

PROTESTANT
EXILES FROM FRANCE

IN THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.;

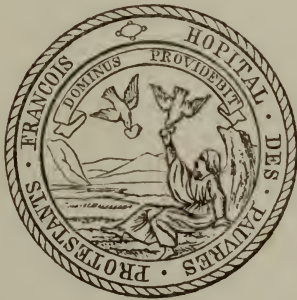
OR,

THE HUGUENOT REFUGEES AND THEIR DESCENDANTS
IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

BY THE

REV. DAVID C. A. AGNEW.

Second Edition, Corrected and Enlarged.



VOLUME I.

LONDON: REEVES & TURNER.

EDINBURGH: WILLIAM PATERSON.

MDCCCLXXI.

PREFACE TO THE NEW AND REMODELLED EDITION.

THE first edition of this work was printed in 1866. Its predecessors were J. S. Burn's "History of French, Walloon, Dutch, and other Foreign Protestant Refugees, settled in England" (1846); also, "The Witnesses in Sackcloth," by a Descendant of the Refugees (1852), praised by the *Edinburgh Review* as an essay which deserves attention, especially on account of its literary and bibliographical Appendix. Professor Weiss' "Histoire des Refugiés Protestants de France," in two volumes, followed in 1854; it surveyed the globe in six books, the third being devoted to British Refugees. An English translation was published by Blackwood. It was the occasion of a well-informed and useful article in the *Edinburgh Review* for April 1854. The "Ulster Journal of Archæology" (vols I. to VI., 1853 to 1858) has eight excellent Papers on the Refugees in Ireland. The Camden Society volume, entitled "Lists of Foreign Protestants and Aliens resident in England, 1618-1688," was edited in 1862 by W. Durrant Cooper, F.S.A., who also contributed a Paper to the Sussex Archæological Collections, vol. 13. The French Protestants, from the Reformation era to 1789, have their worthies faithfully and learnedly memorialized in alphabetical order in the Messrs Haag's "La France Protestante," in ten volumes.

To my predecessors I am largely indebted. Yet as far as British Refugee Biography is concerned, they have produced little more than the draft of an index of the names of individuals and families. In the belief that the subject was a neglected one, I issued the first edition of "Protestant Exiles from France" (100 copies), which, being unavoidably defective and sometimes inaccurate, must now be regarded as withdrawn. The more full and correct work, now offered to the public, is the result of research of considerable extent in the Public Record Office and Doctors' Commons, and in Public Libraries. I am also indebted to Peerages, Cyclopedias, Printed Correspondence, Periodicals, and Books, and also to private correspondence. All statements, however, have been editorially sifted. I was most kindly allowed access to the manuscript collections of the late John Southerden Burn, Esq., and also of Colonel Chester, whose annotated imprint of the Westminster Abbey Registers is so eagerly expected. The *Aufrère* Parchments and other French

manuscripts in the possession of G. A. Aufrère, Esq., were lent to me with generous confidence. My apology for not presenting my readers with an alphabetical index of surnames is that my paper and patience are exhausted.

THE FREE CHURCH MANSE,
WIGTOWN, N.B., 15th March 1871.

* * Supplementary chapters on the Refugees of the Duke of Alva's and the St Bartholomew Epochs, and on Refugees who fled from France on account of their conversion from Popery, could not be given. All the space has been required for Huguenots-proper, and the reign of Louis XIV.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

	PAGE
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,	I
SECTION 1. The Persecution in France,	I
SECTION 2. The Refugees under Edward VI., Elizabeth, and James I.,	8
SECTION 3. French Protestants in connection with Charles I. and Cromwell,	12
SECTION 4. Correspondence of French Protestants with England in the times of Charles II.,	21
SECTION 5. The Reception of the French Refugees in England in 1681,	24
SECTION 6. The Policy of James II., and William and Mary's Friendship towards the Refugees,	29
SECTION 7. Naturalization, and Lists of Names,	36
SECTION 8. The Royal Bounty,	58
SECTION 9. Church Government and Worship,	65
SECTION 10. The French Hospital of London.	73

CHAPTER I.

THE THREE DUKES OF SCHOMBERG,	82
(1.) Frederic, Duke of Schomberg,	82
(2.) Charles, 2nd Duke of Schomberg,	108
(3.) Mainhardt, Duke of Leinster, and 3rd Duke of Schomberg,	112

CHAPTER II.

	PAGE
HENRI, FIRST MARQUIS DE RUVIGNY,	122

CHAPTER III.

HENRI DE RUVIGNY, EARL OF GALWAY,	144
---	-----

APPENDIX.

(1.) The Schomberg Despatches,	221
(2.) Dedicatory Epistle to Ruvigny,	230
(3.) Letter from Lady Russell,	231
(4.) Dedicatory Epistles to Galway,	232
(5.) Earl of Galway's Two Papers for the House of Lords,	234
(6.) Earl of Galway's Will,	241

PRELIMINARY NOTE AS TO SCHOMBERG.

THE year of the birth of Schomberg has not hitherto been established. The belief that he was fourscore years of age in 1688 led me to adopt the general statement that he was born in or about 1608. The *Biographie Universelle* had said "1619," but that seemed too improbable. The Letters of Lord Carew, edited for the Camden Society by John Maclean, Esq., F.S.A. (to which my attention has just been called by Colonel Chester), fix the date. Frederick Armand, Comte de Schomberg, was born in December 1615. At the Revolution he had therefore weathered more than "threescore years and ten;" and when he fought his last battle he was far advanced in his seventy-fifth year.

With regard to his son, the third and last Duke, who had a series of Irish titles of his own as well as the English and Foreign titles of his father, the Westminster Abbey Register informs us that he was born at Cologne, 30th June 1641, and died at Hillingdon, Middlesex, on Sunday 5th July 1719; the members of his family who predeceased him are also registered, the Duchess of Schomberg 11th July 1696; Lady Carolina Schomberg (unmarried) 22d June 1710. She had died on the 18th, of small-pox, aged 23; Charles, Marquis of Harwich, 14th Oct. 1713. The Duke is said to have been also Marquis of Coubert (Col. Chester's MSS.) His principal Scottish representative now is the Most Noble Schomberg, 9th Marquis of Lothian.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

Section I.

THE PERSECUTION WHICH DROVE THE PROTESTANTS FROM FRANCE, AND ITS CAUSES.



VERY slight sketch of this great subject is offered to the reader, who must expect no more information than what is absolutely necessary as a historical introduction to some memoirs of eminent fugitives from Bourbon persecution into British shelter.

Louis XII., King of France, who died in 1515, being no lover of the Pope of Rome or his authority, was favourably impressed by a representation addressed to him by the Vaudois of Dauphiny and Provence, which declared that they held the essentials of real religion, but did not believe in the Pope or his doctrines. Royal Commissioners visited their Alpine homes, and reported to the king to the following effect:—"Among these people baptism is administered, the articles of faith and the ten commandments are taught, the Sabbath is solemnly observed, and the word of God is expounded; as to the unchastity and the poisonings of which they are accused, not a single case is to be found." Louis exclaimed, "These people are much better than myself and than all my catholic subjects." This king was the responsible author of a medal with the inscription, "Perdam Babylonis nomen" [I will destroy the name of Babylon].

These Vaudois of France, the next king, Francis I., almost exterminated by military executions and wholesale massacres, which the inhabitants of Cabrières, in Provence, resisted by force of arms, driving a regiment of papal mercenaries to the very gates of Avignon. This was a small foretaste of the future civil wars, necessitated by the unprovoked substitution of dragoon-law for regular and genuine government. French Protestants afterwards received the name of "Huguenots."

Louis XII. was the father of Renée (or in Italian speech, Renata), consort of Hercules, Duke of Ferrara. She was born in 1510, and was a year younger than her countryman, Jean Cauvin, whom we call *John Calvin*. Huguenots, as literati, found refuge from persecution in the ducal palace during the early years of her marriage, namely, from 1528 to 1536. Calvin was there for a few months, under the assumed name of Charles D'Espeville. But it is on account of her influence during her widowhood, from 1559 to 1578, as an inhabitant of France, that the Duchess of Ferrara is here mentioned. She then ceased to make any concealment of her attachment to the reformed faith. Her castle of Montargis became a stronghold of Protestantism. It was the asylum of many reformed pastors, who called it Hotel Dieu.

Francis I., the other son-in-law, and the successor of Louis XII., had a sister, Marguerite de Valois, born in 1492, who married Henri I., King of Navarre, in 1527. She gave effect to her religious convictions by receiving Calvin and similar refugees at her court. Her royal

brother did not discourage her personal belief; but she often considered it necessary to conceal her faith, and to conform to Popish worship, either through fear of persecution, or through attachment to her brother and to his political interests. She is more celebrated as the mother of Jeanne d' Albret (who became Queen of Navarre in her own right, in 1555), and as the grandmother of Henri II. of Navarre (afterwards Henri IV. of France), who was born in 1553 to Queen Jeanne and Antoine de Bourbon, her husband.

Antoine boldly professed the reformed faith, while Jeanne dissembled. He was sentenced to death in France in 1560. This affliction awakened his Queen's remorse, and she proclaimed her faith. King Francis II.'s death put a stop to the execution of the fatal sentence, and then Antoine recanted. Thus the royal couple exchanged their professed creeds, and the better half stood firm to Protestantism.

The above details shew how a Protestant faith got some visible footing in France. Through the memory of the Vaudois, as well as the instructions of a few gifted pastors, men could understand the main errors of the Romish system, especially in its debarring the people from the reading of the Scriptures, and in exalting ceremonies above moral conduct. And any suspension of the fear of persecution was likely to change such inward notions into public inquiry and attendance upon the preaching of religious reformers.

People who stigmatize the Huguenots as rebels, on account of their occasional armed resistance to persecution, should remember that if assassins come upon us, though they be the emissaries of what is called government, no scriptural principle of loyal subjection compels us to give them our lives; and if we save or sell our lives dear, we break no law. And laws that connive at, or virtually encourage and suggest, the molestation of quiet citizens on the roadside, are laws only in name, and can be enforced not by right, but by might alone. Up to 1561, such was the molestation to which French Protestants were exposed.

In 1561 the Protestants obtained a breathing time, through the influence of a great General and Statesman, the Grand Admiral of France, Gaspard de Coligny, born in 1516, and a convert to "the religion" in 1557. The notorious Queen mother, Catherine de Medicis, widow of Henry II., continued Regent during the minority of Charles IX. However rejoiced she might otherwise have been at the recantation of Antoine de Bourbon, she resented it as an effect of the influence of the Guises, whose party it strengthened. To counteract the political derangements which she feared, Catherine encouraged Coligny, in 1561, to promote measures for the toleration of the Reformed.

And now the Protestants were for the first time protected from personal molestation. And it was arranged that their assembling to hear preachings was not to be a ground for legal accusations. Such was the Edict of January 1562. For the civil war, which the infractions of this edict produced, the law-breakers are responsible, namely, the Roman Catholics. The leader of the Protestants was Antoine Bourbon's brother, the Prince of Condé. During the lull after the auspicious January, and under the protection of the edict, he had made a public profession of the Protestant religion. After his example, many persons of rank had done the same; and the number of persons who came to the Faubourgs of Paris to hear the preaching had in a short time amounted to fifty thousand.

In the summer of 1562 the Queen of Navarre found that she could aid her own Protestant subjects only by arming them for self-defence. But becoming a widow in October of that year, she in 1563 established Protestantism in Navarre. From the Papal citation, which followed that step, the French court sheltered her for political reasons. In order, however, to retain the custody of her son and daughter, she fled with them in 1568, and took refuge within the fortifications of La Rochelle, from whence she would not remove till September 1571. The same city of refuge was the sanctuary of many other leading Protestants. The pacification of August 1570 was hastened by this circumstance. It was the beginning of those blandishments from the court towards the Huguenots, which ended in the massacre on St. Bartholomew's day, 1572, in Paris. The massacre of St. Bartholomew spread through France; and in it Coligny was the chief victim among 70,000 slain.

In order to understand the justification of civil war in France at this period, we must consider some points of difference from our views of law and loyalty, belonging to the very constitutions of ancient government as compared with more modern monarchy and executive authority. After considering that the Bartholomew massacre made personal self-defence a Huguenot's only protection, the reader must picture a French Protestant congregation, forbidden to carry any arms, yet surrounded by Roman Catholics, armed with weapons which a raging priesthood stirs them up to use against the unarmed worshippers, the law not visiting such murderous assaults with any punishment. It must also be realised that it was consistent with loyalty for a noble to have a fortress over which the king had no active jurisdiction, and for a town such as La Rochelle to be equally independent of the sovereign. Such a town, by feudal right, was as effectual a sanctuary against the king's emissaries as any ecclesiastical building. It was as lawless for the king to go to war with the town, as for the town to send an invading army against Paris. The independent rulers of a fort or walled town had some duties to their own dependents, to which even the king's claims must be postponed. The supreme authority of a king over all towns and castles was a state of things which in theory the King of France might wish: but it was not the constitution of France; and therefore such coveting was a species of radicalism on his part.

The inhabitants of La Rochelle owed to their independence their escape from the St. Bartholomew massacre. The Queen of Navarre, though decoyed to Paris, escaped by the visitation of God, who removed her "from the evil to come," and to the heavenly country, about two months before. A very great Huguenot soldier, second to none but Coligny, survived the massacre, namely, Francois, Seigneur de la Noue. This "Francis with the Iron Arm" had been Governor of La Rochelle. He was at Mons at the date of the massacre, but was spared, and graciously received by the King. Assuming that he would recant in return for his life, the Court sent him to La Rochelle to see if the citizens, on their liberty of conscience being promised, would surrender to royal authority. La Noue, as an envoy, was coldly received. Finding the citizens firm and courageous, he again accepted the chief command in the Protestant interest, and the Royalist besiegers withdrew in the summer of 1573.

An edict, dated 11th August 1573, conceded to the Huguenots liberty of domestic worship and the public exercise of their religion in La Rochelle, Montauban, and Nismes. The Government relieved its feelings of chagrin at such concessions by inventing, as the one legal designation of French Protestantism for all time coming, the contemptuous title, "La Religion Pretendue Reformée" (the pretended reformed religion), or "La R.P.R."

Henry III. succeeded Charles IX. in 1574, but his reign must here be passed over. When he was assassinated in the camp near Paris in 1589, the Protestants under King Henry of Navarre were in his army, taking the loyal side against the rebellious Roman Catholic League. The Papists continued the rebellion, with a view to displace Henry of Navarre from the throne of France, which was his rightful inheritance; and thus the Protestants, being evidently loyal still, require no apologist.

It is alleged, however, that by now becoming a party to a treaty with the king of the country, the Protestant Church of France assumed an imperial position which no civilised empire can tolerate, and that, therefore, the suppression of that Church by Louis XIV., though executed with indefensible cruelty, was the dictate of political necessity.

The reply to this allegation is, that this treaty was only the re-enactment and further extension of a peculiar method of tolerating Protestants, devised by the kings of France as the only plan to evade the necessity of being intolerant, which the coronation oath made them swear to be. The plea that Protestants, as religionists, were not implicitly subject to the King, but were to be negotiated with like a foreign power, was the only apology for tolerating them, consistent even with the modified oath sworn by Henry IV.—"I will endeavour, to the utmost of my power, and in good faith, to drive out of my jurisdiction and from the lands under my sway all heretics denounced by the Church" of Rome. As to this

political treaty with the Huguenots in its first shape, Professor Anderson* remarks, "Instead of religious toleration being secured to them by a powerfully administered law, their protection was left in their own hands, . . . as if there was something in their creed which must for ever render them incapable of amalgamating with other Frenchmen."

Royalty, which planned the treaty, was at least as guilty as the Protestant Church, which entered into the plan. If persecution and extinction were the righteous wages of the transaction, the humbler accomplice was not the only party that had earned them. The only crime was consent to a royal programme, to which the successors of Henri IV. made themselves parties by deliberate and repeated declarations. The treaty to which we allude is the celebrated Edict of Nantes, dated 1598, as a pledge of the observance of which the Protestant Church received several towns, with garrisons and ammunition, to be held and defended by their own party in independent feudal style.

That this was a political eye-sore in a statesman-like view, is now acknowledged. But that it was the last chance for religious peace and tolerance in France, cannot be denied on the other hand. And to say that it was the cause of the Great Persecution would be a historical blunder.

