

Sanctified by the Word: The Huguenots and Anglican Liturgy

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Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet, a gentleman farmer from Normandy turned cavalry officer,¹ was one of the hundreds of Huguenots who enlisted in the expeditionary forces of William III,² landing with him at Torbay in November 1688, and marching from thence on the town of Exeter. In the memoirs of his adventures which he later completed on 3 April 1693, while living in Bray Street, Dublin, Dumont recorded the surprise he felt on witnessing the worship of the Church of England for the first time when he was quartered at Exeter. The passage has often been quoted, but it is worth quoting again:

It was there that I witnessed the service of the Anglican Church for the first time. I was surprised because it has retained all the external trappings of popery. The churches have altars with two large candles on either side, and a bowl made of silver-gilt or silver in the centre; the canons, dressed in surplices and stoles, are seated in benches down both sides of the nave. They have a choir of little boys in surplices who sing with them; I thought the music was beautiful, some of them had charming voices. However, since all of this is contrary to the simplicity of our Reformed worship, I was not edified by it.³

- 1 Some details of Dumont's biography are given in T.P. Le Fanu, 'Dumont de Bostaquet at Portarlington', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* (hereafter *HSP*) 14 (1930-33), pp 211-27; the paper written on his escape from France by C.E.F. Dumas, 'The Huguenot refugees from Normandy and the escape from France of Isaac Dumont, squire of Bostaquet', *HSP* 19/2 (1952-58), pp 10-18, is drawn entirely from Dumont's own account in I. Dumont de Bostaquet, *Mémoires sur les temps qui ont précédé et suivi la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes*, ed. M. Richard (Paris, 1968) [hereafter Dumont, *Mémoires*].
- 2 For the part played by Huguenots in the Williamite campaign in Ireland, see S.J. Knox, *Ireland's debt to the Huguenots* (Dublin, 1959), pp 15-23; H. Murtagh, 'Huguenot involvement in the Irish Jacobite War, 169-91', in C.E.J. Caldicott, H. Gough, J.-P. Pittion (eds), *The Huguenots and Ireland: Anatomy of an emigration* (Dublin, 1987), pp 225-38.
- 3 Dumont, *Mémoires*, p. 198: 'Je vis là pour la première fois le service de l'Église anglicane. Comme tout l'extérieur du papisme y étoit resté, cela me surprit: les églises ont des autels, deux grands flambeaux aux côtés et un bassin de vermeil ou d'argent dessus, les chanoines avec le surplis et l'étole sont dans leurs bancs des deux côtés de la nef. Ils ont un choeur de petits garçons en surplis qui chantent avec eux; leur musique me sembla belle, il y avoit

Dumont's reaction to Anglican ceremonial was not idiosyncratic. Over the years, many French Protestant travellers, ministers, and refugees in England, and later in Ireland, were equally surprised, and often dismayed when they saw what they thought of as a lingering 'popery' in the ceremonies of the Anglican Communion. In fact, the majority of the Huguenot refugees who settled in these islands, acted on these reservations about Anglicanism, and remained faithful in exile to the polity and rites of their Reformed tradition.⁴ But, strange to say, Dumont did not.

In 1692, at the close of the Jacobite war, Dumont was among the one hundred and forty Huguenot soldiers and officers demobilized and pensioned on the Irish establishment on condition that they reside in this country.⁵ Towards the end of September of that year, he and his wife and family moved from Greenwich to Dublin,⁶ arriving in time to witness the passage into law of the 'Act for encouragement of protestant strangers' which granted freedom of worship to foreign settlers.⁷ The Huguenots were quick to take advantage of this new and, for its time, unique legal right, 'of meeting together publicly' and 'performing [their] religious duties in their own several rites used in their own countries'.⁸ By 18 of December they had established a French Reformed Church in a house in Bride Street, the first of those founded on foot of the Act.⁹ So when he first came to Ireland, Dumont had a choice of places of worship. He could either embrace the 'simplicity' of the liturgical rites and ceremonies of his own tradition in Bride Street, or choose to worship in the Lady Chapel of St Patrick's Cathedral, founded in 1666. There, French ministers, who had taken Anglican orders, conducted worship according to the Anglican liturgy translated into

des voix charmantes. Pendant comme cela est très opposé à la simplicité de notre Réformation, je n'en fus point édifié'. Dumont seems to have mistaken the nave for the choir.

- 4 Earlier historians argued that the majority of the Huguenots who settled in Ireland conformed to the established church. Although this is true in the long term, that is to say, the Huguenots assimilated to Anglicanism over the years, in the early years of the Irish Diaspora, the majority of the Huguenots retained their membership of the French Reformed church in exile. On this question, see R. Whelan, 'The Huguenots, the Crown and the Clergy: Ireland 1692-1704', *HSP* 26/5 (1997), pp 601-10.
- 5 Le Fanu, 'Dumont de Bostaquet', p. 212; T.P. Le Fanu & W.H. Manchee, *Dublin and Portarlington veterans, Huguenot Society, Quarterly Series* (hereafter *HSQS*), 41, (1946), pp 3-7.
- 6 Dumont, *Mémoires*, p. 278.
- 7 'An Act for encouragement of protestant strangers to settle in this kingdom of Ireland', 4 Will. & Mary, c.2 (3 November 1692), *The Statutes at large passed in the parliaments held in Ireland* (hereafter *Irish statutes*) (20 vols., Dublin, 1786-1804), iii, pp 244-45.
- 8 4 Will. & Mary, c.2, *Irish statutes*, iii, p. 245.
- 9 See T.P. Le Fanu (ed.), *The registers of the French non-conformist Churches of Lucy Lane and Peter Street, Dublin, HSQS*, 14 (1901), p. ix. The first entry in the 'Livres de caisse pour l'Église française de Dublin suivant la discipline des Églises réformées de France recueillie proche St Brigid' is dated 18 December. This cash book survives only in the form of notes taken before it was destroyed in the Public Record Office fire in 1922, and held in the Huguenot Fund Papers, Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin.

French. Dumont, who four years previously had found the ceremonialism of the Church of England so unedifying, joined the French Church in the Lady Chapel.

Unfortunately, Dumont failed to explain in his memoirs his reasons for joining the French Episcopalian Church in Dublin. But it is possible to reconstruct a plausible explanation from his subsequent behaviour in the Irish Diaspora. The Lady Chapel offered Dumont the possibility of following services in his own language, albeit conducted according to the liturgy of the Church of Ireland. There is every reason to believe that the ceremonialism of these services – which followed the model of the parish church, rather than the cathedral – was more muted than that of the service at Exeter Cathedral evoked by Dumont. The Church was also led by two of his friends from Greenwich, Jean Sévérin and Gabriel Barbier whose preaching is warmly praised by Dumont in the closing lines of his memoirs.¹⁰ In other words, the Lady Chapel represented a cultural and liturgical compromise which made conformity easy by eliminating some of what many Huguenots saw as the ‘papish’ ceremonial of the Church of Ireland. That compromise maintained the centrality of the sermon, so important in the worship of the Reformed tradition,¹¹ creating a context where gifted ministers, like Sévérin and Barbier, were able to draw the refugees into the Anglican fold by their preaching.¹² Like Dumont, many refugees were drawn to French Episcopalianism by the example of friends, and the leadership of ministers whom they had known either at home, or in the other countries of the Diaspora.¹³ But, in my opinion, Dumont also had political reasons for joining the French Church in the Lady Chapel, as we might expect of someone operating within the cultural matrix of early modern Europe.

