databases with a .ged or GEDCOM file.

Matching the people and merging family files can get really tricky if you have overlapping computer files. I have had the best success in combining files with RootsMagic, Legacy, and PAF Insight. Three of my dad’s cousins had built on my great-grandfather’s research, expanding different lines and sometimes coming into conflicting information. As we carefully combined two files at a time, we collected discrepancies into a Microsoft Word document, which one of the cousins took to the library to verify. By carefully combining files, we were able to come up with one master file that we were all able to work from and contribute to.

Sometimes you don’t inherit anything on the computer. In that case why would you want to take the time to enter the information into a personal genealogy program? There are a few reasons. First, computerization makes you organize and process the information that has been collected. You will know right where you want to build on what has been done. Second, it is easier to back up, copy, and protect the information. Copying boxes of documents on a copy machine takes a lot more time than burning another CD. Third, it is easier to share and pass the information down to your family. All three of my children can have copies of the important information even if they have to fight over the heirlooms. And fourth, it is easier to compare and combine information. As hard as it was to combine my dad’s cousins’ computer files, it would have been much harder if we had had twelve boxes of documents to go through. If you plan an hour or two a week, you’ll be surprised how quickly things can be processed into the computer. And then when you are done, you will be itching to get to the library to work on this or that missing link you have found.

**FINDING NEW INFORMATION**

Although I earned a master’s degree in Library Science and had helped many people with their genealogy as a librarian, I was never interested in my own. Every time I began to be interested, someone would tell me that I had to start with collecting everything that had previously been done. That was always discouraging because I have
grandparents, cousins and other family members who have worked on collecting our family history, and I never felt I could ever completely talk to all of them. But there are ways to get started, and even find new information without collecting everything that has already been accomplished. Just remember that there are so many more resources now than there have been in the past, and that there is always another line to follow.

You might start by asking an active genealogist in the family to give you a place to work. When I became serious about working on my family history, I went to my sister who had been collecting information. She handed me a folder and said, “Here is a family you could look for. They are still in America and shouldn’t be too hard to find.” Immediately I was plunged into the thrill of the hunt, rather than collecting other people’s work.

When you are ready to build on other people’s work, you may not want to start with the people you are most closely related to. Lines that end most recently probably have been worked on and really are dead ends. For example, my great-grandfather’s birth record may really have been lost in a fire. However, the last person to work on those lines may not have had the enormous amount of new resources that have become available on the Internet. Take a look around on the lines that end closest to you, but don’t get discouraged if you can’t find anything. Head out into another line.

If you have inherited a computer file it might help to get things out where you can see them, off the computer screen. My mother’s genealogy file was very confusing until I printed out a chart that showed my ancestors going back, as well as their children. Then I could see the whole picture better. This type of chart, showing ancestors and their children and grandchildren evolved into a business for me called Generation Maps (generationmaps.com), and since then I have helped many others understand the research that has been done by using a chart. Any time you receive a file from someone else but haven’t been involved in the research, it is good to get it out on a chart where you can see it.

**PROCESSING IT AND PASSING IT DOWN: DON’T BE THE WEAK LINK**

There are lots of things to collect and assemble so that you can pass down your heritage and inspire your children with an appreciation for their family history. So far we have talked about the genealogical data, but there are also personal histories, pictures, and your own experience with family history to record.

My mother is not interested in building on what has been collected and finding missing members of our family like I am. She is mostly concerned about making sure the histories and pictures are passed down. She compiles short histories of her parents and grandparents and other ancestors she has researched. Then, once the history is compiled, she writes a beautiful children’s book on each person using Heritage Makers’ book publishing service (heritagemakers.com). In the book she focuses on a value or character trait that the person exhibited in their life. For example, a pioneer ancestor who crossed the plains with a handcart showed “the value of perseverance” and my great-grandmother who lived during the depression showed “the power of sacrifice.” Needless to say, the books have become instant treasures in our family.

In compiling histories and pictures, the rule “start with the people closest to you” applies again. You are the one who knows your grandparents and parents the best. Even if you only write short histories of them, these histories will be treasures in only a few
generations. There are some great new products that can help you. Personal Historian (personalhistorian.com) is a great piece of software that makes it easy to write histories. Passage Express (passageexpress.com) is a user-friendly program that compiles histories, data, and pictures into a beautiful CD that is easy for anyone to access.

When you do pass down the data, make sure you keep good notes of the sources you have used and what you have done. These are the road signs for the next generation. I have taken many people to the library to build on what others have done and found “family records,” or “the family Bible” listed as a source. If the documentation was more specific, we would have more to build on. Make sure you have a plan for backing up and updating electronic files. Anything in an electronic format cannot be considered archived.

While you are compiling things to pass down to your family, keep in mind the Library of Alexandria rule. At the time of Cleopatra the largest library in the world was in Alexandria, Egypt. It may have had hundreds of thousands of books, scrolls, codices, and so on. It was a center for learning in the ancient world; scholars came from all over to study there, and many great discoveries were made. According to legend, Caesar and Ptolemy XII were fighting, and the people of Alexandria set fire to the ships in the harbor to break the blockade. The fire swept onto land and the library was burned. In modern times, we don’t know what was in that library and have nowhere near a hundred thousand volumes from that time period. All we have are the precious things, like religious texts, of which many copies were made. So, for genealogists, the rule of the Library of Alexandria is that the more copies there are of something, the more likely some will survive. Search out every opportunity to share your research: with relatives, databases, libraries, and historical societies.

My great-grandfather’s genealogical work was passed down through one line of the family and has not been entered into any databases. Had my father passed away before I became interested, I would not have known to find those cousins who are also working on our genealogy and would have been left to start from scratch because the information hadn’t been shared in my part of the family. Likewise, I have three children and only one copy of my grandfather’s book, but because my grandfather donated it to several libraries and archives, my great-great grandchildren will not have to know which member of the family has my actual book in order to find the information. Give copies of anything you collect or write to your family for Christmas—that gives you a deadline and creates interest among your family. Even if your relatives never show interest, there will still be another copy of your family history work in case of fire or the occasional computer crash.

And finally, don’t forget to write your own history, be it long or short. I tell my father that if he doesn’t write his own personal history, I get to tell my version of his life, and that may not be the version he wants to have passed down. If you don’t write your own history, someone else might do it. Also, don’t forget to record your experiences with family history. You become a great link between generations when you leave a love for your ancestors to your descendants.

**CONCLUSION**

So where do you start? Make a list of what needs to be done and try just one aspect that interests you. I have a two-and-a-half page family history to-do list and some
days I think that is all my children will inherit. But even if that is all they get, they will have some pointers to where things are and who has what.

I can’t promise you it will be easy, but I can promise you it will enrich your life. My great-grandfather Joseph Hatten Carpenter wrote, “One arises from the study of genealogy with a clearer and more charitable conception of the whole brotherhood of man.” I agree. Irrespective of what I accomplish, genealogy gives me a greater perspective on life that makes my efforts very rewarding.

**JANET HOVORKA** received a B.A. in Ancient Near Eastern Studies and a Masters degree in Library Science from Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. She accepted teaching and library positions at BYU and Salt Lake Community College before having her three wonderful children. She and her husband, Kim Hovorka, own Generation Maps, an online genealogy chart printing service. Janet is a member of the Genealogical Speakers Guild, and loves to motivate people with her great passion for family history work.
When the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian made Antwerp (in modern-day Belgium) the commercial center of the new Habsburg Netherlands in 1484, merchants, artisans, and other laborers from near and far began coming to Antwerp to make their fortunes in this booming new center of trade. By the mid-sixteenth century Antwerp had become Europe’s most important commercial center. Peoples from all over Europe came to make their home in Antwerp, including French, Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, Bohemians (Czechs), Danes, and Germans.

With so many people coming into the city, Antwerp was growing rapidly during the first half of the sixteenth century. Around 1500, the city’s population probably stood at about 40,000 souls, but by mid-century, it may have exceeded 100,000. This impressive population growth made Antwerp the second largest city north of the Alps, after only Paris. Within just a generation or two, Antwerp’s immigrant population surpassed even the city’s native-born population.

The implication for the family historian is that once ancestors are traced to sixteenth-century Antwerp, it is fairly easy for the trail to run cold because of the large immigrant population. This is, of course, a problem for any researcher focusing on sixteenth-century sources, but it is a particular problem with Antwerp records because so many of the city’s inhabitants came from other places. About 85 percent of Antwerp’s immigrants probably came from other urban areas very close to the city. People coming from the towns of Mechelen (Malines) and Leuven (Louvain) probably made up about 35 percent of Antwerp’s immigrants in the 1520s. But scores of other people came from much farther away, drawn by the economic opportunities Antwerp offered. These groups are much more difficult to study because of the kinds of sources available. Sources that trace the origins of migrant populations do not always exist and those that do are difficult to find; in addition, many migrant families routinely avoided activities that might trigger an official record of their presence in a city.

Family historians who encounter a dead end in Antwerp’s sixteenth-century genealogical sources, however, are blessed with a variety of sources to aid in determining the place of origin of immigrant populations. The most important sources for beginning a study of immigration in early modern Antwerp are the citizenship registers, or

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1 Based on population growth rates, An Kint has estimated that an average of about 2000 immigrants per year must have settled in Antwerp. See An Kint, “The Community of Commerce: Social Relations in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp,” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1995), 38.


The archivists of the Antwerp Municipal Archives (Stadsarchief Antwerpen) compiled a modern edition of the *Antwerpse Poortersboeken* culled from the *Vierschaar-Boecken der Stad Antwerpen, 1533–1795*, which are the records of the magistrates containing the judgments of civil and criminal court cases and, because of jurisdictional concerns, lists of all new citizens. The Family History Library of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah, holds only volumes four (1609–1712), five (1712–1795), and six (index) of the *Antwerpse Poortersboeken* (call number 949.321/A1 P4a). The first three volumes of the *Poortersboeken*, which list entries from 1533 to 1608, seem to be available only in the reading room of the Antwerp Municipal Archives and in other archives in Belgium. Fortunately the Family History Library has microfilms of the *Burgerschapenregisters, 1502–1795* [FHL Film #622429-622446], which contain the same information as the *Poortersboeken*. Along with the name of the immigrant, and date of the grant of citizenship, these sources also provide information on the immigrant’s place of origin, occupation, and often the name of his or her father.

The use of the *Poortersboeken* is even more promising in cases when immigrants came to Antwerp in family groups. The Beste brothers are a good example of this. The three brothers were from “Nyenwerstadt” in the “Mark” (perhaps Neuenwege near Oldenburg) and worked as sugar refiners in Antwerp. Dierick, Jakob, and Willem de Best, all sons of Peter Beste, came to Antwerp during the first half of the sixteenth century. According to the *Poortersboeken*, Willem de Best obtained Antwerp citizenship on 18 January 1538, and Jakob a few years later on 23 May 1544. Dierick does not appear in the registers, so he probably never obtained citizenship.

However, the *Poortersboeken* contain only a minority of all the foreigners who migrated to sixteenth-century Antwerp, because far fewer immigrants obtained citizenship than actually entered the city. Part of the reason that most immigrants did not become citizens is that the most common ways to become one were either through marriage to a citizen or by purchasing citizenship. But in Antwerp those who were known as *ingezetenen* (established residents) had almost the same rights and privileges as citizens did. There were several reasons why an immigrant might want citizenship, such as an exemption from local tolls and being subject to the jurisdiction of local courts, but these privileges were usually given to established residents of the city too. The most important reason for wanting citizenship was because non-citizens were excluded from membership in the city’s craft guilds.

Adding to the difficulty in tracing Antwerp’s sixteenth-century immigrants is that no records of those with *ingezetenen* status were kept. The best the family historian can

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5 The term ‘citizenship’ had a different meaning before the French Revolution than it does today. National citizenship, as we understand it now, was not a concept understood by early modern Europeans. In the sense discussed in this essay, citizenship was conferred by the city—for example, individuals from nearby towns were not citizens of Antwerp.


7 Ibid., A–L, 1540–1562 [FHL Film #622439].

do is to scour the various registers of notaries and of the city aldermen to find individuals
who were identified as ingezetenen. Bear in mind, however, that notarial registers and
aldermen’s records were not kept to track immigrants, rather they were mostly concerned
with recording contracts, so searching these records is a bit like looking for a needle in a
haystack. There are hundreds of volumes of notarial registers of the city’s notary publics
and of the Certificatieboeken (certificate books) of the city aldermen. The Family History
Library has microfilm copies of all the existing early modern notarial registers from the
regional state archives in Antwerp (Rijksarchief te Antwerpen), totaling approximately
230 reels. The Antwerp Municipal Archives has even more extensive holdings in notarial
records that have not yet been microfilmed.

Notarial registers are kept chronologically by notary, so researchers will need to
examine the registers of multiple notaries for any given range of years. In early modern
Antwerp, wills were also registered with notaries, so it is often possible to gather a great
deal of family information for immigrants who left wills in the notarial records. For
example, Evaerdt Ursinger was an ingezeten (established resident) of Antwerp, but not a
citizen. In his will, recorded by the Antwerp notary Jacobus de Platea on 4 July 1525, we
read, “Evaerdt Ursinger, born in Nuremberg, now established resident of Antwerp makes
his testament…”9 It is quite likely that Ursinger intended to live out the rest of his life in
the city without becoming a citizen.

The Certificatieboeken, records kept by the city aldermen, are also important
sources for determining place of origin for Antwerp’s early modern immigrant
population. The earliest entries in the Certificatieboeken (for 1488–1513) are found in
Renée Doehaerd’s Études Anversois: Documents sur le commerce international à Anvers,
3 vols. (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1962).10 The Certificatieboeken have been microfilmed, but
do not appear to be available in the Family History Library. While, like the notarial
registers, the Certificatieboeken were public records, they were kept for reasons other
than tracking citizens and immigrants. The Certificatieboeken include the certificates that
individuals or firms requested from the city magistrates as documents to establish matters
of legal fact. While anyone could request a certificate from the magistrates, most requests
came from merchants. Businessmen often were required to provide witnesses to attest to
the truthfulness of the matter under consideration. For example, a merchant might request
a certificate from the magistrates affirming that certain products with his mark belonged
to him and not some other merchant, or that a particular individual is authorized to
represent him in commercial affairs. The point of the merchant requesting a certificate
was to avoid potential disputes. Here is a typical certificate from 1542 identifying Wolf
Pruner as the agent of the Welser firm of Augsburg:

Hans Bertel, age 42 born in Litchen in Tirol, Wolff Puschinger of Leipzig age
38, and Sebastian de Maur of Branne in Bavaria, all merchants resident within
the city, truthfully declare that they have known for a long time Wolff Pruner
merchant from Munich in Bavaria who also is resident within the city, and
that the same Wolff Pruner is the factor of Hans Welser and brothers of

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9 Notariële Akten, 1524–1543, J. de Platea (1525), 50–51 (FHL film #1069420). This record is also found
in Jakob Strieder, ed. Aus Antwerpener Notariatsarchiven: Quellen zur deutschen wirtschaftsgeschichte des
10 Available at the Family History Library, Salt Lake City, call number 949.321/A1 U3d.
Augsburg and Nuremberg, for all wares and goods and business of Hans Welser and brothers.\textsuperscript{11}

In this brief record, we find the place of origin of four Antwerp residents and the ages of two of them. Further research identified Wolf Puschinger, one of the witnesses in the certificate, as the Antwerp factor for two of Augsburg’s largest merchant families, the Herwarts and the Herberts. While the above record tells us that Wolf Puschinger was born in Leipzig about 1504, the notarial register of Jacobus de Platea indicates that he probably came to Antwerp sometime around 1532, which is the year he rented a house in the city.\textsuperscript{12} He appears to have lived the rest of his life in the city without ever becoming a citizen, dying around 1559. Research into the records of the city’s bond markets show that Jeronimus Puschinger, Wolf’s son, was important in Antwerp financial markets in the 1560s.\textsuperscript{13} Jeronimus Puschinger married Susanna Smits (a native of Antwerp) and the two had a daughter named Beatrix born in December, 1577.\textsuperscript{14}

American family historians are accustomed to thinking in terms of tracing the lines of their immigrant ancestors from their origins in a particular area of Europe to North America. What we rarely consider, however, is that even within Europe, migration was a common phenomenon long before the period when scores of people left their native lands for new opportunities in America. Europeans, too, often encounter difficulty in tracing their ancestors because migrants were rarely differentiated from local natives in most official records in the premodern period. Several years ago, I had a conversation with an Antwerp archivist whose family name was Imhoff, which he knew to be an old Antwerp family. He was surprised when I told him that the Imhoff family actually originated in Germany and had emigrated to Antwerp in the early sixteenth century. This connection could not have been made using more obvious genealogical sources. Only by extending the search to include notarial and commercial records could actual origin of the family be established allowing for the discovery of his immigrant ancestors.

In this short article, I have tried to show that genealogists researching in early modern Antwerp, a fast-growing city with a large foreign population, have at their disposal several types of sources that can help them trace the place of origin of the city’s immigrants. The most important for tracing immigrants to the city are the Poortersboeken (citizenship register), the notarial records, and the Certificatieboeken (certificate books). Most of these sources are available on microfilm at the Family History Library, but some are only available in Belgian archives. Researchers should not overlook these sources when tracing Antwerp’s early modern immigrant population.

\textsuperscript{11} Stadsarchief Antwerpen (SAA), \textit{Certificatieboeken} 5, f° 49, October 25, 1542 (author’s translation).
\textsuperscript{12} Notariële akten, 1524–1543, J. De Platea (1532), 189-90 (FHL Film #1069420).
\textsuperscript{13} Stadsarchief Antwerpen, T-1275, Vreemde Crediteuren (16\textsuperscript{th}–18\textsuperscript{th} centuries), unnumbered pages.
\textsuperscript{14} See the baptism register for the Antwerp’s Onze Lieve Vrouw Kerk (Our Lady’s Church) for 1577 (FHL Film #621561).
DONALD J. HARRELD earned his Bachelor of Arts in History and Psychology, his Master of Arts and PhD in Early Modern History, all at the University of Minnesota. He is currently an associate professor of history at Brigham Young University. He was a visiting research scholar at the Center for Urban and Cultural History at Universiteit Antwerpen in Antwerp, Belgium, as well as a visiting assistant professor with the Department of History at Wright State University in Dayton, Ohio. His research specialization is the social and economic history of early modern Europe. Dr. Harreld is the author of *High Germans in the Low Countries: German Merchants and Commerce in Golden Age Antwerp* (Leiden, 2004), and several articles on history of the Low Countries and Europe. Professor Harreld is currently writing a book on Dutch voyages of exploration of the early seventeenth century, and is working on a project that examines the social networks of early modern merchants.
Finding an ancestor’s birthplace or residence within his or her native country may cause anxiety among family historians and genealogists because passenger lists record country of origin while usually ignoring the village, town, or region where emigrants were born or resided prior to emigrating. This information determines where a researcher must look for records to verify birth, christening, marriage, or other events, and to locate ancestors and contemporary relatives. In addition, the country recorded on the passenger lists or arrival records, in the destination country, is often the emigrant’s country of embarkation, not the birth country.

Emigrants often spent time living in an alien European country before departing for their final destinations. To find the record-keeping locality, the family historian needs to consult records created and archived within the country and region of origin that give the birthplace and residence of the emigrant. Passport applications and passports record this information with other personal information about the emigrant, such as physical description, occupation, traveling companions, and character, solvency, or military status.1

In order to locate these records, a general knowledge of passport law helps the historian to find where the records will be archived so the researcher may search on-site, locate microfilm and online documents, or request copies.

The following brief paper summarizes French passport law governing emigration and travel within the country. In nineteenth-century France, these laws required government agencies to control the issuance of passports, beginning with an application, and eventually passport issuance, depending upon whether the emigrant or traveler wished to move within or across the borders. Traveling within the borders required an internal passport, and crossing borders required a passport for foreign lands. Each was issued by a different entity and resulted in records being archived in various locations, as well as creating differing record types. Nineteenth-century passports were issued in two parts, the passport given to the applicant and the stub, or souche, retained by the issuing authority.2 The application files also contain correspondence written by the applicant requesting issuance of the passport.

Travelers did not consistently observe the laws, and the laws were in suspension from time to time which means that the archived documents are incomplete.3 Wars, fires,

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floods, and other catastrophic events have also resulted in a loss of documentation. These records have not been widely extracted or microfilmed, but where they exist they are valuable historical clues to emigrant origins.

As early as the reign of Louis XI (1461–1483) passports were issued to prominent persons and royalty to ensure safe transit to European destinations. In the nineteenth century the issuance of passports was broadened to include all citizens, and documents were created and kept by government agencies.

**CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY**

The following passport law summary is taken from *Dictionnaire de l'Administration française* by Maurice Block (Paris, 1856), pages 80, 81, under the heading *passport*. The translation summarizes the content of each entry. The letter “L” means Law, “D” decree and other abbreviations should be self-evident.

- **1789**—Before this date passports were issued only for citizens from certain aristocratic or economic social classes.
- **3–4 September 1791**—Abolition of passport law.
- **28 March 1792**—Decree reestablished and passport usage generalized.
- **8 and 19 September 1792**—Decree suppresses passports again.
- **6 February 1793 and 10 Vendémiaire year IV, (2 Oct. 1795)**—Forms the basis of today’s legislation on this subject.
- **L. 5 May 1855**—No one may leave his home canton without a passport issued by the Préfet (départements over 40,000 inhabitants) or the Maire; if for abroad, the Préfet must issue the passport, and for Paris the Préfet de police alone may issue them.
- **D. 28 March 1792 and c. 20 August 1816**—The president of Legislative Chambers may issue passports to the Chamber members.
- **D. 23 and 27 August 1792**—Passports for Ambassadors and foreign ministers and their family members and attendants are granted by the Minister of foreign affairs.
- **L. 17 Ventôse, an IV art. 1er, and C. P., art. 155**—Two witnesses required unless the issuing authority knows the applicant personally.
- **L. 28 March 1792**—Military personnel receive *feuilles de route* instead of

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5 Ibid.
passports.

D. 26 March 1852, art. 12—Diplômes issued to members of sociétés de secours mutuels approuvées, replace passports for workers.

L. 17 November 1797, art. 1er—Passports indicate surname, name, age, profession, birthplace, residence, physical description of the applicant and destination, where he must show his passport to the mayor and obtain a residence permit.

D. 18 Sept. 1807—Visa is applied for additional destinations.

Instr. Min, 6 August 1827—Passports are issued to individuals, but one passport can include husband, wife, children under fifteen, and two brothers or sisters if one is a minor under supervision of the other.

D. 11 July 1810, art. 4—Passports are good for one year from day of delivery.

Decis. 11 July 1810, art 9—Price fixed at two francs for interior of France and ten francs for abroad.

D. 18 September 1807, art 5—Visas are free.

Avis du C. 22 December 1811—Free passports may be issued to indigents unable to pay the fee.

L. 13 June 1790—Free passports with travel aid can be issued to beggars or indigents, who are citizens who wish to return home, as well as to foreigners without means who must leave French territory.

Circ. Min, 25 October 1833—The Préfet issues free passports with travel aid.

D. 29 July 1792—All agents of the public authority may demand that travelers present their passport.

L. 10 Vendémiaire. An IV, tit. III, art. 6 and 7—All individuals traveling without a passport are arrested and detained. Travelers not verifying a domicile after twenty days are declared vagrants and prosecuted as such.

L. 19 October 1797, art. 7—All foreign travelers to France must leave their passport with the city, which will send it to the interior ministry. A provisional security card is issued awaiting the ministry’s decision. His passport will be retained and he will be ordered to leave France if his presence threatens the public safety and tranquility.
**HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE**

Napoleon instituted many of the above passport laws for internal travel and for travel abroad. Many of these travelers were merchants or migrants who regularly moved from province to province, or to England or other nearby countries for commerce; rarely for resettlement.\(^6\)

Historically, emigrants who left France permanently left because of religious persecution, economic opportunity, adventurism, colonization, imprisonment, or other forces that propelled them from their homeland.

Because France offered a stable homeland during much of its history, with fertile lands and a stable population, the country did not experience emigration in vast numbers during the nineteenth century\(^7\) as did Ireland, Italy, Spain, and other countries where social upheaval, economic conditions, geography, or population pressure compelled inhabitants to seek a better life far from ancestral homes.

However, French emigration has been a continuous, if uneven, phenomenon for centuries. Because France has had an orderly, bureaucratic government and because the population has been stable, with slow increase, laws governing emigration have resulted in documents, preserved in archives, recording the passport application and granting process. Surviving documents preserve vital information about the applicants’, birth place, place of residence, occupations, names of accompanying persons, and dates, all of which are vital to historical researchers. Statistical studies are available that quantify emigration patterns to reveal historical forces and trends affecting the social structure of the country.\(^8\)

We include a bibliography at the end of this article, which will be a growing inventory of meaningful historical analysis on French emigration.

Though concerned primarily with nineteenth-century emigration, we list some antecedents to the nineteenth-century laws governing the issuance of passports to travelers.

During peak emigration periods, an undetermined number of emigrants departed clandestinely because of bureaucratic delays, government efforts to discourage emigration, the cost of passports, and to avoid military duty or creditors, though the latter two seem to be of minor importance.\(^9\) However, those applying for internal passports to cities near ports where ships departed for foreign destinations were suspected of neglecting to apply for and obtain the necessary passports to depart abroad, and choosing instead to bribe their way aboard because they never intended to return to their native land.\(^10\)

In some cases emigrants were recruited by agents of licensed travel companies to

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\(^8\) Ibid.


colonize foreign lands, such as North Africa, Canada, and Atlantic or Caribbean islands. The government actively recruited emigrants to settle Algeria and Morocco along the coast of North Africa.\textsuperscript{11}

All of these factors contributed to the accumulation of documents in many different archives throughout France. Municipal archives, such as Cherbourg and Dunkirk (Dunkerque), hold registers and surches from passports issued to or applied for by emigrants. Departmental archives have gathered originals or copies from local municipalities. Diplomatic archives also preserve records of those who departed for government or military service abroad. In some instances records have been destroyed in one location, but copies exist in another. Where records have been destroyed in one archive researchers may find copies in another.

From the Huguenots of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries to the settlers in Algeria, documents not often consulted for their data on individuals exist, to the advantage of historical and genealogical researchers. Because of their fragmented nature and small numbers in comparison to other records, they have been overlooked to a large measure. For these reasons, there are currently few databases of extracted information or digitized images of these records to be found among the rapidly growing resources found on the Internet. This paper encourages increased awareness and accelerated extraction of these historical documents.

During an exploratory visit to a few archives, largely along the western coast of France, repositories in La Rochelle, Charente Maritime; Nantes, Loire Atlantique; Quimper, Finistere; and Bordeaux, Gironde all contained records useful for emigration research. The departmental archives catalog these records in the series L, eighteenth century; and series M, nineteenth century. These series contain passport stubs and application correspondence, as well as copies of laws and decrees governing passport issuance. In addition, in the municipal archives in Cherbourg, a small collection of passport stubs was cataloged in series H. The Dunkirk (Dunkerque) Archives holds a collection of bound internal passport surches. There are certainly many more French archives where these documents are kept, awaiting the historical researcher’s attention.

Researchers studying emigration patterns, and local historians or genealogists, will find a rich source of information if they will look at the records originating at the emigrant’s starting point. Publishing these documents or their contents completes the emigration story by connecting the starting point to the destination, and the families settling in foreign lands to the homeland, telling a compelling story of cultural as well as familial migration.

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Irish Emigration and Immigration to North America

David S. Ouimette and David E. Rencher

Introduction

Irish immigration to the United States and Canada has been marked by peak periods of mass migration in history. Major historical events have triggered the influx of large numbers of Irish immigrants seeking better wages, more comfortable lifestyles, and political or religious freedom. Careless stereotypes have been attached to the immigrants and their methods of travel and lifestyles, but there were numerous ways to immigrate to North America and each course had the potential to create the records needed to identify a home county or parish.

Irish emigration across the Atlantic began in the early 1600s. Emigration patterns mirrored the ebbs and flows of emigration from the rest of the British Isles with two notable exceptions: first, the emigration of Scots-Irish Presbyterians to North America in the mid-1700s, and second, the famine-initiated emigration of mostly Catholics in the mid-1800s.

This article focuses on the many record sources in America and Ireland that may be used to link the Irish immigrants with their origins in Ireland. Similar record sources may help trace the many Irish who went to France, South Africa, India, Australia, New Zealand, and elsewhere.

Research in North America

The research techniques for determining the place of origin for an Irish immigrant involve many of the same methodologies that would be used to trace any immigrant. This paper focuses on sources proven especially effective in tracing Irish immigrants. The primary sources to examine include naturalization papers, land records, probate documents, church registers, census records, tombstone inscriptions, vital records, newspapers, military papers, and most importantly, family records.