The bigotry of the Roman Catholics was the cause. In the provinces persecution was perpetual. Illegal treatment of individuals and congregations of the Protestant party was rarely punished; while the local magistrate, instead of a protector, was often a leading persecutor. Through priestly instigation and intimidation, the atmosphere of France was heated with uncontrollable and unextinguishable malignity against the Protestants, who gained nothing by fighting with truce-breakers.

It was in the reign of Henri's son, Louis XIII., that fighting in defence of edictal rights came to an end. The majority of the Protestants grew weary of fruitless battles and sieges. Being always conscientiously loyal, they began to wish to make an ostentation of their loyalty, and to rely upon that for fair and paternal treatment from their King and his Cabinet. Undoubtedly, the King's animus was against the feudalism as well as the Protestantism of the cautionary towns. The former was their special offensiveness to the powerful Prime Minister of France, Cardinal Richelieu.

Another argument against Protestants resorting to civil war, was that political malcontents, bigots of the Roman Catholic creed, often joined their ranks, and gave a bad colour to their designs. Such a malcontent made advances to them in 1615—viz., the Prince of Condé, who induced the justly-honoured Protestant Henri, Duc de Rohan, to take the field. But their greatest and best counsellor, the sainted Du Plessis Mornay, entreated his fellow-Protestants to keep back. He said, "The Court will set on foot a negotiation, which will be carried on till the Prince has gained his own ends, when he will leave our churches in the lurch and saddled with all the odium." Such actually was the result.

If the fall of La Rochelle and the other cautionary towns has been ascribed to the lukewarmness of the Huguenots themselves, it may, with at least equal reason, be inferred that there was a principle in their inaction. To exchange the appearance of feudal defiance for statutory subjection to their King was a lawful suggestion and experiment. Accordingly, not only did the majority of the Protestants stay at home, but many of them served in the royal armies. And after the pacification of 1629, they rested all their hopes of religious liberty upon that monarch's satisfaction with their complete subjection to royal jurisdiction, and with the very strong loyalty of their principles and manifestoes. During the minority of Louis XIV., their fidelity and good services were acknowledged by the Premier of France, Cardinal Mazarin, under whose administration they enjoyed much tranquillity, and by whose recommendation they filled many important offices in the financial department of his Majesty's Government.

Any right or privilege rendering the Edict of Nantes theoretically dangerous, as inconsistent

* Introductory Essay by William Anderson, Professor in the Andersonian University, Glasgow (1852), prefixed to his translation of "Jean Migault; or the Trials of a French Protestant Family during the Period of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes."

with regal domination, had no being after 1629.* The monarch who carried out the great and terrible persecution of the seventeenth century had no such materials wherewith to fabricate a political justification.

The kingdom of France was not devoted to the Pope ; and the liberties, which its Government maintained in opposition to Papal ambition, might have made the King and his ministers sympathise with the Huguenots in their love of toleration. Unfortunately, however, the very fact that French royalty could not please the Pope in some things, made it all the more willing to please him in other things. And the persecution of the Protestants was the one thing which the Pope clamorously asked and promptly received as an atonement for all insubordination. This violence pleased not only the Pope, but also the father confessors, whose powers of absolution were in great demand with a dissolute King and Court. Any apologies for this persecution, alleging that the Roman Catholic authorities had other motives than sheer bigotry or brutality, are either untruthful harangues, or mere exercises of ingenuity dealing not with things but with phrases.

The climax was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes—that is, the repeal of the law or treaty made by Henri IV.—a repeal which left Louis XIV. under the dominion of the fearful clause of his coronation oath on the extermination of heretics. Unqualified and exaggerated loyalty, without the menacing safeguards of a treaty, was thus no defence to the Protestants. The privileges of the edict had, during many years, been revoked one by one, first by explaining away the meaning of the phrases and clauses of that legal document, but latterly without any reason, and by the mere declaration of the King's pleasure. "I am above the edict," said Louis XIV.† So the "revocation" in 1685 was merely the destruction of the surviving sealing-wax, ink, and parchment of 1598.

Yet the persecuting monarch professed not to be persecuting, but to be converting sinners. Had not the Saviour said, "Compel them to come in?" And how could compulsion be better effected than by raising a rabble of human bull-dogs, or by quartering unscrupulous dragoons upon the heretics, or by perpetual acts of oppression? Such "means of grace" were in operation for a quarter of a century before the blood-red 1685.

The Protestants had liberty, from 1577 and thereafter, to build houses for public worship, though not to call them "churches;" they were "temples." But in 1661, when the death of Mazarin was a signal for mutilating the edict by perverse misinterpretations, a very large proportion of these "temples" was appropriated by the Roman Catholics, or thrown down, on the plea that there were no written title-deeds, or that during the civil wars they had been forfeited and consecrated to Romish worship. With such explanations or with none, about one-half of the temples were taken from the Huguenots from 1661 to 1673.‡ Locke writes in his Journal in 1676 as to the Protestants of Uzez in Languedoc, "Their temple is ordered to be pulled down, the only one they have left there, though three-quarters of the town be

* The Edictal liberties which the Protestants deemed essential were five, namely:—

I. Liberty to themselves and all who shall profess their religion to live in all towns and places in the King's dominions, without lability to inquisitorial visitation, and without being compelled to do anything against their consciences.

II. Permission to exercise their religion publicly in certain places, and privately in their houses everywhere.

III. Power to fathers and mothers to make their own arrangements for their own children's education.

IV. An ordinance to all officers of justice to hold Protestants, indifferently with Catholics, eligible to all employments and places of trust.

V. The right of appeal in all disputes to the Chambers (or Courts), presided over by a mixed bench of Catholic and Protestant judges, called the Chambers of the Edict [*i.e.*, instituted by the Edict of Nantes.]—*Memorial to the King of France in 1658.*

† Anno 1680. On manifesta dans le même temps deux Déclarations facheuses, l'une qui defend aux Catholiques d'embrasser notre religion, l'autre qui exclut des Fermes du Roi et des Finances ceux qui en font profession. Le Chancelier parlant au Roi de la première de ces deux Déclarations comme étant contraire à l'Edit, le Roi repondit qu'il etoit au-dessus de l'Edit.—*Vie de Mr Du Bose*, page 110.

‡ In the space of twelve years previous to 1673, about one-half of the churches of the Protestants were taken from them. Of 123 in Bearn, there were left but 20 ; of 63 in Poictou, there remained but *one* uncondemned ;

Protestants. The pretence given is, that, their temple being too near the Papist church, their singing of psalms disturbed the service." Such arbitrary spoliation was a motive to be "converted." So was the exclusion of Huguenots, first from learned professions, and gradually from every trade. The impossibility of earning a livelihood was a chastisement of the unconverted, to last until their conversion. The Protestants at Nismes (says Locke) "had built themselves an hospital for their sick, but that is taken from them; a chamber in it is left for their sick, but never used, because the priests trouble them when there." But priests and monks had liberty to enter private houses, wherever there was a sick or dying Protestant. The suffering and the languishing were thus tortured with arguments and upbraidings, with combined threatenings and entreaties to pray to the Virgin, and to abandon their faith and hope concerning Christ and salvation. We can understand how Mademoiselle de Ciré, niece of the Marquis de Ruvigny, was, when dying in London, "ever magnifying the goodness of God that she died in a country where she could in peace give up her soul to him that made it." [*Lady Russell's Letters.*]

In King Louis's view, to increase what heretics call "persecution," was only to make progress in zeal for universal salvation. So, after the Revocation, all the temples were demolished, and all the Protestant pastors were banished. The dragoons, commanded by gallant officers, were sent to butcher all the pastors that remained among their flocks; and to torture, ruin, and imprison those of the people who refused to be converted. Four years before, the province of Poictou had been the scene of the first experiment of employing dragoons as missionaries. The Marquis de Louvois, having dragoons under him, and being anxious to regain his former ascendancy over Louis, was eager "to mix the soldiers up" with the work of converting heretics. Their intervention was not only a contribution of physical force, but had also a legal effect; because resistance to his Majesty's troops was seditious. Before the introduction of the "booted missionaries," conversions had not made any perceptible change in the statistics of Protestantism. In 1676 Locke, who resided fourteen months in Montpellier, made the following entry in his diary. "They tell me the number of Protestants within the last twenty or thirty years has manifestly increased here, and does daily, notwithstanding their loss every day of some privilege or other." The dragoons changed this to a great extent in 1681. At that date refugees in considerable numbers came to England, of whose reception I shall speak in a subsequent Section. In 1685 the dragoons bore down with ten-fold violence upon the Protestants of France, stupefied by the tale or the memory of the former brutalities of the troopers, and deluded into a life of unguarded and unvigilant security by the lying promise of toleration, embodied in the Edict of Revocation. Every Huguenot, who desired to continue peaceably at his trade or worldly calling, was forced to declare himself a proselyte to the Romish religion, or an inquirer, with a view to such conversion. In the eye of the law they all were converts from Protestantism, and were styled New Converts, or New Catholics.

Bishop Burnet, who was travelling on the Continent in 1685, has noted down some of his observations. He confirms what others have said to the effect, that the numbers, who succumbed under the menaces of the dragoons, emboldened Louis to publish the edict repealing the edict of Nantes. "A dismal consternation and feebleness ran through them all." "How weak and faulty soever they might be, here was one of the most violent persecutions that is to be found in history. In many respects it exceeded them all, both in the several inventions of cruelty, and in its long continuance. I went over the greatest part of France while it was in its hottest rage, from Marseilles to Montpellier, and from thence to Lyons, and so on to so that 80,000 people there were left without any public worship. In Guienne, only 3 of 80 were left. In the country of Gex, 23 were reduced to 2. In Normandy only 3 remained, and in Provence only 3 of 16. Some were under the necessity of travelling forty miles or upwards to have the dispensation of baptism or other ordinances.—*Life of Morus, by Rev. Archibald Bruce.*

There was a Royal Order in Council, 5th Jan., 1683, forbidding the consistories of the Reformed to assist each other, by contributing either to the support of ministers or pensions to their widows, so that each consistory must bear its own charges, without any extraneous help whatever.

Geneva." Burnet mentions the promise contained in the Edict of Revocation that "though all the public exercises of the religion were now suppressed, yet those of that persuasion who lived quietly should not be disturbed on that account"—but how was that promise kept? "Not only the dragoons, but all the clergy and the bigots of France broke out into all the instances of rage and fury against such as did not change, upon their being required in the king's name to be of his religion (for that was the style everywhere). . . . I saw and knew so many instances of their injustice and violence, that it exceeded what even could have been imagined; for all men set their thoughts on work to invent new methods of cruelty. In all the towns through which I passed, I heard the most dismal account of those things possible. . . . One in the streets could have known the new converts, as they were passing by them, by a cloudy dejection that appeared in their looks and deportment. Such as endeavoured to make their escape, and were seized (for guards and secret agents were spread along the whole roads and frontier of France), were, if men, condemned to the galleys; and, if women, to monasteries. To complete this cruelty, orders were given that such of the new converts as did not at their death receive the sacrament, should be denied burial, and that their bodies should be left where other dead carcases were cast out, to be devoured by wolves or dogs. This was executed in several places with the utmost barbarity; and it gave all people so much horror that it was let drop."

Another reverend traveller, an English Dissenter, wrote his impressions as to similar scenes at Saumur and Poitiers. The Dissenting Historian says, "The Rev. Thomas Cotton was at Saumur, when orders were received by the Governor to see to the destruction of the remaining church in that city. Its demolition was accompanied by dreadful outrages. One zealous Catholic was ambitious that his daughter should be permitted to take down the first stone. The cemetery exhibited the most disgusting scenes, by the graves being opened and the bodies exposed to horrid indignities. Mr Cotton attended the last act of public worship which was celebrated in the church. The congregation were all in tears. The singing the last psalm, the pronouncing the last benediction by the Minister, the people afterwards passing before their beloved pastors to receive their parting blessing, were circumstances so indescribably solemn, that he could never recal them to mind without emotion. He also attended the last act of public worship at Poitiers. It was with difficulty that the minister could utter the benediction, during his endeavours to do which, the congregation wept aloud."

British Christians heard the tidings with tears and forebodings. John Evelyn, in his Diary, under date 3d Nov. notes, "The French persecution of the Protestants, raging with the utmost barbarity, exceeded even what the very heathens used. . . . I was shewn the harangue which the Bishop of Valentia-on-Rhone made in the name of the clergy, celebrating the French king as if he was a god for persecuting the poor Protestants, with this expression in it, 'That as his victory over heresy was greater than all the conquests of Alexander and Cæsar, it was but what was wished in England; and that God seemed to raise the French king to this power and magnanimous action, that he might be in capacity to assist in doing the same there.' This paragraph is very bold and remarkable."

A few sentences in *Lady Russell's Letters* give an affecting view of those times:—

I. Nov. 1685.—"I read a letter last night from my sister at Paris. She writes as everybody that has human affections must, and says that of 1,800,000, there is not more than 10,000 left in France; and they, I guess, will soon be converted by the dragoons,* or perish."

* "A day was appointed for the conversion of a certain district, and the dragoons made their appearance accordingly. They took possession of the Protestants' houses; destroyed all that they could not consume or carry away; turned the parlours into stables for their horses; treated the owners of the houses with every species of cruelty, depriving them of food, beating them, burning some alive, half-roasting others and then letting them go; tying mothers securely to posts, and leaving their sucking infants to perish at their feet; hanging some upon hooks in the chimneys, and smoking them with wisps of wet straw till they were suffocated. Some they dipped in wells; others they bound down, and poured wine into them through funnels, until reason was destroyed. And many other tortures were inflicted, even more horrible than the above named."—See *Claude's Complaints*.

II. *15th Jan.*, 1686.—“The accounts from France are more and more astonishing; the perfecting the work is vigorously pursued, and by this time completed, 'tis thought, all, without exception, having a day given them. . . . 'Tis enough to sink the strongest heart to read the accounts sent over. How the children are torn from their mothers and sent into monasteries, their mothers to another, the husband to prison or the galleys.”

III. *5th Oct.* 1687.—“I hear the French King, as a finishing stroke, is preparing an edict which all new converts shall sign—though so weak as to have signed before, yet they must now again—that they have been instructed, and are in their hearts convinced of the doctrine and practice of the Roman Church,” &c.

Perhaps the last extract refers to the following form of declaration:—

“I, ———, of the parish of ———, do certify unto all whom it may concern, that having acknowledged the falseness of the Pretended Reformed, and the truth of the Catholic religion, of my own free will, and without any compulsion, I have made profession of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion in the church of ———.”

The Protestant male prisoners were sent to the galleys among the criminal convicts. Their crimes were either refusing to be converted, and attempting to emigrate, or assisting their brethren to escape from France. In the galleys of Marseilles and Dunkirk, they not only had to suffer for the crime that brought them there, but were compelled to repeat the crime of refusing adoration to the Virgin, to images, to crucifixes, and to the consecrated wafer; and new vengeance fell unremittingly upon them.

Happily, three hundred thousand found refuge in England, in America, in Holland, in Switzerland, in Brandenburg, in Denmark, Sweden, and Russia. These (including the fugitives of 1681 and some others) are the famous French Refugees.

Section III.

THE REFUGEES IN THE REIGNS OF EDWARD VI., ELIZABETH, AND JAMES I., AND THEIR CHURCHES.

In this and in the other sections of my Introduction the plan of the work allows historical notes only, and not memoirs of refugees. The subject of Huguenot refugees before the reign of Louis XIV. belongs to the department of antiquarian gleaning more than to that of detailed memoirs. The older refugees were an acknowledged gain to England industrially, and they experienced real (though rather rude) hospitality; but their lives were retired and uneventful. The brotherhood of the French Protestant refugees began to be strongly felt in this kingdom, only when the English, having enjoyed more than a century of Protestant rule, began to apprehend the permanent infliction of Popery and persecution upon themselves. This fraternisation became more and more habitual, until, on the advent of William and Mary, the refugees were granted opportunities for distinguishing themselves in the public service. It is with those who thus were permitted to furnish matter for history and biography that this book is occupied.*

In the reign of Edward VI., which, like the rule of Henry II. and the Guises over

* Nevertheless, if leisure and opportunity had favoured me, I might have been tempted to enlarge my plan so as to include the refugees of earlier date. All that I can attempt is a supplementary chapter concerning them, containing some fragmentary information which I possess, and which some metropolitan antiquarian may take as an incentive to further research.