Dumont, like Sévérin and Barbier, came to Ireland as part of the following of Henri de Ruvigny, later Lord Galway, and he took an active part in Galway’s

10 Dumont, *Mémoires*, pp 278–9; see Le Fanu, ‘Dumont’, pp 221–2; on Barbier and Sévérin, see T.P. Le Fanu, ‘The Huguenot churches of Dublin and their ministers’, *HSP* 8 (1905–1908), pp 111–12.

11 See J.M. Barkley, *The worship of the Reformed Church* (London and Richmond, Virginia, 1966), pp 10–21.

12 It is clear from the correspondence between William King and some of the Dublin Huguenots in 1705 that a gifted preacher was capable of drawing a large following of Huguenots to a given Church, see King to Laspois, 19 July 1705, TCD MS 705/3/1, f. 202; Laspois to King, 4 September 1705, *Second report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* (London, 1874), appendix, p. 244.

13 Dumont, *Mémoires*, p. 278: ‘nous y goûtons la joie de se trouver avec ses amis, et plus encore d’y avoir MM. Sévérin et Barbier, nos pasteurs de Greenwich’. R.D. Gwynn demonstrated that many of the congregations – whether French Episcopalian or Reformed – formed around a pastor who had served the exiles when they were still in France, see ‘The distribution of the Huguenot refugees in England’, *HSP* 21 (1965–70), pp 404–36, and ‘The distribution of Huguenot refugees in England: London and its environs’, *HSP* 22 (1970–76), p. 566.

efforts to establish Huguenot colonies in this country.¹⁴ As the leader of the French refugees in Ireland, and later in his capacity as a lord justice, Galway had ample opportunity to assess the uneasy relationship of the ruling Anglican minority to the traditions of religious dissent.¹⁵ There were striking similarities between the rites, the sacramental theology, and the church polity of the Huguenots and the Presbyterians. Although Galway allowed the Huguenots to establish a French Reformed Church on his estate in Portarlington,¹⁶ he appears to have been in favour of persuading the refugees to accept the French Episcopalian compromise in the long term, thereby steering them away from a possible association with the Presbyterians.¹⁷ Prominent figures in Galway's following, such as Sévérin, Barbier, and Élie Bouhéreau, followed his lead, working to persuade other refugees to accept the ecclesiastical compromise.¹⁸ But their actions were not simply the result either of a respect for the duly constituted authorities of this nation, as they saw it, or indeed of early modern clientelism, although these were certainly factors. They also acted out of a conviction that the Church of England was a 'Reformed Body', as Bouhéreau expressed it, from which the Presbyterians had separated without due cause, and which the refugees could therefore join without scruple.¹⁹ This was a conviction which Dumont may also have come to share, since by 1694 he was already an elder of the French church in the Lady Chapel, signing his assent on 4 October to the Discipline which was drawn up in that year to regulate the affairs of that church.²⁰

- 14 See Dumont, *Mémoires*, pp 263–72. The Ruvigny family settled in Greenwich and all three men, Sévérin, Barbier, and Dumont enjoyed the patronage of the Ruvignys when they lived in England.
- 15 See S.J. Connolly, *Religion, law and power: The making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1760* (Oxford, 1992), pp 144–97.
- 16 Galway also paid an annual pension of £50 for ten years to Benjamin de Daillon, pastor of the French Reformed Church in Portarlington from 1698–1702, see R. Whelan, 'Points of view: Benjamin de Daillon, William Moreton and the Portarlington affair', *HSP* 26/4 (1996), p. 480.
- 17 See Le Fanu, 'The Huguenot Churches of Dublin and their ministers', p. 112, although the position taken by Le Fanu calls for greater nuance.
- 18 Bouhéreau was actively involved in William King's efforts to bring the French Reformed Churches into conformity with Anglicanism, see Bouhéreau to King, July 1705 (?), and December 1705 (?), TCD MS 1995–2008, f. 2395, and 2399–2400.
- 19 See E. Bouhéreau's Last Will and Testament, partially edited by N.D. White, 'Elias Bouhéreau of La Rochelle, first public librarian in Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 27/4 (1908–1909), p. 149. See also, John Durel, *A view of the government and public worship of God in the Reformed Churches beyond the seas, wherein is shewed their conformity and agreement with the Church of England, as it is established by the Act of Uniformity* (London, 1662), pp 1–3. The relationship between the Huguenots and the Presbyterians in England and Ireland was complex and variable, although many of the French Episcopalians followed Durel's lead, and condemned the Presbyterians as sectaries.
- 20 Archbishop Marsh's Library, MS 24.3.20, 'Discipline pour l'Eglise françoise de Dublin qui s'assemble à St Patrick'. A printed copy of the *Discipline* (Dublin, 1695) is held in the RIA. Le Fanu, 'Archbishop Marsh and the Discipline of the French Church of St Patrick's

Dumont's denominational peregrinations did not end in the Lady Chapel of St Patrick's Cathedral, however. On Sunday 13 November 1698 he appears on the registers of the French Reformed Church in Portarlington, whither he and his family had removed, apparently at some previous date.²¹ His reasons for moving from Dublin may have been financial, since after the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, about four hundred and fifty Huguenot soldiers and officers were demobilized and pensioned on the Irish establishment, causing a reduction in the sums paid to the veterans disbanded in 1692.²² While we cannot be sure if he was driven out of Dublin by the cost of living, or drawn to Portarlington at Galway's invitation, we do know that Dumont was active in the French Reformed Church during the tenure of the pastor, Benjamin de Daillon. Like Dumont, Daillon had no objections to participating in the Anglican liturgy, or indeed to taking communion according to the rites of the established church, but he did so only on an occasional basis. But, he categorically refused to take Anglican orders – imposed in the wake of the Act of Uniformity on refugee ministers wishing to officiate in the established church – which he saw as unchurching the foreign protestants. And he adamantly believed that the French Reformed Churches and their pastors should maintain their separate existence unless some accommodation could be reached which did not undermine the ecclesiological integrity of their communion.²³ Such views were at variance with Dumont's own, in as much as we can deduce them from his church affiliations in the Irish Diaspora, but they did not discourage him from participating in the French Reformed Church in Portarlington.

An unexpected sequence of events offered Dumont a final opportunity for peripatetic denominationalism. Following the Act of Resumption in 1700, Lord Galway was among the grantees who were deprived of the estates bestowed on them in Ireland by William III.²⁴ The forfeiture jeopardised the leases and investments of the Portarlington Huguenots, but their legal titles were later confirmed in May 1702, by one of the forty private acts passed for the relief of persons aggrieved by the provisions of the Act of Resumption.²⁵ Under the terms of this act, the two churches and the two schools were vested in the bishop

Dublin, 1694', *HSP* 12 (1919–1924), pp 260–2 lists all the signatories on the copy of the *Discipline* which perished in the fire at the Public Record Office in 1922.

21 T.P. Le Fanu (ed.), *Registers of the French Church of Portarlington, Ireland, HSQS* 19 (1908), p. 18.

22 There were 590 French military pensioners on the Irish establishment after Ryswick; Dumont's pension fell from 6s. 3d., to 5s. *per diem*, see Le Fanu, 'Dumont de Bostaquet', p. 216; and *Dublin and Portarlington veterans*, p. 5.