Immigrants have different lifestyle patterns based on economics, religion, and the time of immigration. Generally, the heaviest Scots-Irish immigration occurred from 1740–80. Many of these immigrants traveled as families or friends, sometimes immigrating with the minister and their entire congregation. The Catholic immigration gained steam in the 1820s, peaked in 1853, and continued into the early 1900s. Family migration often occurred over a period of years, with one or two family members making the initial journey, followed by another relative, then another. Often they would find work in America, save their earnings, and send the money back to Ireland to assist additional family members to immigrate. This pattern of family migration—referred to as “chain migration”—allowed poorer families to pay for passage to America person by person at a pace commensurate with their income.

There are no “absolutes” when doing research on an Irish immigrant problem. It is important to know the religion of the immigrant and as much as possible about who came with them or whom they contacted once they arrived in North America.
MIGRATION ROUTES FROM IRELAND TO NORTH AMERICA

The principal ports for persons leaving Ireland were Dublin; Waterford; Cork; Tralee, Kerry; Limerick; Sligo; Donegal; Londonderry (Derry); Belfast; Dundalk, Louth; Drogheda, Louth; and Galway. Passage from Ireland was expensive for the poverty-stricken immigrants. Often the passage would be paid by estate landlords, opting to pay the price of immigration rather than support the family on the estate. The fare in 1827 from County Louth was £4 10s. to New York, and about £2 10s. to Québec. This accounted for the tremendous flow of immigrants sailing to Canada and then working their way down into the United States if that was their ultimate destination. From the Minutes of Evidence before the Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom in 1827, those giving testimony stated that their preferred destination was New York. However, some of those being questioned thought that the immigrants could be persuaded to go to Canada with the proper incentives.

Giving further testimony on the subject of the situation of the immigrants, John Leslie Foster stated:

“I know some instances in which proprietors are now giving at the rate of £3 to assist individuals in emigration; and I wish to add, that many thousand individuals in the county of Louth would most gratefully accept that amount, upon the terms of immediately employing it in going to America, and taking all chances for what might there befall [sic] them. A majority of those who have already emigrated from that part of Ireland in this year, had not each of them so much as £1 in their pocket, after paying for their passage. I have made a good deal of inquiry upon the subject.”

As early as 1827, witnesses were giving testimony that a failure in the potato crop would have a devastating effect on the population of Ireland. Minor crop failures had already precipitated the flow of emigration to other lands, and not even the prognosticators could envision to what degree their predictions would come true. The population of Ireland in 1801 was approximately four million people. By 1841, it had reached nearly eight million. Yet in 1901, the population was again at approximately four million persons. Thus, in a century, the population had remained stagnant because of death and emigration.

The obvious ports of arrival—New York, Boston, Philadelphia, St. John’s, Québec, Baltimore, and Charleston—are always thought of first. However, there were numerous Irish who entered the United States through points not usually considered for Irish immigration, such as Ogdensburg, New York; Galveston, Texas; and the route north of the Great Lakes and dropping down into Minnesota.

Some immigrants arrived in North America at a port far from their intended destination. Many would seek the least expensive passage, sailing from the west coast of Ireland to Nova Scotia, with the intent of working their way further into Canada or into the United States. These immigrants often left a trail of historical records in one place after another before arriving at their final home.

SOURCES FOR IDENTIFYING IMMIGRANT ORIGINS

Many record sources preserve significant biographical details of immigrants, including the names of friends and relatives who also immigrated, the names of relatives

1 British Parliamentary Papers, First, Second, and Third Reports from the Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom with Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index, 4 volumes (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1968), 2:337.
who stayed behind, dates and places of vital events, places of residence, occupation, military
service, religious persuasion, and even personal appearance. Although discovering the place
of origin is usually the ultimate goal in immigrant research, other personal and family clues
are worth seeking for their own intrinsic value, as well as their potential to clearly identify
the immigrant in place, time, and family. Look for all the biographical details you can—not
just place of origin—as you search the records for your immigrant.

As you examine the record sources for clues about your Irish immigrants, it’s a good
idea to conduct the research in two phases. In Phase I, examine sources where the
immigrant lived. In Phase II, examine sources where the immigrant was in transit.
Remember that every source of information you discover about your immigrant ancestor
begins a paper trail leading to more record sources. For example, a twentieth-century U.S.
census may tell you your ancestor’s year of immigration or naturalization, triggering a more
informed search of ships’ passenger lists or naturalization papers, respectively.

Phase I—Sources Where the Immigrant Lived

There are sources in every community where the immigrant lived that may provide
vital information. The following sources are the most commonly used in this process:

1) Naturalization records – Declarations of intention (first papers) and naturalization
petitions (second papers) are especially useful because they list a place of origin. Beginning
in 1906, these documents include such precise details as birth date, birthplace (Irish
townland or parish), and last foreign address.

2) Land records – In some instances, the first land record of an immigrant—perhaps a deed
or mortgage—will list the previous place of residence. If this is out of the country, the record
will give the place they came from.

3) Probate records – Wills and other probate instruments are rich in family history details
and can help solve many genealogical research problems. Probate research is complicated by
the need to examine documents of many relations and friends of different surnames.

4) Church records – Many congregations would receive new members upon the
recommendation of another minister or congregation. Certificates of members in good
standing were often filed with the other records of the Church. These records tell you the
immigrant’s congregation before coming to America and thus open the door for ancestral
research in Ireland.

5) Census records – While census records are usually not specific in identifying an exact
place of origin, they can be useful to pinpoint and create a timeline of movement from place
to place. The twentieth-century censuses specify the year of immigration to the United States
as well as the naturalization status of immigrants. The 1920 census states the year of
naturalization, helping narrow the search for naturalization papers.

6) Tombstone inscriptions – Many Irish-born Americans have their birthplace stated on
their tombstones. Names of family members may be listed far from where the immigrant was
interred. Other family tombstones may record the information you need, but will remain undiscovered until after you have reconstructed the entire family.

7) Birth, marriage, and death records – These vital records often contain the most useful genealogical details on immigrant ancestors. The immigrant’s death certificate may state the precise birthplace in Ireland. Birth and marriage records often state the birthplaces of parents; remember to check the vital records of all your immigrant ancestors’ children. Birth, marriage and death records are most useful in the later years (after 1900). Be sure to identify the source of the information and determine his or her credibility. Remember that in the instance of death certificates, the information for birth or origin is secondary.

8) Newspapers – Obituaries are especially important sources of information on immigrant ancestors. Because of their size and scope, newspapers remain one of the more difficult sources to use. Look for indexes and centennial issues listing biographies on early residents.

9) Military records – Military pension applications, service records, and draft registration cards are among the best sources for learning about ancestors, including immigrants. Any of these records might provide birth date, birthplace, and other genealogical details helpful in the search for immigrant origins.

10) Family records - Through the years, families gather and preserve information. However, as the generations get further removed from the immigrant, the clues are lost. These family records are most likely inherited by the first daughter in each generation. Trace the descendants of the oldest female lines first, and then work in descending order of birth.

11) Family heirlooms and artifacts – You may find artifacts that will give you clues about an ancestor. These may include family Bibles, samplers, quilts, military awards, uniform buttons or Presbyterian communion tokens.

12) Railroad retirement records – Historically, the railroad was a major employer for the Irish, both during construction and operation. Many of these occupation records are located at the National Archives Branch in Chicago, Illinois.

13) School records – A number of the Irish became notable figures in the history of the Americas. When they did, school records become a vital source of biographical information.

14) Passport records – Many of the Irish returned to Ireland at some point during their lives. When they did, they may have applied for a passport with information on their place of origin.

15) Funeral home records – A source often overlooked in American research, funeral homes have a variety of content based on the needs of the business owner. To find an online database for the names and addresses of current funeral homes, perform a Google search on the term “funeral homes.”
16) **Orphan records** – Thousands of orphans were sent from Ireland to North America. These family lines can be some of the most challenging, yet the most rewarding when solved.

17) **Published histories** – Printed family histories are particularly good sources of biographical material throughout the East and Midwest. These histories were often written by a family member with first-hand knowledge of the immigrant.

**Phase II—Sources Where the Immigrant Was in Transit**

Some sources identify the immigrant *while in transit to the final destination*. These were created far from where the person may have settled and raised a family. They are more difficult to identify, since you may not know the route the immigrant took to get to their final destination. The following types of sources are included in this phase:

1) **Ship passenger lists** – Early ships’ manifests are usually searched to gain information about the immigrant’s arrival, including the names and ages of traveling companions. These records rarely give details about the precise origins of the passengers, stating only that the passengers were from Ireland or that they were British. Only in the late 1800s onward do passenger lists record detailed places of origin.

2) **Quarantine hospital records** – Some of these records are known to exist in Canada, particularly for Grosse-Ile, Québec. Many children were orphaned while their parents were in quarantine, and details about their dispositions are recorded.

3) **Church records in Canada** – Because Canada was still a part of the Commonwealth, Canadian marriage records often list the place of nativity/origin.

4) **Newspapers** – Beyond obituaries, newspapers contain other information of value to family historians searching for their immigrant ancestors. Some newspapers have advertisements for lost relatives, especially the *Boston Pilot* (Boston) and the *Truth Teller* (New York City) in the United States and the *Toronto Mirror* and the *New Brunswick Courier* in Canada.

**FAMILY RECONSTITUTION**

Extensive research on Irish families in North America shows that, in most cases, the immigrants did not come alone. While there are certainly some instances where only one family member ever came, there many more examples of families that immigrated in parts or phases.

Often, money was earned from labors in North America and sent back to Ireland to send the next family member abroad. Thus, uncovering all information about interaction between the immigrant and his or her family and friends is an important strategy for solving many research problems. In many instances, the other family members are identifiable only through meticulous research. The commonness of some Irish surnames will sometimes make the problem appear overwhelming. Certain pieces of information, however, will illuminate the interaction of family members. It is useful, for example, to determine who the witnesses
were at key events such as marriages, land purchases, naming of godparents, and signing of probate records. Other helpful information might be where family members are living in large cities, what churches they are attending, and what other names appear in family burial plots. These facts will help you piece together and reconstitute the family as it was in previous generations.

**ANALYSIS OF EVIDENCE AND SOURCES**

Researchers rarely agree on the method of analysis of any particular research problem. This is mainly due to the individualized nature of their research experience. While there is general agreement on what constitutes solid research fundamentals and documentation, the art of employing all of one’s experiences in solving an immigrant problem defies description. Too often, persons working on their own lines are “blinded” by a variety of factors. Often, family traditions get in the way of solving the problem. In one instance, a family was insistent that their ancestor came from Belfast, County Antrim, Ireland. When the problem was solved, the marriage of the fourth-great-grandparents was located in the Church of Ireland parish registers of St. Andrews Dublin, County Dublin, Ireland. Years of searching the records of Belfast had failed to bear fruit. However, when an objective evaluation of the problem yielded no evidence for Belfast, the search expanded to include other possibilities.

In forming a hypothesis of what the evidence reveals, do not discount evidence that does not agree with the hypothesis. Evaluate all of the evidence and determine what the facts are and which elements are merely hearsay. As you compile the facts, ages will vary, localities will disagree, the descendants of younger children in an immigrant family may have less information than the descendants of older children. Solid family history research includes a reasonably thorough search of available records, careful documentation of what you found and did not find, good source citations, thoughtful resolution of conflicting evidence, and well-reasoned conclusions.

**MIGRATION AND EMIGRATION ROUTES**

In documenting an immigrant’s journey from place of origin to North America, it is again useful to divide the research into two phases:

1) **The migration from home to port city**, unless the emigrant resides in a port community. Because there were no regular schedules of vessels sailing, the emigrant may have resided for a time in the port city, awaiting passage. Ireland's elaborate canal system may have been the vehicle for an ancestor’s migration. There were also stage lines and later railways connecting all the major cities. Ultimately, many would have walked.

2) **The journey by ship across the Atlantic** may have taken a number of irregular paths. People leaving the eastern coast of Ireland (ports of Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk, Waterford, and Belfast) often found it better to take passage to Liverpool, England where there were more vessels heading for North America. Again, they may have stayed in Liverpool for some period of time. Whatever route was used, the ship passage would take anywhere from a month and a half to three months, depending on weather conditions and destination.

These two phases of the emigrant’s journey can provide clues to his or her place of origin. Records created in each phase may also provide clues about the emigrant and his or
her family. The following lists provide a few examples of the records available in each of the phases:

**Phase I— Sources Created during the Migration from Home to Port City**

1) **Church records in port cities** – Emigrants often spent days or weeks in the port of departure before securing passage to America. While away from home, couples were married and babies were born, and these events were often recorded in the parish registers of port cities. This was particularly common in the larger ports of Cork, Tralee, Limerick, Galway, Sligo, Donegal, Londonderry (Derry), Belfast, Newry, Drogheda, Dublin, Waterford, and Wexford.

2) **1841 and 1851 census fragments in Ireland** – These nominal censuses recorded the following details on each individual in the household: name, age, sex, relationship to the head of the household, marital status, year of marriage, occupation, and literacy (the 1851 census also listed religion). The same information was also kept on a separate schedule for family members who were absent on census day, including those who emigrated.

3) **National school registers** – If the emigrant’s family had any children attending school when the family left for America, consult the school records for each child. These records occasionally contain details in a “notes” column regarding the migration or emigration of students.

4) **Estate papers** – Estate papers may include lists of tenants who emigrated with the assistance of the landowner. Tenants on these estates generally had their passage paid and were often given “landing money” in addition to the expenses already paid.

5) **Newspapers** – Newspapers may contain different elements regarding the process of emigration, but some of the most useful are the lists of passengers thanking their ship’s captain and crew for a safe journey. These articles often give a list of many of the adult passengers, especially males.

6) **Ordinance Survey lists for 1834** – Primarily for the County of Londonderry (Derry), these lists were compiled to determine what skilled laborers were emigrating out of Ireland. The British government was concerned with the loss of this skilled labor force and the poverty of much of the population left behind.

7) **Poor Law records** – Poor Law records identify the destitute who sought government support for food and shelter. These documents reveal the names of people admitted to poor houses and provide sobering details about the harsh life of the sick, needy, and homeless in Ireland. Prior to the establishment of the Poor Law system in 1838, these records were to be found in the Church of Ireland parishes.

8) **Church Fasti for the Presbyterian Church** – The Church Fasti provides researchers with a comprehensive list of the ministers of the Presbyterian Church and Seceder Ministers, often giving details about their departure from Ireland to America with their family, several families, or entire congregations.

9) **Tombstone inscriptions** – Some tombstones in Ireland were erected by children who emigrated to America, dedicated to the memory of the deceased parents. These tombstone
inscriptions often name the children and state their addresses in America.

10) **Post-1858 wills and administrations** – Detailed summaries of the wills in the existing indexes often give information regarding estates still unsettled after several years.

11) **Bibliographic sources** – Hayes Manuscript Sources for the History of the Irish Civilisation—Pay particular attention not only to the heading “Emigration,” but also “Irish-Abroad U.S.A.” and “Irish-Abroad Canada.”

**Phase II—Sources Created during the Journey by Ship across the Atlantic**

1) **Census records in port cities out of Ireland** – Most valuable are the censuses of England and Wales for the years 1841–1901.

2) **Church records in port cities outside of Ireland** – Look for births, marriages, and deaths in the parish registers of the port city where your ancestor booked passage, even if it is outside Ireland. For example, Liverpool, Lancashire, England has eighteen Catholic Churches with parish registers.

3) **Poor Law records in the port cities outside of Ireland** – The overseers of the poor were directed to take an examination of any persons entering the parish who looked like they were destitute and might need assistance from the poor relief.

4) **Civil Registration, England, Scotland, and Wales** – Civil registration of births, marriages, and deaths began in England and Wales in July 1837 and in Scotland in 1855.

**Using Surname Finders as Immigration Tools**

When researchers feel they have exhausted all of the possible leads in the country in which the immigrant settled, they usually resort to “shots in the dark” (One note of caution: inexperienced researchers often mistakenly begin this process long before better alternatives are exhausted.). While this approach is not to be totally disregarded (e.g. David Rencher found his fourth great-grandfather's marriage in Ireland “browsing one evening”), there are methodologies that the experienced Irish genealogist can apply to take advantage of the tools available.

The Householder’s Index is a surname index to the Tithe Applotments (1823–38) and Griffith’s Valuation (1848–64). It is widely used to locate persons of the same family name in the county or parish where the immigrant originated. Another finding aid is Grenham’s Irish Surnames, a CD-ROM designed around a database of surnames extracted from Griffith’s Valuation. You can use this CD to identify all the places where any particular surname appears in Griffith’s Valuation, along with the number of occurrences of the surname in each locality. You can enter two surnames and see a list of Irish parishes where families of both surnames coexisted.

In many instances, there are not enough “connectors” to make the leap from North America to Ireland. People researching ancestors with a common Irish name must have other identifying facts about the individual. If you want me to find a Patrick Murphy in Ireland for you, give me thirty seconds; there are literally hundreds. However, if you know that Patrick had brothers named Lawrence, John, and Dennis; that his mother's maiden name was Lynch; that Lawrence was married in Ireland; that Patrick was a carpenter etc., then we have something we can work with, even though there may be no indication of a parish or county of origin. This type of information is learned by exhausting all of the possible record sources.
here before attempting to connect Patrick with his native parish.

*Griffith’s Valuation* and the Tithe Applotment books are widely known to be woefully incomplete, and thus risky if used incorrectly. However, as a surname-locating tool, they are adequate for the “shot in the dark” approach. The power of the tool is leveraged in this way:

1) Two surnames must be known about the immigrant if the greatest success is to be achieved. Thus, the surname of the immigrant’s mother, the surname of the spouse (if married in Ireland), or another related surname should be selected for simultaneous research.

2) Select the counties in Ireland where the immigrant is believed to have immigrated from, or do all of the counties if you choose.

3) Identify the parishes where each surname occurs and compile a list of these. Compile a second list of the parishes where both surnames occur. Be sure to record the number associated with each entry in *Griffith’s Valuation*. This number will be used later.

4) Many researchers do steps 1–3 above, but neglect to do the following, which we feel narrows the search the most and is the time saver if there is one. Use the 1851 Census Population Tables found in the *British Parliamentary Papers* and identify the populations of the parishes on your two lists.

5) Now take the number associated with the *Griffith’s Valuation* listings and divide it into the population figure for the corresponding parish. This tells you how significant the surname is in the parish.

6) Once you have established the significance of the surnames in each parish, you can construct a list ranked in descending order of probability. From this list, you now branch into searching other genealogical records looking for the “connectors” (i.e. known christenings, marriages, etc.).

This technique will work with other records that have broad ranges of coverage. For example, the *Hearth Money Rolls* could be used for a Presbyterian problem in Northern Ireland.

Remember you are not using the surname locating tools to find an entry with your ancestor’s name on it—rather, you are using the power of the broad distribution of surnames to focus the efforts of your research in other records. Too many researchers are discouraged when these broad tools fail to yield the exact name they are looking for. If you find an exact entry for your ancestor, be pleasantly surprised, but don't expect it.

With broad picture in view, it is also obvious that the date of your surname distribution tool does not have to include the exact date your immigrant was in Ireland. To many this will sound incredible, but remember you are leveraging the power of the probability that the two surnames will intersect in any given parish. Sound statistical principles bear this one out. Even though the population changes over time, the change is not drastic enough to greatly disrupt the surname distribution. Thus, use the tool closest to the period when you are trying to identify your immigrant.

**CONCLUSION**

Millions of Irish men, women, and children came to America in search of a better future. Often, they did not know where they would ultimately end up as they boarded vessels
in their native land. During the process of immigrating, situations changed and routes were redirected. Even today, this happens on a regular basis—ask anyone who has had airline reservations rerouted from coast to coast. The odds of solving immigration problems are significantly higher when you search the areas where the persons are known to have lived and interacted with others.

The diversity of causes of emigration from Ireland created a number of records that the Irish researcher rarely discovers. Records of immigrants are buried in estate papers, Poor Law Union books, even National School registers. However, until a general idea of the area from which an immigrant came is determined, examining the wealth of records in Ireland remains a formidable task. There are no exhaustive efforts underway to extract all of the immigrant names from these records and compile them into a useable tool. Rather, as with most other countries, random lists are printed in numerous scattered periodicals, books, and articles.

If the Irish researcher is to successfully discover the link between North America (or elsewhere) and Ireland, a thorough search of the records might be necessary in the county where the immigrant settled. This point cannot be overstated, and those of us who constantly deal with immigration problems have seen the rate of success of those who ignore this strategy. Time and again, researchers fail and become discouraged when adherence to some simple techniques and perseverance would better solve the immigration problem.

**USEFUL WEBSITES AND ELECTRONIC DATABASES**


4. Mystic Seaport. Ship Registers beginning with New York Marine Register (1857) through the Record of American and Foreign Shipping for 1900. 55 volumes (1M records). Online <http://www.mysticseaport.org/library/initiative/ShipRegisterList.cfm> These may be searched at <http://www.mysticseaport.org/library/initiative/VMSearch.cfm> by shipmaster name or by vessel name and rig type. Results include ship name, shipmaster name, and volume where it appears. The ship name links to the volume and page where it appears.

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EUROPEAN EMIGRATION RECORDS

GEORGE R. RYSKAMP

In one of the greatest migrations the world has seen, approximately 55 million Europeans emigrated between 1821 and 1924. The vast majority went to the Americas—33 million to the United States, 5.4 million to Argentina, 4.5 million to Canada, 3.8 million to Brazil, and the rest in smaller but significant numbers to countries from Mexico to Chile as well as to Australia and other Pacific Rim countries. During that period, a large but unnumbered group migrated from one area in Europe to another. These immigrants melded with indigenous peoples and previous immigrants to enrich and forever change the recipient countries and their cultures. While Ireland, Germany, Italy, and England top the list in terms of numbers departing, every country in Europe contributed to the flow.1 These statistics and associated studies are only a black-and-white sketch of the rich tapestry of individual experiences that make up this great migration.2

For genealogists and social historians alike individual emigrant stories, like that of Luisa Cervizzo and her husband Raffaele Ponticelli, are as important as the statistics, giving faces and a sense of reality to the emigration experience. In May 1899, Raffaele immigrated to the United States on board the ship Massilia, sailing from Naples, Italy to New York, where he landed at Ellis Island.3 There he stated that he had never been to the United States before, did not know how to read or write, and was going to join his brother Giuseppe in Danbury, Connecticut. His brother appears to have come from Italy a month earlier on the ship La Champagne sailing from the French port of Le Havre to New York.4

An October 1899 Naples passport application file adds many more details to the story. Raffaele moved north to Boston and worked as a construction worker to raise the funds to bring his wife and children to the United States. In a June 1899 letter addressed to his wife, but written to his sister-in-law, he expresses his regret for not having arranged to write to his wife since his departure. Later in the letter he catches his wife by surprise, because he encloses forty dollars to cover all the expenditures, including the actual fare for her and the children to make it safely to the United States. Only four months after Luisa received the letter from her husband, a passport was issued by the Questura5 of

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2 This article is a revision of one that appeared in the IFLA Journal, based on additional experiences in identifying emigration records in European archives that the author has had while working as director of the Immigrant Ancestors Project at BYU. See http://immigrants.byu.edu.
5 The Questura is a part of the National Police under direction of the Ministry of the Interior with provincial competence. Its primary task is to assure the maintenance of the order and the public security
Naples to Luisa Cervizzo, housewife, and to her four children, on October 28, 1899. That passport application tells a lot about the Ponticellis.6

Raffaele Ponticelli, the son of Antonio Ponticelli and Giovanna Amadio, was born in Gaeta, Naples. He married Luisa Cervizzo in the church of San Giuseppe in Naples on February 2, 1890 at the age of 30. Luisa Cervizzo, the daughter of Pasquale Cervizzo and Anna Vincente, was born in Naples on 28 January 1871 and baptized in that same San Giuseppe parish. She apparently had little education, and was listed as illiterate in the passport application. By 1899, she was a busy housewife and mother of four children:

- Ponticelli, Giovanna, a daughter, born in the Avvocata parish on the 31st of March 1892.
- Ponticelli, Antonio, a son, born in the Avvocata parish on the 4th of December 1893.
- Ponticelli, Anna, a second daughter, born in the Avvocata parish on the 27th of January, 1896.
- Ponticelli, Pasquale, a second son, born in the Porto area on the 12th of June 1898.

The 1910 United States Census shows that Luisa Cervizzo (28), Giovanna (7), Antonio (6), Anna, and Pasquale (1) all made it safely, reaching Raffaele Ponticelli in 1899 in Boston. By 1910, Raffaele and Luisa have an additional four children, born in Massachusetts, and are living in a neighborhood with other immigrants from Italy, Ireland, Sweden, and Armenia. Like many immigrants the parents speak only Italian, but all of the children speak English.7

A personal story such as that of the Ponticellis captures the attention of historians and genealogists alike, when a large family like that of Luisa Cervizzo and Raffaele Ponticelli is reunited through the efforts of a caring husband.

Emigrants like the Ponticellis can be found throughout Europe during the nineteenth century. Under a wide variety of circumstances—rich, poor, convict, free, single, married, seeking economic opportunity, or fleeing political or religious oppression—emigrants left homes and often families to go beyond the boundaries of their homeland, most often to the New World. The records exist to tell those emigration stories, not only collectively, but individually. This paper will look at the types of records that exist to document the story of each emigrant, and how and where to find such records. Of particular interest are those that name individuals and give details about their unique experiences. Of special value are records that give the specific place of origin of the emigrant, as these allow social historians to look at the local emigration experiences not found in statistical summaries, and allow genealogists to begin to trace ancestral lines in the country of origin.

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6 AS Napoli. Questura, 3033, Cervizzo, Luisa (1899).
ARRIVAL RECORDS

The best known records for telling the emigration story are the passenger lists prepared at the time of the arrival of the ship in the destination country. Perhaps most famous are those of Ellis Island, but many others exist, not only within the United States, but for other countries as well. The Hotel de Inmigrantes in Buenos Aires, where millions of immigrants to Argentina arrived, is an example. The best passenger lists in any country offer extensive detail about each immigrant, including a key piece of data: the place of birth. Many lists are accessible in published accounts and Internet sites.

For those tracing the story of an individual immigrant, even the best passenger lists tell only part of the story, and most do not even do that. Over half of those in the United States do not give key details such as place of birth, and few give story details such as reasons for emigrating. In Latin America, even where arrival records are preserved, less information is given. For example, in passenger lists for the years 1891–1930 for the port of Buenos Aires, Argentina, during only four years was the place of birth for the immigrant given. For all of these reasons the records of emigration, generally found in Europe, need to be consulted to give a more complete understanding of the emigration process and its individual stories. Migration historian Robert Swierenga describes this need and process.

Although aggregate statistics abound in official records for the flow of immigration from the mother countries to America, there has been only minimal effort to break down the totals in the more important structural unit of analysis—the individual immigrant. Beyond raw totals and percentages, historians still have relatively little information regarding the large-scale migration of individuals from the Old World to the New World. The major characteristic of the current work in migration studies is that it is “human centered.” The goal is to describe how people acted, as well as what they said about themselves. Migration is viewed as a social process that involved the transplanting of individuals and kin groups from specific sending places to specific receiving places…In the interchange, the sending and receiving communities were linked in numerous ways.

To uncover this anatomy of migration scholars have plundered serial records on both sides of the Atlantic for names of immigrants and biographical information about them…Necessary behavioral facts include last residence or birthplace…birth date, sex, family status, occupation, religion, social class, date of emigrating, destination, and the like. “Hard” biographical data on individuals, families, and networks of families permit one to address the pressing questions surrounding the
immigration experience. First, who migrated? Were the “steady rooted ones” more likely to remove overseas or the “restless ones”? Did farm laborers join the exodus more than farm owners? Were the poor more mobile than the upper and middle classes? Second what demographic, economic, and religious developments in the mother country and local parish “pushed” prospective emigrants to depart? Third, what was the nature of the immigration experience? Was it an individual act or did extended family patterns, kinship networks, or religious groups exist, and if so, how long did these persist in America? Fourth, did the process of migration change significantly over the decades? Finally, what happened to the people who migrated?... Biographical data on tens of thousands of migrants [must be] examined… to answer these and other questions.13

**DEPARTURE RECORDS**

As part of the Immigrant Ancestors Project, sponsored by the Center for Family History and Genealogy at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, work is done to identify records produced in Europe that document the emigration experience and provide the place of birth of the emigrant. Records have been located in municipal, provincial, state, and national government archives, as well as in university and private archives in Germany, Spain, Italy, France, the Netherlands, Portugal, Ireland, and the United Kingdom. This research has revealed a mosaic of laws, regulations, and practical applications that produced a wide variety of records documenting the emigration experience of individual emigrants as they worked through requirements imposed on them before they could emigrate.