France, began in 1547, the potentates of Europe, by their persecution of Protestants, doomed their best subjects to death or flight. Exiles for the pure Gospel's sake were scattered abroad in all directions. A Polish nobleman, John a Lasco, fled to Embden in East Friesland, and his talents and learning, superadded to his courageous piety, made his fellow-exiles invite him to take the office of pastor over them. As the times grew blacker, Embden threatened destruction to his flock; and he came over to England in 1548, in the hope of obtaining a settlement and a place of worship in London by Royal Charter. Archbishop Cranmer, the Duke of Somerset, and Secretary Cecil gave him encouragement. He took his departure in March 1549 to resume his charge in Embden, and to prepare his congregation for their probable expulsion thence.

Bishop Latimer gave utterance to the true English sentiment in a sermon preached before King Edward at this very time. His words were—"Johannes Alasco was here, a great learned man, and, as they say, a nobleman in his country, and is gone his way again; if it be for lack of entertainment, the more pity. I would wish such men as he to be in the realm, for the realm should prosper in receiving of them. *Qui vos recipit ME recipit*, who receiveth you receiveth me, saith Christ; and it should be for the King's honour to receive them and keep them."*

It was also in 1549 that a part of the holiday illumination, which gratified the eyes of the French king as he drove in procession through Paris, was the burning of Protestant martyrs at stakes in several of the streets. The persecution in France waxed fiercer; and many Huguenots fled into England. On the 13th August of that year, writing from Lambeth, the well-known foreign exiles Bucer, Martyr, Alexander, and Fagius, for the information of the Protector, pled with Cecil in behalf of some poor French Protestant refugees, certifying as to them that, having been compelled to forsake their own country for no other cause but that of religion, they had come to this kingdom as to Christ's place of shelter; [*eos, nullâ aliâ quàm religionis causâ, patriam suam deserere coactos, in hoc regnum venisse tanquam ad Christi asylum.*] †

On John a Lasco's return to England, he received a royal charter, dated 24th July 1550, granting a place of worship to the foreign Protestants in London, and appointing him to be the superintendent of all the Protestants of Holland, France, Switzerland, and Germany who had taken refuge in England. He is eulogized in this Patent ‡ as a man very eminent for integrity, of unblemished life, and of singular erudition. In the preamble the king, as Defender of the Faith and Supreme Head under Christ of the English and Irish Church, declared it to be his duty to provide for religion, and for unfortunate persons afflicted and banished on account of religion. His Majesty represented himself as "pitying the condition of those refugees, who for a considerable time have dwelt in our kingdom, and of those who daily enter it."

The first Refugees' Church (since known as the Dutch Church in Austin Friars) was the place of worship for the refugees of all nations, two of the four ministers being French, namely, Messrs Francois de la Rivière and Richard Francois. This reminds us of a stanza composed in honour of the place of worship within Canterbury Cathedral, granted to a similar foreign congregation in the days of Elizabeth:—

When Calvin's sons from Artois' fruitful fields
Blind persecution's iron hand expels,
This fostering church maternal shelter yields.
Beneath her roof where Gospel freedom dwells,
Beneath her spacious roof, in rites divine,
Lo, various sects and various tongues unite;
In blissful league French, Germans, Britons join,
While hovering angels listen with delight. §

* Latimer's Third Sermon before Edward VI. (*Parker Society*, p. 141).

† Strype's Cranmer, Appendix, No. 105.

‡ The Charter is printed by Burnet, *Hist. Ref.*, Vol. II., Book 1st, Appendix No. 51.

§ Baynes' *Witnesses in Sackcloth*, p. 103.

The French worshippers removed to the Chapel of St Anthony in Threadneedle Street a few months later; not that there was any schism between them and the *German-Dutch* (Belgico-Germani). It was simply a more convenient arrangement for the regular and sufficient administration of ordinances to the French-speaking refugees.

French Churches gradually multiplied in London and the provinces. As these churches accommodated the numerous and influential refugees from French Flanders, they were often called Walloon Churches, such being the designation given to the population of French Flanders and to their ancient dialect of the French tongue. As to these churches, the original researches of Mr Burn, and the popularized details given by Mr Smiles, render it unnecessary that I should load this biographical volume with statistical facts, about which such accessible books of reference exist. Omitting London edifices, I merely give alphabetically the names of places where French churches were established both before and after the central date, 1685.

Before 1685, Canterbury, Canvey Island, Colchester, Dover, Faversham, Glastonbury, Ipswich, Maidstone, Norwich, Rye, Sandtoft, Sandwich, Southampton, Stamford, Thetford, Thorne Abbey, Whittlesea, Winchester, Yarmouth.

At and after 1685, Barnstaple, Bideford, Bristol, Chelsea, Dartmouth, Exeter, Greenwich, Hammersmith, Plymouth, Stonehouse, Thorpe.

On the 6th July 1553, the death of King Edward VI. took place; and thus to Protestant refugees his kingdom was no longer a refuge. The bloody hierarchy of Rome re-established its rule in England, and invested its regal slave, Queen Mary, with the epithet which was truly its own. The Protestant exiles fled. John a Lasco went back to the Continent, and the sanctuaries under his superintendence were shut up. We say nothing of the dismal night which followed. We awake on the morning of November 18th 1558, and find that both the Popish Queen and the Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury have disappeared from the scene.

The refugees' protector, Archbishop Cranmer, having perished in the fires of the last reign, another Protestant Primate had to be chosen. And the new Archbishop, whose name has been embalmed by the Parker Society, was also a friend of the refugees, and described them in words which have since been their title of nobility, "Gentle and profitable strangers." The Bishop of London, Dr Edmund Grindal, (whose final destination was Canterbury), took the necessary steps for having the charters of their churches restored to them, and was himself made their Superintendent.

Many refugees came over during the early years of the reign of Elizabeth, England having become English again. But the first great immigration was in 1567, from French Flanders, when the Duke of Alva's crusading invasion drove before it more than 100,000 Protestants as fugitives to other lands. In 1572 the St. Bartholomew Massacre drove another multitude of Protestants out of France, and great numbers from Normandy, Brittany, and Picardy, landed in England (the country ruled by such a constant ally of the Huguenots), encouraged by the deep feeling and impressive pageantry of grief manifested by Her Majesty and the Court. The date of the last immigration of Foreign Protestants in this reign is 1585, in which year the French and Spanish Courts entered into a holy alliance to extirpate Protestantism from both France and the Netherlands.

The Armada of 1588 was the Royal Spaniard's discomfited attempt to destroy England as a Protestant nation, and as a sanctuary for Protestant refugees. Wrath and revenge were specially due to the kingdom in its latter function. Eighteen years before, Pius the Fifth, in his Bull against Elizabeth (5th Feb. 1570) had alluded to this provocation. To the Pope's furious and random abuse of the refugees, Bishop Jewel of Salisbury replied, in "A view of a seditious bull sent into England." The good testimony thus given to the refugees, by the greatest author of those times, is a valuable item of history. After quoting and exposing eighteen "untruths all packed in this bull," Jewel continued:—

"Yet there remaineth one pretence more against Her Majesty: *Ad quam velut ad asylum omnium infestissimi perfrugium invenerunt*: 'Unto whom all such as are the worst of the people resort, and are by her received into safe protection.'

"This he speaketh of the poor exiles of Flanders and France, and other countries, who either lost or left behind them all they had, goods, lands, and houses, not for adultery or theft or treason, but for the profession of the Gospel. It pleased God here to cast them on land; the queen of her gracious pity hath granted them harbour. Is it become so heinous a thing to show mercy?"

"God willed the children of Israel to love the stranger because they were strangers in the land of Egypt. He that sheweth mercy shall find mercy. If God shall turn his hand, thou mayest be in case of poverty and banishment as well as they. I am not a prophet nor the son of a prophet; but I doubt the time will come when men shall look for the Pope at Rome and not find him; his seat shall be removed; he shall not be there. Then shall he know what it is to be a stranger; he which devoureth shall be devoured.

"But what is the number of such who have come in unto us? Are they three or four thousand? Thanks be to God, this realm is able to receive them if the number be greater. . . . It is the commandment of God that we 'love the stranger;' yet a prince that doth it shall abide the Pope's controlment.

"He himself is good to them, and spareth the liberty of his city to some number, and of worse condition. . . . If the Pope may maintain so many thousand adulterers, harlots, Jews, and enemies of the cross of Christ, why may not Queen Elizabeth receive a few afflicted members of Christ which are compelled to carry his cross? If it be no fault in him to receive so many servants of the devil, why may not Queen Elizabeth receive a few servants of God—whom when he thought good to bring safely by the dangers of the sea, and to set in at our havens, should we cruelly have driven them back again, or drown them, or hang them, or starve them? Would the vicar of Christ give this counsel?—or if a king receive such and give them succour, must he therefore be deprived?"

"They are our brethren, they live not idly. If they have houses of us, they pay rent for them. They hold not our grounds but by making due recompence. They beg not in our streets, nor crave anything at our hands but to breathe our air and to see our sun. They labour truly, they live sparefully. They are good examples of virtue, travail, faith, and patience. The towns in which they abide are happy, for God doth follow them with his blessings." *

The Tudor Queen's example was followed by her Scottish successor, who, on the 24th May 1603, wrote to the French refugees in their own language, "Je vous protégerai ainsi qu'il convient à un bon Prince de defendre tous ceux qui ont abandonné leur patrie pour la religion." † King James kept his word royally, though he drew rather pitifully upon their gratitude by asking the London Pastors to write in his favour against John Welsh, and other protestant victims of the persecution which he was carrying on in Scotland beneath hypocritical forms of law. The French and Dutch ministers wrote "a long letter in elegant latin" to the ministers of Edinburgh, dated from London, 26th Feb. 1606; the French ministers signed themselves Robertus Masso Fontanus, Aaron Cappel, and Nathanael Marius. By defective and otherwise misleading statements, the Government succeeded in "inducing a few foreign ministers, who had not the means of judging of the merits of the case, to blame the imprisoned ministers, and to vindicate the government." ‡ The malignant rumours with which the king and his councillors had poisoned the minds of the refugees, were contradicted by the good confessors in a Latin letter dated from the Castle of Blackness, and addressed to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, "with the intention that it should be sent to the ministers of the French and Flemish Churches in London for their better information."

* Jewel's Works, *Parker Society*, vol. iv., pp. 1148-9.

† Weiss, tom. i., p. 262 (p. 207 Eng. transl.)

‡ Young's Life of John Welsh (Edin. 1866) p. 262. Forbes' Records of the years 1605-6, *Wodrow Society*, p. 531.

Section III.

THE CONNECTION OF FRENCH PROTESTANTS WITH ENGLISH POLITICS
IN THE TIMES OF CHARLES I. AND CROMWELL.

THE Huguenots, both at home and in exile, felt a fraternal interest in the troubles of Great Britain. The very soil of England was dear to them. And even King Charles I., though his education, his tendencies, and his connections might alarm them, succeeded to all the loyalty and devotion which the refugees in England felt for former rulers of their adopted country.

The French Protestants never ceased to love and admire their "sovereign lord, King Henry of Navarre;" and they were personally attached to his son and grandson, Louis XIII. and XIV. They never extended to their kings their rage against priestly persecutors and Popish mobs. In 1625 Charles I., by his marriage with their Princess, or "Madame," Henriette Marie,* became the son-in-law of their lamented King Henri, and thus a brother to Louis XIII. It cannot be denied that, soon after this matrimonial alliance, an English expedition had set out against the Huguenots, which, happily, did nothing. This deed was atoned for by the armament of 1627, which (although it also effected nothing) produced an impression that King Charles was doing his best to succour La Rochelle at the time of its memorable siege, and was thus personally deserving of the gratitude of the Huguenots. He had also propitiated the refugees in the year 1626 (23d Nov.) by an order addressed to all officers of the executive government which, reciting the honourable reception and substantial bounties accorded to British subjects and their children beyond the seas, required that the members of the Foreign Churches and their children should be maintained in the peaceable enjoyment of all the immunities which they held from His Majesty's predecessors.†

The French Protestants were quite disposed to take the Royalist view of English affairs, as far as their feelings were concerned. If the King of England had cordially held the essentials of Bible Protestantism, and had promoted tolerant proceedings towards all Protestant churches, the Huguenots would never have complained of his blustering adherence to his prelatical and sacerdotal predilections. His complicity with Archbishop Laud brought him into collision with the French Protestants. English Church history, and especially the recorded experience of Archbishop Whitgift, might have proved to Laud that the line of argument on which the Anglican Church could successfully rely was, that what is right in Church government means whatever is most practicable. The whole question is thus resolved into a matter of convenience or of taste, as to which there may be two sides, without either party having a right to heat its arguments with such epithets as "irreligious" or "profane." After establishing itself in triumphant possession of the land by means of the argument that Church government is a non-essential matter, the Anglican system could never consistently proclaim itself to be the one thing needful. Yet this inconsistency was the policy of which Laud was the grand mover and martyr.

This change of attitude injuriously affected the relation of English Prelacy to foreign Protestantism. The Scriptural and evangelical fathers of the Church of England acknowledged the non-prelatic churches as professors of the same faith and religion as themselves.

* Although historians call this queen "Henrietta-Maria," yet during her life the English called her "Queen Mary;" and in the reign of Charles II., those French Churches that used Durel's translation of the Anglican Prayer-Book prayed for her as "La Reine Marie, Mère du Roi."

† Weiss (as above).

The one true religion was not an insular monopoly, but a European common property. It was reserved for William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, to repudiate this communion of saints.

Laud's brotherly kindness and aspirations for communion took another direction. He endeavoured to introduce into the Protestant Church, of which he was the Primate, the suicidal principles, "that the Church of Rome is a true visible Church, and never erred in fundamentals, no, not in the worst times; that she is the ancient holy Mother Church; that her religion and ours of the Church of England is all one." Such a view was not meant to be only additional; it was to be corrective, and to be substituted for the old declarations of fraternity with foreign Protestants. In 1634 the King, by advice of the Lord-Keeper Coventry, having caused letters-patent to pass the Great Seal for a collection on behalf of the distressed ministers of the Palatinate, Laud arrested the publication of the document, because it described the religion of the sufferers to be "the true religion, which we, together with them, profess to maintain." And a revised patent was issued, merely declaring that the foreign pastors "suffered *for THEIR religion.*"

Both the Dutch and French Protestant settlers soon felt the archprelate's ill-will. It was a grievance to him to see their churches enjoying by law the free exercise of their religion and discipline, exempt from all Archiepiscopal and Episcopal jurisdiction. He began by using the plausible argument that such an exemption could have been meant to endure only during the lifetime of the refugees; and that their children, being Englishmen by birth, were clearly subject to the bishops of their respective dioceses. And further, that though the successors of King Edward had confirmed all the exemptions, yet, at least in 1630, there was the reservation, "so long as His Majesty shall be pleased."

The following documents are sufficiently interesting to be inserted in the place of any narrative. The first was forwarded by Dr Richard Montague, Bishop of Norwich, to Laud, who received it Feb. 21st, 1635, *n.s.* (Another petition, the same in substance, was sent to the primate himself on the 26th June.)

"To the Right Reverend Father in God, Richard, Lord Bishop of Norwich.

"The humble remonstrance and Petition of the two Congregations of Strangers in the city of Norwich.

"It hath pleased my Lord's Grace of Canterbury to send forth lately two Injunctions to the three congregations of strangers, Canterbury, Sandwich, and Maidstone, in his Grace's diocese, to this effect:—1st. That their English natives should separate from them, and resort to the English Parish Churches where they dwell. 2dly. That the remainder of them, being strangers born, should receive and use the English Liturgy, translated into their own language, upon the first day of March next—the which is generally conceived to be a leading case for all the strangers' congregations that are in England.

"Now, forasmuch as the said Injunctions seem to be opposite not only to certain orders of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, heretofore upon several occasions granted unto several congregations of the strangers, but chiefly to all the gracious liberties and privileges granted unto them of old, and continued during the reign of three most famous princes, King Edward, Queen Elizabeth, and King James, of glorious memory, and confirmed by His now Majesty's regal word, our gracious sovereign (whom God long preserve), which he was pleased graciously to give unto the deputies of all the strangers' congregations in England, prostrate at his Majesty's feet, the 30th of April, 1625.