23 I have explored Daillon's views in greater detail, in the paper cited in n. 16 above.

24 On this, see J.G. Simms, *The Williamite confiscation in Ireland 1690–1703* (London, 1956); R.P. Hylton, 'The Huguenot settlement at Portarlington, 1692–1771', in Caldicott, Gough, Pittion (eds), pp 297–315.

25 Simms, p. 128, Hylton, p. 310.

of Kildare, William Moreton, giving him the authority to appoint the two ministers and the two schoolmasters who served the French Reformed refugees and the English speaking Anglicans in Portarlington.²⁶ The controversy which ensued was complicated, but suffice it to say here that Moreton took advantage of the powers vested in him to impose conformity to the established church on the French refugees.²⁷ When Daillon refused to take Anglican orders, he was replaced by Antoine de Ligonier, sieur de Bonneval who (on his own admission) took Moreton's side, actively promoting the French Episcopalian compromise among the refugees.²⁸ One hundred people signed a petition in favour of Daillon, and thirty-seven families subsequently betook themselves to Dublin, where twenty-eight of them joined one of the two French Reformed churches in the city.²⁹ But Dumont remained in Portarlington. He clearly supported Bonneval, since he served the newly consecrated French Episcopalian church as an elder from 1703 until his death in 1709.

I

If I have dwelt at such length on the story of Dumont de Bostaquet's denominational affiliations it is because his easy passage to and fro between the French Reformed and Episcopalian churches exemplifies the kind of attitude which historians have seen in the past as typical of all refugees in the Irish Huguenot Diaspora. Le Fanu set the tone in 1905, remarking that the fact that the Episcopalian and the Reformed congregations 'belonged to the body which they styled 'Le corps du Refuge' ('the refugee body') outweighed any differences in their common Protestantism'.³⁰ The common Protestantism shared by the Huguenots and their Anglican hosts seduced D.A. Chart into observing in 1933 that 'the principles of the Church of Ireland were not so far removed from those of the Huguenots as to discourage union'.³¹ J.C. Beckett went one step further in 1946, arguing that 'the majority of the French protestants seem to have accepted

26 Hylton, pp 310–11; Whelan, 'Benjamin de Daillon', p. 464.

27 I have discussed the complicated legal, religious, and liturgical implications of the private act in 'Points of view', pp 466–71.

28 According to Le Fanu, 'Dumont de Bostaquet', p. 223, Bonneval made a statement to this effect to the pension authorities in 1714.

29 Hylton, p. 312.

30 Le Fanu, 'The Huguenot Churches of Dublin and their ministers', p. 103; for a critique of this position, see G.A. Forrest 'Religious controversy within the French protestant community in Dublin, 1692–1716: an historiographical critique', in K. Herlihy (ed.), *The Irish dissenting tradition* (Dublin and Portland, 1995) pp 96–110.

31 D.A. Chart, 'The close alliance of Church and state', in W.A. Phillips (ed.), *History of the Church of Ireland from the earliest times to the present day* (3 vols, Oxford and London, 1933), iii, p. 180; Le Fanu also espoused this position, see 'Archbishop Marsh and the Discipline', p. 259.

the forms of the established church without serious reluctance'.³² In 1970, J.C. Combe wondered if 'there may have been certain aspects of Anglican worship which attracted the foreigners'.³³ Finally, T.C. Barnard translated these questions of institutional affiliation into a problem of ethnic identity, suggesting that the Huguenots and the Palatines were unique in Ireland for the way their 'denominational allegiance' perfectly fitted their 'ethnicity'.³⁴

It cannot be denied that the Huguenots and their hosts were at one level bonded by their 'common protestantism'. On the one hand, Anglican divines, representing their Church, were signatories to the doctrinal canons of the Synod of Dort.³⁵ Furthermore, during the Interregnum loyalist exiles in France – including Charles II and, I believe, the duke of Ormonde – attended services in the Reformed Church, although on return to England after the Act of Uniformity, their attitude became more equivocal.³⁶ On the other hand, a number of influential French Reformed divines expressed their approbation of Anglicanism in writing after the Restoration, and even later.³⁷ And, as we have seen, a substantial body of refugees in Ireland, and also in England, acted on that approbation, and participated in the Anglican liturgy, either wholeheartedly or occasionally, although some stopped short of agreeing to episcopal ordination. The fact that so many of the refugees 'accepted the forms of the established church without serious reluctance' undoubtedly encouraged the ruling Anglican minority in

32 J.C. Beckett, *Protestant dissent in Ireland, 1687–1780* (London, 1946), p. 127.

33 J.C. Combe, 'Huguenots in the ministry of the churches in Ireland – their place and contribution', Ph.D. thesis, Queen's University, Belfast, 1970, p. 403; however, the author adopts a more nuanced position in J. Best, W.A. Maguire, J.C. Combe, 'The Huguenots and worship', in *The Huguenots and Ulster 1685–1985: Historical introduction and exhibition catalogue* (Lisburn, 1985).

34 T.C. Barnard, 'Identities, ethnicity and tradition among Irish Dissenters c.1650–1750', in Herlihy (ed.) (1995), p. 44.

35 N. Sykes, *The church of England and non-episcopal churches in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (London, 1948), pp 23–4, the Church of England divines gave assent to matters doctrinal, but dissented from the synod's position on church polity.

36 • Among the bishops, Gilbert Burnet, John Cosin, and William Wake, openly practised and favoured ecumenical relations with continental protestants, although Wake says that he did not take communion with them, see Sykes, pp 29, 32. There is no reason to believe that Charles II's attendance at Charenton (the French Reformed church on the outskirts of Paris) was motivated by anything other than the political calculation of ensuring the support of the French protestants for the restoration of the monarchy. We cannot be absolutely sure that Ormonde accompanied Charles to Charenton, but it is more than likely that he did, given his close association with Charles in France. I consider these questions in greater detail in my forthcoming book, *The Huguenots, the crown and the clergy: Ireland 1662–1719*.

37 See the work by J. Durel, cited n. 19 above; this treatise was reprinted in 1668, and an abridgement was published in 1706. Two works on the same subject were composed in French at the beginning of the eighteenth-century by C. Groteste de La Mothe, *Correspondance fraternelle de l'Eglise anglicane avec les autres Eglises réformées et étrangères* (La Haye, 1705); *Entretiens sur la correspondance fraternelle de l'Eglise anglicane, avec les autres Eglises réformées* (Amsterdam, 1707). The first of these was influential in shaping attitudes to conformity in the Irish Diaspora.

Ireland to think, as one writer put it, 'that of all foreign Protestants, none more readily conform to the discipline of the Church of England, than the French do'.³⁸ Consequently, repeated, and sometimes successful, attempts were made by the establishment to get the Reformed French Protestants to accept the Episcopalian compromise, as a prelude to 'our growing into one church and people', to quote William King.³⁹ But these attempts were met with resistance, suggesting that, unlike Dumont, a large number of refugees in this country, and possibly a majority of them, found ethnicity and Anglicanism fundamentally irreconcilable. It is this conflict which I consider in the second case history presented in the remainder of this essay.