**Passenger Lists**

Just as passengers were recorded in most ports as they disembarked, so were they often listed as they sailed from the ports of Europe. In all five of the largest mass emigration ports lists were maintained: Hamburg, Bremen, Liverpool, Le Havre, and Naples. Sadly, only those of Hamburg have survived the ravages of war and bureaucratic archival cleansing. The Hamburg records have been microfilmed and indexed.14

Existing passenger lists have been found for ports, such as Lisbon and Porto, Portugal; Llanes, Spain; Naples, Italy; and Bordeaux and La Rochelle, France, even for scattered years before mass migration. Some, such as those found in Bordeaux, Nantes, and Bayonne, France even go back as far as the late seventeenth century.15 The information in these records varies from only the name, age, and port of destination to more detailed descriptions of passengers including their places of birth, occupations, parents, stated reasons for emigrating, procedures followed, and many other facts. None of these have been indexed and many have only been recently identified and have never

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15 These and other factors about existing emigration records are drawn from the personal experiences of the author and BYU Immigrant Ancestors Project student interns working in European archives during the last five years.
been the subject of academic study. Finding others that may exist will require further visits to municipal and provincial archives in port cities in each European country.

**Other Port of Departure Records Associated with Passengers Leaving on Particular Ships**

Passenger lists often do not answer the challenge to locate the birthplaces of immigrant ancestors, nor the challenge to give the detail that immigration historians need to fully understand the emigration process. Of the millions of Europeans who migrated between 1820 and 1920, less than fifteen percent appear in currently available passenger lists—arrival or departure—that tell their birthplace. Practically none of the 17 million who went to Latin America appear on such records. Emigration records in the home country tell much more of the story, such as in the case of the Ponticellis.

Fortunately, passenger lists were only one approach to controlling passenger departures. Other procedures that may have captured information about the emigrants after they had booked passage are found at the port of departure:

a) **Passports.** Often prepared on printed forms or in register books, these show that the emigrant received a passport, often identifying the specific ship of departure and the emigrant’s name, destination, profession, birthplace, age, and physical description. Often these passport records come in two parts, a register book of all passports issued (or applied for) and a collection of individual files, one for each applicant or applicant family, as discussed below. These collections may be merged into the passports issued by provincial authorities, as described below. In some places, such as in Rome, only the register books have survived, but certainly a researcher should determine if a file exists and not stop at the register book, even if it gives the place of birth. The file will contain the most interesting material about the emigrant, often including statements of reasons for emigrating. Records of this type have thus far been found in Germany, France, Spain, and Italy, but were likely required at some point in all continental European countries. In some cases the only extant record is the stub portion of the large book from which each passport was cut. The stub was where officials wrote key information about the emigrant to whom the passport was issued. Supporting documentation such as a previous passport or birth certificate may also have been clipped to the stubs. Passport books found in Genoa, Italy are of this type.

b) **Passengers in transit.** In many cases ships stopped to pick up passengers at intermediate ports before sailing for the Americas. Ships’ captains may have been required to file a list of such passengers, as was the case in Lisbon and Porto, Portugal and Naples, Italy, in the mid 1880s.

c) **Health records.** In some ports the only requirement or one significant requirement was a health check performed by a port physician or by one provided by the shipping company. These checks may have resulted in a single page certificate of good health, that is to say, free from diseases such as tuberculosis or glaucoma, the same as were checked by United States port authorities before admitting immigrants.

d) **Passenger contracts.** A unique record, so far located only in Spain, was the contract between the ship’s captain or owners and the passengers. Beginning in
1853, a royal order stipulated that each of these contracts had to lay out exactly the quality of transportation to be provided, including exact quantity and quality of food and water rations, as well as the destination of the ship and what the payment terms were for each passenger. These had to be written before a notary and approved by a government official. Unfortunately, the contracts did not have to be placed in the notary’s register, although many were. Each company was required to keep a copy, as was the local provincial government, and a copy was sent with the ship to be filed upon arrival. While scattered examples are found in notarial registers in port cities, in most cases the companies kept these in their own archives. The Transatlantic Company, by far the largest providing passenger service, kept its contracts filed in its central archive in Madrid. Much of that archive, including all of the contracts, was “lost” during a transfer of company headquarters in the 1970s.16

Approval to Emigrate before Departure

Governments, for paternalistic reasons or for control of population movement, enacted procedures to regulate emigration. Legal requirements to emigrate varied from time to time and country to country, but included most, if not all, of the following: (1) the emigrant had completed military responsibilities, (2) he or she was not wanted for criminal offenses and was not trying to flee any authority, (3) he or she was not trying to abandon his or her family, and (4) he or she, if under age, had permission from his or her father or other family authority. The gathering of this documentation was handled by the port authorities, the local provincial governments, or by a provincial level police authority, such as the Italian Questura or Prefetura or the French Prefecture.

Existing record collections in Naples, identified by this author for the pre-unification period, offer insight into the emigration procedure:17

1. A request to emigrate was made to the port authority or foreign affairs ministry.
2. The request was forwarded to the local police who registered the request and opened an investigation file.
3. The police collected documents from the emigrants, their family members, and/or government officials in the emigrants’ home town to properly identify the emigrants and prove that they met the requirements to emigrate.
4. Once the investigation was complete, a letter went from the police to the foreign affairs ministry and a passport was issued authorizing emigration.

These police files differ from passports required for internal travel within most countries or issued at the port to control population movement, because they include

16 Passenger list files in the Archives of the Indies in Seville, Spain, begin as early as 1509. See Cristóbal Bermúdez Plata, Catálogo de pasajeros a Indias durante los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII / (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de Bellas Artes, Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1930–1987), i-x; and “España a Cuba, Listas de Pasajeros” at http://www.cubagenweb.org/e-pass.htm.
17 This composite picture emerged from a review by this author of the following pre-unification collections, relating to the emigration process found in the Archivio di Stato in Naples: Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Inventario 134: 455–493 e Buste 6245–6764, Pasaporti registri, 1815 -1857 and Archivio della Prefettura della Polizia, Bundles 2831–2845, Passaporti spediti pandette, 1855–1861.
documentation proving the emigrant met the requirements discussed above. The file
created for each individual emigrant or emigrant family often contained several
documents from this list:

1. Certificate of Personal Identification: This is similar to identification cards used
today, and included the emigrant's description, address of residence, birthplace,
age, and other identifying information.
2. Parental/Spousal Authorization: Each emigrant may have been required to show
authorization from his or her spouse, if married, and from a parent, if single and
under the age of majority, which was usually 25 or 30 years old.
3. Baptismal Record or Certification of Freedom to Emigrate: The baptismal record
might have only been required if the emigrant was under a certain age; those
overage could simply have an authorized statement of eligibility to emigrate.
4. Statement Concerning Criminal Record: A certificate, by a judge or civil authority
in the emigrant’s home or last residence district, which clarified the nature of any
criminal record or established the lack thereof.18
5. Certificate of Completion of Military Service: A man was required to have a
statement by a civil authority in his home district certifying that he had met his
military obligation, by service or by having stood for the draft without being
selected.

Published Announcements
At certain time periods, municipal authorities were required to ascertain that the
proposed emigrant was qualified to emigrate by publishing a notice of the intended
emigration in the official provincial government bulletin. In Spain and Italy, where some
of these have been found, the bulletins were issued weekly, if not more frequently. Again,
the time period during which this procedure was used is limited and the procedure’s use
not fully studied.

British and Irish Pre-Departure Records
In the British Isles the attitude toward emigration was different from that in the
rest of Europe. Aside from passenger lists, other forms of emigration control used on the
continent do not appear among British records. Rather than attempting to prevent the
departure of those with criminal records or who were in debt, the British and Irish
authorities encouraged emigration as a way of dealing with the poor and criminal
elements of society. Vestry minutes and estate records exist that identify those whose
passage was paid as a means of meeting local obligations imposed by the poor laws.
Transportation to colonies appears regularly in quarter session records as a sentence for
criminal activity. A variety of records exist relating to indentured servitude and other
similar ways of acquiring passage. For these reasons the search for emigration records in
the British Isles offers a series of challenges and potential solutions not found in the rest
of Europe.

18 Research in Spanish, Italian, and German records has revealed that while some countries did not allow
those with a criminal record to emigrate, others merely wanted the local police to evaluate that record
before authorizing emigration.
AFTER-ARRIVAL RECORDS
Consular Records
All European countries maintained consulates to meet the needs and protect the interests of their citizens. Many of these consulates kept records of transactions made by their citizens residing in the destination countries. Most commonly these transactions appear to be requests for passports, proofs of identification, registration of births, or assistance with an inheritance or other legal problem in the country of origin. On occasion the consul appears to go beyond this in an effort to identify all emigrants. In either case these records identify emigrants and provide more of the story of the emigration process.

Hometown Censuses and Emigrant Lists
Even after emigration the emigrants were still considered residents of their hometowns. They were often listed as such in local censuses, with an annotation as to where they were living and the date they had emigrated. Some municipalities also kept register books of those who had emigrated. Little has been done to identify these types of records, and less to extract the information that they contain.

Records of Military Service and/or Failure to Report for Service
Both youth of the age for military service and local authorities responsible for the draft recognized that emigration was a means of avoiding military service. Although little study has been done of illegal emigration during this period, the largest group of illegal emigrants was most likely young men of conscription age. In Italy, provincial conscription lists often identify missing youth as having emigrated. An initial study of such records conducted in Rome in May 2007 by students working under the BYU Immigrant Ancestors Project revealed this as an effective but slow way to identify emigrants. In Spain, lists of those who did not report for draft registration were published in the provincial bulletins discussed above. The lists often identified the countries where the men were thought to have gone or indicated that the men were thought to be in a port city such as Cádiz, apparently a euphemism for indicating that they had emigrated or were likely trying to do so.

FINDING EMIGRATION RECORDS
Arrival passenger lists in the United States have been available on microfilm for some time. Numerous published sources have provided indexes to specific ports for
specific time periods or specific ethnicities. During the last three years, beginning with Ellis Island, online indexes to immigration records have been available. Recent developments on Internet sites, such as www.stevemorse.org and www.ancestry.com have further opened the possibilities for searching arrival passenger lists and other immigrant sources in this country. Work on Canadian immigration records has recently begun, but is limited primarily to the early years of the twentieth century. Little has been done to index arrival lists in Latin America, although the work done by the Centro de Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos (Avenida Independencia 20, (1099) Buenos Aires, Argentina), which has indexed arrivals at the port of Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1882–1926, offers hope that such records will be more readily available in the future. At this time, however, even a comprehensive list of where such arrival records can be found would be helpful, especially where many Latin American immigrants arrived in one country, but ultimately settled in another.

Finding European departure lists can be more challenging. The Hamburg passenger departure lists are available on microfilm with indexes currently being placed on line. Other comparable major collection of departure lists exist for ports, such as Naples, Liverpool, Le Havre, or Bremen, and only a handful of those for smaller ports are currently available or indexed. To find the wide variety of records discussed above, archives in the home country must be consulted. The magnitude of this work is evidenced by Spain. Although there was no city on the list of the top seven emigration ports during the period of mass migration, sixteen shipping companies transported emigrant passengers from fifteen different ports, as shown on the map in Figure 1.

The vast majority of the European emigration records described above can be found in the provincial level archives in Europe. For the genealogist to locate a specific emigrant, the province or department of origin or the port of departure must be known. Once that is known, perhaps from arrival passenger lists, then there must be a search through the bundles for those years. This is a task that can generally only be done on site, although records for certain German provinces are available on microfilm through the LDS Family History Library. Lists identifying the provincial level archives exist for each country, often with website addresses.

Some emigration records are found at the national level, such as consular records at the Archivo General de la Administración in Alcalá de Henares, and passenger lists at the Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo in Lisbon. Information for specific archives can be found at http://www.unesco.org/webworld/portal_archives/pages/Archives, which lists all the national archives in Europe.19

ILLEGAL OR EXTRALEGAL EMIGRATION

Recognition must be made that, in addition to the problems with locating records and significant missing or destroyed emigration records, there were emigrants who went without meeting legal requirements or registering on the passenger lists. The number of

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19 Access to many archives throughout Europe can be made through the site mentioned above or through individual national archival sites, such as the following: http://aer.mcu.es/sgae/index_aer.jsp, www.iantt.pt, http://www.archivesnationales.culture.gouv.fr/, http://www.bundesarchiv.de/, http://www.archivesdefrance.culture.gouv.fr/, http://www.pro.gov.uk/.
draft-age youths identified as having emigrated is indicative of this problem. Likewise, in
port authority or police records there are discussions of actions, such as unscheduled ship
inspections taken to identify illegal emigrants on board. Ship crew members who
deserted upon arrival in the Americas were another manifestation of this problem.

**IMMIGRANT ANCESTORS PROJECT AT BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY**

Emigration records, such as passport files, vestry minutes, and consular records,
are rich in genealogical information, but remain largely untouched by historians and
genealogists simply because they are not easily accessible. Most are accessible only by
visiting the archives containing the records, and they are rarely indexed or sorted. The
Immigrant Ancestors Project (IAP) at Brigham Young University looks for emigration
records in European countries.

IAP goals center on hard-to-find emigration records:

1. Identify emigration records
2. Acquire copies of those records
3. Extract data on individuals who appear in those records
4. Place extracted data in an online index/database available free on the Internet.

Work is progressing well on the first two goals. In addition to German and Belgian
emigration files that were previously microfilmed, passports, passenger lists, and other
emigration records have been identified and copied in over fifty different archives in
Spain, France, Italy, Portugal, the Netherlands, Ireland, and the British Isles, primarily for
the middle years of the nineteenth century. Extraction is progressing well. Major
collections from Spanish and French consular offices all over the world have been
identified and arrangements for copying are being made. In Spring 2007, student interns
worked with great success finding and copying more of these collections in several
archives in Spain and France, as well as in Rome and the British Isles.²⁰

The copies are then digitized and arranged in small batches. Extraction by
volunteers is the key to success for the project. Utilizing software created for the project,
volunteers all over the world, working via the Internet, are sent the small batches of
emigration records to extract. The extracted data is then sent back to the Center for
Family History and Genealogy where trained student supervisors check extractions for

²⁰ The following are some of the archives in Spain, Italy, and Portugal where students from the Center for
Family History and Genealogy at Brigham Young University worked since Spring 2003 gathering records for
the Immigrant Ancestors Project: Archivo General de la Administración – Alcalá de Henares, Archivo
Nacional de Cataluña, Archivo del Reino de Galicia, Archivo General de la Administración del Principado
de Asturias, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Asturias, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cáceres, Archivo
Histórico Provincial de Cádiz, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cantabria, Archivo Histórico Provincial de
Toledo, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Vizcaya, Archivo Histórico Municipal de Llanes, Archivo de
Protocolos de Guipúzcoa, Archivo Histórico Municipal de Santa Cruz de la Palma, Spain, Archivo Foral de
Vizcaya, Archivo de la Diputación Provincial de Cáceres, Archivo de la Diputación Provincial de
Barcelona, Archivo Histórico de la Biblioteca de Cantabria, Hemeroteca Municipal de Santander, Archivio
del Minutero degli Afari Esseri d’Italia, Roma, Archivio di Stato di Napo, Instituto Nacional Torre de
Tombo, Lisboa, and Arquivo Distrital de Oporto. A full up-to-date list can be found at immigrants.byu.edu.
accuracy before they are added to the database. The data from those small extracted batches will be continually added to create the online database until there will be millions of immigrants with their places of origin. The initial database with thousands of names is found at http://immigrants.byu.edu. Also found at this website are lists of archives, research tools, and an extensive bibliography of books and articles about immigrants and the immigration experience.

At present the IAP project focuses on emigrants from Germany, Spain, Ireland, England, Scotland, Wales, Italy, and France, but plans are to add other countries as resources permit. The IAP needs large numbers of volunteers to extract records; volunteers receive online training in reading the records and research resources to help in the extraction process. Volunteers may sign up online at http://immigrants.byu.edu.

Even with generous support of time and effort from volunteer extractors and of office space, personnel, and faculty time at BYU, a project of this magnitude needs donated funds. Donations made to the Immigrant Ancestors Project pay wages for student researchers, provide copies of identified records, and support computer program development and maintenance.

CONCLUSION

To accomplish the goals for migration studies as set out by Robert Swierenga, much remains to be done. Little-used records do exist that can enable researchers to study individual emigrants and answer the myriad of emigration questions like those he raises. Those records, found in dozens—if not hundreds—of European archives, need to be ferreted out and made available to emigration scholars.

With current computer resources not available to Robert Swierenga when he compiled his major databases, biographical data on tens of thousands of migrants can be acquired, compiled, and examined in a form allowing for the study of each emigrant and his or her family. This can be done not only within any single continental European country but in comparison with similar data from other countries. With such work a composite picture of the emigrants’ experiences will emerge that permits an effective microanalysis in order to place into historical context the large number of emigration stories of families like the Ponticellis.
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IBERIAN EMIGRATION LAW:
A COMPARISON STUDY OF LIBERALISM IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY EMIGRATION LAW OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

REBEKAH FAIRBANK

INTRODUCTION
In 1839, Spanish immigrant Pedro Roso was becoming commercially successful in Puerto Rico, his adopted homeland. Earning money in Puerto Rico was so much easier than in the village of Puerto de Santa Maria in southern Spain that he sent a letter to his father requesting that his younger brother, Manuel, join him in Puerto Rico. On 17 August 1839, Manuel Roso was issued a passport, required by law, by the municipal authorities to travel the short distance to Cádiz. There the law dictated that he apply for another passport allowing him to continue his journey to meet his older brother Pedro in Puerto Rico. The passport that allowed him to make the first section of his journey is now found in the Provincial Historical Archives of Cádiz along with the indication of the subsequent grant of passport to Puerto Rico (see Figure 1).

Each document accompanying the passport in the Provincial Archives

Figure 1: Manuel Roso Emigration File, Provincial Historical Archives, Cádiz, Spain, Section Gobierno Civil, Section Pasaportes, August 1839
corresponded with specific legal requirements for emigration. In a letter of permission to the civil authority in Puerto de Santa María written by the Rosos’ father, also named Pedro Roso, the elder Roso identifies himself as a baker who resides in the respective municipality. He states that he regrets having to part with his younger son, but explains that it is in the boy’s best interest and requests that the passport be issued to allow his son to join his older brother. The passport file also includes a copy of the baptismal record of Manuel Roso, documenting his exact birth date and place as well as his parents and their marriage place. Manuel was seventeen years old when he left his home in Puerto de Santa María and traveled to Puerto Rico and his new home.

The “American Dream” stories of a better life and conditions in the Americas, like that seen in the case of Manuel Roso, can be found spreading through both Spain and Portugal during the nineteenth century. Both are nations that led the world in modern colonization. With figures such as Vasco da Gama and Pedro Álvarez Cabral from Portugal and Francisco Pizarro, Hernán Cortés, and Fernando de Ulloa in Spain, both countries created vast empires, establishing colonies all over the world. While the Portuguese empire stretched from Brazil to Africa and India, the Spanish empire stretched from South America to the Philippines. Many historic figures—mostly explorers and colonizers—made their fortunes in the new worlds, yet emigration was so tightly controlled during the colonization period that the “dream” did not become a reality for most before the emigration movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. With the Napoleonic Era in Europe, however, things began to change. The absolute monarchies of Spain and Portugal ended and between 1830 and 1840 the nations entered—along with the rest of the world—the Liberal era of thinking, allowing for emigration of the common citizen.

Few statistics are available regarding emigration from these countries for the 1830s and 1840s, and those available often reflect only specific areas. For example, one estimate of emigration prior to 1860 in Spain provides a small but significant figure: between 200,000 and 230,000 emigrants left during the years 1830 and 1860 alone.\(^1\) However, this particular estimate takes into consideration only the regions of Galicia, Canarias, Cataluña, Asturias, and parts of the Basque Country, rarely mentioning the regions of Andalucía, La Mancha, Castilla, and Extremadura. Estimates of this kind are created through time-consuming searches of emigration records in the regions being studied, whereas statistical reports began to be published after 1873 in Portugal and 1882 in Spain, allowing for a more accurate and easier-to-access picture of the emigration. During that time, the number of emigrants was reaching its peak. Between 1882 and 1930 alone, about three million people left Spain.\(^2\) Most emigrants throughout the century, like Manuel and Pedro Roso, went to the Americas. In Portugal, between 1855 and 1930, estimates show that more than one million emigrants left (again, most went to the Americas).\(^3\)

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\(^1\) César Yañez Gallardo, *La emigración española a América, siglos XIX y XX: dimensión y características cuantitativas* (Colomubre, Asturias: Archivo de Indianos, 1994).

\(^2\) César Yañez Gallardo, *La emigración española a América, siglos XIX y XX: dimensión y características cuantitativas* (Colomubre, Asturias: Archivo de Indianos, 1994), 36–37 (note that this figure is calculated from the tables of emigration statistics for these years).

\(^3\) Maria Ioannis Benis Baganha, “Uma Imagem Desfocada—a emigração portuguesa e as fontes sobre a emigração” *Análise Social* 26 (1991), 723.
While historians have looked in detail into the demographics and statistics of emigration patterns within these countries during the late nineteenth century, few have studied emigration during the first half of the nineteenth century, and even fewer have studied the laws governing emigration throughout the nineteenth century as a whole. These laws, however, are an essential part of understanding the national ideals and processes concerning emigration as well as the implementation of liberal tendencies in both nations. Emigration regulations during the first half of the nineteenth century in both nations present a liberal view, allowing freedom of emigration. In the last decades of the century, while neither openly prohibited emigration, both Spain and Portugal began to show a less liberal attitude toward emigration. Similar in initial official practice, the laws of each country have a unique way of demonstrating this change in attitude.

BEGINNINGS OF EMIGRATION LAW

Early Colonial Time

The historical context of emigration for these countries during the colonial period vividly contrasted the ideals of the liberal era, illustrating the significance in the shift to an open emigration policy. Prior to 1810 and 1820, both Spain and Portugal had a rigidly controlled government as far as trade was concerned, and this exactly paralleled control of emigration.

In Portugal on 20 March 1720, the first system regarding passports was set into place. Implemented to tightly control emigration, mainly to Brazil, the requirements limited the issue of passports to officials and others with proven business to attend. The law also specifically named the minister whose authorization was necessary for these officials to be able to leave the country. The law even specifies that the reason for such limitation is

in order to prevent the leaving for the capitanias of Brasil many people that leave each year, particularly from the Province of Minho, which, being the most populated finds itself today in a state where there are not enough people to cultivate the land…

Historians such as David Higgs paint a vivid picture of this tight control and possible additional reasons for it: “to stop men going to Brazil to seek their fortunes in the gold rush…” In Portugal, as in Spain, a Conselho de Indias (or Council of Indies) was

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4 This trend in study is due mainly to the availability of statistics on emigration beginning in the late nineteenth century for both nations as discussed. In 1884 the first issue of the Estadística de la Emigración e Inmigración de España was published, covering the years of 1882 through 1884. Similarly the official statistics of Portugal were published beginning in 1873, as seen in the Almanaque do Emigrante para 1873, published in Lisboa in 1873.


6 Legislação Portuguesa 1700–1970, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, F 5632, microfilm 1700–1762, 23 March 1720. All quotes have been translated by author.

7 David Higgs, ed. Portuguese Migration in Global Perspective (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1990), 18.
established to regulate and control all trade and migration to and from the nation of Portugal.

The Spanish control of emigration and trade can be most easily seen through the institutions of the Consejo de Indias—established to deal with colonial governance—and the Casa de Contratación—technically established to regulate trade, but dealing also with emigration. Spanish emigration and trade were both closely controlled before 1790 through these two organizations alone. While technically the Consejo de Indias had entire control over emigration, in reality the Casa de Contratación, a division of the Consejo, wrote most of the licencias as well as other documents allowing emigrants to leave for the New World and, until 1701, they maintained passenger lists of all who left through legal processes. Thus, for an emigrant to leave, he or she had to apply for a licencia to be issued through the Consejo de Indias.

For most of the Spanish colonial period, as part of this tightly centralized control, Sevilla was the only authorized port for trade and emigration. This was moved to Cádiz, however, in 1717 as the Guadalquivir River silted over. Any ship leaving Spain left through this port, facilitating control of emigration and trade through a single institution. Additionally, destination ports were also severely limited.

A Royal Decree issued on 16 October 1765 ended the colonial restrictions and opened trade to the Caribbean to nine ports in Spain: Alicante, Barcelona, Cádiz, La Coruña, Cartagena, Gijón, Málaga, Santander, and Sevilla. Since emigration and trade went hand-in-hand during the colonial time (as trade increased, so did emigration because emigrants left through the established ship and trade routes) and there is no indication that this changed with the decree of 1765, one must assume that as trade was opened emigration was also opened to these additional ports. By 1778 the time known as the “era of free trade” had begun in Spain. This formed the beginnings of the liberal era practices. By the Royal decree issued on 12 October 1778, trade was opened to an additional four ports: Almería, Palma, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, and Alfoques de Tortosa. Additional ports in the Americas were also opened. Trade and emigration, however, remained under the control of the Consejo de Indias and the Casa de Contratación. Every emigrant technically still needed to obtain a license from the Consejo in order to leave Spain.

In 1790 the Casa de Contratación was abolished as part of an ongoing lessening of restrictions on trade. Although the Consejo de Indias remained functioning until 1834, the end of the Casa de Contratación marked a key turning point in the history of Spanish emigration and trade. Reaffirmations of basic policies instituted by the processes of the Consejo de Indias continue to be seen in 1824, 1838, and even as late as 1846, but the government acknowledges that emigrants in reality no longer followed this system.

8 For our purposes licencias can be interpreted to mean passports even though they are not technically called passports. Additional information on the colonial era emigration records can be found online at www.cubagenweb.org. Access to these records is available through the Archivo General de Indias and published guides to their collections.
10 Spain, Reglamento y aranceles reales para el comercio libre de España a India : de 12 de octubre de 1778 (Madrid: Imprenta de Pedro Marín, 1778), 7–8.
11 Because of this tight control, the colonial documents created before 1790, including those dealing with emigration, are centralized in the Archives of the Indies located in Sevilla, and are fairly complete and accessible to the public.
as it attempted to continue the control of emigration, the government was acknowledging that after the dissolution of the Casa de Contratación in 1790 there really was no control.

**Napoleonic Time**

Napoleon’s 1808 invasion of the Iberian Peninsula triggered the emergence of key liberal philosophies in both Spain and Portugal. This occupation had unique consequences in each country, but a common thread ran through both nations: the beginnings of constitutionalism and limitations on the absolute monarchy.

In Spain the upheaval created by the French occupation was the perfect opportunity for Spaniards to take advantage of the chaos. Freedom to trade became a reality as the colonial institutions lost complete control over the processes. In fact, a later lawmaker within the Consejo de Ultramar in 1854 pointed to the time of 1818 and trade laws enacted during that year as the real beginnings of free trade and emigration and specifically cited decrees of that year as the reason for the rapid growth of Havana and other significant ports in the Americas. During this time of the Napoleonic invasion, Spanish legislators as part of the Cortes of Cádiz of 1812 developed Spain’s first constitution. Though it was not effective for long, it became a model for later legislation and constitutions.

In Portugal, Napoleon encountered a very different situation. The Portuguese king and government remained more intact than their Spanish counterparts, mainly because of the crown’s removal to the Brazilian colony just as the Napoleonic invasion of the peninsula began. This is a major turning point both in Brazilian and Portuguese history because of the lasting effects of the direct contact of the Portuguese government with its colonies. It was during this time of movement of the crown between Portugal and Brazil (generally between 1808 and 1826) that the Brazilian colony gained its independence from Portugal, and that the Portuguese and the Brazilians created their own constitutions. Dom Pedro, first king of Brazil, was known for his efforts in cooperating with constitutional ideals. Since he and his father, Dom Joao of Portugal, had both been living in Brazil during the time of Napoleon’s occupation, they were both sympathetic to the situations and ideals of the colonists. Independence, constitutions, and liberal ideas were more easily accepted by a monarch who had actually visited his colonies.

**Liberalism**

In addition to important events and concepts, it is important to review how the concept of liberalism is being used here. Since this is such a crucial part of our topic at hand, there must be one common definition. Here, one of the key concepts in the use of liberalism is the idea of personal freedom, particularly where migration is concerned. Decentralization of government and lowering of controls plays an important part in bringing this about both in Spain and Portugal, as has been shown in both cases.