"And also, that the observing of the said Injunctions will necessarily draw after it many great and unavoidable inconveniences, both common and personal. As, namely, that the parishes shall be needlessly charged with a great multitude of poor strangers, that are English natives. Many natives shall, *ipso facto*, lose the benefit of their toleration in exercising their manufactures, having not served their seven years' apprenticeships, and be in danger of ruin or molestation. Many such also that understand not well the English tongue, shall be little edified by the English prayers and sermons which they shall hear. Their families shall be

divided, some going one way, some another, to their appointed assemblies—which may minister an unhappy opportunity of licentiousness to servants and children that are loosely minded. The alien strangers that shall remain, being not the fourth part of the now standing congregations (especially in this city), for want of competent ability to maintain their ministers and poor, must needs be utterly dissolved, and come to nothing. So the ancient and much renowned *Asyla*, and places of refuge for the poor persecuted and other ignorant Christians beyond the seas shall be wanting; whereat Rome will rejoice, and the Reformed Churches in all places will mourn.

“Many ministers (and those ancient) having no other means but their congregations, which shall then fail them, shall be to seek for themselves and their destituted families. The foreign poor will be added to the native poor, and increase the charge and burden of their several parishes, who will be to them no welcome guests; or else be sent away beyond sea, where they will open many mouths against the authors of their misery. The commonwealth shall lose many skilful workmen in sundry manufactures, whom in times past the land hath so much desired. Many thousand English, of the poorer sort, shall miss their good masters that set them on work and paid them well, which will cause them to grieve at their departure, if not to murmur.

“And say a handful of aliens should remain to make up a poor congregation, where shall they baptize their new-born infants? if in the parish churches, then shall the strangers lose one of their sacraments; and if in the said strangers’ congregations, then it would be known when they shall be sent away to be admitted as natives in their English parishes.

“A greater difficulty will yet arise about the English rites and ceremonies enjoined to such aliens as shall remain. For though they mislike them not in the English churches, unto the which, upon occasion, they do willingly resort, yet when this innovation will come upon them, it will be so uncouth and strange, as it is doubtful whether it or the separation of the natives from the aliens will bring the more trouble, and whether they will not both be followed, (though not *æquis passibus*) with the utter dissolution of the congregations. And the rather, because it is not likely that upon their want of a minister, any will be ready to come, (though sent for) from beyond the seas, to serve them upon these two conditions:—1st. To be contented with so mean a stipend as they shall then be able to afford, and that uncertain too. 2d. To observe such rites and ceremonies as they were never acquainted withal, yea, are offensive to some beyond the seas, from whence they shall be called.

“Lastly, forasmuch as we have given no occasion of offence that might deserve the taking away of our former liberties, but have still demeaned ourselves peaceably and respectively toward the English discipline, neither do we harbour any factious English persons as members of our congregations—and also, that by two several orders of His Majesty’s most honourable Privy Council, your Lordship and your successors have power to order the disordered in both the congregations, if any shall happen.

“Therefore we humbly entreat your good lordship, &c., &c.”

The following is an extract from the second document, being Laud’s reply:—

“His Majesty is resolved that his injunctions shall hold, and that obedience shall be yielded to them by all the natives after the first descent, who may continue in their congregations, to the end the aliens may the better look to the education of their children, and that their several congregations may not be too much lessened at once. But that all of the second descent born here in England, and so termed, shall resort to their several Parish Churches, whereas they dwell. . . .

“And thus I have given you answer fairly in all your particulars, and do expect all obedience and conformity to my injunctions—which, if you shall perform, the State will have occasion to see how ready you are to practise the obedience which you teach. And for my part, I doubt not but yourselves, or your posterity at least, shall have cause to thank both the State and the Church for this care taken of you. But if you refuse, (as you have no cause to do, and I hope you will not), I shall then proceed against the natives according to the Laws and Canons

Ecclesiastical. So hoping the best of yourselves and your obedience, I leave you to the grace of God, and rest your loving friend,

August 19th 1635.

W. CANT.*

Prynne, to whom I am indebted for the foregoing documents, adds the following particulars:—“By these Injunctions these Churches were molested and disquieted some three or four years’ space; some of them were interdicted, suspended and shut up for a time for refusing conformity. Others of them were dissolved, their ministers deserting them rather than submitting to these Injunctions. All of them were much diminished and discontented, the maintenance of their ministers and poor members being much impaired, almost to their utter desolation, notwithstanding all the great friends they could make to intercede in their behalf; and they being brought quite under that Episcopal jurisdiction and tyranny, from which they were formerly exempted. Hereupon many conscientious aliens and their children deserted the kingdom, who could not in conscience submit to the ceremonies and innovations in our churches; and most of their families were miserably distracted, as appears by a *Summary Relation* of the Archbishop’s proceedings herein presented to the Parliament, and by a large printed book entitled, *A Relation of the Troubles of the Three Forraigne Churches in Kent*, caused by the injunctions of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1634, set forth by John Bulteel, minister of God’s word to the Walloon Congregation of Canterbury, printed *Anno* 1645.”

In due course the king, loving to govern by priestly directions, by secret tribunals, and by martial law, plunged the country into a civil war. One astounding consequence of this position of affairs was an Act of Parliament abolishing Episcopacy, which was passed 10th Sept. 1642, but not to come into operation till the 5th Nov. 1643. With a view to organizing a Church for Great Britain, the Lords and Commons summoned an Assembly of Divines to deliberate along with learned laymen. This Assembly, which was preceded by a public sermon preached in Westminster Abbey, on July 1st 1643, and which held its eleven hundred and sixty-three meetings in Henry VII.’s Chapel, is known in History as the Westminster Assembly.

The ministers of parishes in the Channel Islands were the members of Assembly with whom the French ministers had the closest ties. Their spokesman was the Rev. John de la March of Guernsey. On the 22^d Dec. he introduced a Deputation from the French church of London, bearers of a Petition which was read to the Assembly. Lightfoot gives the following summary of its contents:—*First*, “A congratulation for our meeting;” *secondly*, “laying open their charter made by Edward VI. for their church in this city;” *thirdly*, “a grievous complaint of two that have made a fearful rent and schism in their church, the one a doctor, and the other once a monk, who have separated from their congregation and begin to gather churches;” *fourthly*, “they desired us to present their complaint to the Houses [of Parliament].” This petition was referred to a committee.

On the preceding 22^d November it was ordered by the House of Commons, “That the Assembly of Divines be moved to write letters unto some Divines or Churches of Zealand and Holland, and to the Protestant Churches in France, Switzerland, and other Reformed Churches to inform them, against the great artifices and disguises of His Majesty’s agents in those parts, of the true state of our affairs, and of the constant employment of Irish Popish Rebels and other Papists to be Governors, Commanders, and Soldiers, the many evidences of their intentions to introduce Popery, their endeavour to hinder the reformation here intended, and condemning other Protestant Churches as unsound because not prelatial. And that the Scots Commissioners be desired to join therein. And likewise that the Committees of the Lords and Commons and of the Divines may advise with the Scots Commissioners.”

The Solicitor-General brought this order before the Assembly. A Latin letter was accordingly drawn up and signed on 19-29 January following, both by the officials and by six Commissioners from the Church of Scotland. The copy sent to France was addressed to the

* Prynne’s Trial of Laud, page 407.

Church of Paris, *Reverendis et doctissimis viris, Pastoribus et Senioribus Ecclesiæ quæ est Lutetiæ Parisiorum, dominis et fratribus honorandis.*

Mr. De la March, who apparently had been entrusted with the duty of forwarding the letter, reported on the 13th March that the senior pasteur of Charenton having received it, did, by advice of the pasteurs and elders, hand it unopened to the Deputy-General of the Reformed Churches of France; and that the Secretary of State, having been informed of it, took it ill that these churches should hold any correspondence with England in its divided condition. The consequence was that the letter was still unopened, and those churches uninformed of its contents. The Assembly therefore sent a Deputation to the House of Commons requesting that the letter might be printed.* This request was immediately granted, and it was ordered, "That the Letter from the Assembly of Divines to the Reformed Churches beyond Seas shall be printed in Latin and English, with the several inscriptions to the particular several churches, and that Mr. Selden and Mr. Rous do acquaint the Assembly with this Order."

The Letter described the bigotted and persecuting policy of the Cavaliers and of their ghastly advisers, their leanings to Popery, and their coolness and aversion to Foreign Protestants. The illustrative facts were the sufferings inflicted on the Church of Scotland, the massacre of Irish Protestants and the King's truce with their armed murderers, and the opposition of the Court to the Westminster Assembly. The conclusion contained three requests, (1) That Foreign Protestants would be persuaded of the innocence and integrity of the leaders of the popular party in Britain; (2) That they would sympathise with them as sufferers "in the same cause wherein you yourselves have been oppressed;" (3) That they would make common cause with them, "the quarrel of the enemy being not so much against the persons of men, as against the power of godliness and purity of God's word wherever it is professed. The way and manner of your owning us we leave wholly to yourselves."

It is plain that, with regard to the British broils, two counteracting influences must have been at work in the minds of the Protestants of France. Their veneration for kings, and their attachment to a royal family that was so intimately connected with their own, disposed them to sympathize with Charles. Yet they were repelled by insults both in word and deed, hurled by the favourite royal advisers against their religious doctrines, worship, and church government. Being Presbyterians both in polity and in worship, their sympathy on theoretical grounds might have been confidently claimed by a Parliament which had abolished the Laudean Prelacy, and had created the Westminster Assembly.

But we have to pass on to the execution of Charles I. This was the crime and blunder by which the Parliament lost all durable sympathy. The Presbyterians could prove that this judicial murder was not their doing. And the Congregationalists are free from all blame, as far as their church principles are concerned; though the individual offenders, being members of the bar and of the army, professed a theory of Church Discipline which bore the name of Independency. But the great mass of mankind were led to believe that all Protestants who were not Episcopalians were Presbyterians. The name of Presbyterian was given to every form of Protestant Dissent from Anglican Prelacy. And thus public report inculpated the Presbyterians. As to the French Protestants, though they did not fall into that mistake, yet their feelings of pity for the royal sufferer and for his illustrious family, and for individuals among his clergy, amounted practically to the withholding of sympathy from the Presbyterians of England.

The most celebrated writers against the execution of Charles I. were French Protestants. They were well practised in the most courtly style of language, because, being accused of disloyalty by the Papists, they had continually to assert their devotion to their own king. Having nothing to protect them but a monarch's good pleasure or good humour, they favoured theories as to kingly claims which sound rather slavish in modern ears. They saw the English court and country from a distance; and being inexperienced in the grievances of their English

* See both Lightfoot's and Gillespie's diurnal notes of the proceedings of the Westminster Assembly, which are printed in the collected works of each author.

brethren, they could bring forward their ultra-royalist arguments, without feeling encumbered by any sense of provocation associated with the name of the Royal Charles Stewart.

The name of Claudius Salmasius was, in French, Claude Saumaise. It was his attack on the executioners of King Charles that drew forth John Milton's first defence of the Commonwealth of England. More notably connected with the Protestants of France is the name of Du Moulin, latinized *Molinaus*. Two sons of the great French pastor of that name adopted England as their country, and both abjured Presbyterianism, Louis becoming an Independent, (he was M.D. of Leyden), and Pierre becoming an Episcopal clergyman. The former, while clearing all religious parties of the guilt of the king's murder, was a polemical author against the English Presbyterians. The latter,* a D.D. of Leyden, wrote the curious little book, for whose title-page the printer contributed his blood-red ink to impress upon the reader that the king's blood was crying from the ground for vengeance—"Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Cœlum adversus parricidas Anglicanos."

The correspondence between the English and Foreign Universities circulated news and sentiments regarding England. The Theological colleges of the French Protestants were of unsurpassed efficiency. Their University-seats were Saumur, Sedan, Montauban, Nismes, Montpellier and Die. Oxford and Cambridge recognised their degrees, and were always willing to admit their graduates *ad eundem*. Persecution gradually suppressed all the French Protestant Colleges and Academies—first, by a perverse interpretation of the Edict of Nantes, to the effect that theology was not one of the liberal sciences intended by the Edict—and next, by a tyrannical decree that schools teaching only reading, writing, and arithmetic, were quite enough for Huguenots. But during their brief existence, their universities were most worthy of the name. The most intimate connections between them and those of England were formed by natives of the Channel Islands, who studied in a French University because their mother tongue was French, and yet were eligible for an English Church Living because England was their native kingdom. A favourable specimen of such a scholar was Dr. Daniel Brevint. He was a native of Jersey, M.A. of Saumur, incorporated as an M.A. in Oxford, and elected a fellow of Jesus College. Being ejected by the Parliamentarian visitors, he fled to Normandy, and there, as the pastor of a French church and chaplain to Vicomte Turenne, he spread views of English affairs unfavourable to the puritans of England. Pastor Du Bosc of Caen in Normandy, who became the ecclesiastical leader of the French Protestants, was confirmed by him in feelings of horror at the parricidal death of King Charles, and in energetic desires for the restoration of his son. Another Jersey Divine, a man of reputable life but an unscrupulous writer, was the Rev. John Durel. Though, like Brevint, he made himself useful during his retirement in France as a pastor, and although he afterwards ministered to French refugees in Westminster, he was a thorough-bred subject of England, and a clergyman ordained by a royalist bishop of Scotland. Those therefore who read his works, as expressing the mind of a Huguenot or of an impartial looker-on, are misinformed and misled.

The opinions of French Protestants concerning the divisions in England varied in each individual case according to the views of their English correspondents. Being foreigners,

* The most pleasing composition of this author is an epitaph on his father :—

Qui sub isto marmore quiescit olim fuit
 PETRUS MOLINEUS.
 Hoc sat, viator ! Reliqua nôsti, quisquis es
 Qui nomen inclytum legis.
 Laudes, Beati gloria haud desiderat,
 Aut sustinet modestia.
 Obiit Sedani, ad 6 Non : Mart : 1658, æt. 90.

they had few means of sifting any statements which an esteemed English friend might make or send to them. It would be a mistake, therefore, to ascribe to the Huguenots one uniform sentiment regarding English politics. While Du Bosc's biographer declared that all their theologians were on the royalist side, James, Duke of York, formed a totally different opinion. The Duke said to Burnet, "that among other prejudices he had at the Protestant Religion this was one, that both his brother and himself, being in many companies in Paris *incognito*, where they met many Protestants, he found they were all alienated from them, and were great admirers of Cromwell; so he believed they were all rebels in their heart." Burnet replied, "Foreigners are no other way concerned in the quarrels of their neighbours, than to see who can or will assist them. The coldness which they had formerly seen in the Court of England with relation to them, and the zeal which was now expressed, naturally made them depend on one who seemed resolved to protect them."

The distaste with which, at first, French Protestants viewed Cromwell's government gave way before his zeal for Protestantism and his intercessions to the European powers in behalf of the persecuted. As a Protestant King had damaged his influence by learning on a Romanizing Archbishop, so the Republican protector rose in estimation through his beneficence to poor Protestant people.

Cardinal Mazarin, the Prime Minister of Louis XIV. who had been lukewarm in Charles's cause, vehemently courted an alliance with Cromwell. France and Spain were at irreconcilable enmity, and England could not avoid taking a side in the contest. The advocate of Spain was a Frenchman, the Prince of Condé, who had withdrawn from allegiance to his native monarchy, and was living as a denizen in the Spanish Netherlands, having some French Protestants among his followers. He represented to Cromwell that the Huguenots might be willing to rise in France against the crown; and that to incite them to this, he would revive the old hereditary influence of the name of Condé by becoming a Protestant himself, on condition that Cromwell would join him in a Spanish alliance. He also offered to conquer Calais for the English. Mazarin made further advances, and made the more feasible proposal to assist Cromwell to take Dunkirk.

Oliver resolved to be guided by the sentiments of the Protestant population of France, and took counsel accordingly with one of the Pastors of the French Church of the city of London. He was a native of the Grisons, and at heart more a layman than a pastor, as he ultimately proved by becoming a brigadier in the French Army. This Pastor, Jean Baptiste Stoupe,* was sent by the Protector into France on a private mission. I quote Burnet's account:—

"Cromwell sent Stoupe round all France to talk with their most eminent men, to see into their strength, into their present condition, the oppressions they lay under, and their inclinations to trust the Prince of Condé. He went from Paris down the Loire, then to Bourdeaux, from thence to Montauban, and across the South of France to Lyons. He was instructed to talk to them only as a traveller, and to assure them of Cromwell's zeal and care for them, which he magnified everywhere. The Protestants were then very much at their ease. Mazarin, who thought of nothing but to enrich his family, took care to maintain the edicts better than they had been in any time formerly. So Stoupe returned, and gave Cromwell an account of the ease they were in, and of their resolution to be quiet. They had a very bad opinion of the Prince of Condé, as a man who sought nothing but his own greatness, to which they believed he was ready to sacrifice all his friends, and every cause that he espoused."