II

On 14 May 1704, Jacques Abbadie, dean of Killaloe, preached a sermon in St Patrick's cathedral before a large number of Huguenot pensioners who had been assembled to take communion according to Anglican rites, in compliance with the Sacramental Test.⁴⁰ The congregation included a significant number of pensioners who normally worshipped in the two French Reformed churches in Dublin, and therefore the Huguenot pensioners who had left Portarlington in protest at the imposition of conformity on the French Church in 1702. In the conclusion to his sermon, acting, I believe, on the instructions of archbishop William King, Abbadie defended Anglican ceremonial and liturgy, urging the assembled worshippers to give up their 'miserable divisions', and accept the Episcopalian compromise.⁴¹ His attitude and words scandalized the French Reformed refugees in attendance, whose objections to Anglicanism were stated in a reply published in the same year.⁴² Although the vexed issues of church polity, and the imposition of Anglican orders, form an important part of these objections, a significant amount of space is devoted to liturgical and ceremonial ques-

38 *The true way to render Ireland happy and secure, or, a discourse wherein 'tis shewn, that 'tis the interest both of England and Ireland, to encourage foreign protestants to plant in Ireland. In a letter to the right honorable Robert Molesworth, one of His Majesty's honourable privy council in Ireland, and one of the members of the honourable House of Commons, both in England and Ireland* (Dublin, 1697), p. 18.

39 William King to Pierre Pezé de Galénière, 7 April 1705, TCD MS 750/3/1, f. 137.

40 I have studied some aspects of this controversy in 'The Huguenots, the Crown and the Clergy: Ireland 1692-1704'.

41 J. Abbadie, *La theologie de St Paul, ou le pur christianisme expliqué dans un sermon sur les paroles de St Paul, 1 Cor., chap. 2, v. 2. Prononcé dans l'Eglise paroissiale de St Patrick le 14 may, 1704 devant l'assemblée de messieurs les officiers françois pensionnaires de Sa Majesté, lorsqu'ils communierent pour prester les sermens ordonnés par le Parlement* (Dublin, 1704), p. 36.

42 *Considerations sur le sermon de Monsieur Abbadie; prononcé á Dublin, dans l'Eglise paroissiale de St Patrick, le 14 may, 1704* (Dublin, 1704).

tions. These reflections on Anglican ceremonial and liturgy are unique, since the French Reformed immigrants in Ireland were generally reluctant to comment on either the religion or politics of their host country.⁴³ In reacting to Abbadie, and the Anglican establishment which he represented, these refugees reveal that their corporate identity is inextricably bound to their style of worship.⁴⁴ Social anthropologists like Clifford Geertz remind us that 'concrete acts of religious observance ... function to synthesize a people's ethos ... by inducing in the worshipper a certain distinctive set of dispositions'.⁴⁵ A study of the liturgical attitudes and behaviour of these immigrants should therefore tell us something about their ethnic identity, helping us to understand why the 'common Protestantism' of immigrant and host did not initially form the basis of a common identity in the Irish Diaspora.

The comparative table (below, pp 83–4) of the liturgies of the Huguenots in Ireland, compiled from published prayer books, to which I have added the Presbyterian form for purposes of comparison,⁴⁶ suggests that the French Reformed rite occupied something of a middle ground between the largely non-liturgical form of the Presbyterians, and the elaborate liturgical and ceremonial form observed by the established church. There is a parallel simplicity in the order of service followed on most Sundays by the French and the Presbyterians: their worship alternates between prayer and the singing of psalms,⁴⁷ with the ministry of the word, that is, the sermon, occupying a central place. The psalms, which were sung lustily by the whole congregation, are the responsive part of Reformed liturgy, since prayer was offered by the minister alone, although the congregation could join in the recitation of the Lord's Prayer, and signal their

43 See *An apology of the French refugees established in Ireland, addressed to all those who love the peace of the church* (Dublin, 1712), p. 4.

44 On this subject, see the essay by R. Gillespie in this volume.

45 C. Geertz, *The interpretation of cultures* (London, 1993; first edition 1973), pp 89, 112, 95.

46 I have used the following sources in compiling this table: *La liturgie. C'est à dire, le formulaire des prieres publiques, de l'administration des sacremens; et des autres ceremonies et coutumes de l'Eglise, selon l'usage de l'Eglise anglicane* (Geneve, 1666); *La forme des prieres ecclesiastiques, avec la maniere d'administrer les sacremens, et de celebrer le mariage, et la visite des malades*, printed as an appendix to the *Nouveau Testament* (Nyort, 1675); *Les Pseaumes de David, retouchez sur la version de Marot et de Beze; approuvez par les pasteurs de l'Eglise de Paris, par les synodes de France, revüs à Geneve et à Berlin, avec la Liturgie, le Catechisme, et la Confession de foi* (Londres, 1701); *A directory for the publike worship of God throughout the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1645), reprinted in G.W. Sprott, T. Leishman (eds), *The Book of common order of the Church of Scotland, commonly known as John Knox's liturgy and the Directory for the public worship of God, agreed upon by the assembly of divines at Westminster* (Edinburgh and London, 1868); *Presbyterian liturgies with specimens of forms of prayer for worship as used in the continental Reformed and American Churches* (Edinburgh, 1858); D. Shipley, *The liturgies of 1549 and 1662* (London, 1866). I have also been guided by the arguments exchanged in 1704 in Dublin, and by the *Discipline* drawn up in 1694.

47 Although hymn-singing became increasingly important in the Presbyterian tradition, see the essay by R. Gillespie in this volume.

<i>French Episcopalian</i>	<i>French Reformed</i>	<i>Presbyterian (post 1645)</i>
<i>Introduction</i>	(Psalm)	
Lord's Prayer	Invocation	Invitation
Collect for Purity	Exhortation	Prayer
Ten Commandments	General Confession	
	Psalm	Scripture reading (recommended)
	Scripture reading	Psalm
Collects for King and Day	Prayer for illumination	Prayer for illumination
Epistle		(includes general confession)
Holy Gospel	Lord's Prayer	
Creed		
Sermon or Homily	Sermon	Sermon
<i>Oblation</i>		
Offertory	Psalm	
Scripture reading (appropriate verses)		
Offering of Alms		
Prayer for Christ's Church**	Prayer for the Church and for all Estates	Prayer for the Church and for all Estates
	Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer*
	Creed*	
Warning for Celebration		
Exhortation to Negligent		Psalm
Exhortation to Faithful		
Invitation	The Blessing	The Blessing
General Confession	(<i>Almsgiving on exit</i>)	
Absolution		
Comfortable Words		
Sursum Corda		
Daily Preface		
Sanctus		
Proper Preface		
Sanctus		
Prayer of Humble Access		
<i>Canon</i>	<i>*Lord's Supper</i>	<i>*Lord's Supper</i>
Consecration	(when celebrated)	(when celebrated)
Communion of Priest		
	Exhortation	Exhortation
	Prayer (of consecration)	Prayer (of consecration)
	Fraction	Fraction
<i>Communion</i>		
Communion of faithful	Distribution	Distribution
	<i>Meanwhile: Psalm singing or Scripture reading</i>	

* (*The Lord's Supper follows here on Sundays when communion is celebrated.*)