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12 Memorandum: Madrid, to the president and members of the Consejo de Ministros, Spain: 4 May 1853 Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.
13 In fact, D. João VI and his son D. Pedro I were the only European monarchs to have actually set foot outside of Europe and visit overseas colonies.
14 For further information regarding the constitutions of Brazil and Portugal the reader may refer to *O Constitucionalismo de D. Pedro I no Brasil e em Portugal*, Introduction by Afonso Arinos de Melo Franco (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Justiça, Arquivo Nacional, 1972).
However, one of the best descriptions of the concept as it was viewed by those involved in creating these laws can be seen in the first Portuguese Constitution itself: “Any may stay or leave the Kingdom as he sees fit, carrying with him his properties, given that the requirements are fulfilled and that there is no injury to a third party.”

Similarly, the Spanish Constitution of 1812 also contained provisions for the personal rights of emigrants, although the concept was not so neatly spelled out as it was in the Portuguese constitution. With Philip IV’s edict which initiated the tight control and licencias of the colonial era, there was also a statement indicating the “punishment of loss of goods left behind” to all those who left without royal permission or license. In the Spanish constitution of 1812 as well as those of 1837 and 1845, this punishment was revoked. More importantly, these Spanish constitutions officially recanted the national concept of emigration as treason to the nation.

Thus, for our purposes the definition of the term “liberal” or “liberalism” can be viewed as the constitutional recognition and governmental guarantee of the rights of the individual. And more specifically in our context, that means the guarantee of the individual’s right to emigrate freely.

**IMMEDIATE REACTION TO LIBERALISM/CONSTITUTIONALISM IN EMMIATION POLICY**

**Spain**

The beginnings of passport systems and requirements for migration both within the country and outside of the mainland began in the times of the initial attempts at constitutionalism. However, many emigrants began to leave without following the prescribed procedures for obtaining licencias and other authorizations to emigrate. Because of complaints from the arrival ports, the Consejo de Indias in an 1824 Decreto Real recognized that such illegal emigration existed in practice, and reaffirmed that the Consejo still followed those regulations set forth in the Decree of 1778. In 1827, these regulations were officially eliminated, although the Consejo de Indias still functioned for another seven years. As César Yañez Gallardo states, “the suspension of the regulations of 1778, made a legal reality with the R.O. of the Hacienda of 9 February 1827, only

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19 There are many minute details of the passport system during this time period; however, this is not our purpose to discuss each. Further information regarding these details can be found in Juan Carlos Galende Díaz and Mariano García Ruiiperez, “Los pasaportes, pases, y otros documentos de control e identidad personal en España durante la primera mitad del siglo XIX: estudio archivístico y diplomático” Hidalguía, v. 302 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas), 113–208.
reflected a reality that had been manifested throughout the previous decades....” With the 1827 suspension of the regulations of 1778, however, there were no new regulations set forth to replace those of 1778, leaving essentially a vacuum in the official process of emigration.

This vacuum in policy on emigration, however, did not last long. In 1833, with the end of the reign of Fernando VII, Spain fully entered what historians call the “liberal era” and emigration procedures were soon changed. At that point, along with other traditional Spanish institutions such as the Inquisition and nobility status, the Consejo de Indias was dismantled and with it any vestiges of the old system of emigration and trade. A shift in power away from a centralized and controlling monarchy restructured political divisions and reorganized Spanish provinces. More procedures were left in the control of the provincial governments, the gobierno civil or diputación. In 1835, amidst the Carlist struggles for liberalism, a new decree was issued that entirely changed the way passports were issued. On 10 July 1835 the Real Orden de Hacienda took effect, decentralizing and simplifying the process of emigration existent during the colonial times, while maintaining the same requirements as far as eligibility to emigrate was concerned. This was closely followed by the Real Orden issued on 18 August 1838, clarifying the use and issue of passports. Instead of having to apply to one central organization that controlled emigration, an emigrant simply had to certify to his local government that he was qualified to emigrate and that he had justifiable reason to emigrate. During this time this was often done by means of a letter written to the local authority within the port province.

Several requirements to emigrate that existed in the Decree of 1778 were maintained throughout these laws: first, that the emigrant had no military responsibilities in Spain; second, that he or she was not wanted for criminal offences in Spain or trying to flee any authority; third, that he or she was not trying to abandon family; and fourth, that he or she had permission from his or her family if underage. Certification of these requirements was left to the discretion of the local authorities, who often required either a series of three witnesses or a published intention to emigrate in the local Boletin. It

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24 Spain, Real Orden 18 August 1838, Colección legislativa de España, Madrid; Imprenta Nacional, 1815–1893, v. 24, p. 361. This law also introduces the concept of interior passports where, as seen in the case of Manuel Roso, those traveling even short distances within the country carried passports to facilitate their travel.
27 Though there is no specification in the law how the local authority was to certify the validity of this information, these are the principle ways visible through the documentation remaining. For example, as late as 1858, a provincial decree was issued in Asturias requiring the published intention in the Provincial Bulletin—Gobierno de la Provincia de Oviedo, “Circular número 295,” as published in the Boletín Oficial de la Provincia, number 171, 25 October 1858.
was therefore this law that in practice in the case of Manuel Roso, as his father wrote to show his permission for Manuel to emigrate and to certify that he had met all of these requirements for a passport.

**Portugal**

The Portuguese system of passports and controls, although changed, did not suffer the radical vacuum of policy and shifts that the Spanish system of passports did. Because the passport system in Portugal was set in place in 1720, these processes appear to have continued throughout the tumult of the early nineteenth century. Many of the decentralization issues occurred in Portugal; however, the passport system continued to hold throughout this time. In 1826, the Portuguese constitution was written and put in place and the first modern decentralized governments of Portugal, the *comarcas*, were organized. These did not last long, but were the basis for the Portuguese Districts created in 1835 and have lasted with only minor adjustments (there has only been one additional district created since the original 17 were created). Passports were delegated to the authority of the district governments and collections can still be found in many of the district governments as early as 1835. Although the format of the passport has altered slightly over time, this has legally been a main focus of emigration processes since the law of 1720.

In 1837 a law was passed in Brazil that regulated the systems of labor contracts, a device used particularly in Portuguese emigration for centuries (including throughout the nineteenth century). These contracts, similar to what Americans think of as indentures, were designated to help emigrants pay for their passage to the new world in exchange for years of labor. These contracts remained an issue throughout the nineteenth century and were often referred to in subsequent laws. The law of 1837 was referred to in many documents presented as late as 1873, at the conference on emigration issues, and was referred to as the decisive legislation on these contracts.

**1850**

**Spain Real Orden of 1853 Issued on 16 September 1853**

Although the *Orden* of 1835 simplified the process of emigration and codified the first practices after the end of the Casa de Contratación, the *Orden* issued on 16 September 1853 is considered by many historians the first of regulations on emigration. Once again, many of the themes of the law of 1853 follow very similar practices that were already in place through the *Órdenes* of 1778 and 1835. Like in the *Orden* of 1835, passports were to be issued by the provincial or local governments after certification that

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28 The district of Santarem was created in the early twentieth century.
29 Maria Ioannis Benis Baganha, “Registros de pasaportes: sus limitaciones y sus posibilidades para el estudio de la emigración” *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* 11 (1996), 303. She cites the passport collections as the major Portuguese source of emigration information and the one used most by historians in the study of Portuguese emigration.
31 See the documents presented at the 1873 conference on emigration as transcribed in Miriam Halpern Pereira, *A Política Portuguesa de Emigração (1850 a 1930)* (Lisboa: A Regra do Jogo, 1981), 119, 151, 156, 159, etc.
the applicant was free to emigrate. The Orden of 1853, though, was the first to state exactly where Spaniards could emigrate to, officially expanding the number of possible destinations. After 1853, emigration was freely allowed to all of the Spanish colonies, and the South-American nations and Mexico if there was a Spanish consulate able to protect the rights of the emigrant. Additionally, the Orden of 1853 put restrictions on the ships carrying emigrants. A remaining vestige of the Orden of 1778, the law required that every ship that left had a doctor, specifically un médico cirujano, on board to care for the medical needs of the passengers. Before leaving any port, each ship had to be approved by the subgobernador and show that it was not overloaded and had the required medical assistance.

Contracts

Other requirements that were set forth in the Orden of 1853 dealt with documents known as contratos. These contracts were different from those Portuguese contracts of labor discussed earlier. Beginning in 1853, the Spanish contracts discussed here were between the ships’ captains or owners and the passengers. The Orden stipulated that each of these contracts had to be approved by the subgobernador and that each contract had to specify the quality of transportation to be provided, including the exact quantity and quality of food and water rations, as well as the destination of the ship and the payment terms for the passenger. Many often listed names of numerous passengers, up to as many as 200 individuals, giving the place of origin or last residence and occupation for each.

Additionally, Article 13 of the Orden of 1853 stated that the contracts must be copied three times. One copy was to remain with the contratista, one with the emigrant himself, and one with the provincial government of the respective province where the document was created. In 1865, the Spanish government also required that a fourth

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32 The majority of the legal points from the major laws in this discussion were taken from the respective legislative collections for the years the laws were passed. Many thanks go to Stephen Wiles of the Harvard Law School Library for his help in accessing these documents.
33 Spain, Colección legislativa de España: Continuación de la Colección de decretos (Madrid: Imprenta Nacional, 1854), v. 60, 1853, 89–90.
34 Spain, Reglamento y aranceles reales para el comercio libre de España a Indias: de 12 de octubre de 1778 (Madrid: Imprenta de Pedro Marín, 1778), and Marcelo Martínez Alcubilla, “Emigración é Inmigración” in Diccionario de la Administración Española: Compilación de la novísima legislación de españa peninsular y ultramarina, 5 ed., v. 4 (Madrid: Administración, 1892), 791.
35 These documents may possibly have originated out of the contracts between hacendados and the colonos who were to work the land. The hacendados guaranteed a passage to the Americas for the emigrant and in return the emigrant was to settle on the hacendado’s land and labor without pay for a certain period of time (often four to seven years). During the colonial times, this was one of the ways that the Americas were settled. In this way the origin of the contracts appears similar to that of the Portuguese contracts.
copy of these contracts be sent to the Spanish embassy in the country where the ship was to arrive.  

To some, these requirements could be seen as unnecessarily controlling the freedom to emigrate; however, these regulations on emigration were for the most part created to protect the emigrant and to facilitate emigration and travel. Put in place to protect the emigrants’ rights to fair treatment in passage, the contracts did not prevent the emigrant from leaving. The proviso stipulating the need to have a Spanish consulate in the place of arrival protected the Spanish emigrant upon arrival in his destination. In this view, the laws to this point in liberal Spain can be seen as paternalistic and protective of the emigrant instead of as a limit to emigrants’ options.

**Portugal — Lei de 20 Julho 1855**

The Portuguese law passed in 1855 set up similar regulations designed to protect the emigrant’s rights and safety. The law, while not stipulating requirements for the emigrant, still provided strong guidelines for protection of the emigrant during the voyage. Beginning in Article 1, the law regulated the number of passengers on board each ship based on the tonnage carried in the ship, to provide that ships did not leave port overloaded. Article 2 followed in the steps of Spanish requirements by requiring each ship to maintain certain standards of health and hygiene. Following in that same vein, Article 5 required that each ship prove that provisions had been made for adequate quality and quantity of food. As in Spain, Article 5 also provided for a facultativo (doctor) on board accompanying each voyage that had more than fifty passengers on the ship.

Many of these provisions seen in the Portuguese law were essentially the same as in the Spanish practice of contracts between ship captain and passengers. However, implementation of the concepts were significantly different. In this case, the government itself assumed the responsibility of the safety of the emigrant, not requiring the participation of the emigrant as much. While in Spain, the conditions were determined between the captain and the emigrant who was to sail on the ship; in Portugal, the government set the conditions for the emigrant and took the entire responsibility of assuring those conditions. The active role of the emigrant in guaranteeing his or her own safety and comfort was significantly different between the two countries.

Additional provisions in the law of 1855 include those regarding the advent of steamships. Steamships were not required to comply with the previously mentioned standards, presumably because of the shorter passage times. In Article 11, further provisions were made for the indenture contracts, also designed to protect the emigrant from exploitation. This article stipulated that each contract must specify to whom the emigrant was contracting labor in return for passage. Thus each provision in the Lei de

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41 Ibid. 228, article 11.
20 Julho 1855 was designed to protect the emigrant rather than to hinder emigration in any way.

In a *portaria* of January 1859, the Portuguese government went even further toward protecting the emigrant from fraudulent labor contractors and clandestine emigration. In this *portaria*, Portugal required all of its Brazilian agents to inspect any ship arriving in Brazil from Portugal and to remit a report of any illegal arrivals, including who assisted the illegal arrivals.\(^\text{42}\) In this way the Portuguese government was attempting to eliminate and prosecute those who assisted emigrants leaving illegally and people illegally contracting emigrant labor, much like what was seen in immigration laws in the United States in the early twentieth century.

1860

**Spain — Orden de 12 Enero 1865**

The Spanish Law of 1865 added little to the process of emigration. Some minor adjustments were made in the contracts and requirements of the contracts. Most notable of the adjustments was the requirement previously mentioned that added the consulate to the list of places that must receive a copy of the contract with the ship captain.\(^\text{43}\) There were additional provisions for breaking of contracts. The law stipulated when contracts could be broken by either party. And more interesting yet, there was a set of specific requirements for those going to Brazil. The contracts for those going to Brazil were more easily broken.\(^\text{44}\) There were no specific reasons given for the special considerations given to Brazil, yet one can easily imagine what those reasons would have been. One need only refer to the letters from Brazil discussing immigrant conditions as presented in 1873 in Portugal to see the need for these special considerations.\(^\text{45}\) If they were dealing with similar exploitations such as provided against in Portuguese law, the need for such a stipulation in the Spanish law is more apparent. Additional factors could refer to the still-legal slavery in Brazil in comparison with other nations where it had been abolished. In any case, the law of 1865 protected emigrants in allowing them to break a contract in which the other party had not held with an agreement specified and where exploitation had become a relevant issue to the case.

**Portugal — Lei de 7 Abril 1863**

Similar to the Spanish law of emigration of 1853, the Portuguese law passed on 7 April 1863, while certainly not the first legislation regarding emigration, is considered by

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\(^\text{42}\) Portugal and Carlos Vieira Ramos, *Legislação portuguesa sobre emigração e passaportes: repertorio alphabetico com a summula de todas as disposições das leis e regulamentos em vigor* (Lisboa: C. Ramos, 1913), 3.


\(^\text{44}\) Marcelo Martínez Alcubilla, “Emigración é Inmigración” in *Diccionario de la Administración Española: Compilación de la novísima legislación de España peninsular y ultramarina*, 5 ed., v. 4 (Madrid: Administración, 1892), 792.

most historians the first law on emigration.\textsuperscript{46} The reason is apparent when viewing the previous laws. While previous laws prove important legislation in the evolution of liberal emigration, the Law of 1863 was the first to compile the provisions of previous legislation and to provide guidelines for the emigration process. It abolished the need for passports for interior travel, thus leaving the passport system to document specifically emigration rather than all types of migrations.

Similar to earlier Spanish laws, the Portuguese Law of 1863 provided specifics in emigrant qualifications. The law established the need for (1) authorization from parents of minors under twenty-five, spouses, or superiors where necessary; (2) military duty being completed or paid/provided for; (3) freedom and absence of debts or criminal offences; and finally (4) the presentation of either a contract of specific labor or proof of payment of passage.\textsuperscript{47} These provisions were designed to promote emigration of the best citizens, hence the need to be free of debts and to assure that the emigrants were not abandoning family or responsibility. Additionally, one will note the continued provisions against exploitation of labor, thus requiring the emigrant to show proof that either labor is not an issue (if the emigrant is able to pay for his or her own passage) or that there is a specific contractor of labor in return for passage. Costa Leite, while discussing provisions of this law, talks of the dangers of exploitation and the importance of this particular provision. He says, “This requirement was designed to avoid incidents like those occurring in the 50s: the ‘transfer’ of workers from one contractor to another: and the ‘sale’ upon arrival in the port of emigrants who owed their passage fare to the captain of the ship.”\textsuperscript{48}

One additional provision in the law of 1863 also indicated the need to specify the port from which the emigrant was leaving and the emigrant’s destination.\textsuperscript{49} This is particularly important since interior passports were no longer a necessity, and since passports could be issued in landlocked districts and would entail travel to the port of embarkation. By specifying embarkation port on the passport, officials had a better ability to monitor the accuracy of the passports upon inspection for embarkation.

\textbf{Beginning of the Shift away from Liberalism}

It is during the decade of the 1860s, exactly while some of the most important liberal legislation was passed regarding emigration, that we first see the shift in some attitudes toward the discouraging of emigration. It was in a \textit{portaria}, or decree, of 1860 that the government began to require certain discouragement of emigration even while the official law of emigration remained and continued to freely allow emigration. In this \textit{portaria}, the government “actually orders that lists are read in the churches containing the names of those emigrants who have died, with the warning of the risks of emigration:

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item J. Costa Leite, “Emigração portuguesa: a lei e os números (1855–1914)” \textit{Análise Social} 23 (1987), 466. Cites as the examples of these occurrences those documents and letters transcribed by Miriam Halpern Pereira, which indicate specific examples of these injustices.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
also the newspapers published similar lists and apparently provided notice of each of the various epidemics. Joaquim Costa Leite further reminds that though these were requirements by law, they never did result in legal prohibition of emigration. These attitudes never specifically prohibited emigration, but, as can well be seen, were there to discourage emigration.

**Century’s End**

As the century continued into the later years, more of this discouragement of emigration was visible in apparent forms in Portuguese laws and requirements, although never in outright prohibition of emigration or changes of the actual process of emigration. Laws published in 1886 and 1894 continued to limit or discourage emigration. In 1896, the Portuguese government, in an attempt to encourage movement to colonies while discouraging emigration outside of the Portuguese empire and Brazil, passed a law that continued to charge the normal fee for passports to leave the country, but which lifted the fee for all passports to the African colonies. Travel to Africa no longer cost the emigrant more than the passage to the destination point and his own expenses, whereas travel to any other place cost the emigrant a passport fee as well. This law continued in the vein of an earlier law passed in 1877 by the Ministry of the Kingdom that authorized the Portuguese government to expend any necessary funds to help in the transportation and aid to Portuguese colonists desiring to go to Africa.

By 1899 efforts to discourage emigration became more blatant while still conforming to the constitutional guarantee of the right to emigrate. On 12 March 1899 a portaria was passed ordering that “emigrants soliciting passports be questioned—although with prudence—if they go ‘spontaneously,’ and that it is attempted to discourage them from emigrating, putting into perspective the risk that they run.”

In 1873, the Portuguese nation held its first parliamentary study on emigration, where many

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53 Portugal and Carlos Vieira Ramos, Legislação portugueza sobre emigração e passaportes: repertorio alfabetico com a summula de todas as disposições das leis e regulamentos em vigor (Lisboa: C. Ramos, 1913), 55.
54 Miriam Halpern Pereira, “Algumas observações complementares sobre a política de emigração portuguesa” Análise Social 25 (1990): 736. Translation by author: “ordena-se que se indague – ainda que com prudencia – junto dos emigrantes que solicitam passaportes se procedem <<espontaneamente>> e se procure dissuadi-los de emigraram, pondo em relevo o risco que correm.”
letters and complaints were presented. These letters and documents presented showed that emigrants had been exploited and had suffered.\(^55\) It was also during this time period that Portugal first kept statistics on emigration, which began to reach epic proportions. A committee was shortly organized to study the question of emigration and possible solutions to the growing number of emigrants leaving the country. In answer to this study, Thomas Ribeiro’s comments published in his *Questions on Emigration* showed an important change in the views of emigration from the liberalist ideals of the constitution. In fact, Ribeiro used the same section from the constitution discussed earlier, but with a very different view. He argued that the final phrase was the important one to be used at the time. He indicated that it was time for the government to institute the clause allowing for “reasonable regulations by the government” in order to “invite and employ the arms of the workers that keep fleeing it.”\(^56\)

With the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1889, there arose a demand for manual labor, which was, in significant proportions, supplied by the Portuguese emigrants. The numbers of emigrants during the last three decades of the nineteenth century rose significantly.\(^57\)

In fact, Maria Ioannis Baganha stressed this supply of the increased demand for labor as the principal reason for the restrictions and discouragement of Portuguese emigration.\(^58\) Even Ribeiro acknowledged the impact of Brazilian politics on emigration. He cited the need to improve relations with Brazil, assuring the government that this would serve to decrease emigration rather than encourage it.\(^59\) As the need for workers in Brazil increased and more emigrants left Portugal, the Portuguese government was forced to look at national losses from the increase in emigration.

Interestingly it was in these last decades that illegal emigration also increased dramatically. Maria Ioannis Baganha indicated in her study of passports and immigration manifests that clandestine emigration rose from about five percent of emigrants before 1878 to between thirteen and fifteen percent of emigrants during the years between 1878 and 1910.\(^60\) These numbers demonstrate significant ramifications of the emigration system of the time. The laws and requirements shown provide evidence that restrictions had been set on emigrants. These numbers indicate a feel of the increased restrictions and sentiments against emigration. If emigrants truly felt that their right to emigrate was being protected and facilitated, there would not have been so many people leaving the country without going through the proper channels.

\(^{57}\) J. Costa Leite, “Emigração portuguesa: a lei e os números (1855–1914)” *Análise Social* 23 (1987): 474. Refer to data from Figure 2, numbers were also taken from same source.
Spain

In Spain there occurred a similar discouragement of emigration, although not necessarily in the same procedures imposed on the Portuguese. In Spain, collection of statistical information began with an order issued in 1882. These statistics collected must have begun to worry the Spanish legislators, because in 1888 the Real Orden imposed significant bureaucratic steps that the emigrant needed to pass through before gaining permission to emigrate.

Real Orden 1888

In 1888 the government was concerned with emigration and, interestingly enough, illegal emigration. Yet more passport requirements were set in place for emigrants. The Orden of 1888 created a Junta or committee on emigration to review emigration documents in all of the border or port provinces. The emigrant was required to present his documents, fully certified by a notary, at least fifteen days before he planned to emigrate. The Junta then reviewed the documentation to assure that the emigrant met the qualifications to emigrate (these were the same qualifications as set forth in previous laws). If the Junta denied emigration, the emigrant could appeal and with more time, the governor had the power to override that decision. Additionally, all ships leaving ports were required to obtain authorization from the provincial governor and to submit to mandatory inspections of the ship by delegates of the governor prior to departure.

Although the qualifications for emigration did not change and technically any person still had the right to emigrate, the requirements for receiving approval suddenly became much more stringent and difficult for a prospective emigrant to meet.

Perhaps yet a stronger indication of the sentiments of Spanish lawmakers regarding emigration can be seen clearly by looking at the preface to the entry on emigration in the Dictionary of Spanish Administration (Diccionario de la Administración Española), published in 1892. In the opening entry on emigration, the author stated the following:

Those who emigrate abandon their country to establish themselves outside of it... Emigration can be voluntary or forced. The first occurs when the emigrant leaves of his own will: the second, when he is forced to leave to free himself of some evil that afflicts him either directly or indirectly. Generally, the first is due to speculation, and the second is when the laws of country do not protect the individual within the nation sufficiently, and when civil war or partisans produce insufferable persecutions. Whatever the reason, though, the country of emigration suffers, as seen through an economic point of view, when the general riches and work of the nation are diminished, and through a political and social [point of view], when the deplorable state of the nation by lack of security or resources to survive is demonstrated by emigration.

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62 Ibid.
63 Spain, Colección legislativa de España: Continuación de la Colección de decretos (Madrid: Imprenta Nacional, 1854) v. 140, 1888, p. 822.
The author expressed his feelings that emigration is either in speculation or the blame of the emigrant nation. He placed high levels of blame on the country that forces emigration as he explained the hurt caused by emigration, either voluntary or forced. This author’s opinion of emigration is certainly not positive, and if he is any indication of general sentiment of his day, by 1890 in Spain, emigration was not viewed favorably.

**CONCLUSION**

The liberal era opened emigration to many more individuals and promoted the ideals of free emigration in Spain and Portugal. The laws in the first half of the century reflected the idea that all good citizens of the nation were free to emigrate as they pleased as long as they did not leave debts and obligations behind. In fact, the laws often went so far as to protect the emigrant in this process of leaving. However, toward the end of the nineteenth century, because so many people were emigrating, the governments of both nations began to implement measures designed to maintain the individual’s right to emigrate, while discouraging such emigration at the same time.

As in most cases, the differences between Spain and Portugal, as well as the shift from liberal ideals to limitations, are not black and white. There were instances where laws from Portugal appeared to be almost identical to laws in Spain, and those from Spain to those in Portugal. There are also instances where liberal ideas appeared to be promoted later in the century. However, with close scrutiny, the general trend was definitely away from liberal ideas in the regulation of emigration towards the end of the nineteenth century. While Spain increased the bureaucracy of the process for emigrants, Portugal attempted to literally frighten emigrants out of leaving the Portuguese kingdom through various methods of propaganda.

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THE FOX RIVER SETTLEMENT REVISITED: THE ILLINOIS Milieu OF THE FIRST NORWEGIAN CONVERTS TO MORMONISM IN THE EARLY 1840S

GERALD M. HASLAM

The first Norwegian converts to Mormonism joined The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, not in Norway, but in the rather isolated Fox River Settlement in the extreme east central portion of La Salle County, Illinois, in 1842. There they heard the good news of the Mormon gospel preached in Yankee English by a colorful extemporizer named George Parker Dykes (b. 1814), a fire-and-damnation preacher who centered his message of redemption around the Old Testament scripture in Micah 4:2: “And many nations shall come, and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for the law shall go forth of Zion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.” One of the leaders in the Norwegian settlement at Fox River, described by Dykes in 1842 as “a man of strong mind, and well skilled in the scriptures,”¹ was Goodman Hougas (Gudmund Danielsen Haugaas), born in 1808 on the southeast coast of Norway in Tysvær, Rogaland. As a young man in about 1820, he traveled to nearby Stavanger and worked as a servant and learned the craft of a wheelwright. He was one of the so-called “Sloopers” who emigrated in 1825, journeyed to Kendall Colony, New York, and from there, with his wife and young family in 1834, settled in La Salle County, Illinois (in what is now Rutland Township) with the first Norwegian settlers to that region.²

In Illinois, Hougas served as a frontier doctor, although he had no medical training of a professional nature, and in 1846 he established the first Norwegian-language newspaper in America, called Nordlyset (The Northern Light), to promote “Liberty and Equality without regard to rank or nationality” and to “in every respect befriend, and so far as possible, assist the oppressed.” By that time he had been a Mormon four years. Soon after Hougas converted, Dykes ordained him an elder in the Mormon priesthood and called him as president of the La Salle Branch (congregation) of the Church. By January 1843, he had spent three weeks proselytizing in Sugar Creek Settlement, Lee County, Iowa, where he baptized ten Norwegians into the Mormon fold; he later accompanied Ole Heier on a missionary journey to Wisconsin Territory and met with some success among Norwegians in the area southwest of Milwaukee (now Rock County, Wisconsin). After the death of his first wife, Julia (Guri Thormodsatter Foss-Eigeland Madland), whom he had married 15 June 1826 in New York and who had borne him seven children, he married Kari Christophersdatter Hervik on 26 June 1847 in La Salle County and fathered one child by her.