Having upon this refused the Prince of Condé's offer, Cromwell had to consider whether he would accede to the overtures of Cardinal Mazarin. The great reason for his deciding in favour of the French alliance is thus reported by Burnet:—"He found the parties grew so strong against him at home, that he saw if the king or his brother were assisted by France with an army of Huguenots to make a descent on England (which was threatened if he should

* Burnet was mistaken in his statement that Stoupe was minister of the Savoy Church.—See *Burn.*

join with Spain) this might prove very dangerous to him who had so many enemies at home and so few friends."

The Huguenots had no reason to regret Cromwell's decision. The two memorable occasions of his using the French Alliance as a means of relieving persecuted Protestants may be here given—the first, in Burnet's words :—

"The Duke of Savoy raised a new persecution of the Vaudois. So Cromwell sent to Mazarin, desiring him to put a stop to that ; adding, that he knew well they had that Duke in their power, and could restrain him as they pleased; and if they did not, he must presently break with them. Mazarin objected to this as unreasonable; he promised to do good offices; but he could not be obliged to answer for the effects they might have. This did not satisfy Cromwell, so they obliged the Duke of Savoy to put a stop to that unjust fury. And Cromwell raised a great sum for the Vaudois, and sent over Morland to settle all their concerns, and to supply all their losses."

The other grand intervention is thus recorded by Oldmixon :—

Oliver relieves the French Protestants.

"All Europe was so sensible of his power, that the distressed in all parts of it flew to him for refuge, and found it, even when their case was most desperate, as that of the Protestant inhabitants of the city of Nismes in France. There arose a difference between the burghers, who were mostly Huguenots, the magistrates, and the bishop ; which growing tumultuary, the Intendant of the Province repaired thither to prevent an insurrection. When he came there the inhabitants opposed him, and preparations were made to reduce them by force. The Protestants in France fearing to be involved in the guilt of the mutiny at Nismes, and these burghers expecting severe chastisement, applied to Cromwell to intercede for them. This was done very secretly. The Protector with equal secrecy assured them of his protection, and immediately despatched a trusty agent with this letter to Cardinal Mazarin :—

"Eminentissimo Cardinali Mazarino,

Eminentissime Domine Cardinalis,—Cum nobilem hunc virum cum literis, quarum exemplar hinc inclusum est, ad Regem mittere necessariè statuissem, tum ei ut Eminentiam vestram meo nomine salutaret simul in mandatis dedi, certasque res vobiscum communicandas ejus fidei commisi. Quibus in rebus Eminentissimam rogo vestram, uti summam ei fidem habere velit, utpote in quo ego summam fiduciam reposuerim. Eminentiaë vestraë studiosissimus,

OLIVERIUS,

Ex Alba Aula, 26th Dec. 1656.

Protector Reip. Angliæ.

"*P.S.* (of his own handwriting).—' Je viens d'apprendre la revolte des habitans de Nismes. Je recommande à votre Eminence les interèts des Reformés.' *i.e.*, I have just been informed of the tumult at Nismes, I recommend to your Eminence the interests of the Reformed.

"He also sent instruction to Lockhart [Ambassador at Paris] to second the solicitations of the agent, and if he prevailed not, to come away immediately. Mazarin complained of this way of proceeding as too imperious, but he feared Cromwell too much to quarrel with him. The Cardinal sent orders to the Intendant to make up matters as well as he could."

I conclude this section with a summary of Anthony a-Wood's accounts of the French Protestants who were incorporated into Oxford University during the reigns of James and Charles I., and the interregnum :—

1625. December 13. JOHN VERNEUIL, M.A., of the University of Montauban in France, now or lately of Magdalen College.

1625-6. Feb. 11. THOMAS LEVET (of York diocese), a licentiate of Civil Law in the University of Orleans was incorporated Bachelor of the same faculty.

- 1648-9. March 8. ABRAHAM HUARD, alias *Lompré*, sometime of the University of Caen, in Normandy, was created Doctor of Physic by virtue of the Chancellor's [Earl of Pembroke's] letters, which say that "his affections to the cause of the parliament have exposed him to sufferings. . . . He is a Protestant of France, and his quality and sufferings have been made known to me by persons of honour, gentlemen of quality, and physicians of this kingdom, as also by one Mr John Despaigne, one of the French Ministers of London, &c."
1649. July 14. LEWIS DU MOULIN, Doctor of Physic of the University of Leyden, (incorporated in the same degree at Cambridge, 10th Oct. 1634). This person who was a Frenchman born, and the son of the famous Peter Du Moulin, a French Protestant, was lately established Camden Professor of History in this University by the Committee of Parliament for the reformation thereof. After the restoration of His Majesty, he was turned out of his professorship by His Majesty's Commissioners for the regulating of the University; whereupon retiring to the City of Westminster, lived there a violent Nonconformist. [After giving a list of twenty-two of his publications, Anthony thus concludes,] What other books this Lewis du Moulin hath written I know not, nor anything else of him, only that he was a fiery, violent, and hot-headed Independent; a cross and ill-natured man; and, dying on 20th Oct. 1680, aged 77, was buried within the precincts of the Church of St Paul, in Covent Garden.
1655. Dec. 13. LODOVIC DE LAMBERMONT of Sedan, a young man of great hopes and learning, son of John Lambermont of the same place, and Doctor of Physic of the University of Valence. His diploma for the taking of that degree at Valence bears date 8th March 1651. Under the name of *Lambermontius* is extant *Anthologia Græc. Lat.* Lond. 1654. *Query* if by him?
1656. Oct. 10. PETER DU MOULIN, D.D., of Leyden, in Holland, (afterwards confirmed or incorporated in Cambridge). He was the son of Peter du Moulin, the famous Protestant writer of France, came into England in his elder years. After Ireland was reduced by the Parliament forces, he lived there, sometime at Lismore, Youghal, and Dublin, under the patronage of Richard, Earl of Cork. Afterwards going to England, he settled in Oxford (where he was tutor or governor to Charles Viscount Dungarvan, and Mr Richard Boyle, his brother, canon commoners of Christ Church), lived there two or more years, and preached constantly for a considerable time in the Church of St Peter in the East. After the restoration of King Charles II., he became chaplain in ordinary to him, and prebendary of Canterbury, where he spent the remaining part of his days. He hath written *Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Cælum*, Hag. Com., 1652. [After naming his other works, A. W. thus concludes] This Dr. du Moulin, who was an honest and zealous Calvinist, died in the 84th year of his age, and was buried in the Cathedral Church at Canterbury, 10th Oct. 1684. The last words which he uttered on his death-bed were, "Since Calvinism is cried down, *actum est de religione Christi apud Anglos;*" [it is all over with Christ's religion among the English.]
- 1656-7. March 10. The most famous and learned THEOPHILUS DE GARENCIERES, of Paris, made Doctor of Physic at Caen in Normandy twenty years before this time, was incorporated here in the same degree, not only upon sight of his testimonial letters (which abundantly speak his worth), subscribed by the King of France's Ambassador in England (to whom he was domestic physician), but upon sufficient knowledge had of his great merits, his late relinquishing the Roman Church, and zeal for that of the Reformed. This person, who was one of the College of Physicians of London, hath written (1) *Angliæ Flagellum*, seu *Tabes Angliæ*. Lond., 1647. (2) The admirable virtues and wonderful effects of the true and genuine tincture of Coral in Physic, grounded by reason, established by experience, and confirmed by authentic authors in all ages. Lond., 1676. He also translated into English "The

true prophecies or prognostications of Michael Nostradamus, Physician to K. Hen. II., Fran. II., and Cha. IX., Kings of France, &c." Lond., 1672, folio. He died poor, and in an obscure condition, in Covent Garden, within the Liberty of Westminster, occasioned by the unworthy dealings of a certain knight, which, in a manner, broke his heart.*

1656. April 10. PETER VASSON was created Bachelor of Physic by virtue of the Chancellor's (Oliver Cromwell's) letters, dated 25th March, which say that he, the said Chancellor, had received very good satisfaction from several hands touching Mr Vasson, as to his suffering for his religion in his own nation, his service in the late wars to the Commonwealth, his skill in the faculty he professeth, and success (through the blessing of God) in the practice of it, together with the unblameableness of his conversation," &c. [In 1659 Peter Vasson or Vashon became M.D.]

1656-7. Jan. 29. ABRAHAM CONYARD, of Rouen, in Normandy, who had studied divinity several years in academies in France and Switzerland, was created Bachelor of Divinity by the decree of the Members of Convocation, who were well satisfied with his letters-testimonial under the hands of the pastors of the Reformed Church of Rouen, written in his behalf.

Section II.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE FRENCH PROTESTANTS WITH ENGLAND IN THE TIME OF CHARLES II.

THE restoration of the younger Charles as King Charles II. was a proposal which few thinking men could contemplate without painful misgivings. Apart from the divine right of inheritance, nothing reliable could be said in favour of this royal person; and very much could with truth be said against him. His conduct had been immoral; and he gave no indications of any taste or temper for the momentous business of government, and for the delicate exercise of the royal prerogatives of bounty and mercy.

It was also reported that he was a secret convert to Popery. This report had several important confirmations, for which I refer the reader to Burnet. And the alleged policy of such a step was plausible. Mazarin had politely dismissed Charles and James from France as obstructives to his negotiations with Oliver. The usurper had established claims of gratitude upon all foreign Protestants; while by vigour and good information he had extinguished all cavalier conspiracies against him on British soil. The hopes of the royal Stewarts were therefore transferred to a great anti-protestant league, which should make Britain both loyal and Roman Catholic by a new conquest. Spain was believed to be a party to a secret treaty of this kind with Charles, who (it was said) had qualified himself for such a holy alliance by uniting himself to the Church of Rome.

Charles had in 1658 sent a letter (which was published) from Brussels to a loyal Presbyterian exile residing at Rotterdam, the Reverend Thomas Cawton, and in that letter he denied the report

* That he left a son and heir to continue his name may be conjectured from the title-page of a volume that now lies before me:—"General Instructions, Divine, Moral, Historical, Figurative, &c., shewing the Progress of Religion from the Creation to this time, and to the End of the World, and tending to confirm the Truth of the Christian Religion. By Theophilus Garencieres, Vicar of Scarbrough, and Chaplain to his Grace Peregrine, Duke of Ancaster." York, 1728.

of his conversion or perversion. But this epistle did not quiet the minds of people conversant with religious affairs in 1660; for might not the contradiction be a pious fraud? In this dilemma the aid of the French Protestant Pastors was solicited; and a few of them wrote letters to the Presbyterian ministers of England, in which they asserted Charles's unwavering Protestantism.

The kind-hearted divines looked upon a nominally Protestant king as a figure that they would gladly see on the throne of France, and for which England might be envied. They could not allow themselves to believe that the only august person of this description, whom they had ever seen, could prove to be an impostor. They were also glad to come forward as acknowledged advocates of royalty. The names of the pastors, whose letters were printed, were Daillé, Drelincourt, and Gaches (three ministers of the Parisian Temple of Charenton), and De L'Angle of Rouen.

Their depositions as to facts amounted to no more than this: Had not the Prince's chaplains, Brevint and Durel, assured them that he was "a Protestant of the best sort?" And could it have been his fault that he never worshipped with the Parisian Protestants at Charenton? for did he not go to the Protestant churches at Rouen and La Rochelle? One sentence of Drelincourt's letter (addressed to Pastor Stoupe), fully represents the advice which the pastors offered:—"God entrusts at this day your Presbyterians, the gentlemen now in power, with the honour and reputation of our Churches. For, if without the intervening of any foreign power, they recal this Prince, and set him in his throne, they acquire to themselves and to their posterity an immortal glory, and stop their mouths for ever who charge us falsely as enemies to royalty."

Raimond Gaches' letter was addressed to the Reverend Richard Baxter, at the suggestion of their mutual friend, Anna Mackenzie, Countess of Balcarres. He too gave Charles a good character, but also argued on the opposite supposition thus:—"Some, whether really or counterfeitly, are dissatisfied as to his constancy to the true religion, and allege that it concerns the Church very much that he, who is to rule others, should excel them in godliness. I will not answer (which truly may be said) that it belongs not to us to inquire into the Prince's religion. Be he what he will (if his power be otherwise lawful, and the right of reigning belongs unto him), obedience in civil matters must be performed to the king, and other matters must be committed unto divine providence." Baxter objected to this and the other letters, not because they advocated monarchical principles, but because they seemed to urge the hurrying on of the restoration of the son of the late king to the throne of England, without any consideration of the personal safety of the Presbyterian ministers in England; and all to procure the good humour of the King of France towards the Protestants of France. Not only the Presbyterians, but all good men soon regretted that the Restoration took place with so little deliberation.

Part of a correspondence is preserved between Pastor Du Bosc and Dr Brevint, in which the former pleads for fair dealing with the Presbyterians on the part of Episcopalians, while the latter wishes Du Bosc to believe that the English Presbyterians would make no concessions. The fact was, the Episcopal was the immoveable party. The Presbyterians expressed their willingness to accept Archbishop Usher's modified form of episcopacy; and by such yielding on their side, they emboldened the Bishops and the High Church party to be unyielding as to the sacramental ceremonials, and as to the scruples concerning the Apocrypha, and objections to words and sentences in the English Book of Common Prayer.

A few approving letters from French pasteurs to such prelatical clergymen as Brevint and Durel having been printed in England, the English Non-Conformists rejoined in a small volume entitled:—"Apologie des Puritains d'Angleterre à Messieurs les Pasteurs et Anciens des Eglises Reformées en France."* Its conclusion was argumentatively and convincingly arrived at, and was to this effect, that the Huguenot letter-writers had little information as to

* It was published at Geneva in 1663; this rare volume was drawn up by the Rev. Thomas Hall, B.D., of King's Norton, Worcestershire, who died in 1665.

recent English Church History, and that panegyrics on the Church-Government of the Restoration were the reverse of complimentary to the entirely different procedure of the Protestant Consistories and Synods of France. "M. du Bosc (says the *Apologie*, page 148) ne comprend pas bien ce que c'est de l'Episcopât d'Angleterre s'il le prend pour un Episcopât modéré."

On several occasions a few of the French divines showed a tendency to be rather too liberal in their laudatory letters to the dignified clergy of England. The plea, that they believed prelatial and liturgical principles to be consistent with genuine faith and piety; was surely an insufficient reason for inditing epistles which were sure to be used against their own most hearty friends in England, namely, the Puritan party. Under the restored monarch of the Stewart family, the days of Laud had been revived. The governing policy was to make the Church of England distasteful to Puritans, to compel them, as conscientious men, to be dissenters, and then to treat their dissent as a crime. Every circumstance in the penal laws and proceedings against Puritan non-conformists proved this—circumstances of which foreign correspondents must have been ignorant, if they really intended to condole with the Right Reverend Bench of King Charles' Church Establishment as the injured party in the strife.

In the Appendix to Stillingfleet's "Unreasonableness of Separation" there are three letters from foreign divines to a Lord Bishop, which seem to be answers to some theoretical questions ingeniously (if not ensnaringly) framed by his lordship.

The first letter is from Professor Le Moyne* (dated at Leyden, 3d Sept. 1680), who, after combatting the man of straw "that a man cannot be saved in the Church of England," supposes, on the ground that the Thirty-Nine Articles are sound, that the ritual and offices of the subscribers must also be essentially pure and innocent; and he condescends to mention that some dissenters, whom he heard in London in 1675, were not edifying preachers.

The second letter is from Monsieur De L'Angle (dated at Paris, 31st Oct. 1680), who seems to consider it a sufficient condemnation of the English non-conformity of that time, that he himself had felt at liberty, when in England as a visitor, to preach for clergymen of the Established Church; he further states that he believes Durel's assertions to the effect that the Episcopal Divines at the Savoy Conference breathed out nothing but charitable sentiments; and his climax is that Schism is the most formidable evil that can befall the church.

The third letter is from Monsieur Claude (dated at Paris, 29th Nov. 1680), who says, "I would not that any one should make Episcopacy an occasion of quarrel in those places where it is established,"—also, that Peace and Christian Concord are essentials like faith and regeneration; and, that separate congregations held by those, who dissent from the Established Church only on points of Church Order, are schismatic.