** (*Sundays without communion ends here, followed by one or two collects and Benediction.*)

Post-Communion

Lord's Prayer

Oblatory Thanksgiving

Gloria in Excelsis Deo

Peace and Blessing

Thanksgiving

Song of Simeon

The Blessing

Thanksgiving

Psalm

The Blessing

assent, if they wished, with a hearty 'Amen'.⁴⁸ On those Sundays when the Lord's Supper was celebrated, usually once a quarter in the French and Presbyterian traditions, their rites are almost identical, with the exception of the closing liturgical response, but in both cases this is a song taken from Scripture. For both of these traditions, then, worship is largely didactic, centred on the propagation of the word, through preaching and singing. Its effectiveness may be measured in part by the place Scripture, scriptural paradigms, and psalm-singing came to occupy in the culture of French Protestants. They saw themselves as a second Israel, spoke a language in exile frequently peppered with images and linguistic fossils drawn from outmoded translations of the Bible, which became known as 'the language of Canaan', and they sang psalms not only in their churches, but also in their homes, and while working or journeying from place to place.⁴⁹

The similarities between the Presbyterian and the French Reformed forms of worship, should not distract us, however, from the significant differences between the two rites, centring on the use, or refusal of prescribed forms. Although the *Directory for the public worship of God*, drawn up by the Westminster divines in 1645, gives detailed guidelines for prayer, it does not formulate or prescribe prayers, and it is even tentative in its recommendation of the Lord's Prayer. This preference for extempore prayer was a matter of principle, since set forms of prayer, it was believed, were the 'vain repetitions' which Christ had forbidden to his followers.⁵⁰ Joseph Boyse, speaking on behalf of the southern Irish presbytery, also argued that extempore or 'free prayer', meant that Presbyterian ministers could adapt the service to the devotional needs of the people, and the people's 'affections' were consequently not 'dulled' by 'the continual use of such [i.e. prescribed] forms'.⁵¹ In contrast to this practice, the '*prières ecclésiastiques*' of the French Reformed liturgy provided set forms, with optional variants. Ministers were permitted, however, to alter the set forms, or to

48 J. Boyse, *Remarks on a late discourse of William lord bishop of Derry* (Dublin, 1694), p. 65; the responses of the congregation were, however, a subject of dispute, since some rejected all liturgical responses, whether the Lord's Prayer or the 'Amen', as mechanical and superstitious, see Barkley, p. 37.

49 See E. Labrousse, *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes* (Geneva and Paris, 1985), p. 138, and R. Whelan, 'The Bodies of Christ: Huguenot political theology, Ireland and the Irish', forthcoming.

50 Mt vi.7, a position still held in 1858 by the author of *Presbyterian liturgies*, p. 7.

51 Boyse, pp 67-8.

depart from them, if they saw fit, and the order of service also provided opportunities for extempore prayer. Significantly, the French also repeated the Lord's Prayer in their services, and, unlike the Presbyterians, were not loath to express their faith in the words of the Creed.⁵² So while the French shared with the Presbyterians a certain freedom from prescribed forms typical of the public worship of the Reformed tradition, they were nonetheless accustomed to a more liturgical style of worship than the form enshrined in the *Directory*, and practised, with some small variations, in Ireland.⁵³ This style of worship helped to shape a corporate religious identity which had the potential, at least ostensibly, of finding some common ground with the highly liturgical tradition of Anglicanism.

The French episcopalian compromise reached in the 1690s in Dublin, under archbishop Narcissus Marsh, was an attempt to create that common liturgical ground, capable of reconciling the religious cultures of the immigrants and their hosts. At first glance, there is little to commend the elaborate ceremonial and liturgy of the Anglican eucharist (see column 1, pp 83–4) to the French who were attached to the 'simplicity' of their Reformed tradition. The compromise seems to be limited to the use of French as the language of worship, and of the metrical psalms in the Beza and Marot translation for congregational singing. In all other respects, the worship of French Episcopalians is confined by prescribed forms, which are invariable, often repeated within the same service, leaving no room for extempore prayer. It is important to remember, however, that under the terms of the compromise worked out in 1694, and practised in the French church in the Lady Chapel, the French Episcopalians were authorized to limit the celebration of the eucharist to quarterly intervals, in keeping with the practice of the continental Reformed tradition, although Marsh (and indeed Calvin) favoured more frequent communion.⁵⁴ The implications of this

52 The printed liturgies of the French Reformed Church that I have been able to examine provide only one opportunity for saying the Lord's Prayer. However, the author of the *Considerations* argues that the Huguenots do not take exception to Anglican liturgy precisely because they also repeat the Lord's Prayer in their services (and therefore can have no conscientious objections to 'vain repetition'). It is possible that this practice is a local variant on the customs observed on the continent.

53 *The Book of common order*, known as John Knox's liturgy, is more similar in form and content to the French Reformed rite, see Barkley, pp 23–32.

54 Archbishop Marsh's Library, MS Z4.3.20, 'Discipline pour l'Eglise françoise de Dublin qui s'assemble à St Patrick', §ii. N. Marsh, *The charge given by Narcissus lord-archbishop of Dublin, to his clergy, at his primary visitation held in the Cathedral Church of St Patrick, in Dublin, June 27 1694* (Dublin, 1694), p. 20. There is, to my knowledge, no surviving evidence to support R. Hylton's claim that Communion was celebrated monthly in the French Episcopalian tradition in Ireland during this period, although this was certainly the case in the French Episcopalian Church, known as the Savoy, in London, see R. Hylton, 'The less-favoured Refuge: Ireland's nonconformist Huguenots at the turn of the eighteenth century', in K. Herlihy, *The religion of Irish dissent 1650–1800*

compromise are far-reaching. In effect, the celebration of communion at quarterly intervals only, meant that on most Sunday mornings the liturgical forms observed in the French Reformed and Episcopalian churches were strikingly similar. With the exception of the ceremonial reading in the Anglican service of the Ten Commandments, and the second Scripture reading, Episcopalian and Reformed immigrants participated in services which were essentially focussed on the ministry of the word, and punctuated by alternate psalm-singing and prayer. And although the Reformed refugees enjoyed greater liturgical freedom, as we have seen, their acceptance of prescribed forms meant that in practice the most significant difference between the two liturgies in the ordinary Sunday morning services was the order of worship. The picture which emerges from the comparative table of liturgies helps to explain Dumont's easy passage back and forth between Reformed and Episcopalian worship, but it also makes it harder to understand why such a large body of the Huguenots in Ireland were unable to accept the, in some respects, minimalist Anglicanism favoured by their hosts as a prelude to their 'growing into one church and people'.

III

It is clear from the sharp words spoken from the pulpit by Jacques Abbadie in May 1704 that the establishment saw the continuing resistance of the Reformed French immigrants as merely stubborn.⁵⁵ Indeed, archbishop King, who probably instructed Abbadie to preach on the theme of conformity, thought of these immigrants as dissenters, or 'meeters', as he called them, whose insistent separatism was, in his view, theologically groundless.⁵⁶ Of course, the French Reformed immigrants were dissenters by virtue of their ecclesiastical polity, and also in the broad sense that they were a people on the margins of the established church. But in other respects there was a world of difference between the Irish dissenters and the French immigrants who refused to conform to the established church. All of the refugees, both Episcopalian and Reformed, accepted episcopal supervision, to a greater or lesser extent.⁵⁷ The French Reformed church

(Dublin and Portland, 1996), p. 95; also R.D. Gwynn, *Huguenot heritage, the history and contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (London, Boston, Melbourne and Henley, 1985), p. 99. Historians of the Irish Diaspora tend to assume that the practices of the French Episcopalians in Ireland were modelled on those of the Savoy, although this was not always the case.