In June 1844, assassins gunned down the Mormon Prophet Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum in Carthage, Illinois, where they had been imprisoned. In October of that

² History of La Salle County, Illinois, 2 vols. (Chicago: Inter-State, 1886) 1:454.
year, Hougas and other Norwegian converts, numbering about eighty persons, hosted chief 
Mormon Apostle Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders who, having purchased a 
hundred acres of land from Hougas and Jacob Andersen Slogvig, laid out a city called 
Norway about “three miles southwest of the present town of Norway which it preceded by 
many years.” The two main streets were named Young and Hougas, and here the Mormons 
planned to build a temple and establish a gathering place for the Scandinavian Saints. 
Hougas, by that time a Mormon High Priest, was to be sent to Scandinavia to gather converts 
to the new Zion. Thereafter, Hougas and other Norwegians toyed briefly with doctrines of 
the Strangites (a Mormon sect) before returning to the orthodox fold in 1846. The following 
year, Hougas expressed a desire to join with the main company of westward-migrating 
Saints, but he tarried too long and grew ill with cholera while serving as a community 
doctor, dying on his farm between Ottawa and Norway, La Salle County, on 28 July 1849. 
His oldest son, Thomas, would later serve as a pastor in the Reorganized Church of Jesus 
Christ of Latter Day Saints in the Fox River vicinity for fifty years, from 1868 to 1918.³ 

Hougas’s probate file affords fascinating glimpses into the man and his community. 
The front page of the inventory notes “no real estate” in documents filed 21 December 1849, 
and we are left to ask if he indeed died without any real property on hand or whether the 
inventory was for chattels only. We do know that the Norwegian Sondra Sanders (a possible 
sibling of Austin, Harriet and Alice Sanders who joined with the Mormons and left for Utah 
after their parents died of the cholera in nearby Prairie Creek Settlement about thirty miles 
further south of Fox River Settlement) was owed $44.50 by Hougas’s estate for “6 Days 
work in Harvest at 1.00 per day” and “mowing 8 Acres Grass & Oats at 50 [cents]” in 1848, 
and “15 days work in Harvest at [$] 1.00… 13 days work mowing & Hauling at 75 
[cents]…3 days work putting in wheat at 75 [cents]…[and] 15 days Ploughing of 30 Acres at 
50 [cents],” all in 1849.⁴ So Hougas did work the land, although he may have rented the 
property he farmed after selling out earlier to the Church, preparatory to moving west with 

³ Gerald M. Haslam, Clash of Cultures: The Norwegian Experience with Mormonism (New York and Berne: 
Peter Lang, 1984), 4–5, 129–30; William Mulder, “Norway Forerunners Among the Early Mormons,” 
volume19/vol19_3.htm>.

⁴ Also due H. Thompson & Co. was a total amount of $5.29 for a pound of plums; pound apples; candy; gallon 
of molasses and 5 lbs. sugar; also for buttons, shirting and box of mustard; 5 yards sheeting and 6 yards calico; 5 
sheets wadding; 1/2 pound tobacco; 2 nutmegs; 1/2 pound tea; and pint of wine; of which five sheets of 
wadding had been returned.

Many of the chattels of Hougas were sold at auction 8 Dec. 1849; Ole Hayer bought two old irons, box 
of old iron, horseshoes, old iron, horseshoes, flatiron, old iron, old iron; Oliver Hayer a plow; Ole Hayer, a 
buggy; Oliver Hayer, drawers, pair of pants, vest, 2nd pair of pants; Christopher Nilson, old iron; E. Anderson, 
old iron; L. Larson, one old ax; Ener Anderson, drawknife; Andrew Anderson, box of old iron, wagon; other 
buyers were Osmund Tuttle, martingales, cultivator; Nils Nilson, file; Ole Person, saw and plane, harness, 
shovel plow, 81 bush. oats; Lars Nilson, one plow; Jonas Jacobs, 2 hogs; L. Larson, 2 hogs; Jense Jacobs, 2 
sheep; Ole Hayer, 7 sheep; Knud Richeson, 40 bush. corn; Lars Larson, 28 bush. corn, heifer; Rasmus 
Rasmussen, curry comb; T. Ellingson, cupboard; Ole M. Hanson, heifer; Enoch Thomsen, steer; John Whing, 
3 calves; Osmund Tuttle, calf; E. Askewig, saddle; Hans Hayer, colt; Rasmus Rasmussen, 2 horses; Vital 
Vernat, pair of harnesses; Caroline Hougon, vest; Geo. Nichles, vest; Jonas Rasmanson, coat, pair of pants; 
Enock Thomson, coat; Erick Ericson, one pair of pants; ?, Anfinson, pair of shorts; Enoch Thomson, 
shaving tools; Lars Larson, books; the Pitzers, sundry items, though most of the purchasers were 
Scandinavians; total sales of $216.49. La Salle Co., IL, Probates, box H, no. 29, Family History Library, Salt 
Lake City, UT [hereinafter FHL] film #2319679.
the main body of the Saints as he had planned.

In point of fact, the purported deed from Hougas and fellow Church member Jacob Anderson Slogvig (who would eventually shift his allegiance to the Reorganized LDS Church and migrate to Napa Valley, California, where he died on a large ranch in the 1860s) has never surfaced, leaving us to ask just what Brigham Young was referring to in his diary when he mentioned purchasing real estate from the two Norwegians. We do know that Hougas and wife, Julia, sold to prominent Mormon Bishop Reuben Miller for one hundred dollars on 25 February 1845, land in La Salle County in:

Section Sixteen (16) Township thirty four (34) Range five (5) East of the third (3) principal Mer[idian]. Being twenty three acres In the South End of the East half of the North West q[uarte]r. (or twenty three acres in the South East Corner of the North West qr.) in the above named Section Being in width eighty rods East and west [?and] North as far as may be[,] Together with all and singular the hereditaments and appurtenances thereunto belonging.

No witnesses are named although the transaction was recorded by Norwegian Ova Rosdail, acting Justice of the Peace, on 22 March 1845. That this is part of the acreage referred to by Young is indeed possible although no corresponding deed from Slogvig has been found; we are likewise left clueless as to just what happened to the above-described property since, according to grantor indexes of La Salle County, it never was re-sold by either Miller or his heirs. Miller may have been acting as trustee for the LDS Church in order to potentially avoid legal squabbles, such as those being mounted against Mormon land ownership in and around Nauvoo at the time, and in nearby Iowa and Missouri. But even so, we just do not know what was going on for sure, and indeed this little exercise in “real estate transfer” and trying to track down a particular chain of title sufficiently underscores the fact that land ownership and title in La Salle County in the 1830s and 1840s was one sticky business (see Appendix A).

Swarms of westward-moving squatters or speculators often abandoned a temporary settlement in Illinois, hardly stopping long enough to view the territory for “greener pastures” in Iowa or even Nebraska, and “local farmers seldom claimed as much as half the available farm sites at the time” of the land sales by the United States government. Speculation was rife. Many speculators would swoop in illegally before the land sales and “buy off fictitious squatter titles or…purchase lands in the sections where the prairies were dominant,” easily acquiring large holdings. After the sales, speculators would again move in and buy “the surveyed lands that failed to sell at the land sales and remained thereafter open to private entry at the minimum price of $1.25 per acre. Settlers who arrived in a sparsely settled community,” such as Fox River, “often found that large holders owned many of the attractive locations. The title of pioneer farmers, therefore, was [often] derived not from the federal government but from non-resident investors.” Writing to friends in Norway from the

6 Allan G. Bogue, From Prairie to Corn Belt: Farming on the Illinois and Iowa Prairies in the Nineteenth Century (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 39. “The real estate agent, bankers, and lawyers of the struggling prairie settlements counted heavily on the fees that they received for acting as the local agents of non-resident landowners.” Ibid., 39. Before the act of 1841 governing the preemption system of land
Fox River Settlement on 22 June 1841, for example, Mons Larsen Skutle described the large Norwegian settlement:

We have been staying with a man for a year in the biggest settlement or neighborhood [the same one where many Norwegian Mormons-to-be lived]. I heard that there was a portion of land here that a speculator had bought from the government 5 years ago. We call such men speculators, who buy some land with forest and prairie, in order to sell it again later. This speculator, who had bought this land, was long gone and didn’t look after his property, either on one place or another and here one is permitted to build on or clear such land if only one pays the tax to the government when the owner himself doesn’t do it properly. I built a house and a barn on this piece of land. How it will go, whether the owner comes or not, I don’t know, since no one hears anything about his whereabouts. But if he comes back, then he is required by law to pay me for my work and reimburse me for the tax at the rate of one-half dollar for each dollar that I have paid. The government has to have what is imposed. That is from 4 to 6 dollars for each 80 acres. It is mostly woods and timber.7

purchases, generally, “the pioneer who settled anywhere upon the public domain was actually a trespasser. The temporary pre-emption acts of the 1830s applied retroactively and for limited periods of time only. Many settlers could not look to them for protection. They must bid against any rivals who coveted their claims at the public auction. Even after 1841 the squatters sometimes ran their claim lines before the federal surveys or before the district land officers were ready to accept their pre-emption declarations attesting to the fact that they planned to purchase their holdings under the pre-emption law prior to the date of the local land sale.” Some settlers were cut out of their land if they failed to raise the one or two hundred dollars “needed to purchase” a “claim by the time of the land sale” and might see some large landowner or speculator “purchase his claim and ‘improvements’ at the land sale or acquire them later by private entry.” Ibid., 30-1. In connection with the Norwegians arriving on the scene about 1834–35, that was the very time of “frenzied public domain land sales” when sales “shot to 2,096,623 acres,” a nearly 600 percent increase from the previous year when 354,010 were sold. This buying craze swept the country, as “‘in the thirty months from the fall of 1834 to the spring of 1837, the American people generated the largest office business in the history of the Republic,’” James E. Davis, Frontier Illinois (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), 207.


The Fox River in Illinois actually enters that state from the north “where it widens into a large area of interconnected lakes known as the Fox Chain O’Lakes. Fox Lake is the largest city in this area. From the chain, the river flows generally southward for 115 miles (185 km), until it joins the Illinois River at Ottawa…. Collectively, the area surrounding the Fox River is known as the Fox Valley....” David J. Horn, “Overview of the Fox River and the Ecological Consequences of Dams on the Fox River Ecosystem,” Fox River News (Winter 2003): online.

Descriptions of the Fox River Valley and environs, northeastern Illinois, include “You Call This Prairie?” describing “marsh meadows, scores of lakes, and even soggy bogs” that make up some of the landscape. Also part of the scenery are “wooded ravines and narrow, winding roads” and a bit further west, “the winding hills of the Fox River Valley” where one can explore “graceful historic towns that took advantage of the riverways.” Slightly further south are more open lands, “patches of prairie here, grassland there” in marked difference from Fox River. Bob Puhala, Off the Beaten Path Illinois (Guilford, CT: Globe Pequot Press, 1987, 2007), 31. In frontier Illinois, “watercourses [such as the Fox] snaking across prairies sustained trees, [and] creat[ed] lengthy peninsulas of timber. Settlers valued timber resources” which “yielded game, mast for livestock, syrup and sugar, other foods, and wood for building, fencing, heating, cooking, furniture, wagons, and tools. It also comforted settlers accustomed to wooded life. Cabins dotted edges of peninsulas of timber,
Another early settler, Thomas A. Thompson, remembered that in the early days “settlers broke up only patches on their land and raised a little wheat and garden truck.” At the very least, the Fox River Settlement of Norwegians was not a community where farmers worked the land in a rationalized for-profit manner or where farming was done on a large scale. This was largely due to the nature of the land: “broken in surface, their soils comparatively low in organic content,” settlements such as Fox River were originally populated by settlers who favored the timber groves over the barren prairies. Here in timber alongside the rivers “were the rails, the building materials, the fuel, and the sheltered locations for horse and stables that the settler desired. Water supplies, nearness to mill sites, the navigability of some of the prairie rivers, and the marshy and ‘sickly’ nature of much prairie ground may have influenced the pioneer as well, but they counted much less in his decision than did the oak, hickory, walnut and locust trees of the wooded lands.” Settlers were loath “to encroach upon the prairies,” establishing their farms instead on acreage “ringing the wooded margins [long] before some hardy or experimental soul [eventually] ventured away from the timber.” On first coming into such “speckled” areas, settlers would erect a crude log cabin about sixteen or so feet square “with puncheon floor, clay fireplace and mud-and-stick chimney” and clapboard roof. These makeshift shanties “presented no structural problems that two men, or a man and a willing boy, could not solve,” and indeed some of the cabins built by the poorer settlers, including Norwegians, had no floors at all “other…than the bare ground,” and also contained rough-board lofts which surely reminded them of the humble homes across the sea that they had left behind.

The “shanty and log cabin phase” was temporary, and eventually frame or brick homes replaced the old log ones, especially by the late 1850s. But that was years after the time of our story. In the 1830s and 1840s, “a variety of other buildings rose through the years” around the farmhouse: “a summer kitchen, a smokehouse, corncribs, stables, barns, and, perhaps a roofed threshing floor.” There might even have been a “crude corncrib of logs, poles, or rough siding.” Livestock usually toughed the midwestern winter out “in the shelter of a hay- or straw-stack.” Most early stables were hardly substantial—pioneers “drove notched sticks in the ground, poised a roof of prairie hay on poles resting in the

which often encompassed large prairies. Only after cabins crowded the edges of timbered peninsulas did latecomers settle, often with trepidation, on open prairies between fingers of timber. Waterways sustaining these timbered fingers usually provided superb well water and even flowing water much of the year.” James E. Davis, *Frontier Illinois* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), 14–15. In the Fox River Valley area, the timber was “chiefly oak of several varieties, in wet places, while birch and cottonwood” grew on the bluffs. Wild crab apple trees grew in rich abundance, in clusters and isolated trees; also wild plum trees. Hazel constituted most of the small undergrowth, *La Salle County* I:164.

Soils in the area, especially the grasslands, “are dark brown, at times even black in color, reflecting the content of organic materials that have accumulated in them over time, mainly the residue of grassland vegetation and root systems. The massively complex roots of one major prairie resident, the big bluestem, sometimes penetrated more than six feet into the soil, and the roots of some forbs more than doubled this sum. In the woods along the prairie watercourses, the pioneers were to find soils of lighter color, for organic matter accumulated less rapidly in soils under forest cover than under grass. There was less sustenance for the crops of the farmer in these soils than in those of the true prairie.” It is important to remember, and this applies likewise to some of the Fox River Norwegians, that as a general rule the first settlers “slashed their claim markers on the timber along the streams and in the prairie groves.” Bogue, *Corn Belt to Prairie*, 6.


9 Bogue, *Prairie to Corn Belt*, 47.
notches, and attached siding of poles and sticks on one or more sides. Sometimes the builder cut back a bank to make one side or built against a haystack”—Illinoisans in the 1830s called these structures “sucker barns”.10 Until about the mid-1840s, “the usual farm was located in part, if not wholly, in the timber; and twenty or thirty years later the early settlers of the prairie triangle…[would remember] with chagrin the labor which they wasted in slashing fields out of the timber” although “few of the woods were dense, and the pioneers selected the areas of sparsest growth for their first fields.”11 By the 1840s, some ventured out into some of the adjoining grasslands where farming was something altogether different requiring “unwieldy looking implements” called “breaking plows” which are mentioned frequently in probate records of Fox River Valley Norwegians’ estates. Such plows were comprised of “a ponderous beam six to twelve feet long, the fore end resting on small sturdy wheels, the rear end firmly attached to a massive share.” The farmer “regulated the depth of the furrow by adjusting a long lever which ran from the front to rear above the beam and pivoted on a bar above the wheels.” The largest of these contraptions allowed a farmer to “turn a furrow of some thirty inches” and required “five or six yokes of oxen or four horses” and two men, “one to drive the team and the other to guide the plow and regulate the depth of the furrow.” A good breaker could turn “from one and a half to three acres of sod in a day, with frequent stops along the way to file the cutting edge of the share.” Even more commonly, Fox River Nordmenn in the 1840s and early 1850s “depended heavily on light, single-shovel plows pulled by one horse, for work in the corn rows, although farmers also used plows with a flat landside to cut very close to the young corn plants…but the implements that revolutionized corn cultivation in the prairie triangle were the riding and walking straddle-row cultivators pulled by two horses.” These were “driven with one horse and one wheel on each side of the corn row, while a shovel tooth, or teeth suspended on gangs attached to the frame or axle, cut close on both sides of the corn plants. One or more rounds per row had been the rule with the shovel plow [but] with the straddle-row cultivator,” which really came into its own in the 1840s, “the number of rounds was halved.”12 We can also imagine what some of these Norwegians experienced as they worked backcountry patches bordering the Fox River, where roamed “cattle, elk, deer, wildcats, bustards, swans, ducks, parroquets, and even beaver.” There were “many small lakes and rivers” and considerable numbers of buffalo, “strange, shaggy beasts [which] glared out through tangled hair at the invaders.” Most of the Norwegians who left probatable estates owned a buffalo robe or two and a buffalo rug, and even into the 1840s settlers would on occasion indulge in a “feast of buffalo meat…topped off with helpings of venison…goose and swan.”13

Running through this landscape teeming with game and wild beasts was the river, doubly cold and imperious in winter. “When the ice broke up in the spring, cakes almost as

11 Ibid, 70–71. “The axe, the maul, and the wedges or gluts were more often in the hands of the settler prior to the mid-1850s than were the plow handles or the cradle.” In winter or slow season, pioneers split the rails, the building components of fences used to protect the crops and livestock, let alone prevent neighbors’ strays or wild deer from despoiling the crops. Splitting rails “became a task for winter and odd times…. The placement of the wedges, the knack of making the first one stick, skill in turning the grain or flaws in the wood to the advantage of the axe, all these helped to make the difference between 150 rails and a good day’s work, and something far less.” Ibid., 73. Also Davis, Frontier, 14–15.
big as a house would come crashing out of the creek. They plunged and lunged through the willows, carrying everything before them.” Often livestock would be “cut off by the caprice of the river,” and their owners “had to wait until the water had frozen before the animals could be led safely across. Even then straw had to be thrown on the ice, and the frightened horses complained and tossed their heads and threw out clouds of protest from their steaming nostrils.” In warmer months, Fox River Valley Norwegians farmed on the edges of numerous bogs, in a watershed environment supporting a great variety of plants ranging from the carnivorous pitcher plants and sundews to white and yellow lady’s slipper orchids. Overhead, birds such as the king rail, the sandhill crane, and the red hawk, circled around the fields; approximately a hundred species of fish populated the river waters including the “weed shiner and greater redhorse” and “river redhorse,” which were fairly unique to the area; and one could dig for over thirty species of freshwater mussels including the “spike, slippershell, sheenose, wavy-rayed lampmussel, and rainbow.” Unique to the lower Fox River area was “the pygmy shrew”—“grey-brown or red-brown in colour with lighter underparts”—“almost completely blind” and dependent “on its barely adequate sense of smell for protection.” Actively foraging “day and night year-round…in moist soil and dead leaves,” it mated in early summer and gave birth to a “litter of 5 to 8 young in a burrow under a dead log or stump.”

Against such a varied tapestry of patchy little farms spilling out of timberlands alongside the river into parts of the prairie, as well as the plants, the fishes, the wildlife and the varied seasons, we must now consider the Norwegians themselves, most of whom arrived in Fox River commencing in 1834. What kind of work did they do? What was their social status? What kinds of possessions/chattels did they own? Drawing on estate files for the approximately sixteen Norwegians in Fox River whose estates were probated through 1858, over half of whom (ten in fact) perished along with Goodman Hougas in the cholera epidemic of 1849–50 (see Appendix B), we can attempt to answer some of these questions. First, many of them farmed lands to which, for reasons delineated above, they held questionable titles. These “landed” Norwegians comprised about fifteen to twenty percent of Norwegian households in Fox River, which in 1840 numbered about sixty-three. Three hundred and sixty-five Norwegians in that year, of whom two-thirds (or about 240) were children (the mean number of persons per household hovering around six), which means there were about 125 adults in the Norwegian population of La Salle County, of whom all but five or six were in their vigorous twenties, thirties, and forties. In the same context, we note a Mormon nucleus-in-embryo (which would join with the Latter-day Saints two or three years later) of approximately seven households totaling 40–50 persons, namely, those of Andrew Doll, Gilman Hocus (Goodman Hougas), Jacob Anderson, Ole Hyre, Larse Olson, Andrew Doll, Gilman Hocus (Goodman Hougas), Jacob Anderson, Ole Hyre, Larse Olson,

14 On 20 December 1836, two years after members of the erstwhile Kendall Colony, New York, arrived at Fox River, the entire region “was enveloped in the icy embrace of a veritable blizzard…. The day had been warm, and men pursued their avocations without their overcoats. This storm, or ‘the sudden freeze,’ as it is now familiarly known, swept diagonally across the State, at a rate of twenty-five miles an hour. It came with a strong wind, a heavy black cloud and a roaring noise as of distant thunder, accompanied by a heavy moisture in the atmosphere. So sudden was the intense cold that horses and wagons were frozen in the mud, as were hogs and chickens. Parties returning from the city on horseback were unable to dismount when they arrived home. In one case the saddle-girth had to be cut, and as the rider was found to be frozen fast to the saddle, they had to be thawed apart at the kitchen fire before they could be separated.” La Salle County 1:164–65.

15 Horn, “Fox River,” n.p.; Puhala, Illinois, 31; and Wikipedia.
Henry Sebber and Knut Pearson—right in the middle of the major concentration of Nordic settlers ranging through the township continuum (Mission, Miller, Rutland, Manlius) following the river. Given a total population in La Salle County in 1840 of 9,465 persons, we can figure that one of every approximately twenty-six persons in the county was Norwegian or lived in a household headed by one, shortly before the Mormon missionaries arrived (see Appendix C).

As above, only about one in every five or six households actually owned the land (or thought they did), leaving the bulk of the Scandinavian population to work the farms of their countrymen for day wages, in addition to grubstaking on rented or marginal properties. A few of the settlers had lumber wagons and one of them, Daniel Danielson, even owned a primitive reaping machine and a threshing machine, which he undoubtedly rented out during harvesting season. Most of the households owned commonplace farming, woodworking and building tools: little flax wheels, butter churns, casks, spinning wheels, steelyards, grindstones, hand saws, beetles with iron wedges, chisels, spades, hoes, baskets, sawhorses or (so-called) bucks, augers, hammers, planes, cradle scythes, snaths, pitchforks, scoop-shovels, dung- and hay-forks. Most of them used primitive hand-held wooden-boxed fanning mills for removing straw, chaff, stones, dirt and dust, weed seeds, and light immature seeds from wheat, oats, rye, barley, and other grains. This was of great importance for better preservation during storage, in order to have mold- and grit-free flour and for securing seed free of weed seeds that competed with the growing cereal crop.

Women, such as Sarah Nelson, served up to as many as twelve persons at table on occasion, lit a candlestick or two in the bedchamber at night and blew out the candles upon retiring, warmed cold beds with heated flat irons in winter months, and kept featherbeds and bedding, sheets, pillows, quilts, bolsters, straw bed-ticks, bed-cords, and bed curtains in good repair. They entertained female neighbors with tea poured into prized teacups and saucers from hand-painted pitchers brought over from the Old Country, drank wine and water from glasses on Sundays and tin mugs and wooden dippers on weekdays, ate with forks and knives but not as Americans do, balanced little spoonfuls of salt spooned out of dainty silver-plated salt dishes, stored pepper ground in a wooden pepperbox, sifted flour with primitive handheld sifters. Most cooked with braise steamers and owned several kettles. All of them stored foodstuffs in tubs and even pails, spread out dried hides over the floorboards or bare dirt, ate and drank from tinware and crockery on a daily basis, heated home and hearth with wood-burning stoves, sat on rough-hewn furniture, gathered dirty clothing into washing tubs, ground coffee in their coffee mills, used assorted bags for sewing supplies and precious spices, lit lanterns to get around indoors and outdoors during darker hours, and rubbed meat with salt stored in barrels near the back stoop.

Even in hardscrabble Fox River, some of the men were well-off. Daniel Danielson, who died of cholera in July 1849, the month and year Goodman Hougas succumbed to it, owned a pair of buffalo overshoes, an over-cap, a sheepskin gray coat, a brown overcoat, two pairs of pantaloons, another pair of pantaloons, two pairs of pants, three additional pairs of pants, a shirt and a vest, two other shirts, a broadcloth coat, a pair of broadcloth pants, a white linen coat, a striped apron, calfskin boots, another pair of shoes, and a horse blanket. Most of the men owned two or three bosoms and collars for shirts, a breastpin, a silver ring and a pocket watch; they wore suspenders, frequently checked a little pocket compass while

16 Sarah Nelson Estate File, La Salle Co., IL, Estate Files, box N, no. 10, FHL film #2293430.
out in the fields working or even out walking, pulled on sturdy calf-high boots for work in
the fields, and wore an overcoat to church. Cotton shirts were de rigueur. Some of the older
men still wore buckles on their shoes, probably because they took such fanatically good care
of shoes purchased many years previously in Norway. In most cases women owned two or
more dresses—only one for Sunday or best-dress occasions. They also owned pantaloons,
petticoats and flannels, knitted drawers and neck comforters, and went around in colder
months in black broadcloth coats and white scarves or little skin head-caps. Most women
owned a silk or flannel handkerchief, a garter, several pairs of woolen stockings and capes
(well-to-do women wore fur-skin capes) as well. They also liked to stuff oversized inside
pockets with balls of linen or woolen thread.

Most of the Norwegians used horses for plowing (and for riding at times, though not
commonly). They slaughtered a few hogs each season for supplies of bacon and lard, put up
with several sheep which they used for the wool, and sent their young children outside every
hour on the hour to mind the hens and the chickens. After about five years in America, one
Fox River Norwegian, named Mons Larsen Skutle, had by 1841 acquired “six lambs, two
sheep and four lambs and four cattle and a pair of driving oxen, two years old…two sows,
geese and over 100 chickens,” the chickens being “the quickest and easiest to earn with of all
the animals.” “We are thinking of buying a foal,” he continued, “which costs about 20
dollars. A middleing [sic] horse costs from 60 to 70 dollars.” Foodstuffs and crops in the
little Norwegian enclave could be grown or purchased or both. Settlers paid about two
dollars for a barrel of wheat flour, half that amount for a barrel of Indian corn, a dollar a
barrel for potatoes, and one cent— the equivalent of a Norwegian shilling—for a bowl of
commeal. A pound of fresh pork went for four cents, a cake of butter for six cents (or
occasionally ten to twelve cents a pound). A cow could be purchased for twenty dollars, a
sheep for two. Wages for working men averaged one or two dollars a day. Christian
Danielson’s estate in 1849 included a stack of wheat worth 45 dollars, another worth 15, a
stack of barley worth a dollar and a stack of oats worth 20, a crop of corn on the ground
valued at 15 dollars, a rick and stack of hay 18 dollars, and a patch of potatoes on the ground
worth two dollars. A few Norwegians hoarded a gold piece or two, less commonly a piece of
silver, and Hans Oftadahl’s estate in 1838 comprised “a pocket book with thirty five dollars
of fraudulent bills” valued at twelve-and-a-half cents! Perhaps one in three Norwegian men
shaved with a razor, but not too often. Every family possessed an old, large, hand-painted
ironbound wooden chest, or two or three, handed down in the family from as long ago as the
sixteen– or seventeen–hundreds, in which they hoarded heirloom silver, prized linens, fragile
dishware and beloved old-world bibles and sermon-books (see appendix D).

For the final part of this revisitation of the Fox River Settlement of the early 1840s,
where the first non-English-speaking converts to Mormonism were won, I return to the
Mormon High Priest and frontier doctor of Rutland Township, La Salle County: Goodman
Hougas, who died of cholera along with scores of other Norwegians in the community
during the epidemic of late summer 1849. Hougas owned two horses, along with a colt,
thirteen hogs, a black cow, a brindle cow, a black heifer, a “red linback heifer,” a steer, four
calves, ten sheep and fourteen geese. A farmer by necessity, if not by choice, he used a
double harness for the team of horses. He also used a dung fork, a pitchfork, two regular
plows, two shovel plows and a cultivator. Out in the barnyard reposed six stacks of hay,
probably second- or even third-crop, valued at $17.00; a ton of corn worth $25.00 along with
corn spilling over sides of a crib worth $16.00; and a meager supply of wheat and oats. In the
barn was a wagon, some old buggy wheels, old boards and a couple of carpenter’s tables, a
cradle and scythe, a mortar and spinning wheel. Inside the house were sundry bed and
bedding, a stove and accompanying pipe, and kitchen and household furniture including five
chairs, a table and trunk, and a clock. There were also books valued at four dollars,
medicines worth eighteen dollars, three pork barrels, a shovel, a wedge, a long chain, half a
grindstone, half a fanning mill, an ax, an old saddle, shearing tools, flour, and potatoes.