Monsieur Claude, however, could have had no intention of upbraiding the English non-conformists as having themselves to blame for the penalties and imprisonments which they suffered. For there was then in existence another letter of his from which Du Moulin in 1679 had quoted the following sentence:—"If one party, who find themselves to be the more prevailing, should have a mind to constrain the rest against their judgment in point of conscience, even in things of little consequence as are the points which make all the disorder in the English Church, the schism lies on their side who impose."

* 1676. April 5. Stephen Le Moine one of the ordinary preachers to the reformed congregation of Rouen in Normandy, lately advanced by the Prince of Orange to the supreme chair of the theological faculty of the University of Leyden, was declared in convocation Doctor of Divinity, by virtue of the letters of the Chancellor of the University, (James 1st Duke of Ormond), and on the 11th of the same month he was diplomated, being then in the University, and well known to be one who had upon all occasions testified his great affection and zeal for the Church of England.—*Athenæ Oxonienses*.

Section A.

THE RECEPTION OF THE FRENCH REFUGEES IN ENGLAND IN 1681.

IT was well for many of the intended victims of the exterminating persecutions which began in 1681, that the sympathies of the English family of Savile were engaged on their side. Henry Savile was then the British Envoy in Paris; and his letters to his brother, Lord Halifax, and to the Secretary of State, Sir Leoline Jenkins, were the means of deciding the royal waverer, our half-English half-French sovereign, to give a hospitable reception to French Protestant Refugees.*

We find the skilful and kind-hearted Envoy writing from Paris on the subject at a much earlier date, viz., 5th June 1679:—"The Archbishop of Paris and the Père de la Chaise do all they can to prevail with this king to make him revenge the quarrel of the English Catholics upon the French Protestants, who tremble for fear of some violent persecution, and are ready to go into England in such vast numbers as would be a great advantage to the nation, if you would, by easy naturalization, make it the least easy to them. I find those who are rich are afraid our King (Charles) should meddle with their concerns, but the crowd and the number talk of nothing but the necessity of his declaring himself Protector of the whole Protestant religion, and live upon the hopes of seeing that glorious day. How ripe you are for such designs I cannot answer. . . . All protestants are turned out of all places except just the *gens de robe*, but all in the finances and all the common soldiers in the guards are cashiered, which would be no disadvantage to you in a dispute with this crown, for you would have them all if you pleased." Near the end of this letter, he says, "I hear from England I shall be forced to keep a chaplain, which I never less needed, having never failed Charenton† one Sunday since I came into France. How much more that is for the king's service you cannot imagine, unless you saw how kindly those poor people take so small a countenancing as mine is."

Viscount Halifax, replying on June 12th, writes:—"It becomes the zeal of the French clergy to press the king to a persecution by way of revenge upon us here; but I will hope wiser things of the government there than that so unreasonable a thing should prevail. However, if the fear of it putteth thoughts into the Protestants of removing hither, I am sure we must renounce all good sense if we do not encourage them by all possible invitations. It hath ever been so much my principle that I have wondered at our neglecting a thing we ought to seek; and those that have not zeal enough to endeavour it for the preserving of our religion, might have wit enough to do it for the increasing our trade. But to think of any greater designs is not fit for our age; we may please ourselves with dreaming of such things, but we must never hope to get further. . . . I approve your going to Charenton, and your countenancing the Protestants, which I think the principal work of an English Minister in France; but I am apt to believe it may make the court there very weary of you, it being a method that they have of late been so little used to, that they take it for an injury." On the last-mentioned topic Lord Rochester wrote to Henry Savile in a jocular strain, "I cannot deny you a share in the high satisfaction I have received at the account which flourishes here of your high Protestancy in Paris. Charenton was never so honoured as since your residence and ministry in France."

Passing on to 1681, we find our envoy writing to Mr. Secretary Jenkins, on June 25, "The Huguenots are in daily expectation of a very severe edict against them, by which any of their children shall be capable of choosing their religion at seven years old; how this will correct the chastisement of their parents, and how it will expose them to the temptations of the seducers

* See the "Savile Correspondence," edited, for the Camden Society, by William Durrant Cooper, F.S.A.

† "having never failed Charenton," i.e., having never been absent from Protestant Public Worship.

is enough apparent. In Poitou the quartering soldiers upon them has made so many proselytes that the same trick is to be tried in Languedoc, and five hundred dragoons are ordered to march thither for that purpose." Again on July 2d, "The edict I mentioned in one of my last concerning the Huguenots and their children does so alarm them that they are making extraordinary deputations to the king to prevent it. By the next post I shall give you a better account of it. In the meantime our want of a Bill of Naturalization is a most cruel thing in this conjuncture." The edict was still unpublished on 5th July, at which date Savile says:—"Old Monsieur de Ruvigny has given a memorial to the king concerning the edict coming forth about the children of the Huguenots. The king said he would consider of it. But these poor people are in such fear that they hurry their children out of France in shoals, not doubting but this edict will soon be followed by another to forbid their sending them out of the kingdom. I will confidently aver that had a Bill of Naturalization passed in England last winter, there had been at least fifty thousand souls passed over by this time." This edict was out in time for Savile's next letter, dated 12th July; he says to Secretary Jenkins, "I send you the terrible new edict concerning the Huguenots. They are more sensible of this than all the former mortifications have been given them."

Our good Envoy's final appeal was dated at Paris 22d July 1681, "And now, sir, let me say something concerning the Protestants of this kingdom. . . . The whole body of these are in perfect obedience, and have been so personally serviceable to this very king, (Louis XIV.), that in one of his edicts he does himself own the crown upon his head to their services in the last civil war; so that this ought to be no very prevalent argument to hinder the king (Charles II.) from pleading their cause, especially when in all human appearance both his foreign and domestic concerns would receive new life from an avowed protection of all the Protestants in Europe—a station God Almighty has so long offered to his family, and would, no doubt, upon so sound a bottom, make him flourish equally with a great predecessor of his own, who found this the only way to be quiet in HER life, and glorious after it. Now should His Majesty's circumstances admit of these measures, were not* the properest method to begin with a declaration to all Europe, in French and Latin, to offer countenance and encouragement to all such as, receiving prejudice from the profession of the Protestant Religion in any other countries, could come and harbour themselves in his? The effect of this would be that no restrictions whatsoever would hinder these people from going to him, who submit to their miseries here for want of assurance of not finding as great elsewhere. . . .

"I have formerly urged to one of your predecessors the number of French seamen of this religion, their willingness and easiness of transportation, the considerable number of wealthy people ready with great sums to come over to you; nay, I had once (and hope upon good encouragement I could retrieve them) prepared a body of men that should have brought you the manufacture of sail-cloth, so much wanted in England; but all this was upon the hopes of a Bill of Naturalization, which, so unfortunately failing, lessened my credit with them, as well as my hopes of doing a considerable service to the nation. But all these matters may be recovered again by a hearty declaration, by some sort of commission established for strangers to address to upon their first arrival, and by a Bank in the city on purpose for this use that men may convey their estates with great privacy. . . .

"Though I have dwelt much too long upon this subject, I cannot omit telling you, the ports of France are stopped to all Protestants under the age of sixteen; three hundred were upon it refused passage for England last week at Dieppe; and though I know any prince may stop his ports to his own subjects, I question whether, in a case of no crime, they can regularly be debarred going into the territories of a prince in amity. I leave that circumstance, as well as all others, to your better judgment, craving pardon for this long trouble, which I shall conclude with my most hearty wishes that His Majesty would concern himself as far in this matter as can consist with his power and dignity, to free these poor oppressed people, who are like to

* "were not . . .?"—*i.e.*, would it not be &c. ?

suffer all the miseries that can be invented by the malice of the Jesuits, and executed by the boundless power of this king, who in things of this nature has given himself so wholly into their hands that their credit with him has given jealousy to all his other ministers, whereof not one does approve these methods, but are willing upon all occasions to declare they are not the authors of them.—I am, Sir, your most faithful and most humble servant,

“HEN. SAVILE.

“To Mr. Secy. Jenkins.”

The result of this fine appeal was that the Secretary of State encouraged some French Protestants, who had already become refugees, to draw up a paper detailing the steps which might be advantageously taken in the matter by the British Government. This document was presented to the King in Council on the 31st July; a committee was then appointed to prepare a draft of the Royal Proclamation, which was formally signed and issued on the 7th August, (*i.e.*, 28th July, old style.)

The following was Secretary Jenkins' written reply to Savile:—

“Whitehall, 7th Aug. (28th July) 1681:—“What you write of the poor Protestants of that side is great sense and a noble compassion. On this day se'ennight there was a Memorial, drawn by some of them already come over, read before His Majesty in Council. His Majesty ordered letters immediately to be prepared for his royal signature to my Lord of London and my Lord Mayor for the making a speedy collection to answer in some measure their present necessities. The memorial His Majesty was pleased to refer to a committee; and of eight or nine points which the French demanded as an help and an ease towards their transport and settlement, there was nothing but what my Lords assented to, as far as the things were practicable here. I do hope the collection in London will prove considerable, and may be so disposed of as may best suit with the exigencies of those people. Besides this collection there is a Brief directed to be issued out, all the kingdom over; and His Majesty this day agreed to everything in the report and advice of the committee.”

Of the same date is a letter from the Earl of Halifax containing this sentence:—“I shall endeavour to justify my Protestantship by doing all that is in my power towards the encouragement of those that shall take sanctuary here out of France.”

The following is the Proclamation:—

“At the Court at Hampton Court, the 28th day of July 1681.

Present—The King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Lord Viscount Fauconberg.

Lord President.

Lord Viscount Hyde.

Lord Privy Seal.

Lord Bishop of London.

Earl of Clarendon.

Mr. Secretary Jenkins.

Earl of Bathe.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Earl of Craven.

Mr. Seymour.

Earl of Halifax.

Mr. Godolphin.

Earl of Conway.

“His Majesty, by his order in Council of the 21st of July instant, having been graciously pleased to refer a Memorial presented to His Majesty in behalf of the distressed Protestants abroad to the consideration of the Right Honourable the Lords Committees of this Board for Trade and Plantations, with directions to report their opinion thereupon; and their Lordships having this day made their Report to His Majesty in Council; His Majesty, upon due consideration thereof had, was pleased to declare that he holds himself obliged in honour and conscience to comfort and support all such afflicted Protestants who, by reason of the rigours and severities which are used towards them upon the account of their religion, shall be forced to quit their native country, and shall desire to shelter themselves under His Majesty's royal protection, for the preservation and free exercise of their religion.

“And in order hereunto His Majesty was pleased further to declare, that he will grant unto every such distressed Protestant, who shall come hither for refuge and reside here, his Letters

of Denization under the Great Seal without any charge whatsoever, and likewise such further privileges and immunities as are consistent with the laws for the liberty and free exercise of their trades and handicrafts; and that His Majesty will likewise recommend it to his Parliament at their next meeting to pass an Act for the general naturalization of all such Protestants as shall come over as aforesaid, and for the further enlarging their liberties and franchises granted to them by His Majesty as reasonably may be necessary for them. And for their encouragement His Majesty is likewise pleased to grant unto them that they shall pay no greater duties in any case than His Majesty's own natural-born subjects; and that they shall have all the privileges and immunities that generally His Majesty's native subjects have for the introduction of their children into schools and colleges.

"And His Majesty was likewise pleased to order, and it is hereby ordered accordingly, that all His Majesty's officers, both civil and military, do give a kind reception to all such Protestants as shall arrive within any of His Majesty's ports in this kingdom, and to furnish them with free passports, and give them all assistance and furtherance in their journeys to the places to which they shall desire to go. And the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury are to give orders to the Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs to suffer the said Protestants to pass free with their goods and household stuff whether of a greater or a smaller value, together with their tools and instruments belonging to their crafts or trades, and generally all what belongs to them that may be imported according to the laws now in force, without exacting anything from them.

"And for the further relief and encouragement of the said necessitous Protestants, His Majesty hath been pleased to give order for a general Brief through his Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick, for collecting the charity of all well-disposed persons, for the relief of the said Protestants who may stand in need thereof. And to the end that when any such come over they may know where to address themselves to fitting persons to lay their requests and complaints before His Majesty, His Majesty was graciously pleased to appoint the Most Reverend Father in God His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of London, or either of them, to receive all the said requests and petitions, and to present the same to His Majesty, to the end such order may be given therein as shall be necessary."

Of the money raised by the collections in the Churches I shall have to speak in another Section. In this place I give some important extracts from one of the sermons delivered on the occasion; the preacher was the learned George Hickee, D.D.

In the introduction he said, "It hath been the practice of all good Christians to *suffer* or *fly*. For so we are used to speak, not that flight is not one sort of suffering (for it implies forsaking of house, relations, land, and country.) But it is the custom of all languages to speak of the lesser evil as of a good. And so *flight* is, if it be compared with death, slavery, or bodily torments, which are more emphatically called *sufferings*; though really in itself it is also a great degree of suffering, for which the person so flying from persecution shall be rewarded with everlasting life. I say it hath been the inviolable practice of all good Christians to suffer or fly, and never to resist. So the primitive Christians did under Pagan, Arian, and Apostate Emperors—the Waldenses under Pagano-Christian or Popish powers—our own ancestors in the days of Queen Mary—and now, our poor brethren of the Reformed French Communion, who are fled hither in assurance of His Majesty's protection and his Protestant subjects' charity, to whom he, as it becomes so great a patron of the Protestant cause, hath most affectionately recommended them."

In the third head of his discourse Dr Hickee gives the following summary of their sufferings:—"They are deprived of the ancient liberties which were granted unto them by former Princes, the father and grandfather of this present king. Many of their Universities are dissolved (Sedan, the college of Rochefoucauld and that of Chatillon); and more than half their temples are razed, contrary to the faith of oaths and edicts, and against the common right of prescription of three and four score years. They are not allowed to erect Free Schools for the education of

their own children, nor hospitals for the maintenance of their own poor, nor can they have the benefit of any already erected, without turning to the Popish religion. The Lords of Manors among them, who formerly had right to keep ministers and set up the Reformed Worship in their own houses, and call their neighbours and tenants into it by the sound of a bell, are now in the most arbitrary manner deprived of that privilege. And in the cities where they are most numerous, Colleges of Jesuits or Houses of Mission for propagating the faith are erected, into which undutiful children or servants, under a pretence of turning Catholics, may retreat when they please. And in the greatest of those cities, where perhaps ten schoolmasters could hardly teach all their children, the late laws allow them but one, and their unjust magistrates commonly none.

“They are forbidden to set up the *Fleurs de Luces* in their churches, because they must not bear any marks of royal favour; and as a further token of royal displeasure and contempt, their chief seats and most costly pews are ordered to be pulled down.

“Formerly Papists were allowed solemnly to renounce their religion in the Protestant Temples (as at Charenton, La Rochelle, Montpellier, Nismes); and scarce a Lord's-Day passed in the places where they were numerous, but some converts might be seen so to renounce. But now all Papists are forbidden to turn Protestants, under pain of death, or the penalty called *l'amende honorable*, in which the recanting person, only in his shirt, with a torch in his hand, and a rope about his neck, and the hangman standing behind him, begs pardon of God and man for having renounced the Catholic (as they miscall the Romish) religion, and is afterwards punished with banishment, if not with confiscation of goods.

“On the contrary, Protestants have all imaginable encouragement to turn Papists—pensions, honours, offices, and preferments; and to secure them after they have once declared, the aforementioned severity (as I have been informed) is the punishment of a relapse.

“The magistrates of the place have authority to go with the priest and what other company they please, to visit sick Protestants and turn their friends and attendants out of the room, and discourse with them about their religion. And if either hopes of reward, or a delirious condition, or impatience, or any other cause, make them speak anything in favour of the Romish religion, then they presently take witness that they turned Papists; after which, if the sick persons die, they are to be buried as Papists, and if they left children behind them, they also are to be bred Papists. But if they recover, they are obnoxious to the law against a relapse.

“Their ministers cannot, without great danger and difficulty, visit Protestants who lie sick in Popish houses; but every pitiful *Sacrificulus*, every ignorant busy priest, hath authority to go into Protestant houses and visit the sick as often as they please. And when their women are in travail, like the Hebrew women in the time of hardened Pharaoh, they must have Popish Egyptian midwives, which is a far greater terror to many of them than the pains of childbed itself.