55 Abbadie, *La theologie de St Paul*, pp 35-6.

56 See King to Southwell, 24 March 1704, TCD MS 705/3/1, f. 121. I am arguing here by analogy with King's attitude to the Dissenters, on this see P. Kilroy, *Protestant dissent and controversy in Ireland 1660-1714* (Cork, 1994), pp 171-213.

57 Gwynn, *Huguenot heritage*, p. 99, makes the same argument about the religious and political position of the Huguenots in England.

also had a history of friendly relations with Anglicanism, and shared, albeit diminishing, that church's liturgical sensibility, as we have seen. And we must not forget that the French enjoyed a legal existence, which the dissenters did not. Their resistance to Anglicanism was inspired, on the one hand, by their sense of their legal right to religious freedom, and, on the other, contrary to the perception of them by the establishment, by theological objections to Anglican ceremonial,⁵⁸ that is, the way the liturgy was said, and the gestures and actions which accompanied it. Although their objections to Anglican ceremonial are almost identical to the objections voiced by the Presbyterians, their arguments also reveal that the drive to draw the French into conformity to the established church precipitated a crisis of identity in the Irish Diaspora,⁵⁹ possibly more traumatic than that experienced by Presbyterians.

The author of the reply to Abbadie's sermon, at the outset of his remarks on Anglicanism, was careful to stress the commitment of the French Reformed immigrants to a broad accommodation with the established church, expressing itself in occasional attendance at Anglican worship.⁶⁰ But he also alluded to six aspects of Anglican ritual which prevented the French from joining in the worship of the established church in a more sustained way. They objected to the ceremonial reading of the Psalms alternately by the minister, or the appointed reader, and the congregation.⁶¹ They were disturbed by the liturgical reading from the Scriptures which made no ceremonial distinction between the Apoc-

58 Abbadie seems to believe that the Reformed French immigrants are as resistant to the liturgy, and particularly its 'vain repetitions' as they are to the ceremonial of the established Church, see *La theologie de St Paul*, p. 40. But this is rejected by the author of the *Considerations*, p. 20, on the grounds that the French Reformed liturgy also contains repetition of formal prayers, notably the Lord's Prayer. It is difficult to know how to interpret this part of the exchange. On the one hand, it is tempting to see Abbadie's account of Reformed French attitudes to Anglicanism as in part inspired by of William King, since Abbadie follows the main heads of King's, *Discourse concerning the inventions of men in the worship of God* (Dublin, 1694). It would not be the first time that Abbadie had made use of King's writings to comment on Irish affairs. On the other hand, it is unlikely that Abbadie was so out of touch with refugee opinion as to misrepresent it to this extent. We must remember too that the reply to Abbadie was probably written by one of the Dublin ministers serving the French Reformed Church. Although the author is clearly more deeply aware of the attitudes of the French Reformed immigrants, his education as a pastor sets him apart from the popular religious culture of his church. It is possible, then, that an opinion group existed among the refugees at the more popular level, and that this group regarded even the Anglican liturgy as an alien religious form, shocking to their own religious sensibilities.

59 My argument in this essay is in part inspired by T.C. Barnard, 'Crises of identity among Irish protestants 1641-1685', *Past and Present* 127 (1990), pp 39-83.

60 Joseph Boyse, speaking on behalf of the Presbyterians in the southern presbytery, shows a similar moderation, see Kilroy, pp 180-1.

61 *Considerations*, p. 20; the Presbyterians also took exception to this, see J. Boyse, *Remarks on a late discourse*, p. 23.

rypha, and the canonical Scriptures, 'the true word of God', as they believed.⁶² They were offended by the ritual observance of saints' days, marked by the reading of special collects even on Sundays, in their view, a day to be wholly devoted to the Lord.⁶³ They were puzzled by the way the congregation stood for the psalms, the *Te Deum*, and the reading from the Gospel, but sat for the readings from the Hebrew Scriptures, and the Epistles.⁶⁴ Their own liturgical sensibility enabled them to kneel for the ceremonial reading of the Ten Commandments, since a short prayer for mercy was repeated after each Commandment, but they were mindful that the Bible portrayed the Israelites as standing when the Decalogue was delivered to them by God.⁶⁵ Finally, they were deeply opposed to the Anglican insistence on kneeling for communion, when Scripture made it clear that at the Last Supper the apostles took the position appropriate for guests at a shared meal.⁶⁶ In their different ways, all of these observations remind us that the French Reformed immigrants saw Anglican ceremonial as a cluster of symbolic acts, a kind of theology in motion, resonant with religious meanings at variance with an ethos which had been shaped by their own ritual, and found expression through that ritual.⁶⁷

For the historian of religion, then, the objections of the Reformed French refugees to Anglican ceremonial are a kind of acted document, giving access to

62 *Considerations*, p. 21; the Presbyterians also had conscientious objections to the ceremonial reading of the Apocrypha, see [R. Craghead], *A modest apology occasioned by the importunity of the bishop of Derry who presses for an answer to a query stated by himself in his second admonition concerning joining in the public worship established by law* (Glasgow, 1696), pp 48ff, cited by Kilroy, pp 183–84.

63 *Considerations*, p. 21.

64 *Idem*, p.21.

65 *Idem*, p.21.

66 *Idem*, p.21–22; the Presbyterians also strongly objected to kneeling for Communion. Their own practice varied, the northern presbytery seems to have preferred to sit, while the southern presbytery appears to have favoured standing, see Craghead, *An answer to a late book*, p. 112; Boyse, *Remarks on a late discourse*, pp 112–118.

67 *Considerations*, pp 20–1: 'Il est vrai que la simplicité de nôtre culte, à laquelle nous sommes accoûtumez, touche plus nôtre coeur, et nourrit mieux nôtre dévotion. [...] Nous sommes foibles et ignorans; nous ne voudrions voir dans le service public de la religion, que ce que nous pourrons comprendre d'abord, sans être obligez à demander, pourquoy fait-on cela? [...] Je ne dis pas cela pour critiquer, ni pour condamner ce que des sages peuvent avoir ordonné avec raison mais pour faire voir qu'il y a des formalités qui ne peuvent exciter de la devotion en ceux qui n'en comprennent pas l'utilité, et qui n'y sont pas accoûtumez'. (It is true that the simplicity of our worship, to which we are accustomed, moves us more deeply, and nurtures our devotion to a greater extent. [...] We are weak and ignorant; we want public worship to reflect only what we can immediately understand, without being forced to ask why are they doing that? [...] I am not saying this to be critical, or to condemn things rightly ordained by the wise, but to demonstrate that there are rituals which do not rouse people to devotion when they do not understand their purpose, and when they are not accustomed to them.'). My analysis of the author's observations on Anglicanism is inspired by Clifford Geertz's essay 'Religion as a cultural system', *The interpretation of culture*, pp 87–125.