Hougas’s chattels amounted to a total appraised value of 285 dollars (including
$59.05 owed by debtors). Lars Larson, Vetal Wernt and James M. ?Trenary valued the
estate. Hougas had obtained medicines on commission, having stocked up “three dozen
boxes Spencers Vegetable Pills to sell at Twenty-five cents per box—One Doz. boxes Hulls
Worm Loz[enges] and one Doz. boxes Hulls Cough Loz[enges] to sell at 5 cts per box each,
also one Doz boxes Hulls Fever and Ague pills to sell at 50 cents per box.”17  He also owed
on account about twenty-five dollars for assorted brandy, alcohol, myrrh, peppermint,

17 Goodman Hougas Est., La Salle Co., IL, Estate Files, box H, no. 29, FHL film #2319679; per account 27 July
1846.  Hougas had also received on 7 August 1847 at New Norway, “three dozen boxes spencers vegetable
Pills to sell at twenty-five cents per box - one dozen boxes of Hulls Worm Loz[enges] and one Doz Hulls cough
Loz to sell at twentyfive cents per box each. Also dozen boxes Hull’s Fever and Ague pills to sell at .75 cts per
box. and I hereby agree to pay to the order of Nelson Arnold or to the order of Hull & Spencer on the
presentation of this Receipt but not otherwise sixtyseven cents on each and every dollars worth that I do not
return when this Rect is presented -- also return all the above named medicine that I may have on hand.
Returned on the above Rects. 2 10/12 Doz[en] Spencers Pills; Hulls Cough Lozenges 5/12 dozen - Hulls Ague
Pills 11/12 dozen;” all of this acknowledged by Addison Brainard, agent, Hull & Spencer.  Ibid.  It appears Hull
and Spencer traded nationwide as witness “Hull & Spencer vs. Reuben Moore” on the 1844 civil docket for Old
1997-2005 by Bobbie Brewer Wilson, online. Hougas also owed about twenty-five dollars for assorted brandy,
alcohol, myrrh, pep[?permint]; whiskey; quin[jine; bitter crystalline alkaloid from cinchona bark used in
medicine; also salt of quinine used esp. as antipyretic or agent to reduce fever, or as antimalarial; also bitter
tonic]; capsicum [tropical herb and shrub of nightshade family cultivated for many-seeded usu. fleshy-walled
berries -- also called pepper; dried ripe fruit of some capsicums as C. frutescens used as a gastric and intestinal
stimulant]. It appears Hougas purchased most of the above medicants from merchant house Walker and
Stickling, of Ottawa, Illinois.  See Practical Medicine, XVIII: Diseases of Children by Evanson and Maunsell,
238–9, describing Cholera Infantum as usu. occurring dur. Autumn months, characterized by a “sudden and
violent” invasion which rapidly runs its course, terminating in death if not properly treated. In some cases,
however, the disease was milder, characterized by vomiting and drowsiness for two or three weeks, until an
acute attack finished off the victim. Ibid., 275–6. Worms were more often a problem in children than adults, the
complaint being intestinal—malnourished children and those in low-lying areas were particularly susceptible;
the child exhibiting a swollen belly or “gnawing, pungent, or twisting pain” and “irritation…in the rectum;” the
children’s eyes “fixed or wild; the pupils dilated;” and some children experienced convulsions. A very common
worm attacking children, the Trichocephalus, was “about two inches in length, of a white color, and like a thread”
in appearance. Another common worm was a much smaller one of the thread variety, Ascaris Vermicularis,
commonly called Ascarides, “often…seen in great numbers in the stools, looking like bits of cut thread; and, if
recently voided, are usually found in rapid motion.” Ibid., 278. Symptoms included picking the nose or at the
mouth and gnawing stomach pain, for which purgatives were prescribed. One recipe combined “scammony,
jalap, and calomel, to which some strong-smelling oil, as oil of juniper” was added. “Half a drachm, or a
drachm of tincture of aloes” was likewise employed as a purgative along with turpentine. Ibid., 281. Robley
Dunglison, MD, A Dictionary of Medical Science, 7th ed. (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1848), Dictionary,
907, describes Ching’s Worm Lozenges “which consist of yellow and brown lozenges. The former are directed
to be taken in the evening; the latter on the following morning;” whereas a recipe for making them called for
such ingredients as “white panacea of mercury or calomel washed in spirit of wine,” white sugar, “mucilage of
gum” and “resin of jalop.”
whiskey, quinine and capsicum. He would have used the myrrh, or myrrha, as a stimulant, it being described in a contemporary medical dictionary as “gum-resin” with “a fragrant peculiar odour; and bitter aromatic taste,” and “reddish-yellow, light, brittle, irregular tears”; it was “partially soluble in distilled water when aided by friction” and used for treating “cachectic affections, humoral asthma,” and “chronic bronchitis.” The brandy was “a powerful and diffusible stimulant,” and the whiskey, also part of Hougas’s medical arsenal, was in those days “quaffed [in] copious quantities…youngsters often sipping some before trundling off to school. Often costing around thirty cents per gallon, whiskey graced even religious households and flowed freely at house raisings, hog slaughters, dances, and on innumerable other occasions,” attesting “to grim facts of painful teeth, sore gums, arthritic joints, aches and pains from malaria and accidents, and overall discomfort….”18

Hougas and other early Norwegian settlers in Fox River, Illinois, confronted ferocious insects, the flies in the late fall being so bad that pioneers “had to build a fire near the horses and keep the flies off until night.” Prairie or greenhead flies “infested marshy places and were particularly tormenting in late summer, attacking in swarms, drawing blood from horses and other animals, and stampeding frantic victims. Bites actually killed horses, and wary travelers avoided these hellish creatures by traveling at night. Malaria-carrying mosquitoes afflicted soggy lands in eastern counties” like La Salle. “Malaria was Illinois’ most prevalent disease between 1780 and the 1850s. As late as the 1840s, a visiting physician noted that ‘the whole prairie was saturated with malaria….’” The principal market in the 1830s and 1840s was Chicago. Fox River settlers would set off from home expecting to be gone at least a week: if the loads were normal size, “only one yoke of oxen would be required, if large, two or even three were employed.” Oxen were turned out to graze at whatever camping place the travelers chose, “with a bell upon their necks, or picketed out with a stake and rope.” Sometimes during the night they wandered away as far as ten or twelve miles. After leaving home in Fox River, the small wagon company would generally be alone the first day. After that “there would be quite a train, each wagon slowly plodding along through the grass—which was sometimes knee-high, sometimes above the top of the wagon—and followed by a cloud of mosquitoes as large as a swarm of bees. These trains often numbered a hundred wagons before they reached Chicago.” Fox River Norwegians knew Chicago as “the Chicago Mire,” on the outskirts of which they would sometimes have to hitch five or six yoke of oxen to a single wagon in order to pull it through the mud. “From the ‘Widow Berry’s’ (twelve miles out) into the city it was always swampy, often the water was knee-deep.” Even in Chicago itself, wagons would get “sloughed” in the mud and the others had to unhitch their wagons to draw the unfortunate ones out. “Selling their wheat for what they could get, they would load up with lumber and return. Many a house in the early days was constructed from lumber obtained in this way.”19

Writing from Chicago on 23 November 1840, Anders Larsen Flage complained that

…almost everyone from Europe who comes here gets sick for a while. Some get sick as soon as they arrive and some after 1 or 2 years. Here, there are

18 Davis, Frontier, 387.
19 La Salle County 1:210–11. Another menace was rattlesnakes, which thrived and had done so for centuries on the prairies in great numbers. But by 1850, “thick-skinned hogs, impervious to snake bites, thinned their ranks.” Plowmen over the years “dispatched scores [of snakes] daily with long whips.” Also, “during the 1850s drainage and cultivation markedly reduced numbers of mosquitoes, sickness abating.” Davis, Frontier, 387–88.
two types of illness that attack the people mostly during the summer in the months of July, August and September. We call the first, feverague and it begins with headache, then in almost the whole body, and at various times of the day there is shaking and trembling so that the entire body shakes like an old shaky man and after this trembling they become so weak they can hardly move. It lasts 5 to 6 months in some, but the sickness lasts 8-9 mo[nths] in others and occasionally even longer.\textsuperscript{20}

From the specific medicines Hougas had on hand, we can easily surmise that he frequently had to doctor patients suffering from ague (also intermittent fever) contracted “chiefly…by marshy miasms, and consisting of paroxysms, with a complete state of apyrexia in the intervals.” Other symptoms included the following: chills, “impaired sensibility,” collapse, a later “hot phase” and tongue coated white accompanied by raging thirst, and excessive sweating. Recommended treatment included “emetics, purgatives, cinchone, quinia” and arsenic, all of these with the exception of arsenic being detailed in the 1849 inventory of Goodman Hougas’s storeroom.\textsuperscript{21}

In conclusion, it appears possible, even likely given our perusal of some of the relevant sources in this exercise, that the temple lot purchase in Fox River by the Nauvoo Mormon hierarchy in October 1844 from Norwegians Goodman Hougas and Jacob Anderson Slogvig, was predicated on a shaky title and may have actually belonged to a probate absentee landlord who never resurfaced after speculating far and wide early on, before leaving lower reaches of the Fox River Valley forever. Not that Hougas and Slogvig were necessarily or knowingly culpable. Their own holdings, if they or their heirs ended up with any after all of the claims and counterclaims had settled, rested on equally questionable arrangements, as did their very existence in a landscape of riverbed forests cheek-by-jowel with marshy boglands teeming with poisonous insects—bearers of various diseases, some of long duration but not fatal. Other diseases in the land, such as cholera, claimed victims like Hougas within as little as twenty-four hours. Without much doubt, few Norwegians, upon emigrating from the old granite headlands of Norway, knew what they were getting into. Once here however, and through all of the suffering, they could still respond to a message of hope preached by the Mormons, looking towards not only a glorious afterlife, but also a new Zion, which they were invited to assist in establishing. The brash Mormon preachers themselves hailed from Nauvoo, which was constructed on erstwhile unhealthy swampland and which in 1842 boasted a population larger than Chicago’s. In all of this there was some of the good and some of the bad. As expressed by Anders Larsen Flage writing from Illinois in 1840: “I didn’t feel good when I first was here and thus I got in debt for 50 dollars and this depressed me. I told my wife frequently, ‘God grant that I had enough money to pay for the passage back to Norway, then I would go there and advise others that they shouldn’t take this trip!’ But shortly thereafter, my health improved and I was in condition to work; I got a job and earned a little, then the thoughts of going back to Norway disappeared.”\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{21} Dunglison, Dictionary of Medical Science, 31.
APPENDIX A

Reuben Miller and wife Rhoda Ann by deed 12 Mar. 1845, to Lorenzo Leland of LaSalle County, cons. $150.00, “North East Quarter of lot No. four (4) in Block No. Seventeen (17) in the original town of Ottawa [,] County and State aforesaid;” wits. John Gibson, Geo. Gibson; rec. 18 March 1845. La Salle Co., IL, Deeds, vol. 11, 193-4, FHL film #1428326.


See Jacob Anderson and wife Serina to John Martin Nitchelm, 11 June 1849, cons. $2020.00, “The equal undivided half of the North half of the East half of the South West quarter of section twelve (12) in Township No. thirty four (34) of range No. four (4) East of the 3rd principal meridian. Also the South West quarter of section thirteen (13) in the same township and range excepting and reserving therefrom Block No. twenty one (21) and so much of block No. twenty two (22) as his [is] North West of the road running from Ottawa by the way of Holdamans Grove to Chicago, of the town of Norway in said county, and also the East half of the South West quarter of section one (1) in the above described township and range. ?Und 1/2 N1/2 E1/2 SW1/4 12.34.4 SW1/4 13.34.4 excepting Block 21 & that part of B. 22 N.W. Chicago road Town of Norway -- E1/2 SW1/4 1.34.4;” signed Jacob Anderson, xSerina Anderson; wit. M. E. Hollister; rec. 11 June 1849. Nitchelm then, 11 June 1849, mortgaged the same farm to Jacob Anderson, Anderson finally acknowledging full payment and satisfaction of same, 15 Oct. 1852. La Salle Co., Deeds, vol. 17, 422-3, FHL film #1428328.

See deed 15 April 1846, Reuben Miller and wife Rhoda Ann to Oley K. Luraas, La Salle County, cons. $260.00, “a certain tract of land situated in Section Sixteen (16) Township Thirty four (34) range five (5) East of the third Principal Meridian line. Known and described as follows to wit: Lot No Six (6) being the East half of the South West quarter and Twenty Three (23) Acres off from the South End of the East half of the North West quarter containing 103 Acres more or less;” wits. Ovee Rosdail, B. B. Fellows; rec. 18 Apr. 1846. La Salle Co., IL, Deeds, vol. 19, 422, FHL film #1428329.

Finally per mortgage 27 Oct. 1849, Oliver Hier and wife Julia [both Mormons] “do hereby grant, convey and transfer to the Trustees of Schools of Township thirty three range five East of the third principal meridian in the County of La Salle and state of Illinois for the use of the inhabitants of said Township the following described real estate to wit: All of Lot No. four 4, in Lot No. ten 10 and Lot No. nine 9 in Lot No. Eleven 11, in section sixteen containing twenty acres which real estate I declare to be in mortgage for the payment of forty eight dollars loaned to us and for the payment of all interest that may accrue thereon, to be computed at the rate of Eight per cent per annum until paid and I hereby covenant to pay the said sum of money in five equal annual installments from the date hereof and to pay interest on the same at the rate aforesaid half yearly in advance. I further covenant that I have a good and valid title to said Estate and that the same is free from all incumbrance, that I will pay all taxes and assessments which may be levied on said Estate, that I will give any additional Security that may at any time be required by said trustees of schools and if said Estate be sold to pay said debt or any part thereof, or for any failure or refusal to comply with or
perform the conditions or covenants herein contained I will deliver immediate possession of the premises. And in consideration of the premises Julia wife of said Oliver Hier doth hereby release to the said Trustees of schools all her right and title of dower in the aforesaid premises for the purpose aforesaid;” signed Oliver Hier, xJulia Hier; no wits.; rec. 19 Dec. 1849; not redeemed. La Salle Co., IL, Deeds, vol. 20, 30, FHL film #1428329.

Also per deed 15 Oct. 1845, Reuben and Rhoda Ann Miller, Hancock County, Illinois, to Elbridge G. Janes of La Salle Co., cons. $275.00, “a certain Lot or parcel of Land situated in the Town of Dayton LaSalle Co. and State aforesaid as surveyed by the County Surveyor and duly recorded To wit Lot No four (4) in Block No three (3) Together with all and singular the hereditaments and appurtenances thereunto belonging;” wit. Anson Pratt; rec. 15 October 1845. La Salle Co., IL, Deeds, vol. 14, 373-4, FHL film #1428327.

And deed 28 Mar. 1846, betw. Reuben Miller and wife Rhoda Ann, to Robert Turner, all La Salle Co., cons. $1500.00, “parcel of Land situate in Section Nine Township Thirty four (34) Range four (4) East Beginning at the quarter Section corner Between Section Nine and Section Sixteen and run due North 40.00 Links to an established corner in the centre of Section Nine and from thence run due West 27.53 Links to another established corner and thence due South 40.00 Links to another corner on the Section line between Sections Nine and Sixteen and from thence run due east along said Section line 27.53 Links to the place of beginning all in Township thirty four (34) in Range four (4) east of the third principal meridian as surveyed by the County Surveyor on the third day of April 1839 containing one hundred and ten (110) acres more or less Also the West half of the North East quarter of Section Seventeen (17) (eighty acres), more or less in same township and Range;” wit. John Gibson; rec. 28 Mar. 1846. La Salle Co., IL, Deeds, vol. 12, 294-5, FHL film #1428326.

And deed 29 Apr. 1846, Goodman and Julia Hougas, to William Reddick of La Salle County, cons. $94.24, “parcel of Land to wit Commencing at the South East corner of the North West quarter of Section No. thirteen (13) in Township No. thirty four (34) North of Range No four (4) East of the third principal Meridian, running thence North eleven (11) chains thence Southwesterly in a right line to a point on the South line of said quarter Section twenty one (21) chains and thirty three links west of the place of beginning thence due East on said line twenty one (21) chains and thirty three links to the place of beginning containing Eleven (11) Acres and seventy eight hundredths. The above tract having been heretofore laid off, in the Town of Norway[,] all Lots & Blocks and parts of Lots & Blocks streets and alleys included in said boundries are hereby conveyed and the said Reddick is authorized at any time to vacate said portion of said Town;” wits. Geo. H. Norris, Canut Peterson; rec. 30 Apr. 1846. La Salle Co., IL, Deeds, vol. 12, 361-2, FHL film #1428326.

APPENDIX B

For Norwegians in Fox River Settlement felled by the cholera (acute, severe, contagious diarrhea with intestinal lining sloughing) or in two or three cases some other illness, from 1 June 1849 to 31 May 1850, see La Salle Co. IL, 1850 Mortality Sched., rootsweb.com/~illasall/deaths/mortality1850.html>: Eu Airnson, Freedom twp., ae 4, fem., b. Norway, d. Sept. 1849, cholera, duration 12 hrs.; Austin Canuteson, Rutland, 28, male, married [hereinafter md.], b. Norway, d. Aug. 1849, farmer, cholera, 1 day; Ann Maria Clason, Rutland, 37, female, md., b. Norway, d. Aug. 1849, cholera, 1 day; Cling Clingson, Mission, 43, male, md., b. Norway, d. Feb. 1850, farmer, smallpox, 2 wks.; Daniel
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<th>Nationality</th>
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Quinia or Quinine of course was part of Hougas’s medical kit, the recommended dose for intermittent fever being “from 3 to 10 grains in the 24 hours.” Medical Dictionary, 723. Children suffering from it became “languid or fretful” and complained of “pain in the head or belly,” subsequently becoming sleepy and their tongue coated and “breath offensive.” Fever commenced after a “cold fit” in most cases, and the condition exhibited “a singular fact,” as stated by Dr. Mason Good… that if the exacerbation or increase of fever takes place in the night, there is wakefulness and perpetual jactitation; if in the day-
time, drowsiness and stupor.”” Library of Practical Medicine, vol. 18: A Practical Treatise, on the Management and Diseases of Children by R. T. Evanson, MD, and H. Maunsell, MD (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1848), 284. In addition, worms sometimes accompanied the fever. Ibid., 287. Contemporary manuals recommended treating the disease with bleeding and purgatives and directed that “leeches should never be omitted, when symptoms of intestinal inflammation are present.” Other treatments for the condition employed cold drinks, “crystals of tartar” and “mineral acids;” also, “We have frequently seen a patient who had been several weeks laboring under the disease, restored to the enjoyment of tranquil and refreshing sleep, the night after his removal to a distance of three or four miles from his ordinary abode.” Ibid., 289–90.

APPENDIX C

Parker/William Munson/Stephen Sampson/James McKee/Samuel L Cody/Nathan Warren/Allen E Wilcox/Severius Wilcox/James Largent/Daniel S Pierce/Leroy Hudson/Andrew Anderson/Ole Thompson/Holver Osmonson/Jacob Johnson/Paul Erecon/Holver Kittleson/Hohn Knutson/Oslock Seamson/ Jonathan Cooley/John Thompson/Aron Bardsley/John T Cook/Edward Bagley/Volney Beckwith/John Thornton/Osborn J Wilson/Onlono D Carter/Uriah Carter/Sylvester Carter/Joseph Lightall/Joseph W Dowe/Albert F Dow/Charles F Sutphen/David D Graff/David C Bullard/John McIntire/Benjamin Birdsell/Samuel Julian. . . . (so nine households of about fifty-one total persons); and then on p. 38 an isolated “Osmon Thompson” household of seven persons, the last of the Norwegians. All told, there were about sixty-three households numbering about 365 Norwegians of whom two-thirds or about 240 were children (mean number of persons per household about six), which leaves us with about 125 adults in the Norwegian population of La Salle County in 1840 of whom all but five or six were in their vigorous twenties, thirties and forties. In the same context we note a Mormon nucleus-in-embryo (who would join with the Saints in 1842-43) of approximately seven households totaling about forty to fifty persons, ergo: Andrew Doll, Gilman Hocus [Goodman Hougas], Jacob Anderson, Ole Hyre, Larse Olson, Henry Sebber and Knut Pearson—right in the middle of the major concentration of settlers (none on fringes or isolated). Total population of La Salle County in 1840 was 9465 persons; by 1850 it had jumped to 17,813; and by 1860 to 48,332. La Salle County I:14.

APPENDIX D

Through 1858, approximately sixteen Norwegians in the Fox River Settlement had their estates probated, viz.: Hans Oftadahl (related to Mormon Ever/Iver Afterdahl?), 1838; Olson Nelson, 1839; Benjamin Thurston, 1842, 1844; Christian Olson, 1843; Rasmus Thorson, 1848; Canute Thompson, Daniel Danielson, Christian Danielson, Goodman Hugas/Hougas, Canute Olson, all 1849; Thomas Osmanson, Sarah Nelson, 1850 -- the large number (ten) in 1849-50 reflecting the cholera epidemic raging through the community; Osman Danielson, 1852; Charan/Karen Osmanson, Halver Osmanson, 1854; Gunner Oleson, 1858.

Daniel Danielson Est. adm. Peter Nelson, Sept. 1849, owned two horses valued at $85.00, lumber wagon $50.00, harness $10.00, purchased by Dan Stevens; two horses @ $65.00 ea. and another @ $70.00 bought by Soren Nelson; reaping machine purchased by Soren Nelson and Aven Rasmuson $100.00; threshing machine $300.00 purchased by Hans Hayer, Chas. Lurus, Ole Lurus; harness set purchased by Osten Nelson; stable $4.00 purchased by Knut Anderson: total value $779.00; other items sold to Norwegians: After Nelson, John Johnson, Aven Rasmuson, Cling Clingson, Jona Jacobs, Nels Freeland, Ova Tompsoon, Daniel Pearson, Owain Avenson, Hans Hire, Vorn Svainson and Christian Danielson; incl. pair buffalo overshoes, plush overcap, jug oil, nipper punch, sheep’s gray coat, brown overcoat, two pair pantaloons, another pair pantaloons, two pair pants, three pair pants, shirt and vest, two shirts, broadcloth coat, pair broadcloth pants, trunk, cutter, prairie breaking plow, three caps, set of sleighbells; as also: breaking plow, horse cutter, bay horse and sorrel, span of chestnut sorrel horses, white linen coat, broadcloth pantaloons, cotton flannel shirt, silk handkerchief, five additional pantaloons, a ship’s gray coat, overcoat, striped apron, calfskin boots, pair shoes, 12 bags at fifteen cents each, razor brush and box, buffalo rug, chest, common lumber @ $1.00/hundred, set horsebells, count book, box old
iron, saddle and bridle, horse blanket; totaling $801.42; admins. noted “the servant here is found to be a young Norwegian that was taken sick at Danielsons and the old man employed to Doctor him Indeed the old man Danielson came after me—consequently is responsible,” per Bill from O. Harvey, Newark, 27 July 1849, for $8.75 of medicines admin. to servant and other members of the family incl. Danielson’s wife and two children, also Christian Danielson; Chas. Lurose/Luraas owed $12.00 for horse trade ca. 12 July 1849 “for wich I am villing if Court pleas to seartjify ether by my own Oath or by witniesas;” “Sally way late Sally knickerbockers” due $10.00 “nursing and attention at the time of his [Danielson’s] death.” Daniel Danielson Est., La Salle Co., IL, Estate Files, box D, no. 19, FHL film #2318842.

Christian Danielson, perhaps bro. of Daniel above, est. likewise adm. Peter Nelson, Sept. 1849, incl. little flax wheel, reel, bedstead, bed and bedding, pillows, scrap leather, shoes, bags, pair steelyards, dry barrels and tubs, chest, handsaw, buck (saw horse), auger, two planes, cradle scythe, clock, looking glass, table and chairs, crockery and silver spoon, knives and forks, sadiron (flat iron), lot (meas.) books, cookstove, kettle, ten spoons, small iron kettle, half bush., bedstead, pails, grindstone, axes, old table, chest, buffalo robe, log chains, oak plank, old sled, churn, fanning mill, calf skin, waggon corn, corn cultivator, Ola Lund Plow, drag, grain cradle and scythe, grass scythes and snaths (scythe handles), large dry box, saddle and bridle, harness set, waggon, thirteen sheep, eleven hogs, nine pigs, five cows, yearling steer, four calves, spring colt, two yearling colts, three-year-old mare $65.00, seven-year-old mare $45.00, stack wheat $45.00, another $15.00, stack barley $1.00 and stack oats $20.00, crop corn on the ground $15.00; rich and stack hay $188.00; spade, two pitch forks, chest; stack oats $5.00; hayrack; patch potatoes on ground $2.00; hammers and old scythes; grand total $522.10; purchasers of bedding and old clothing, primarily Norwegians: Andrew Andrewson, Ova Tompson, Andrew Richardson, Christian Danielson, Avon Osquick, Rasmus Larson, Swain Avonson, A Anfenson, Peter Nelson, Vern Swainson, Nils Freeland, Gullack Johnson, Thomas Tompson, Canout Williamson, Osmon Tuttle, John Johnson, Enar Anderson, Jance Jacobs, Rasmus Chelly, Hove Tompson, John Arnson, Nels S Nelson, Ingerbore Wing, John Peterson, Anfin Anfinson, Hance Hire, Lars Larson, Tore Torson, Peter Ormsen, Ole Lurus, Sorn Nelson, Hendrickson, Gullik Jonson, John Roddall; other items -- pail strainer, smoothing iron, barrel and salt, vinegar kegs, bag and hops, box and barley, doubletree (?hitching unit), tub, barrels, rulers, scoopshovel, quilts, strawticks, cow bell, buffalo skin, log furniture, copper tea kettle, bridle and martingale (horse strap), shovel plow, drag, five first choice sheep, four second-choice sheep, two first choice hogs, two second choice hogs, two third-choice hogs, two second choice hogs, three fifth choice hogs, four calves, black steer, several cows, sorrel mare, spring colt, bay colt, lot potatoes, stack hay, another stack hay, lot corn, three wheat stacks, two more wheat stacks, three barley and wheat stacks, seven books, two stacks oats, two more stacks oats, nine pigs, a cloak; John Nelson invoice pd. 25 Sept. 1849, $2.50 “fore work in the harvest 5 1/2 days;” Ole Dueland three days in harvest rec’d unspecified amt. receipted 19 Oct. 1850; Ole Jacobsen $0.75 “fore work fore Christien Danielson in the harvest,” 21 Nov. 1850. Christian Danielson Est., La Salle Co., IL, Est. Files, box D, no. 20, FHL film #2318842.

Osman Danielson’s Est., adm. Elias Nelson, Osman Tuttle, Harmon Osmunson, Canute ?Tostad, 16 Feb. 1852, comprised open account due est. from John Nilson $196.92 1/2, large amount at the time; gray mare, black cow, red and white cows, brindle cow, four calves, set harnesses, three pigs, wagon, ?sled, grindstone, cutter, carpenter’s tools,
dungforks, log chains, shovel plow, cultivator, another plow; the whole worth $497.67 1/2;
inconsequential items—farming cradle, fanning mill, barrels, old iron, lantern, choates [sic;
?choates; male piglets], spinning wheel, gear, buffalo robe, bedsteads and bedding, stove,
basket and box, table and chairs, pinchers (pincers), stones and pipe, flatirons, eight tumblers,
looking glass, set old dishes, pair steelyards, tubes and pails, tablecloths, lot books,
lot wool, five hundred fencing posts, wearing apparel, hoe, bags, chain and gun barrel,
shingle (detritus, gravel). Osman Danielson owned “40 Acres of Prairie Land . . . first
quality” valued at $635.16; “40 Acres Timber pone (pine) the hole prised at 500.00;” total
worth of land $1113.16; the 40 acs. prairie purchased from Christen Danielson “described as
follows to wit Being the North West quarter of the North West quarter of Section Thirty four
of Township No thirty five North of Range No five East of the third principal Meridian,
Valuation 10 dollars per acres [sic].// 40 Acres of Timber, described as follows to wit, being
the South East, and the South West Fractional quarter of Section No (29) Township (35)
Range 5 East of the 3 Principal Meridian, Valuation 2 1/2 per Acre, bought of Ole Olson;”
heirs on 24 June 1865, Harmon Harmonson, Caroline Harmonson formerly Caroline
Danielson, Jeremiah Olsen, Inger Olson formerly Inger Danielson. Osman Danielson Est.,
La Salle Co., IL, Estate Files, box D, no. 28, FHL film #2318842.