“Formerly they were capable of the magistracy in cities and boroughs, where they lived; but now they are incapacitated. Formerly they were to sit in their Courts of Justice as the *Chambers of the Edict* (so called from the Edict of Nantes by which they were erected in favour of Protestants) and the *Parti-Chambers* of the Provinces (where half the judges are Protestants and half Papists), but now they are deprived of that privilege. So that for want of judges of their own religion they have little or no benefit of the law when a Catholic is their antagonist. But when both parties are Protestants, if one change (or promise to change) his religion, he is usually sure to gain the cause.

“And as they are banished from the Bench so are they banished from the Bar and Faculties, for no Protestant can be counsellor, attorney, notary, surgeon, apothecary, midwife, &c. In one word, they are made utterly incapable of all employments civil or military, and by that means are deprived of all honours and better conveniencies of life, of all the comfortable means of subsistence and well-being which the Papists enjoy in their offices, at court and in the country, in peace and in war, and in the armies both by sea and land.

“This is their miserable condition; and (what is yet worse) their children have liberty at

seven years of age to choose their own religion. And if, to prevent the mischief that may follow upon this, they send their children away, they must forfeit a year's revenue of their estates if they do not produce them within a year, but if they do not produce them within two years, then they must forfeit the whole. In case they have no visible estates, then they are subject to arbitrary valuations, and to arbitrary fines imposed thereupon.

"If their children upon this liberty happen to change their religion (as many will do rather than endure wholesome discipline), their parents are bound to maintain them as they do their other children, or else to allow them a pension for their maintenance. And their daughters so changing may leave their parents and go into nunneries when they please.

"This is the complement of all their other miseries. And to avoid so great a mischief it is that they fly in flocks to Protestant countries, that they may save the souls of their own bowels, and not have them bred up in Popish darkness and the regions of the shadow of death. Some have slipped away by night with their families, and driven without intermission till they have got out of their imperious Prince's dominions. And others, as is credibly reported, have shipped off their little ones packed up in bales of merchantable goods.

"As for their ministers, they upon any pretended crimes are banished, fined, or imprisoned on purpose to make them forsake their flocks, and to discourage the people from putting their children to the study of Divinity. Nay, they are in an especial manner obnoxious to the barbarous cruelties and insults of the soldiery, who have free quarter upon the poor Protestants, whom they abuse to what degree they please.

"In some provinces (as Poitou, Xaintonge, and about Rochelle) they trail them like dogs by the neck to the mass, torture them till they renounce their religion, and most inhumanly misuse or murder those whom God enables to resist unto blood. And though these tyrannical and arbitrary outrages be not done by open order, yet it may be presumed they are done upon connivance, and according to the secret will of the supreme authority; since those that do them are neither punished nor restrained, notwithstanding the complaints which the sufferers daily make at court. These barbarous insolences, added to the severity of the royal edicts, you may be sure adds wings to their haste, and makes them fly in great hurry and confusion into foreign countries. And the providence of God hath cast many of them, like shipwrecked men on our coasts, and expects that we should show them no little kindness, but receive them courteously, and do good unto them in an especial manner, as unto them that are of the household of faith. They are persecuted, but we must not forsake them; they are grievously cast down, but in such an exigence as this we must not let them be destroyed."

So far Dr Hickes, who had been much on the Continent as a travelling tutor, and, having correspondents abroad, was fully competent to draw up an elaborate, accurate, and interesting statement such as the above.

The following tidings appeared in a newspaper:—"Plymouth, 6th Sept., 1681.—An open boat arrived here yesterday, in which were forty or fifty French Protestants who resided outside La Rochelle. Four others left with this boat, one of which is said to have put into Dartmouth, but it is not yet known what became of the other three."

Section III.

THE VARIEGATED POLICY OF JAMES II., AND WILLIAM AND MARY'S FRIENDSHIP TOWARDS THE REFUGEES.

THE date of the accession of James, Duke of York, to the British throne is 6th Feb. 1685; this king looked on the refugees with an evil eye. The impolicy of summarily discon-

tinuing his late brother's hospitality was self-evident; and from his subsequent scheme of toleration, the Huguenots could not be omitted. But Henry Savile, now established at home as Vice-Chamberlain, knew the king's antipathies, and wrote (in July 1685), "I am of opinion that the next two or three months will be so very critical as to our affairs, that it will be seen within that compass of time whether England can in any degree be a sanctuary for distressed Protestants."

The notorious Jeffries, who had been continued in office as Chief-Justice, was made Lord Chancellor on Sept. 28, as the reward of his recent cruelties. One of his chaplains bore the French Protestant name of Beaulieu; but as in 1685 he was rector of Whitchurch (Oxfordshire), we have reason to believe that he did not attend his patron in public, or share in the odium of the Chief-Justice and the Lord Chancellor. He took his degree of B.D. in 1685 (July 7th), and Wood states that he was born in France, educated for a time in the University of Saumur, came into England on account of religion "eighteen year or more before this time," exercised his ministerial function, was naturalized, made divinity reader in the chapel of St George's at Windsor, and was a student at Oxford for the sake of the library in "1680 and after." He was sometimes spoken of as Dean Beaulieu, though he did not rise to higher rank than Prebendary of Gloucester. He translated Bishop Cosin's latin History of Transubstantiation into English; the signature of his prefatory epistle is "Luke de Beaulieu."

In October of the first year of James the Second, Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes. Great numbers of refugees came over, and a collection in the churches, which had to be authorized by the Lord Chancellor's brief, could not be refused. Jeffries did what he could to gratify the king's private wishes, first by putting off the collection as long as he could, and then by requiring conformity to the English ceremonies from the refugees as the condition of receiving their individual shares of the fund. The multitudes who left the inhospitable gate without relief while this embargo lasted have made sufficient impression on the national memory to convince us that those refugees who declared their indifference as to the English liturgical disputes did not represent the majority of their brethren.

In the end of 1685 the Marquis de Bonrepaus was sent from France as a special envoy to entice back the industrious refugees. He was ostentatiously welcomed by the king, but failed in his overtures to the exiles as a body. In the following May he reported the embarkation for France of two hundred and fifty-three of the industrial classes; and with them were twenty-seven naval officers and three hundred and fifty-four sailors. A letter in the Ellis Correspondence of two years' later date summarizes the envoy's ill success and its cause in the following concise sentence:—"London, 24th July 1686.—The French king is said to be inviting back his subjects from all parts, especially the handicraft part of them, whose departure is said to have much prejudiced his revenue, and promiseth them his toleration; though it doth not appear they are forward to believe that an Order of Council can preserve what the Edict of Nantes could not." In a despatch with regard to the aforesaid embarkation dated 5th May 1686, Bonrepaus writes:—"The King of England, who looks upon the fugitives as his enemies (*qui regarde ces fugitifs comme ses ennemis*), took no heed of the complaints made to him upon the subject."

A complaint of an opposite kind met with attention. On May 8th 1686 the French Ambassador formally complained of the translation into the English language of Pasteur Claude's book which had been published in Holland, entitled, "*Les Plaintes des Protestans cruellement opprimés dans le Royaume de France.*" By order of the King in Council, copies, both of the original book and of the translation, were burnt in the city of London by the common hangman before the Royal Exchange. The indignation of the people was tremendous; and the Ambassador Barillon in his despatch hinted that Louis XIV. must regard such demands as inexpedient for the future, the feeling of the nation never having been so greatly roused since James's accession.

The King lavishly provided his printer, Henry Hills, with Papistical propagandist employment, part of which was the issuing of translations of French Pamphlets denying the whole

history of the sufferings of the Protestants of France. Bishop Bossuet's contribution to the stock of lies was published with the title:—"A Pastoral Letter from the Lord Bishop of Meaux to the New Catholics of his diocese exhorting them to keep their Easter, and giving them necessary advertisements against the false pastoral letters of their ministers, with Reflections upon the PRETENDED PERSECUTION." This publication called forth two replies, one of which, as to disputed statements of fact, was very short, and was in these words:—

"There can be but two aims, as I apprehend, in dispersing this letter among us; one, to persuade us that there is no such persecution of Protestants in France as is pretended; the other, that the reasons upon which such multitudes are proselyted to the Church of Rome, or those at least which Monsieur Meaux gives in this letter, are so convincing as to oblige the rest of the world to follow their example.

"What he affirms in relation to the first, that *not one among them had suffered violence either in person or goods*, is so notorious a falsehood, that I must leave all those to believe him who can."*

A longer answer was given by Dr. Wake, the great Protestant champion, "who (says Burnet) having long been in France, chaplain to the Lord Preston, brought over with him many curious discoveries that were both useful and surprising." The French Bishop's Pastoral was dated March 24, 1686. This man Bossuet was the chief of the authors of James II.'s era employed in drawing portraits of Popery, which, by a large amount of fabrication and of concealment, represented it as a religion almost identical with Protestantism. But in successive editions of Bossuet's Exposition some of these deceptions had to be omitted as tending to corrupt Catholics as much as to catch proselytes. When Dr. Wake called attention to these changes and contradictions, Bossuet replied that they were only literary emendations of plan and style. Accordingly the *Nouvelle* for June 1686 opened a sarcastic article with this sentence:—"On écrit de Paris que M. de Meaux retranchera de la 2^e Edition de sa Lettre Pastorale l'endroit où il dit aux nouveaux Catholiques de son Diocèse qu'ils n'ont point souffert de violence en leurs biens ni en leurs personnes, et qu'il a oui dire la même chose aux autres Evêques." [They write from Paris that the Bishop of Meaux will retrench in the second edition of his Pastoral Letter the place where he tells the new converts of his diocese that they have not suffered any violence either in their goods or in their persons, and that he heard the other bishops say the same thing.] This ironical announcement was gravely contradicted by Bossuet himself, in a letter to his English vindicator, dated from Meaux, 13th May, 1687. Thereupon Dr. Wake wrote the following indignant reply, which, as setting forth the whole case, I copy for my readers' benefit:—

"I cannot without confusion repeat what you would be thought to have written without blushing. But I must follow whither yourself have led me, and speak those things which (if you have yet any regard to your own dignity, any sense even of common Christianity itself) will certainly bring upon you the most sensible perplexity of mind and great confusion of face. In your Pastoral Letter to the new converts of your diocese you tell them, 'I do not marvel, my dearest brethren, that you are returned in troops and with so great ease to the Church where your ancestors served God. Not one of you hath suffered violence either in his person or goods. Let them not bring you these deceitful letters (which are addressed from strangers transformed into pastors) under the title of *Pastoral Letters to the Protestants of France that are fallen by the force of torments*. So far have you been from suffering torments that you have not so much as heard them mentioned. You are returned peaceably to us; you know it.'

"This you now again confirm, as to what 'has passed in the diocese of Meaux and several others, as you were informed by the bishops your brethren and your friends (*dont les évêques mes confrères et mes amis m'avoient fait le récit*); and you do again assert, in the presence of God who is to judge the living and the dead, that you spoke nothing but the truth.'

* An Answer to the Bishop of Condom (now of Meaux) his Exposition of the Catholic Faith, &c., to which are added Reflections on his Pastoral Letter, 1686; page 118.

† A Second Defence of the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England. Part First, page 24, &c. (London 1687).

“ And believe me, my Lord, that God whom you call to witness has heard you ; and will one day bring you to judgment for it.

“ For tell me, good my Lord,—have those edicts which the king has published against the Protestants of France (and in which he involves not only his own subjects, but as far as he can, all the other Protestants of Europe) made any exception for the Diocese of Meaux? Have not their churches been pulled down—their ministers banished—their children ravished out of their bosoms—their sick forced into your hospitals, exposed to the rudeness of the magistrates and clergy—their shops shut up—their offices and employments taken from them—and all opportunities of the public service of God been precluded—there as well as in other places?

“ See, my Lord, that black collection which Monsieur Le Fevre (Dr of the Sorbonne) has lately published with the king’s privilege (*Nouveau Recueil de tout ce qui s’est fait pour et contre les Protestants en France, Paris 1686*) of those edicts whereby, as he confesses, the Reformed have in effect been persecuted for these thirty years. Has your diocese escaped the rigour of but any one of these? Or is there nothing of violence either to men’s persons or goods in them?

“ Your Lordship, I perceive by some of your private letters, is not a stranger to Monsieur Le Suer, and to whom I have had the honour for some years to be particularly known. Was he not driven from La Ferté, even before the Edict of Nantes was revoked? And was there nothing of *violence* in all this? Was that poor man forced to forsake all that he had, and seek for refuge in foreign countries, first in England, then in Holland, and did he yet (with his numerous family) suffer nothing neither in his person nor goods? And might I not say the same of the other ministers, his brethren in your diocese, were I as well acquainted with their conditions?

“ But it may be you will *expound* yourself of those who remained behind and changed their religion. And can you in conscience say that they returned peaceably to you? Does a town that holds out as long as it can, and when it is just ready to be carried by storm, then capitulates, yield itself up peaceably to the will of the conqueror? They saw desolation everywhere surround them; the fire was come even to their very doors. The dragoons were arrived at your own city of Meaux. Before they were quartered upon the poor people, you call them for the last trial to a conference. Here you appear moderate even beyond your own *Exposition*, and ready to receive them upon any terms. What should they now do? Change they must; the deliberation was only whether they should do it a few days sooner, and prevent their ruin, or be exposed to the merciless fury of these new converters. Upon this follows the effect you mention. When the dragoons stood armed to ruin them if they did not yield, *then they returned in troops* AND WITH GREAT EASE to the Church where their ancestors served God.

“ And yet after all, has no one, my lord, even of these suffered violence either in his person or goods? Judge, I pray you, by the extract I will here give you of a letter which I received in answer to my particular desires of being informed how things passed in your diocese:—

“ It is true that the dragoons were not lodged in the diocese of Meaux, but they came to their doors; and the people being just ready to be ruined, yielded to their fears, insomuch that, seeing afterwards the pastoral letter, they would not give any heed to it, saying, that seeing it was so visibly false in an article of such importance, it did not deserve to be believed by them in the rest. Only one gentleman of the bishopric of Meaux, Louis Segnier, Lord of Charmois, (a relation of the late Chancellor’s of the same name) had the dragoons. ’Tis true that after he had signed, he was repaired in some part of the loss he had sustained. But it happened that he did not afterwards discharge the part of a good catholic. He was therefore put in prison, first in his own country, but, (it being impossible there to deprive him of all sort of commerce), to take him absolutely from it, he has since been transferred to the Tour of Guise, where he is at present. Two other gentlemen of the same country are also prisoners on the same account.’

“ But there is an answer to your pastoral letter that goes yet further:—*Answer to the Pastoral Letter of my Lord of Meaux*, (Amsterdam, chez Pierre Savoret, 1686). He tells you

of Monsieur Monceau, a man of seventy-seven years of age, shut up in a convent; of the cruelties exercised upon two orphan children of Monsieur Mirat, the one but of nine, the other of ten years old, at La Fertè-sous-Jouarre. Nay, my Lord, he adds, how even your lordship (who in the conference appeared so moderate) in the visitation of your diocese three months after threatened them that would not go to mass, that continued to read their Protestant books, or to sing their Psalms. And will you yet say there has been nothing of violence in your diocese—you are returned peaceably to us, you know it?

“I must then descend to the last sort of conviction, and out of your own mouth you shall be judged. Your lordship will easily see what it is I mean. The copies of your own letters to Monsieur U., who was forced to fly from his country, and out of your diocese, upon the account of the persecution you now deny, and which were printed last year at Berne, in Switzerland, (with the title, *La Seduction Eludée, ou Lettres de Monsieur L’Evêque de Meaux à un de ses diocésains qui s’est sauvé de la Persecution*), have sufficiently satisfied the world of your sincerity on this point.

“Your first letter is dated at Meaux, Oct. 17, 1685. In this, after having exhorted him to return to you, by assuring him, that he should find your arms open to receive him, you tell him, ‘That people ought not to please themselves that they suffer persecution, unless they are well assured that it is for righteousness sake.’ (It was too much to deny the persecution to one who was just escaped out of it, and therefore you thought it better to flourish upon it). To this he replies, Jan. 28, 1686, ‘That he pleased himself so little in the persecution, that it was to avoid those places where it reigned, that according to the precept of the Gospel he was fled into another.’ And then he goes on to testify the just scandal which the persecution had given him against your religion. Your answer to this was of April 13, 1686, or rather not so much to this as to one he had sent about the same time to his lady, and wherein he had (it seems) again declared how scandalized he was at the Persecution. And here you enter in good earnest on the argument. Instead of denying the Persecution, you defend it. *You cannot (you say) find where heretics and schismatics are excepted out of the number of those evil-doers, against whom St Paul tells us that God has armed Christian Princes.* (Dites-moi en quel endroit de l’Ecriture les heretiques et les schismatiques sont exceptés du nombre de ces malfaiteurs, contre lesquels St Paul a dit que Dieu même a armé les Princes).