their mental universe, and allowing us to reconstruct at least something of the distinctive religious ethos of which these objections are signifiers.⁶⁸ Read in this way certain key ideas emerge which help to situate this exchange within what can only be described as a clash of religious cultures. Although Huguenots like Dumont had little difficulty accepting that the established church was a 'truly Reformed body', the stated objections of the Reformed French reveal that the spectre of 'popery' continued to haunt their liturgical interaction with Anglicans. In their view, shared by the Presbyterians, the alternate reading of the psalms by the minister and the people turned Scripture into a 'confusion of voices',⁶⁹ more typical of the recitation of litanies.⁷⁰ The liturgical observance of saints' days on a Sunday, and the reading of the Apocrypha alternately with the canonical Scripture, common to the Anglican and Roman Catholic traditions, were a further reminder that the established church stopped short of 'the purity of worship' which these Huguenots believed was one of the characteristic signs of a truly Reformed tradition. The ceremony of sitting or standing promiscuously for the *Te Deum* and the readings from the Scriptures suggested to the Reformed French that the Anglicans were prepared to give the same liturgical respect to the teachings of human beings as they were to the Bible, which the French thought of as verbally inspired, and therefore as the *ipsissima verba* of God.⁷¹ In other words, the consecrated actions of Anglican ceremonial failed, in their view, to celebrate liturgically the transcendence of the altogether Other, and instead sowed confusion in the minds of the congregation between 'human inventions' and the worship of God. By implied contrast, French Reformed worship was seen as a series of consecrated actions symbolising the radical 'over-againstness' of God.⁷² For example, the Huguenots stood for all readings from the Bible, and the men removed their hats, as they did for prayer, replacing them resolutely for the sermon. This rugged but eloquent simplicity of gesture nicely distinguished the 'bodily worship that he [God] requires from us when we come into his [God's] peculiar presence', to quote William King,⁷³ from the more limited respect owed to ministers, and the liturgical actions and words of human beings.

That the author of the *Considerations*, speaking on behalf of his co-religionaries, saw Anglican ceremonial as theologically confused is confirmed by his

68 See Geertz, *The interpretation of cultures*, p. 26.

69 *Considerations*, p. 20.

70 See Boyse, *Remarks on a late discourse*, p. 23.

71 *Considerations*, p. 21.

72 This pithy expression of Calvinist religious culture is found in H.R. Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York, 1975, 1st ed. 1951), p. 218.

73 King, *A discourse concerning the inventions of men in the worship of God*, p. 115; of course King, who believed his own Church was the only 'true' Church, did not recognize these gestures as the 'outward signs of reverence and submission' he believed were appropriate for the public worship of God (see pp 104-45).

more extensive commentary on the posture taken by Anglicans for communion. The celebration of the Last Supper was, in his view, a celebration of the love of God – the One broken for others – and symbolized in the broken bread, and the poured out wine, 'les gages de son amour'.⁷⁴ In the ceremonial of the Reformed Church, he argued, believers were invited to sit at the Table, that is, to take the position not of supplicants, who prostrate themselves, but of beloved friends.⁷⁵ In his view, kneeling before the bread and the wine had only become customary at the beginning of the thirteenth century, once the doctrine of transubstantiation was ratified by the Lateran Council.⁷⁶ It is important for us to recognize the implied meaning of these remarks, which the author's understandable reticence as an immigrant prevents him from making explicit. He is implicitly pointing up the difference between the sacramental theology of the Reformed and the Roman and Anglican traditions. Faithful to Calvin's understanding of the sacrament, the French believed that Christ was really present in the sacrament, but spiritually, not corporeally. The bread and wine were the body and blood of Christ only metonymically, they were the sign but not the One signified.⁷⁷ The implications of this sacramental understanding when confronted by Anglican ceremonial were articulated by the more outspoken commentary of the Presbyterians, Boyse and Craghead. According to these authors, to kneel before the bread and the wine was to confuse the sign with the God who was signified, which was an act of 'the vilest idolatry ... forbidden by the express command of God'.⁷⁸ What these comments reveal is that conformity to Anglicanism was not simply a matter of accepting certain liturgical practices which were in themselves a matter of indifference, as Abbadie maintained.⁷⁹ On the contrary, despite the 'common Protestantism' shared by immigrant and host, conformity meant accepting a ceremonial which made worship mean something else. It is important to grasp that the alternative religious meanings represented by Anglicanism were theologically abhorrent to the Reformed French refugees. Consequently, conformity to Anglicanism required of them a conversion from one familiar conceptual world, and the religious culture it inspired, to another set of meanings and cultural expressions perceived by them as both alien and hostile.

Clearly, the resistance of the Reformed French immigrants to the attempts

74 *Considerations*, pp 21–2, 'the tokens of his [God's] love'.

75 *Idem*, p. 21.

76 *Idem*, p. 22.

77 See B.M.G. Reardon, *Religious thought in the Reformation* (London and New York, 1995, 2nd edition), pp 189–90; *Confession de foi, faite d'un commun accord par les Églises réformées de France* (1614), §XXXVI, XXXVII.

78 Boyse, *Remarks on a late discourse*, p. 112; Craghead, *An answer to a late book*, p. 111. The author of the *Considerations* significantly avoids using such inflammatory language, but it is clear that the Reformed French shared this attitude, see Abbadie, *La theologie de St Paul*, p. 41.

79 Abbadie, *La theologie de St Paul*, p. 41.

made by the established Church to bring them into conformity was driven by a theology and a religious culture which converged in significant ways with the religious sensibilities of the Presbyterians. But the Reformed French also had a more urgent reason for finding the similarities between Roman and Anglican ceremonial an impediment to conformity, as the following remarks on kneeling at the Lord's Supper reveal:

Do you find it strange [...] that people who were in the habit of fleeing from those determined to force them to their knees before their consecrated Host, are still afraid that such a gesture of respect might be too directly associated with the bread and wine which they take? Everybody is not able to make the distinctions necessary on such occasions. We ask you again, why not allow people to take communion whatever way they can without scruples? Are you not too keen to assert a merely human authority in matters indifferent, and too arrogant in your desire to make people obey you, even at the risk of their consciences?⁸⁰

In my opinion, these remarks suggest that the reply to Abbadie was written by a Reformed French minister, since they are quite evidently animated by a pastoral concern for those whose lack of theological education made it impossible for them to distinguish between Roman and Anglican ceremonial. The rhetorical questions are both urgent and angry, and the tone, no less than the content give us a unique insight into 'what it felt like and meant' to be one of these Huguenots in early eighteenth-century Ireland.⁸¹ The Huguenots fleeing abroad for safety brought with them into exile a personal history of persecution which coloured their world view for the remainder of their lives. Many of those who finally settled in this island only managed to escape from France because they diverted the attention of the authorities by a feigned conversion to Roman Catholicism. Surviving memoirs, and the widespread use of the ceremonial of *Reconnaissance*, whereby immigrants publicly repented their abjuration of the Re-

80 *Considerations*, p. 22: 'Mais doit on trouver étrange [...] que des gens accoutumés à fuir ceux qui les vouloient contraindre de s'agenouiller devant leur Sacrement, ayent encore peur que ce respect ne regarde trop directement le pain et le vin qu'ils prennent? Tout le monde n'est pas capable de faire les abstractions nécessaires dans cette occasion. On demande encore ici, pourquoy ne laisser pas prendre la Communion de la maniere qu'on la peut prendre sans scrupule? N'est ce pas faire trop valoir l'autorité humaine dans des choses indifferentes, et vouloir fierement se faire obeir, au peril même de la conscience des gens?'