Sarah Nelson’s Est., adm. Andrew Osmondson, assisted Harmon Osmondson and
Nels Thompson, 14 Dec. 1850, candlesticks and flatirons, dozen plates, two sets teacups,
four glasses and plates, pitcher, five pair forks and knives, four teaspoons, four silver spoons,
wooden bowl, flamebill (?flambeau), dress, looking glass, another dress, bedcurtain, two
handkerchiefs, gown and shirt, silk hood, straw bonnet, pt. of bedquilt, piece flannel, piece
cloth, another handkerchief, two window curtains, four sheets, four pillows, two quilts, four
coats, sift (?sieve) and box, bolster, featherbed, pantaloons, quilt, tablecloth, blanket, two
woolen dresses, cloak, bundle rags, cloak, Alepakee (?Alapaki) dress worth $2.50, woollen
dress, straw bedtick, bedstead, chest, rocking chair, braze (?braise) steamer, braze kettle, pair
drawers; total value $50.29 1/2; pers. effects, mostly enumerated earlier, also wooden box
and sundries, ribbons, hymnbook and testament, clock, set cups and saucers, pair do., bowl,
teacup and salt dish, plate and saucer, plates and pepperbox, pitcher, piece linseed (?linsey),
cloak, shawl, leather coat, sheets, towels, comforter, woollen sheet, woollen quilt cover, neck
comforter, knitted drawer, pair pantaloons blue, petticoat, silk handkerchief and flannel,
another window curtain, nightgown, black broadcloth coat, another do.; brought in $66.29
1/2 in all, purchased mostly by Norwegians: Ole Setre, Knut Yttrewold, O: Andrewson,
Ever Thompson, Andrew Thompson, Nels Nelsen, Halvor Kvintem, Halvor Knutson,
Asbjorn Asbjornson, Knut Johnson, Hagen Hagenson, Ole Peerson, Charels Luuraas,
Andrew Osmund, Andrew Osmundson, Alfe Johnson, Elling Ellingson, Ana Froland, Hagen
Hagenson, Samuel Peerson, Jacob Larsen. Sarah Nelson Est., La Salle Co., IL, Estate Files,
box N, no. 10, FHL film #2293430.

Hans Oftadahl’s Est., earliest Norwegian one probated, commencing shortly aft. his
d. 12 Nov. 1838; Geo. Johnson admin., assisted Edward Sanders; Vetal Vermett, Benjamin
Fleming appraisers; sum total of property $111.06 1/4, incl. “one lot of medicin and bottles,”
shaving utensils, hat and cap, silver spoon, three pair pantaloons worn, two old vests, lot
boots and shoes, cloth sailor coat, overcoat $18.00, umbrella, five fine linen and two coarse
and one cotton shirts $8.00, lot handkerchieves, two pair woollen drawers and two woollen
shirts, five pair woollen stockings, two pair cotton stockings, fine cloth frock coat $10.00,
fine cloth body coat $9.00, pair pantalones fine cloth $7.00, vest, “six bosoms and three
collars for shirts,” gold breast pin and silver ring $2.00, silver watch $15.00, cap and two pair suspenders, bed and bedding $11.00, pocket compass and pocket inkstand, canal shovel, “pocket book with thirty five dollars of fraudulent bills” valued at 12 1/2 cents, iron-bound chest $5.00, small looking glass, scythe, small sword 25 cents, jackknife, comforter for neck; at est. sale, mostly Norwegians—Geo. Johnson, Lars Bremsen, Gudmund Hougaas (later Mormon; bought box with razor $1.80), Helge Peterson, Tonnes Tollowson, Samuel Peterson, Niels Thomson, Ira Goudason, Ole Olson, Helge Person, Herman Osmundson, Osmund Tottel [Tuttle], Chas. Almind, Andrew Dahl (later Mormon; bought pillowcase $1.00, sheet $1.62, shirt $1.54, shirt $1.12 1/2), Ira Goudason, Gudm. Hougaard (bought shirt $1.12 1/2), Henrich Saby (later Mormon; bought two pair suspenders 37 1/2 cents), Gudm. Sansberg; the whole totaling $141.92 3/4, attested 18 Dec. 1838; est. assessed for “5 weeks & 2 days board and waiting and keeping watch in 9 days and nights in his state of insanity and In the last days of his life keeping watch 7 days and nights” $37.00, and $3.00 for “4 trips to Ottava [sic] for doctor and medicin” [sic]; along with pittance for washing thirty-eight items and cotton sheet, submitter unnamed. Hans Oftadahl Est., La Salle Co., IL, Est. Files, box O, no. 2, FHL film #2293430.

Nelson Olson, est. appr. 11 Oct. 1839, owned gold piece $4.80; smaller gold piece $1.20; order on Reuben Simons $12.80 and A. H. Stebbins $25.50; on Jacob Andresen $5.18; owned pocket book with pencil, two small carpets, three woolen shirts $1.50 ea., four yds. fullcloth @ 75 cents/yd., two woolen hats @ 50 cents ea., two vests—one silk and one fine cloth $2.50, four shirt collars $1.00 ea., two coarse shirts @ 75 cents ea., cotton shirt, other shirts, three pair pantaloons @ 25 cents ea., shortcoat and vest, cap and two pair sacks, sundries, shaving tools, two bottles, four boxes, pipe, black silk handkerchief 25 cents, two comfortables [?comforters], “2 papers the one with black peper the other with Tea” 12 cents, wineglass and horn spoon, sermon book in the Danish language $2.00, seven small books 50 cents ea., nine books for $1.00 the lot, five books for $1.00 and papers and tracts for $1.60 total, English new testament 32 cents, slate, dirk knife and pen knife, two woolen sheets ea. $1.00, bowl and plate, piece leather 6 cents, four chains 75 cents and moulding tools $1.00, three hammers 75 cents, ten chisels var. kinds 62 1/2 cents, six “tooles bitts” and rasp, three awls and punch, five knives 37 cents, two bits and auger, two gauges; rule and pencil, three screw augers, two bench irons, two compasses, square, ax, two strap saws, glove, soap, pair boots and hat, two chests $2.00 ea., chest; total est. valued at $97.58 (appraisers xVetal Vermett, Ova Rosdail, G Hugaus). Nelson Olson Est., La Salle Co., IL, Est. Files, box O, no. 3, FHL film #2293430.

Christian Olson’s effects sold at auction by Hans Valder, Mission Point, drawn up 6 Jan. 1844, incl. ltr., nd, to adm. Ole Oak: “To you our Dear friend Ole Oak of Star Isles parish Norway. As you have in your last ful letter made inquiry how to execute on the property left by Christian Olson deceased we hereby give answer and also request you to administer the same. If so be that the first letter has not arrived, for we sent a letter to you some time ago /about/ on this same subject, by a Preacher from the east country who should take a journey thereto from Norway. There was a bargain made between the Parents Bretheren & Sisters to C. Olson and I Thompson on Iogn [?Sogn], that he said Thompson will here pay to C. Olsons Heirs that which his estate amounts to, when we only can be informed what that sum is. Therefore you are hereby authorized to execute the same, and you are also requested to have the care thereof, either to appraise the property to the highest value thereof, and Ole Thompson receive the property thus appraised, and we be informed of
the amount thereof, or you put it to auction & said O. Thompson receive the purches [sic] money, as a donation, or as an inheritance from His son then his /blotched/ pay to /indecipherable words/ at the /can’t read/ then /?/ I Thompson administer thereon to the best of your knowledge as well that Lot or lots of Land as the loose property, and that you will in a letter acquaint us thereof both of C Olsons estate, so also that Ole Thompson give His receipt [sic] in the same letter for what he has received. Further we remark, that you withhold of the property to pay you for all your truble [sic], and other expences and charges of which we do not know. This is the substance of the first letter, if not word for word. We have said all of his estate, but we here make this exemption, that the books shall[1] be divided between his, (namely C. Olsons three best acquainted & friends in America which is Ole Oak, Ejlert ?Bora & Ole Thompson as a small present of his, to remember him by. If the first letter we sent has not reached you this is the substance of it, and will answer the same purpose as the first. [signed] Ole Olson & Torbor Olson his wife, the deceased [?deceased’s] parents[,] Their Children, Rasmus Olson, Ole Olson jun[,] Osmund Olsen, Annina Olson, Secilia Olson, Torbor Olson.—;” creditors: L. Larson for coffin $4.00; Christian Olson $4.00; and for piddling amts., Ola Jacobs, Nels Nelson, Gert Hauland, Ole Thompson, Hans Walder [?Wolder], Clang Clenson, Lars Nelson, John Richardson; and for $5.00, Ole Olson; claims totaling $46.95; Articles sold at auction to primarily Norwegians—Ole Oak, Thomas Osmundson, Ole Johnson, Nils Anderson, Peter Nilson, John Johnson, ?Salon Anderson, Christen Olson, Osman Walda, George Johnson, ?Hen Osmundson, Henry Saboe (Mormon; bought vest $2.38, red comfortable 65 cents, pair pants $1.50, iron kettle 50 cents, pair stockings do., pair stockings 40 cents, stockings with garter 38 cents), Andrew Osmundson, Nels Froland, Lars Nelson, Peter Nelson, Osmund Tutle, Peter Johnson, John Olson, Chr. Olson, Knud Olson, Ole Person and Knud Bielam; brought in grand total $96.93, incl. watch $2.00, silver tablespoon, pair silver buckles, Bible $9.00, new Testament, sermon book $1.25, bible history $1.30, several sacks, hammer, razor, two pair tongs, several coats, 12 pair pants, belt, five vests, nine yds. blue full cloth $4.50, two and a half yds. white full cloth, four yds. linen @ 40 cents/yd. or $1.60, three pair drawers, three undershirts one $1.70, red flannel shirt $1.05, white flannel shirt $1.28, linen shirt $1.40, several other linen shirts, several comfortable, feather bed $7.00, feather pillow $2.06, carpet, woolen blanket $1.08, do. $1.80, skin cap $2.02, copper coffee kettle, new ax, several pair stockings some with garters, two pair suspenders, night cap, piece cloth, woollen yarn, medicine 8 cents, leather, two butcher knives, inkstand and small bottle, whetstone, tobacco box, lock and key with box, walnut, large chest $3.75, bags, two pair boots and two pair shoes; fur skin cape $1.00, woolen cape, silk pocket handkerchief, another of cotton, bosom and towel, three balls linen thread and three woolen thread, coffee boiler 50 cents, doz. “Batans” (?battens) 5 cents in all, keg; appraisers Nels Nelson, Hans Valder and Lars Nilson. Christian Olson Est., La Salle Co., IL, Est. Files, box O, no. 4, FHL film #293430.

Canute Olson’s Est., appr. at $459.86, 8 Nov. 1849, incl.: wagon $40.00, five cows $40.00 total, pair oxen $45.00, two steers $21.00, heifer $7.00, two yearling heifers $10.00, two calves $8.00, mare $46.00, colt $30.00, ten sheets $8.00 total, twelve hogs $9.00, old wagon $8.00, plow, harrow, another plow, two shovel plows, grindstone, two log chairs, two stacks spring wheat $10.00, one stack oats $6.00, five stacks hay $15.00, three stacks winter wheat $18.00, eight acs. corn on ground appr. $20.00, wind mill $13.00, harness, small chain, barley in box, three boxes, two barrels lard tub and two casks $1.13, three forks, half a loom $2.00, milk crocks and two tubs, fifteen bags, rope, wool, two clevises, whiffletrees
(pivoted swinging bar to which traces of harness are fastened and by which a vehicle is drawn) and neck yoke $2.00, iron kettle $1.75, grain cradle, two spades, three hogs (containers), salt, two dry hides, stove furniture and pipe $12.50, three bedsteads and cords $2.50, beds and bedding, clock, two feather beds, small wheel and reel $8.00, table, seven chairs, weaving rug, pair cards, two axes, augers and saw, beetle (wooden hammering instrument) and three iron wedges, two hammers and plane, two chisels and drawing knife, pails and tubs, two silver spoons and shears, potatoes, scythe and snath (handle); purchasers’ names are hard to read on darkened copy in my poss., incl. Ole Pearson, Hanse Walder, Osmun Tuttle, Canute Williamson, Elert ?Erikson, Canute Anderson, Andrew Anderson, Ole Anderson, Thomas Thompson, Hogen Hogenson, Nils ?Fruland, Ole Setter, Peter Peterson, Andrew Osmonson, Andrew Richardson, Ole Olson, Ole Setter, John Pearson, Ole Olsen ?Jr, ?Enoch Thompson, John Johnson, Mr Hendrickson; heirs Sophia Olson, Ole Olson, Benta [?Bertha] Olson, Soren Olson, John Olson, shared total inheritance of $480.75. Canute Olson Est., La Salle Co., IL, Est. Files, box O, no. 9, FHL film #2293430.

To Thos. Osmanson’s Est., debtors incl. Thos. Thompson $15.00, Thorbyoren Arentson $60.16, Esten Estenson $31.80, Thos. Guttormson $25.00, Halver Halversen $6.60 and poss. second note $4.37; for $143.43 owed in all; assessed Austin Nelson, Soren Olsen, Thos. Thompson, in 1850, nd; Thos. Osmanson Est., La Salle Co., IL, Est. Files, box O, no. 11, FHL film #2293430.

Admon. of Erasmus Thorson Est. by wid. Susan A. Thorson (Nels Nelson sec.), commenced 14 Dec. 1848 (Thorson d. 29 Nov. 1848); chattels, incl. tinware and crockery, stove pipe and furniture $10.00, clock, two bedsteads and bedding, six Windsor chairs $1.50 in all, rocking chair $1.50, two trunks, wearing apparel $20.00, barrel pork $5.00, reel $1.00, washing tub, coffee mill, two pails and looking glass, pair oxen and yoke $45.00, two cows $10.00 ea., calf $2.50, buggy wagon $25.00, two horse waggon $10.00, table, horse $40.00, bag, three stacks wheat $75.00, two stacks hay $7.50, 15 bush. wheat in bin $7.50, eight acres wheat on ground $20.00, basket, hay fork, manure fork, two dry casks, spade, hoe and basket, beetle with iron wedge, buggy harness $3.00; total $307.00; Samuel ?Lesk owed $33.00 (marked doubtful), Nelson Nelson $30.00; decd’s real est. “ (40) forty acres of land being the north east quarter of the southwest quarter of section (25) Twenty five Town (35) thirty five north of Range (3) three East also south half of the south east quarter of the north west quarter of Section (25) Town (35) thirty five north Range (3) three East Being twenty acres . . . lying in Laselle [sic] County’; ALSO “Eight acres Lying in the north East quarter of Section Twelve (12) Township thirty five (35) north Range three (3) East as described By Deed from John Green and Wife to Erasmus Thorson”; decd. owed, inv. 28 Apr. 1846, $4.62 to Halvor Iverson for two wks. board, washing, caulking iron (tool for caulking, in making wooden boats; traditional caulking “uses fibers of cotton, and oakum, which consists of pieces of hemp fiber soaked in pine tar. These fibers are driven into the wedge shaped seam between planks with a . . . chisel-like device called a caulking iron. The caulking is then covered over with a putty in the case of hull seams, or in deck seams with melted pine pitch in a process referred to as paying”; Wikipedia); claims allowed, mostly minor amts., pd. Ole Olson, H Thomason & Co., Kanute Olson, Alvah O. Smith, Henry Peterson ($37.00), Larison Beeler, Harvey Ingersoll, John W Lyman, Erasmus Olson, Howland & Gilbert -- physician for last sickness owed $16.00, Wm Haskell, Cr Thompson, Waler and Hickling, Samuel B. Elwell, John J. Keenan also for physician service and last sickness who billed $30.00; for total claims $127.14; later claims: $5.00 for coffin later by John Lyman, $4.50
(‘attending during last illness) by Elsey Nelson; John Lyman owed $3.43 for half day of self and team for thrashing, for spool of thread, and threshing by himself and bro. and use of horse. Erasmus Thorson Est., La Salle Co., IL, Est. Files, box T, no. 8, FHL film #2294235.

Finally, Canute Thompson’s Est., xEsten Estensen admin., assisted Elf Jensen, bond 25 Aug. 1849, enumerates: dishes, three jugs, two pork barrels, two axes and saws, plane, two iron wedges and one ring, steelyard, pitchfork, two log chains, twelve bags, bot [boat], pair pantaloons, two bonnets, three hoods, umbrella, three sheets and shirt, two women’s dresses, coffee mill, pair shears, box, ?scandal stick 25 cents, lot of books $4.00, frame for a house $9.00, lot potatoes $8.00, six acres corn $22.00, eleven stacks wheat $110; the lot valued at $449.65; appraisers Geo. Peterson, Austin Nelsen, Elleve Jensen; other possessions: sorrel mare $35.00, yoke oxen $47.00, yoke steers $40.00, red and white cow $12.00, black and white cow do., red and white heifer $8.00, black and white heifer $9.00, two yearling steers $10.00, four calves $8.00, forty hens $2.85, three hogs and eight pigs $6.00, one sucking $16.00, two-horse wagon $25.00, breaking plow $10.00 (plow adopted for breaking sod), old round plow $6.00, harrow 75 cents, harness do., horse wagon $4.00, two bedsteads, grindstone, stove with appendages $10.00, chest, barrel salt, loom and appendages $4.00, shotgun 50 cents, spinning wheel 75 cents, snaths and scythes; and buyers at est. sale 17 Sept. 1849, mostly Norwegians, incl.: Thos. Thompson (pd. 50 cents for large book), Esten Estenson (pd. under $1.00 for lot of books), Holver Holverson, Canute Oleson, Mathias Sawyer, Tolbin Arson, ?Arsmus Oleson, Tole Oleson, Erick Westman, Gettey Larsen; the whole netting $279.27; a second priv. sale, nd, netted $266.08 for animals, crops, building timber, loom and fixings, spinning wheel, ship, purchasers incl. John Johnson, Thos. Thomson, ?Sarn Oleson, Sunder Heeleson, Tory Torson, ?Nels Haveson, Esten Estensen (he bought 3/4 barrel salt); creditors, incl. Osmond Anfenson of Freedom $8.40; Oley Dualand, $13.75, for eight days work @ 50 cents/day, plus another day @ 75 cents, pd. 8 Aug. 1853; Easman Easmanson rec’d $14.00 for prairie plow. Canute Thompson Est., La Salle Co., IL, Est. Files, box T, no. 12, FHL film #2294235.
GERALD M. HASLAM, PhD, has taught Scandinavian and British family history at Brigham Young University since 1981. His research area of specialization is Danish Lutheran Theology of the 1700s and 1800s—his NFS GRUNDTVIG’s FAEDRENEARV [NFS Grundtvig’s Patriarchal Inheritance] (Aarhus, Denmark: Faculty of Theology, 1998) is the seminal work on the world-famous Danish philosopher’s break with the pietistic theology of his forefathers in the 1820s. Dr. Haslam has researched family history and historical collections in over a hundred archives in fourteen different countries, including the erstwhile German Democratic Republic (DDR; East Germany) before the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. He and his Norwegian-born wife, Ann-Cathrin (“Anka”) are the parents of six children and have six grandchildren. They have lived in Pleasant Grove, Utah, since 1990. Dr. Haslam directed Brigham Young University’s Study Abroad Program in London, England, in 2000, including on-site presentations in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and the Inner Hebrides. He and his wife served as cultural advisors to the BYU Wind Symphony during its historic month-long tour of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway in May 2005. His treatise on Norwegians at Fox River, Illinois, was originally presented as a lecture at the Conference on Illinois History at Springfield under auspices of the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency (IHPA) in 2007. He is an Accredited Genealogist, a Fellow of the Utah Genealogical Association, and an Associate Professor of history at BYU.
RESEARCHING HUGUENOT SETTLERS IN IRELAND

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 France

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. The majority of French Protestants, nicknamed Huguenots, 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. Until the 1660s however, despite their many vicissitudes, they managed to survive, finally mostly in small southwestern enclaves.

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.
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.)
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). 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 Ireland\(^12\) that the number of Huguenots who settled abroad was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark (and other parts of Scandinavia)</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany (80% in Brandenburg-Prussia)</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Netherlands</td>
<td>60,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>22,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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...
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, 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 suposeing 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 haweing 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.

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

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15 National Archives of Ireland, Wyche Papers Ref.: 1/28 - dated 17th February1678/9. 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, 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, which landed at Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim on 12 August 1689. 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. 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) embarked on a huge project to resettle thousands of destitute Huguenot refugees (who had been stranded in the Swiss Cantons) in Ireland. 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

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16 See London Gazette No. 2461 (1–4 July 1689).
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.
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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{26} Without Ruvigny, who had been the leader of the Huguenot community in Ireland,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{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.


\textsuperscript{24} Calendar of State Papers Domestic (1693), pp. 113 and 198.

\textsuperscript{25} R. Shepherd, \textit{Ireland’s Fate – the Boyne and after} (London, 1990).

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{27} See Hylton, \textit{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).


\textsuperscript{29} See P. Kelly, “Lord Galway and the Penal Laws” in C. E. J. Caldicott, H. Gough and J-P. Pittion (eds.), \textit{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). 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. In any event the numbers of immigrants declined significantly after the 1720s, with many opting to move on elsewhere, especially to England and America.

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.

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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 Pition 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**


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. 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.


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

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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). The 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 memoirs have never before been translated into English.

HUGUENOT GENEALOGY IN IRELAND

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.

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 Repositories**

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**

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**The Public Record Office of Northern Ireland** (PRONI), Belfast. The website is [www.proni.gov.uk](http://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](http://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](http://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](http://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, 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. Moreover, the Dublin City Archives hold many of the city’s guild records, which include numerous Huguenot names.

**Marsh’s Library**, 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](http://www.marshlibrary.ie). It includes an online catalog of all its printed and manuscript holdings.

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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).
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, 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. Marsh’s also has a priceless manuscript collection relevant to researching Huguenots in Ireland:

- **Livre des Acres Consistoriaux de l’église françoise 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 Français refugiés 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.

- **The manuscript diary of Elie Bouhereau.** 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.

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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.
• **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](http://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](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](http://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

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### 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](http://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](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](http://www.huguenotsociety.org.uk) for details).

*The Huguenot Society Publications*

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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, Portarlington 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/Episcopal) 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*

- **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, and the Cork Corporation records for the period 1643–1690 are also missing. It is nevertheless possible to partially fill these gaps through a variety of surviving

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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.  

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

  This church was apparently nonconformist. 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. 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

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


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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.


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 woolen 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 Lavit family name is still remembered to this day through the existence of Lavitt’s Quay. Joseph Lavit

57 Ressinger, Memoirs of the Reverend Jaques Fontaine.
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. The Hardys (the family originated in Languedoc but had moved to La Rochelle before coming to Ireland) were involved in the sugar and linen trades and the Perriers from Brittany had business interests ranging from ropemaking and sugar refining to property development. 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.

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. 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 Semirot 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.

Dublin, Co. Dublin

- 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

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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.
63 Ibid., pp. 46–47.
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).  

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.  

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.

- **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 Français Protestants refugiés à Dublin (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**
In 1723 the conformist Société Charitable des François Réfugiés 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. Tourqueaux 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**
  
  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**
  
  o **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 (Episcopal/Anglican) Church of Ireland. The first minister was Jacques Hierome. 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. Its cemetery in Cathedral Lane (see below) closed in 1858. The Lady Chapel remains intact though unused.

  o **The Chapel of St. Mary**
    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.

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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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Baptisms</th>
<th>Marriages</th>
<th>Burials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Patrick’s</td>
<td>1668–1687</td>
<td>1680–1716</td>
<td>1680–1716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary’s</td>
<td>1705–1716</td>
<td>1705–1715</td>
<td>1705–1715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Churches</td>
<td>1716–1818</td>
<td>1716–1788</td>
<td>1716–1830</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**MINISTERS OF THE CONFORMED CHURCHES**

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


\textsuperscript{76} He was the son of Pascal Ducasse, seigneur de Meyrac of 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 Bessonet 1781–1788
Justin de Mont Cenis 1786–1795 (came from Cork)
Jean de La Douespe de Letablère 1795–1816


- **The Conformist Huguenot Cemetery**
  A plot in the “Cabbage Garden” burial ground near St. Patrick’s Cathedral 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. 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. 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**

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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:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Baptisms</th>
<th>Marriages</th>
<th>Burials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1701–1731</td>
<td>1702–1728</td>
<td>1702–1731</td>
<td>1771–1831</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>PERIOD OF SERVICE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>David Pigou de La Grandnou</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Lagacherie</td>
<td>1692–1694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barthelemy Balaguier</td>
<td>1693–1724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Darrassus</td>
<td>1696–1716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacques Gillet</td>
<td>1701 (also in Portarlington)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Pons</td>
<td>1701–1718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean de Durand</td>
<td>1704–1744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul de St. Ferreol</td>
<td>1717–1755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul de La Douespe</td>
<td>1717–1720</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Gaspar Caillard 1720–1739
Jacob Pallard 1724–1736
? Baby 1735–1739?
Antoine Vinchon Des Voeux 1736–1760
Jacques Pelletreau 1740–1758
Louis Osterval 1744–1754
Pierre Samuel Hobler 1760–1765
Isaac Subremont 1760–1814
Louis Campredon 1766–1770
François Bessonet 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.


- **The Nonconformist Huguenot Cemeteries**
  - 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. 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.
  - The Merrion Row Huguenot Cemetery, Stephen’s Green, Dublin 2 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

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81 Costello, “Irish Huguenot Cemeteries.”
83 The plot was renovated by Huguenot Society of G. B. & Ireland Fellows Mona Germaine, Jack Arthur and friends in 1999.
84 D. Parkinson, Huguenot Cemetery 1693: Merrion Row, St. Stephen’s Green, Dublin (Dublin, 1988).
François refugiés. The cemetery was restored in 1988 through joint funding from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Irish Ministry of Labour. 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. 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. 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. Among the most colorful of the characters whom Rev. Mangin describes is Captain Theophilus Desbrisay, 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.

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85 An entire bundle of French Huguenot Fund papers relate to the circumstances necessitating this amalgamation. In 1890 Francis E. Du Bédat, 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 Bédat family, including Francis see M. Wootton, *The DuBédat 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).


90 D. Lowe, a descendant of the Desbrisay family has compiled a history of the family on the website [www.islandregister.com/desbrisay](http://www.islandregister.com/desbrisay).
One of the first Huguenot families to achieve prominence in Dublin was that of Desminieres. 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 Desminières 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, who also owned three taverns. After Paul was tragically killed in a horseback riding accident in 1750 his brewery was purchased by Arthur Guinness. One of Dublin’s many wine merchants was Pierre Le Clerc of Clarendon Street, a staunch nonconformist who worshipped in the Peter Street church. Pierre also dabbled in sugar baking, distilling, and some land speculation. He died in Clarendon Street in 1773 at the age of 88. A remarkable family that excelled in many different fields was that of Delamain. 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.

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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 Desminieres 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 Desminiere’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 Desminieres (daughter of John Desminieres and his wife Katherine Billy. Anne Desminieres 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 Maziers were from St. Saveniens/St. Jean D’Angély.
Delamain’s uncle Henri Delamain\textsuperscript{101} 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.\textsuperscript{102} There was a significant Huguenot involvement in Dublin sugar refining. Philip Rambaut\textsuperscript{103} 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 Lapepede, Angenais\textsuperscript{104} and Jean Rambaut from Bordeaux.\textsuperscript{105}

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

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item A. Crookshank, \textit{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.
\item Wootton, \textit{The Dubedat Story}.
\item 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, \textit{The Huguenot settlements in Ireland}, pp. 241–43.
\item Born in London in 1744, son of Jacques Vigne, goldsmith, jeweler and toymaker 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.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Margaret Du Bedat.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 stockin makers, 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 Digues La Touche\textsuperscript{112} 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.\textsuperscript{113}

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

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{111} P. Harbison, \textit{Beranger’s Views of Ireland} (Dublin, 1991); P. Harbison, \textit{Beranger’s Antique Buildings of Ireland} (Dublin, 1998).
\bibitem{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 tired 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, \textit{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), 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 Boucicault (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. 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.

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.


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, 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] 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 Daillon came to Carlow in 1708 from Portarlington to serve as a nonconformist minister consequent upon a bitter conformist/nonconformist split in Portarlington. 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. The petition signatories were: G. Fontiny, Al. St. Agnan, Ch. Denroches, J. Michel, Jean Dumont, Ch. De La Boulay, P. Lamy, P. Balandrie, Pierre Bermond, Jean Livraux,

119 See repository list above.
120 Quoted in Reid, *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, 2:465.
123 Alexander St. Agnan, a reformed lieutenant in La Melonière’s regiment who was disbanded and placed on the 1692 pension list. He was buried at Portarlington on 2 April 1726—Le Fanu & Manchee, *Dublin and Portarlington 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 Melonière’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 Portarlington, 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, L. Darques, F. La Bastide Barbut, Jean Rouviere, 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.” 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. 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.


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.

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.

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.

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 Teissonière de La Rouvière of Dublin (son of Jérémie Tissionière of St. Germain, Languedoc).

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

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 Pagez\(^{136}\), Achille de La Colombine\(^{137}\) and Marguerite de Najac de Geneste of Carlow, sister of Captain Mark Anthony Najac\(^{138}\) (deceased) who received a pension in his stead (1714). She had married military pensioner Honorat de Bernardon\(^{139}\) in Dublin 18\(^{140}\) June 1695. Their son Mark Anthony Bernardon died in Carlow in 1742.\(^{141}\) Their daughter Marguerite Bernardon married Rev. Charles Louis de Villette\(^{142}\) 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.