81 This phrase has become something of a catch-phrase in the study of religious cultures in Ireland; it is the English language equivalent of the French study of 'mentalités'. See, P. Collinson, 'The vertical and the horizontal in religious history: internal and external integration of the subject', in A. Ford, J. McGuire, K. Milne (eds), *As by law established. The Church of Ireland since the Reformation* (Dublin, 1995), pp 19, 21.

formed faith, and were reconciled to the church, indicate that many were haunted by the memory of their own erstwhile apostasy, however shortlived.⁸² The attempts made to bring these people of tender conscience into conformity with the established church, that is, to accept a religious culture which reminded them of Roman Catholicism, made them feel threatened, made them feel that the persecution was starting all over again,⁸³ and these feelings made them resistant despite the 'common Protestantism' they shared with their Anglican hosts.

But it would be misleading to leave this account of the experience of the Reformed French Huguenots in Ireland with the impression that their resistance to Anglicanism was born only out of their personal history of trauma and fear.⁸⁴ Their commitment to their own tradition of worship, and the religious culture it expressed, was also a means of preserving, indeed of asserting in exile a corporate identity. It is Jacques Abbadie who voices, with uncharacteristic sensitivity, the important connection between Reformed worship and ethnic solidarity.

God forbid that I should pass condemnation on the liturgy of the French Reformed Church. I shall not pass judgement on that liturgy for the very reason that it is dyed in the blood of our martyrs; and, in our own time, it is still used to express the worship of the faithful who are in prison, or condemned to the galleys; of those who worship in the deserts and on the mountains. These are all Churches which are true Churches of Jesus Christ, since they carry his cross, and are so like their divine model.⁸⁵

Although Abbadie promoted the Episcopalian compromise in Ireland, he had sufficient pastoral insight to recognize that for many of his coreligionaries in exile conforming to Anglicanism meant turning their backs on those they had left behind. The Reformed French asserted their legal right to worship according to their own tradition in Ireland not only for reasons of conscience, but also because their distinctive style of worship helped them to hold together the scat-

82 On this see Hylton, 'The less-favoured Refuge', p. 96; Whelan, 'The Bodies of Christ', forthcoming.

83 See *Considerations*, pp 11–12.

84 Although this was certainly an important motivation, see *Considerations*, p. 20.

85 Abbadie, *La theologie de St Paul*, pp 39–40: 'Je ne condamneray point icy la lyturgie de nos Eglises de France; à Dieu ne plaise! Je la condamneray d'autant moins cette lyturgie, qu'elle est comme teinte du sang de nos bienheureux martyrs; & qu'encore aujourd'huy elle regle le service, que les fideles rendent à Dieu dans les cachots et aux galeres; dans les deserts et sur les montagnes, Eglises veritablement Eglises de J. C. puisqu'elles portent sa croix et qu'elles sont si conformes à leur divin modele'. Abbadie uses the word 'desert' metaphorically. It not only establishes a link between the Huguenots under persecution and the Israelites, the people of God in the wilderness, it is also the term used at the time for the clandestine Reformed Church in France ('Église du Désert').

tered fragments of their corporate identity. For these Huguenots, worship was an act of memory: remembering the One they saw as the transcendent Other, cherishing the absent others made present through the shared actions of the liturgy, and preserving that 'sameness to the self' so necessary to personal and corporate identity.⁸⁶

IV

In conclusion, I wish to borrow the categories developed in a recent study of the Jewish Diaspora to sum up the picture of the religious culture of the French immigrants in Ireland which emerges from this controversial exchange in the early eighteenth century. The religious choices of the Huguenots in Ireland are indicative of different rates, as J.M.G. Barclay defines them, of assimilation, acculturation and accommodation to their host culture.⁸⁷ I have not mentioned the Huguenots, who came mostly for purposes of trade and commerce, who appear to have immediately joined English-speaking Anglican churches, even after the foundation of the French church in the Lady Chapel in 1666.⁸⁸ These are the immigrants who assimilated, experiencing no difficulty in 'becoming similar' to their Church of Ireland neighbours. Then there were those, like Dumont, who were able to accept the forms of the established church, becoming acculturated to the religious and ideological aspects of the given cultural matrix, but who wished to preserve their ethnic identity by retaining their language and some remnants of their traditions of worship. But there is a third category of refugees whom we can speak of as accommodating to the religious culture of their hosts, whose behaviour is more various than has been assumed heretofore. There were those, like Benjamin de Daillon who adopted a stance of integrative accommodation,⁸⁹ recognizing the established church as a truly Reformed body, rejoicing in many aspects of its liturgical life, and practising occasional communion in recognition that both the Anglican and the French Reformed confessions were members of the catholic or universal church. But these Huguenots also felt obliged to defend their own ethnic and religious integrity, in

86 On the question of memory and identity, I am inspired by the lecture given at University College, Dublin on 17 April 1997 by Paul Ricoeur, 'Memory and forgetting'.

87 See J.M.G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora from Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE–117 CE)* (Edinburgh, 1996), pp 82–102.

88 See R.P. Hylton, 'The Huguenot communities in Dublin 1662–1745', Ph.D. thesis, University College, Dublin 1985.

89 Barclay defines accommodation as the degree to which Jewish (the immigrant culture) and Hellenistic (the host culture) cultural traditions are merged (integrative accommodation), or alternatively, polarized (oppositional accommodation), see *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, p. 93.

accordance with their legal entitlements under the 1692 act.⁹⁰ Finally, the refugees whose attitudes and experience are expressed in the reply to Abbadie may be said to have adopted a stance of oppositional accommodation. These settlers were unable to progress beyond their initial shock at what they thought of as the 'Romishness' of the established church. They clung to their traditions, resisting integration, and finding only in the worship of the French Reformed church in Ireland a religious and cultural identity which enabled them to come to terms with their troubled past, and at times, their equally troubling present experience as, to some extent, an unwanted ethnic minority in this country.

I have tried in this essay to capture some of the ways the Huguenots reacted to their religious and cultural environment, using liturgical behaviour as a way to reconstruct at least something of their distinctive ethos. As we have seen, there was no scripted response either to the traumas and upheavals they experienced, or the demands made on them in their host culture. Even in the same country this minority ethnic group reacted with a 'puzzling variousness', to borrow a phrase from Toby Barnard,⁹¹ which earlier historians have either ignored or misrepresented. Those misrepresentations were certainly not, or at least not always, the result of a failure to gather the appropriate evidence. After all, Le Fanu had the good fortune to study the material which was subsequently lost to us in the fire in the Public Record Office. In my opinion, the French Reformed immigrants have been misrepresented, or even forgotten, because earlier historians were still working within the old theologically imperialistic model of the history of religions, with its emphasis on univocal religious meanings, confessional pedigrees, and discrete institutional expressions of religion.⁹² But the insistence on plurality in our own time has helped us to appreciate that reality is always messier and more ambiguous, and that the reactions of religious and ethnic minorities are multiple, rather than unitary, and rarely predictable. Historical interpretation of religious experience has to come to terms with that messier reality if it is to succeed in its attempt to reconstruct the past. My findings in this paper are tentative, they are simply a sketch map of the more multiple 'meanings of what it felt like and meant' to be a Huguenot in early modern Ireland, one more contribution to the complex cartography of the history of religious experience in this country.

90 have argued this in 'Points of View: Benjamin de Daillon, William Moreton and the Portarlington affair', pp 463-89.

91 Barnard, 'Crises of identity', p. 83.

92 On this see Barclay, p. 4; Collinson, p. 18.