\(^{138}\) Captain Anthony Najac had served in Lord Ashburnham’s cavalry regiment.


\(^{140}\) 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).


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

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147 J. B. Leslie, Ossory Clergy and Parishes... (Enniskillen, 1933), p. 357. British Library Add. Ms. 21,132,
148 folio 41 is a petition from the mayor, aldermen and citizens of Kilkenny dated 19 July 1712, certifying that
149 the French Protestant inhabitants have always conformed to the Church of Ireland (none of the signatories
150 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
150 manuscript collection in the BPU (Bibliotheque publique et universitaire) Geneva. He was the son of
151 François David, citoyen et maistre d’eschole of Geneva and his wife Marthe Chevrier.
152 Shaw, Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Ireland, 1603–1700,
p. 165.
128 R. A. Brock, (ed.), A Declaration of the Opinion of the French Ministers, who are now Refugees in
129 England about Some Points of Religion, in Opposition to the Socinians (Richmond, Virginia, 1886). The
130 original document was appended to Lamothe, C. G., Two Discourses on the Divinity of our Saviour
132 337.
in the cemetery of the French Church of St. Patrick’s, Dublin on 6 July.\footnote{152} The Ossory Diocesan Register recorded on 7 September 1708:\footnote{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.\footnote{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.\footnote{155} Jean-Baptiste Renoult was appointed rector of the Church of Ireland church of Timahoe, Co. Kildare in 1706 and served there until 1719.\footnote{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.\footnote{157} Born in Colné, Picardy in 1684, he was the son of Jean Destailleurs, sieur de Questebrune.\footnote{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.\footnote{159} Jean Sr. became a captain in Schomberg’s Huguenot cavalry regiment and retired to Dublin on a military pension in 1692.\footnote{158} He was an elder of the French Church of St. Patrick’s, Dublin until his death in February 1699/1700, aged approximately 70 years.\footnote{161} Jean Jr.

\footnote{152} La Touche, Register of the French Conformist Churches of St. Patrick and St. Mary, Dublin, p. 218.
\footnote{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.
\footnote{154} Ibid.
\footnote{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.
\footnote{156} Lee, The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland, p. 125.
\footnote{157} Leslie, Ossory Clergy and Parishes, p. 207.
\footnote{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 1710/11 \(^{162}\) 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 1720 \(^{164}\) 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, Boulengey, 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 François 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

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163 Ibid., p. 124.
164 La Touche, *Register of the French Conformist Churches of St. Patrick and St. Mary, Dublin*, pp. 40, 44.
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](http://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).
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 Percé\^175 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 1715\^177 and Marie Till on 5
February 1718/19.\^178 François Le Tort of Kilkenny married Adriane Standeau 17
December 1711.\^179 Nicholas de Batt, chirurgeon (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, perfumer 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. Antrim187

- **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

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183 The Irish Provincial Directory 1788.
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.
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 Manufactury 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:\(^{190}\)

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

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

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 Hempen and Flaxen Manufactures of the Kingdom of Ireland* (Dublin, 1705).


Huguenots. 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**

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. 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 Bourdieu 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**

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 Crommelin family. The Crommelins, who were...

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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.


internmarried with, among others, the de La Cherois,\(^{198}\) Truffet, Gillot, de Blacquiere, de La Valade, de Berniere and Mangin\(^{199}\) 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 Magdelene 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.


\(^{199}\) Best, *The Huguenots of Lisburn* gives genealogical details of all these families.

\(^{200}\) See footnotes 128 and 129.

\(^{201}\) Best, *The Huguenots of Lisburn*.


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.

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’Arzelliers; Jacques de Belrieu, Baron de Virazel; Jean Nicholas; Jean Boyer and Charles Perrault de Sailly.

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,

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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 Sailly, born in Cassel, became Director of the French Hospital, London 1740. Isaac Perrault de Sailly 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, 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 Daillon 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. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PORTARLINGTON HUGUENOT MINISTERS</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>PERIOD OF SERVICE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jacques Gillet</td>
<td>1694–1696</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1696–1698</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barthelmy Balaguier</td>
<td>1696</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Darassus</td>
<td>1698</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pascal Ducasse</td>
<td>1698</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin de Daillon</td>
<td>1698–1702 (also Carlow)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antoine Ligonier de Bonneval</td>
<td>1702–1729</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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.


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 Vignoles 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, 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 Lalande and the dynamic Josias de Robillard, seigneur de Champagné.

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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 Foubert 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, 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 *laboureurs*.

A celebrated resident of Portarlington who lived there for some years was the Cévenol folk hero Jean Cavalier. 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).

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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 Pitton, 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 preceeded 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 Portarlington 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. Only a tiny number came to Ireland and it is likely that the Champ family was brought to Portarlington by the Earl of Galway who had served in Piedmont/Savoy. The first Portarlington Champ settler was Michel, son of Jean Champ and Marie Ruivol from the village of Fenestrelle in the Comune di Pragelato. He married (in Portarlington) Marie Pastre, daughter of Jean and Jeanne Pastre, from the village of Travers in the same Pragelas valley on 12 August 1697. There are still descendants of this couple with the surname Champ in Ireland today.

Waterford, Co. Waterford

- **Overview of the Waterford Huguenot Community**
  
  On 27 March 1693, the Corporation of Waterford …concluded, that this city and liberties may provide habitaciones at reasonable rents, for fifty families of the French Protestants to drive a trade of linnen 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 city be given them gratis; and that Mr. mayor and recorder be desired to acquaint the lord bishop of this dioceses therewith.  

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.

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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, 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 roremaking 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. 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 following:

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

229 National Library of Ireland Microfilm P. 5558.
231 Lee, *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 Neufchatel 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 Soulignonne in Saintonge first settled in Portarlington. 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 Portarlington, 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**

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\(^{232}\) 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.


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


Jean La Trobe from Montauban, who was an associate of William Crommelin of Lisburn, was appointed as Chief Inspiber 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. He was the son of Jacques Renet, apothecary, and Catherine Charbonnier. On 21 May 1693 in the Dublin conformist Huguenot Chuch 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. 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.

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. 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.


239 H. F. Morris, “The Reynett 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.


Thomas Roberts (1748–1778) and Thomas Sautelle Roberts (1760–1826).²⁴³ One of their grandsons was General Sir Abraham Roberts, whose son was Fieldmarshal 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

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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*.
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. 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. His third wife, Martha Le Roy, bore him at least five daughters. 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.” 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 Temple wrote the following to the Duke of Ormond:

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. 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. He was appointed chaplain of Col. Louis Fontjuliane’s regiment in 1706.

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250 Ibid., p. 92.
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.
• **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, officer of 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

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259 British Library Add. MS. 38,698, folio 178r.
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.
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 viticulterist. 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.\textsuperscript{267} Another probable Huguenot was James Castell, who rented a house in High Street, Clonmel in 1719.\textsuperscript{268}

**Dundalk, Co. Louth\textsuperscript{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),\textsuperscript{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...\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{268} Ibid., book no. 23, deed no. 13328, p. 266 dated 23 May 1719.
\textsuperscript{269} Lee, *The Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*, pp. 190–93.
\textsuperscript{271} Dalton, J., *The History of Dundalk and its Environs* (Dundalk, 1864).
\textsuperscript{273} Le Fanu, *Register of the French Nonconformist Churches of Lucy Lane and Peter Street, Dublin*, pp. 72, 76.
weaver called Stephen Gidleau. 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. 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. In 1799 Anthony de Joncourt married Amelia Owens, and Mary de Joncourt (alias Cluff) married Alexander Patterson in 1836.

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

**Innishannon, Co. Cork**

- **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. 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 Geneva 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.

  Mathew Belsaigne, 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.

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277 Ibid., based on notes provided by T. P. Le Fanu based on Dublin diocesan marriage licence bonds.
282 Vigne, “The Second Projet d’Irlande.”
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;\textsuperscript{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).

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  \item **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.\textsuperscript{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.

  \item **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.\textsuperscript{287}
\end{itemize}

\textit{Wexford, Co. Wexford}

\begin{itemize}
  \item **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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{289}

  \item **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
\end{itemize}
appointed in 1684. 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 Baudouin 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 Chadayne (sic.) is master, being a forraigne built ship, being twenty tunn burthen or thereabouts, doth wholly and solely belong to him ye Peter Baudouin.

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 attourney 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.

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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 Chadaine 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).

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 Tournear, 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. 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), no Huguenot records have been found and little in the Church of Ireland registers relates to Huguenots. Possibly connected to Samuel Pillon is Peter Pilhaunt, 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

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.

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, Wexford 299 and John Brisson, who married Elizabeth Esmond (10.11.1706), resided at Garrycleavey, 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.

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296 British Library Add. MS. 34,079 also National Library Microfilm P. 763.
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. In 1694 M. La Bat organized an agricultural Huguenot colony there. Houses were provided by Lord Blaney, along with land, livestock and seed. 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. 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 Sailly sent a petition to the Irish House of Commons 22 November 1695 requesting assistance for the nonconformist congregations, including Castleblaney. This stated that the colony lacked a chirurgeon 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. 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

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.

303 French Huguenot Fund Papers, Marsh’s Library, Dublin.
306 Calendar of State Papers Domestic, (1696).
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. 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 family 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. 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[leshandra], 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, had at least one child, Henry, baptized in St. Bride’s Church of Ireland church Dublin 18 November 1737. By his second wife (name unknown) he had a son, François. George himself died 27 May 1800, aged 94.

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 Chambrer, “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 Antoine 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.
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.
326 She was the daughter of Louis Desminieres of Dublin. She had married Charles Reineres 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, 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.

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. 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” 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 Desminières (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. He died in Sligo in 1693 and as his

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332 Wright, “Pedigree of the Desminieres family.”
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 Anne 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. 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.

Two other Sligo settlers were military pensioners Jaques Rousse and Jean Liron de La Rouvière. 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. 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.

Youghal, Co. Cork

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. In the 1600s he

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334 Sligo County Library MS. F.C./D.2/63.
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 Portarlington Veterans, p. 62.
340 Information from Wayne Pettapiece of Edmonton, Canada.
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), Butevant, 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.
346 Gimlette, The Huguenot Settlers in Ireland.
its own minister, though Rev. Arthur d'Anvers, 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, 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.” 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. Their daughter Susanna Rouvière (b. Youghal 1728), goddaughter of James de Hays, married in 1745 Thomas Day of Ballyvergin, Co. Cork. Perot Duclos from Metz lived in Youghal with his wife Margaret, son Guillaume and daughter Margaret.

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 Hayman 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 city 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.

347 He was educated at Kilkenny College—entered April 1697.
348 He served in Col. William Windres’ infantry regiment (37th Foot) and married Marie Ducros. He died in Dublin in 1757. See Le Fanu & Manchee, Dublin and Portarlington 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.
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.
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**Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland Publications and Proceedings**

Since the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland (formerly of London) has published a vast amount of material on Ireland since its establishment in 1885, it merits its own section in this bibliography. The Society’s *Quarto Series Publications* and *New Series Publications* are full-length books, many of which have now also been issued in CD-ROM format (see details below). The *Proceedings* is the Society’s annual periodical containing articles by leading academics on a wide range of topics relevant to the history of Huguenot refugees, including many family histories. The Society’s bi-annual genealogical periodical, *Huguenot Families*, also contains much information on Irish Huguenot families.

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](http://www.huguenotsociety.org.uk).

**Huguenot Society of GB & Ireland Publications (Quarto Series and New Series)**

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    - *Also available in the Huguenot Society CD-ROM 4: Irish Extracts* (see details below).
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    - *Also available in the Huguenot Society CD-ROM 3: Denizations and Naturalisations* (see details below).

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    - 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 18 – Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization in England and Ireland, 1603–1700
      - volume 35 – A Supplement to Dr W.A. Shaw’s *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization 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:
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**History and Genealogy of Huguenots in the British Isles**

*Books*

  This third edition is particularly useful for anyone undertaking ongoing research into Irish Huguenots as it has much invaluable information on Huguenots in Ireland not included in the previous two editions.
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  This book contains an enormous amount of information about Irish Huguenot families. A reprint by the Genealogical Publishing Company is available. It is also on the *Huguenot Settlers in America* CD-ROM by the Genealogical Publishing Company. Website: [www.genealogical.com](http://www.genealogical.com).


A reprint by the Genealogical Publishing Company is available. It is also on the Huguenot Settlers in America CD-Rom by the Genealogical Publishing Company. Website: www.genealogical.com.

- Sussex Academic Press — Website: www.sussex-academic.co.uk.

History and Genealogy of Huguenots in Ireland
Books on Huguenots in Ireland

- Benedetti, S. The La Touche Amorino: Canova and his Fashionable Irish Patrons (Dublin, 1997).

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


This volume comprises the papers contributed by an international panel of scholars to the Dublin Colloquium on the Huguenot Refuge in Ireland (1685–1985).

Individual Chapters:
Roland Mousnier, L’Edit de Nantes
Jean-Paul Pitton, The French Protestants and the Edict of Nantes (1549–1685): a Chronology Based on Material in Marsh’s Library, Dublin
Edric Caldicott, L’Edit de Béziers (1632): Shifts of Policy Towards the Huguenots under Richelieu
Jean-Pierre Poussou, Approches Pour une Étude des Huguenots en Provenance du Sud-Ouest et des Charentes Réfugiés dans les Iles Britanniques
Philippe Loupès, Les Conséquences de la Révocation de L’Edit de Nantes à Bordeaux
Louis Cullen, The Huguenots from the Perspective of the Merchant Networks of W. Europe (1680–1790): the Example of the Brandy Trade
Michelle Magdelaine, Le Refuge: le Rôle de Francfort-sur-le-Main
John Miller, The Immediate Impact of the Revocation in England
Mark Goldie, The Huguenot Experience and the Problem of Toleration in Restoration England
Robin Gwynn, Government Policy Towards Huguenot Immigration and Settlement in England and Ireland
Harman Murtagh, Huguenot Involvement in the Irish Jacobite War 1689–91
Patrick Kelly, Lord Galway and the Penal Laws
James McGuire, Government Attitudes to Religious Non-conformity in Ireland 1660–1719
Jean-Paul Pitton, The Question of Religious Conformity and Non-conformity in the Irish Refuge
Raymond Hylton, The Huguenot Settlement at Portarlington, 1692–1771
David Dickson, Huguenots in the Urban Economy of Eighteenth-century Dublin and Cork
John de Courcy Ireland, Maritime Aspects of the Huguenot Immigration into Ireland
Angélique Day, Marie-Angélique de la Cherois: Life of a Huguenot Heiress 1700–1771
Paul Viallaneix, Michelet et la Légende Huguenote

• Costello, V. “Irish Huguenot Records” in Irish Church Records (Dublin, 2001) [2nd expanded edition]
Flyleaf Press — Website: www.flyleaf.ie.
• Dubourdieu, W. Baby on her Back, (Lake Forest IL, 1967).
This contains the history of the cemetery, the extant memorial inscriptions, a map of the cemetery, and the full list of entries in the Dublin nonconformist registers concerning burials in Peter Street and Newmarket (translated into English), plus information about the families buried there.
• Gimlette, T. The History of the Huguenot Settlers in Ireland (Waterford, 1888) [research notes privately published posthumously].
Though incomplete, this book contains much valuable information not found elsewhere.
  Sussex Academic Press — Website: [www.sussex-academic.co.uk](http://www.sussex-academic.co.uk).

  Sussex Academic Press — Website: [www.sussex-academic.co.uk](http://www.sussex-academic.co.uk).


• Harbison, P. *Beranger’s Views of Ireland* (Dublin, 1991).

• Harbison, P. *Beranger’s Antique Buildings of Ireland* (Dublin, 1998).


  Sussex Academic Press—Website: [www.sussex-academic.co.uk](http://www.sussex-academic.co.uk).


  A reprint by the Genealogical Publishing Company is available. It is also on the Huguenot Settlers in America CD-ROM by the Genealogical Publishing Company. Website: [www.genealogical.com](http://www.genealogical.com).

• Le Fanu, T. P. *Memoir of the Le Fanu Family* (Dublin, 1924).


• McCormack, *Sheridan Le Fanu* (Stroud, 1997).


Written for the exhibition mounted in 1985 to mark the tercentenary of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, this deserves to be considered a book rather than a catalog. In addition there are many excellent illustrations and photographs of some of the exhibits.

Individual chapters:
Maguire, W. A. Why the Huguenots Left France and where they Settled in Ireland
Murtagh, H. Huguenots and the Irish Jacobite War 1689–91
Crawford, W. H. Lisburn at the Coming of the Huguenots
Crawford, W. H. The Huguenots and the Linen Industry
Day, A. The Crommelins
Best, J. The Dubourdieu Family of Lisburn
Best, J., Maguire W.A. and Combe, J.C. The Huguenots and Worship
Maguire, W. A. Two Huguenot Mapmakers in Ireland  {John Rocque and Bernard Scalé}

- McGinley, M. The La Touche Family in Ireland (Greystones [Ireland], 2004).
- Parkinson, D., Huguenot Cemetery, 1693: Merrion Row, Stephens Green, Dublin (Dublin, 1988).
This contains the history of the cemetery, the extant memorial inscriptions, a map of the cemetery, and the full list of entries in the registers of the Dublin nonconformist registers concerning burials in Merrion Row (translated into English), plus information about the families buried there.
- Pin, M. Jean Cavalier (Nimes, 1936).
- Powell, J. S. Huguenots, Planters, Portarlington (York, 1995).
A meticulously researched history of Portarlington in which the Huguenot inhabitants are put in the context of the population of the town as a whole. Website: www.frenchchurch.freeserve.co.uk
For anyone researching military ancestors who lived in Portarlington this is an invaluable collection, being the indexed transcripts of the Champagné manuscript collection, which is in private hands and includes many records relating to army officers. See Huguenot Families (No. 3, September 2000), p. 18 for a detailed overview. Website: www.frenchchurch.freeserve.co.uk.
- Rambaut, P. M. and Vigne, J.R. Britain’s Huguenot War Leaders (London, 2002).
- Gives an excellent overview of the Huguenot settlers to Cork city and county.

• Wootton, M. *The Dubedat Story: Killiney to Kommetjie* (Dublin, 1999).

*Articles in Periodicals on Huguenots in Ireland*

• Alumnus Chronicle: University of St. Andrews
  Volume 3 (1993)
  o Forrest, A. “The Origins, Development and Administration of French Protestant Charity in Dublin, 1692–1794.”

• Annales de Bretagne
  Volume 92 (1985)
  o Faycal, E. G. “En Marge de Tricentenaire de la Revocation. Un Memoir Inédit Destiné à Favoriser l’Establissement de Protestants Français en Irlande.”

• The Cork Historical and Archaeological Society Journal
  Volume 3 (1894)
  o “The Huguenot Settlement at Innishannon, Co. Cork”
  o Hayman, S. “The Huguenot Settlers at Youghal”
  Volume 1 [second series] (1894)
  o Day, R. “The Huguenot Settlers in Youghal”
  Volume 8 [second series] (1902)
  o Westropp, M. S. D. “The Goldsmiths’ Company of Dublin”
  Volume 13 [second series] (1907)
  o Cole, J. H. “Innishannon and its Neighbourhood”
  Volume 16 [second series] (1910)
  o Good, W. “Denizations in Ireland in the Seventeenth Century”
  Volume 24 [second series] (1918)
  o Lunham, T. A. “Early French Refugees in Cork”
  o McMahon, M. “French Refugees in Cork”
  Volume 31 [second series] (1926)
  o Westropp, M. S. D. “The Cork Goldsmiths, Silversmiths, Jewellers, Watchmakers and Apprentices”
  Volume 34 [second series] (1929)
  o “Pedigree of Captain D’Esterre who was Fatally Wounded by Daniel O’Connell in a Duel in 1815”
  Volume 39 [second series] (1934)
  o Evans, E. “Notes of the Besnard Family”

• Decies: Journal of the Old Waterford Society
  No. 46 (Autumn, 1993)

• Dublin Historical Record
  Volume 8 (1946)
  o O’Mullane, B. “The Huguenots in Dublin”
  Volume 33 (1980)
Brennan, K. “Le Fanu, Chapelizod and the Dublin Connection”
Volume 40 (1986)
Hylton, R. “Dublin’s Huguenot Refuge, 1662–1817”

Duiche Neill
Volume 6 (1991)
Luddington, C. “Huguenots in Benburb?: The Possible Origins of the Runnett Family of Sessiamagaroll”

Etudes irlandaises
Volume 5 (1980)
Boulaire, F. “Elie Bouhereau, Immigrant Huguenot et Premier Bibliothécaire de la Marsh’s Library à Dublin”
Volume 10 (1985)
Joannon, P. “Les Huguenots Français en Irlande”
Volume 21 (1996)
Nadeau, S. “L’Émigration Huguenote à Lisburn en Ulster: Sources Biographiques”

Genealogists’ Magazine
Volume 12 (1956)
Minet, S. “Huguenot Records”
Vigne, R. “Huguenot Family Research Made Easier”
Volume 28 (2005)
Costello, V. “Researching Huguenot Officers in the British Army, 1688–1713”

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Delacherois, G. M. “Registre du Regiment du Comte Marton, le 4 fevrier 1698”
Volume 5 (1979)
Colley, E. F. H. “D’Esterre of Rossmanagher”
Volume 10 (1998)
Coffey, P. “Huguenot Pupils at the Hospital and Free School of King Charles the Second in Dublin”

Irish Sword
Volume 10 (1972)
Simms, J. G. “Schomberg at Dundalk, 1689”
• Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
  Volume 123 (1993)
  ☐ Coffey, P. “George Victor Du Noyer, 1817–1869: Artist, Geologist and Antiquary”

• Journal of the Society of Army Historical Research
  Volume 51 (Spring, 1973)
  ☐ Ward, S. G. P. “The Letters of Captain Nicholas Delacherois, 9th Regiment”
  Volume 63 (Autumn, 1985)
  ☐ Whitworth, R. H. “1685 — James II, the Army and the Huguenots.”
  Volume 67 (Summer, 1989)
  ☐ Wood, S., “A Huguenot Regiment?”
  This provides a detailed list for Vezey’s regiment under the heading 40th regiment of foot raised in Portugal 24 June 1708 and reduced 26 August 1712.

• An Leabharlann: The Irish Library
  Volume 9 new series (1992)
  ☐ Vigne, R. “The Huguenot Library, London as a Source for Irish Research.”

• Old Limerick Journal
  Volume 28 (1990)
  ☐ Murtagh, H. and O’Dwyer, M. “Dumont de Bostaquet and the Huguenots at the Siege of Limerick, 1690”

• Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy
  Volume 27, Section C (1908–9)
  ☐ White, N. J. D. “Elias Bouhereau of La Rochelle, First Public Librarian in Ireland”
  Volume 30, Section C (1912–13)
  ☐ Murray, R. H. (ed.). “The Diary of Bonnivert, 1690”

• Sussex Archaeological Collections
  Volume 26 (1875)
  ☐ Burrell, P. “Castle Goring” [Narrative of Samuel de Péchels]

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  Volume 1 (1853)
  ☐ De La Cherois Purdon, C.N. “French Settlers in Ireland: the Huguenot Colony in Lisburn” (Part 1)
  Volume 2 (1854)
  ☐ De La Cherois Purdon, C. N. “French Settlers in Ireland: the Huguenot Colony in Lisburn” (Part 2)
  Volume 3 (1855)
  ☐ Borrowes, E. D. “French Settlers in Ireland: the Huguenot Colony at Portarlington” (Part 1)
  Reprint available from www.frenchchurch.freeserve.co.uk.
  Volume 4 (1856)
  ☐ Gimlette, T. “French Settlers in Ireland: the Huguenot settlers in Waterford”
  Volume 6 (1858)
Borrowes, E. D. “French settlers in Ireland: the Huguenot colony at Portarlington” (Part 2)

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](http://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 – Série 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.
VIVIEN COSTELLO (née Le Clerc) is a graduate of Trinity College Dublin where she studied French and German. She has been engaged in researching Huguenot settlers in Ireland for over 20 years and is a Fellow of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland. She is chairman of the French Huguenot Fund, Dublin’s oldest charity (founded in 1716), which still has Huguenot descendant annuitants and which owns Europe’s only surviving nonconformist Huguenot cemetery at Merrion Row, Dublin (established 1693). Vivien’s publications include: “Irish Huguenot Records” in James G. Ryan (ed.) Irish Church Records (Flyleaf Press: Dublin, 1992 & 2001), and “Researching Huguenot Officers in the British Army, 1688–1713,” Genealogists’ Magazine, Vol. 28, No. 8 (December 2005).

Elizabeth Shown Mills is the author of numerous articles and books and is a nationally recognized historical and genealogical lecturer. She has compiled the definitive guide to citation and analysis of genealogical and historical sources. This scholarly reference provides hundreds of citation models for various historical sources, particularly original records, known as “QuickCheck Models.” It will be especially valuable to students and writers wishing to properly cite electronic sources, microfilm, microfiche, original records, periodicals, websites, and others. Especially useful are the chapters on fundamentals of evidence analysis and fundamentals of citation. The work concludes with a glossary of terms and a bibliography. This guidebook is highly recommended for experienced researchers, historians, and professional genealogists.


The three authors of this useful genealogical reference book are experts in their fields of Scandinavian research and Mormon history. It identifies nineteenth-century Mormon missionaries to Scandinavia, with valuable genealogical details for each person—birth date and place, parents’ names, spouse’s name, date and place married, residence, emigration details, death date and place, and place buried. Biographical sketches are alphabetically arranged by surname and many contain a photo of the missionary. Other features include an extensive bibliography of sources used, a list of contributors, and vital statistical information, including Family History Library microfilm number for each parish. This is a valuable genealogical resource for Latter-day Saints interested in Scandinavian countries.

Diane Rapaport, lawyer, historian, popular speaker, and award-winning author, has performed extensive research into colonial New England court records and is the author of the scholarly *New England Court Records: A Research Guide for Genealogists and Historians* (2006). She uses her legal training to publish stories from colonial court records relating to crimes and other incidents that add to an understanding of life in Puritan New England. Subjects include witchcraft, tavern tales, law and order, and others. This nicely illustrated work concludes with endnotes and a useful bibliography. It will be of interest to genealogists and historians focusing on the New England area.


A special publication of the American Society of Genealogists (www.fasg.org), this scholarly four-volume work, the culmination of sixteen years of research, identifies the origins of hundreds of early immigrants who bought land from the Springfield, Missouri, land office between June 1835 and March 1839. Families are alphabetically arranged by surname and show various genealogical and historical details—birth date and birthplace, death date, place buried, name of spouse and date married, and other biographical and genealogical details, such as church affiliation and migration information. The goal of this project was to identify the geographic origins of early settlers in southwest Missouri. Genealogies are well documented using primary and secondary sources, including census records, court files, deeds, local histories, probate files, vital records, and others. An extensive bibliography is useful for identifying printed sources and manuscripts used in the compilation of this work. The set concludes with a personal name and subject index by Patricia Law Hatcher. This handsome reference work will be of special interest to researchers with southwest Missouri ancestors.


This scholarly festschrift offers tributes to Dr. Robert J. Matthews, former dean of Religious Education at Brigham Young University, on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. The very attractive cover image is Gary Ernest Smith’s painting, “The Mount of Transfiguration” (see Matthew 17:1–8), which hung in his office at the university. Scholarly essays were written by several of Matthews’ colleagues at Brigham Young University and cover a wide range of Biblical and Latter-day Saint topics, including ancient languages and Church history. The work concludes with a bibliography of articles, books, and other writings by Professor Matthews.
Michael Otterson has compiled a useful guide to Internet sites of interest to Latter-day Saints and others. Chapters cover such topics as the Internet and the LDS Church, choosing software, Personal Ancestral File (PAF) genealogy software, and various Internet topics—census records, vital records, immigration and naturalization records, British Isles, and others. Other topics include collaboration, GEDCOM files, posting queries on the Internet, and more. Practical examples, tips, and illustrations are included throughout this work and are very helpful. However, Genealogy is misspelled on page 95 when referring to Genealogy.com, and it would have been helpful if the author had mentioned some of the family history websites and databases at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah. Examples include:

- BYU Family History Library (http://lib.byu.edu/fslab)
- Center for Family History and Genealogy (http://familyhistory.byu.edu)
- Immigrant Ancestors Project (http://immigrants.byu.edu)
- PAF Tutorial (http://paftutorial.byu.edu)
- Religion 261 Online Lessons (http://261.byu.edu)
- Script Tutorials: Resources for Old Handwriting and Documents (http://script.byu.edu)
- US Census Tutorial (http://census.byu.edu)
- Welsh Mormon History (http://welshmormonhistory.org)