“And here, my lord, I shall stop and not multiply proofs in a matter so clear as this. Only let me remember you that there is but ten days’ difference between the date of this and of your Pastoral Letter—too little a while to have made so great a change. But I suppose we ought to remember here (what you told us before of the manuscript copy of your Exposition) that these private letters were designed only for the instruction of a particular person, and not to be printed; whereas that other which you addressed to your diocese was intended to be published, and therefore required another turn.

“*As for the Bishops your brethren and friends,* who have, you say, affirmed the same thing, your lordship would do us a singular pleasure to let us know whether they were not some of those that approved your Exposition. It was a pity that they did not set their reverend names to your Pastoral Letter too. We should then have been abundantly convinced of their integrity, and that they are as fit to approve such tracts, as your lordship to write them. And he must be very unreasonable that would not have been convinced by their authority, that your Exposition gives as true an account of the doctrine of your Church as your Pastoral Letter does of the state of your diocese.

“You will excuse me, my lord, that I have insisted thus long upon these reflections. If you are indeed sensible of what you have done, no shame that can from hence arise to you will seem too much; and if you are not, I am sure none can be enough. I beseech God, whom you call to witness against your own soul, to give you a due sense of all these things; and then I may hope that you will read this with the same sentiments of sorrow and regret as I can truly assure you I have written it.”

Thus the flames which consumed Claude’s little book, and the falsehoods circulated in

pamphlets, failed in the villainous design against the Protestants, and only contributed to display to fuller advantage the claims of the Huguenot refugees to British hospitality. The English people believed in the Persecution. But the great arguments by which they were convinced, were the living flesh, blood, and tongues of the refugees. A cotemporary English expositor of the Apocalypse remarked, concerning the Persecution, “at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by the king of France”:—“Nothing of that kind, since the heathen persecutions, did ever make a greater noise in the world to draw the like observation of all men after it, than the new acts of cruelty against the French Protestants, which made life appear more dreadful to them than present death and martyrdom. There was indeed all artifice used by the Ecclesiastics to conceal and disguise the truth of these proceedings, as if there had been no methods of force or violence heard of among them. But the vast multitudes, which poured themselves into all the neighbouring nations round about them, were a sufficient *cloud of witnesses* to all the world to confirm them in the certainty of it. And the miseries, to which they exposed themselves to get free from the force and violence which they were there under, are unquestionable assurances of the horrors of it.”*

The Huguenot sailors, who returned to France on the invitation of Bonrepaus, had probably been starved through King James's neglect; for it is recorded that at an early period of his reign he had prohibited the employment of their military officers. Yet, such was the benevolent and sympathetic feeling of the people of England, none of the refugee ministers or civilians had to complain of any visible tokens of royal displeasure.

Among the benefactors of the refugees the Earl of Bedford was conspicuous; to him the French Protestant *Synodicon* was dedicated. Rachel, Lady Russell, had the Huguenots constantly in her thoughts. In consulting about a tutor for her son, she writes, (Jan. 7, 1686), “I am much advised, and indeed inclined, to take a Frenchman; so I shall do a charity, and profit the child also, who should learn French. Here are many scholars come over, as are of all kinds, God knows.” Sir William Coventry of Bampton, in Oxfordshire, died in the summer of 1686, and his will contained this important paragraph:—“I give and bequeath the sum of £2000 for the relief of poor French Protestants in this kingdom, and £3000 to be employed for the redemption of English captives in slavery in Turkey or Barbary, both which sums I will shall be paid to Dr Henry Compton, now Bishop of London, and Dr John Fell, now Bishop of Oxford, or the survivor of them, to whose pious care I recommend and entrust the disposition thereof.”

When as a step to Popish ascendancy a Declaration of Liberty of Conscience was issued by the king, the Protestants felt that the interests of toleration were unsafe in such hands, and that its promotion ought to be delayed till a true friend and genuine promoter of toleration should arise. The Protestant Dissenters, having endured both mental and bodily suffering under the penal laws, found themselves in a perplexing difficulty, on account of the evident reasons for joy and congratulation upon the suspension of pains and penalties. But the great majority of their leaders, with singular sagacity and patriotism, came to the decision that, liberty of conscience being a boon belonging to man through the gift of God, they should use it, but would not formally or publicly thank the king for it. The French refugees were in a similar dilemma, besides having the desire to give every expression of gratitude to the king of the hospitable island for the national hospitality asked, accepted, and enjoyed by them. In order to promote just and thoughtful sentiments among them, Dr Wake translated and published “A Letter from several French Ministers, fled into Germany upon account of the Persecution in France, to such of their Brethren in England, as approved the King's Declaration touching liberty of conscience.” I am indebted to old Anthony a-Wood for this transcript of the title page; † if my endeavours to find the pamphlet had been successful, I might have culled some interesting specimens of its contents.

* The Judgment of God upon the Roman Catholic Church, by Drue Cressener, D.D. Lond. 1689; page 137.

† Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii 1060, (*Art.* WILLIAM WAKE.)

“England,” says Michelet (speaking of her great deliverer William III.), “ought magnanimously to avow the part which our Frenchmen had in her deliverance. Amid chilling delay on the part of her people, William’s army was firm—and the Calvinistic element made it so, our Huguenots I mean—three French aides-de-camp—three infantry regiments, numbering 2250 men, a most redoubtable contingent, full of Turenne’s veterans, officers and gentlemen who in that holy war were thankful to serve in the ranks—a squadron of French cavalry—and many Huguenot officers distributed through other regiments. Here stood men, who had lost their all upon earth, who had no hearth but the ground overshadowed by the Orange flag, men who would have died over and over again rather than give way. With such a surrounding, hirelings and adventurers could not but march right on, when the right time, patiently expected, had come.”*

The industry and varied accomplishments of the refugees had already been appreciated. Their grand qualifications to be soldiers in an European Protestant alliance now rose into view. It was therefore resolved to renew the invitation to the Huguenots of France. The following Declaration was issued (and was printed at London by Charles Bill and Thomas Newcomb, Printers to the King and Queen’s most excellent Majesties, 1689):—

“At the Court at Whitehall, 25th April 1689.

Present, The King’s most excellent Majesty in Council.
H. R. H. Prince George of Denmark.

Lord President.	Earl of Fauconberg.
Lord Privy Seal.	Earl of Monmouth.
Duke of Norfolk.	Earl of Montagu.
Duke of Shonberg.	Earl of Marleborough.
Duke of Bolton,	Viscount Newport.
Lord Steward.	Viscount Lumley.
Lord Chamberlain.	Viscount Sydney.
Earl of Oxford.	Mr Comptroller.
Earl of Shrewsbury.	Sir Henry Capell.
Earl of Bedford.	Mr Vice-Chamberlain.
Earl of Bathe.	Mr Speaker.
Earl of Maclesfeld.	Mr Hampden.
Earl of Nottingham.	Mr Boscawen.
Earl of Portland.	Mr Harbord.

“By the King and Queen. A Declaration for the encouraging of French Protestants to transport themselves into this kingdom.

“Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to deliver our Realm of England and the subjects thereof, from the persecution lately threatening them for their religion, and from the oppression and destruction which the subversion of their laws and the arbitrary exercise of power and dominion over them had very near introduced,—We finding in our subjects a true and just sense hereof and of the miseries and oppressions the French Protestants lie under,—for their relief and to encourage them that shall be willing to transport themselves, their families, and estates, into this our kingdom, we do hereby DECLARE, That all French Protestants that shall seek their refuge in, and transport themselves into, this our kingdom, shall not only have our royal protection for themselves, families, and estates within this our realm, but we will also do our endeavour in all reasonable ways and means so to support, aid, and assist them in their several and respective trades and ways of livelihood as that their living and being in this realm may be comfortable and easy to them.”

The biographies, of which this work is composed, show what a true friend of the refugees King William was. In his beneficence Queen Mary completely and practically sympathized; and her wisdom and thoughtfulness in this and all the other cares of her exalted station will

* Michelet’s France au 17me. siècle, vol. xiii., p. 419.

appear all the more admirable when we observe, that at her death in 1694 she had not completed the thirty-third year of her life. The king's admiration and employment of the French refugees explain a very large portion of the meaning of Defoe's allusions in the following lines from "The True-born Englishman."

We blame the king that he relies too much
On strangers, Germans, Hugonots and Dutch,
And seldom does his great affairs of State,
To English councillors communicate.
The fact might very well be answer'd thus :
He has so often been betray'd by us,
He must have been a madman to rely
On English gentlemen's fidelity,
For (laying other arguments aside),
This thought might mortify our English pride,
That foreigners have faithfully obey'd him,
And none but Englishmen have e'er betray'd him.

On the 16th April 1696, a public Thanksgiving to Almighty God ["for discovering and disappointing a horrid and barbarous conspiracy of Papists and other traitorous persons to assassinate and murder His most gracious Majesty's royal person, and for delivering this kingdom from an invasion intended by the French"] was observed. One of the prayers ordered to be printed and offered up on the occasion was the following :—"O Lord our God, abundant in goodness and truth, whose mercies are over all Thy works! we beseech Thee to extend Thy compassion and favour to all mankind, more particularly to the Reformed Churches abroad, and especially to those who are still under persecution for truth and righteousness sake. Relieve them according to their several necessities. Be a shelter and defence to them from the fury of the oppressor ; and in Thy good time deliver them out of all their troubles. And whatsoever they have lost for Thy sake, return it to them, according to Thy gracious promise, in the blessings of this and a better life. And we humbly beseech Thee to enlighten all those who are in darkness and error, and to give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth, that we may all become one Flock under the great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, Jesus Christ, our blessed Saviour and Redeemer, to whom, with Thee, O Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory for evermore. Amen!"

The frustration of the Assassination Plot, and of the embryo Invasion coupled with it, made Louis XIV. willing to promise in the Ryswick Treaty that he would acknowledge William as King of Great Britain, and that he would be no party to future attacks upon him. This concession, as well as the blessing of peace, was as advantageous to the refugees as to the British natives. But Louis denied our king's right to prescribe to him how any of his own subjects should be treated ; and thus the question of toleration to the Huguenots in France, and of the restoration of the estates and liberties of their brethren in exile could not even be debated. Burnet says, "The most melancholy part of this Treaty was, that no advantages were got by it in favour of the Protestants of France. . . . It did not appear that the Allies could do more for them than to recommend them, in the warmest manner, to the King of France."

Section III.

NATURALIZATION, ALIAS DENIZATION, WITH LISTS OF NATURALIZED DENIZENS.

THERE was a reluctance on the part of our country to pass a general Act of Parliament for the naturalization of Protestant strangers. Charles II. undertook to suggest the step to

Parliament in 1681, but legislators were deaf to the hint for a quarter of a century. Any Englishman proposing such an act, was upbraided as an Esau, guilty of flinging away precious means of provision for himself and his family, the restrictions for foreigners being providential blessings for Englishmen. Any Bill to give foreigners a share of the Englishman's right was unpopular with the City of London, and with all boroughs and corporations. The debates of 1694 ended in the House of Commons allowing a Bill of that sort to fall aside before the necessary number of readings had been permitted. And so Naturalization had to be doled out to individuals by letters-patent from the King, and by Private Acts of Parliament.

The only proviso expressed in 1681 was in these terms :—" Provided they live and continue with their families (such as have any) in this our kingdom of England, or elsewhere within our dominions." Yet a certificate, " that they have received the Holy Communion " crept into the warrants of denization,—and, at a later date, a command " to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy at some Quarter-Sessions within a year after the date hereof." James II. not only specified " the Holy Communion," but used the more stringent definition, " the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of England." But after his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, he withdrew the clauses, both as to the oath and as to the Sacrament.

After the Order in Council in 1681, the first grant of Naturalization, transferred to the pages of the *Camden Society* volume,* is in favour of " Peter de Lainé, Esq., French Tutor to our dearest brother James, Duke of York, his children," and is dated from Whitehall, 14th Oct., 33 Car. II. (1681). Numerous lists of the reigns of Charles II., James II., William and Mary, and William III., I now present to my readers, copied by myself from the Patent Rolls. As to the learned reader's opinion of my accuracy as a copyist, I rely on such a reader's indulgent consideration of the difficulty of spelling out the names. The letters, i, m, n, and u, separately and combined, and also the letters c and t, may have been sometimes blundered, the old style of penmanship not sufficiently distinguishing them. The documents are in Latin, the Christian names have usually the termination of the dative case; Jacobo seems to stand for Jacob and James, so that the translation of it is usually conjectural.

LISTS CONTAINING NAMES OF PERSONS BORN "IN PARTIBUS TRANSMARINIS,"
NATURALIZED BY ROYAL LETTERS-PATENT, WESTMINSTER.

I.—31st Jan., 16th Mar., and 10th May, 33 Car. II. (1681).

Henry Jollis, Henry Tenderman, Henr. Gett^e, and Henry Losweres, Nicholas Taphorse, John Joachim Becher.

II.—15th Nov., 33 Car. II. (1681).

Peter Falaiseau *gent.*, John De Gaschon, *gent.*; Joshua Le Feure *apothecary*, Henriette *wife*; John Maximilian de l'Anglè *minister*, Genovele *wife*; Peter Du Gua, Mary *wife*; Uranie de l'Orme *gentlewoman*; Susan Dainhett, Catherine *sister*.

III.—21st March, 34 Car. II. (1682).

Stephen Bouchet, Judith *wife*, Catherine, Elizabeth, Mary, James, Stephen, Peter, Francis, and Isabella *children*; Daniel Garin, Honoré Polerin; James Ranaule, Anne *wife*, James,

* The *Camden Society* Lists are printed from copies belonging to the late Mr. Peter Levesque. I have thought it would be a good service to take copies afresh from the Patent Rolls. With regard to the lists belonging to the reigns of Charles II. and James II. I have had the advantage of the *Camden Society* Volume for comparison and correction. Where I differ from the learned editor as to the spelling of names, I am of opinion that my spelling is correct, not necessarily as to orthography, but as a literal copy of what the government-scribe wrote.

Honoré and Judith *children*, Anne Bouchet *niece*, P. Pinandeu and Judith Fiat *servants*; Isaac Blondett, Mary *wife*; John Martin; Catherine Du P'us wife of Francis Du P'us; John Baudry, Joanna *wife*, Joanna and Frances *daughters*; James Bouchett, John Bouchett; Mathurin Boygard, Jeanne *wife*, Jeanne and Maturin *children*; Andrew Chaperon, Peter Boirou; John Boucquet, Mary *wife*, John *son*; John Estive; James Caudaine, Louisa *wife*; Elizabeth and Henrietta *daughters*; Francis Gautie, Joanna *wife*, Isabella, John and Francis *children*, Joanna Gautie *niece*; John Bouchet, Elizabeth *wife*; John Pellisonneau, Anne *wife*, Louis and Margaret *children*; John Vignault, Elizabeth *wife*, Anne and Eliza *children*; Peter Tillon, Anne *wife*; Susan, Francis and John *children*, Magdalen Bouquet *cousin*; Stephen Luzman, Martha *wife*; Francis Bridon, Jane-Susan *wife*, Francis son, Elias Valet *servant*; Elias Du P'us, Mary *wife*, Elias, John, Mary and Susan *children*; Anthony Le Roy, Eliza *wife*, John De P'us *brother-in-law*; John Boudin, Esther *wife*; James Angelier, Joanna *wife*; Anne Baurru; Elias Mauze, Elizabeth *wife*, Margaret and Elias *children*; Peter Videau; Francis Vincent, Anne *wife*, Anne and Francis *children*; John Hain, James Targett, Peter Monier, John Gerbrier, Matelin Alart.

IV.—8th March, 34 Car. II. (1682).

Peter Albin, John Augnier, Mathurin Allat, Isabella *wife*; Marcy Angelier, Michael Angelier, John Angoise, Mary *wife*, John and Judith *children*; James Angelier, Daniel Amory, Charles Auduroy, Josias Auduroy, Charles Autain, Peter Annaut, Peter Aubert; Peter Audeburg, Mary *wife*, Peter and Stephen *children*; Andrew Arnoult, Abraham Arnoult, Mary Anes; John Astory, Isabella and Mary *children*; James Baudry, Paul Baudry, Paul Begre, James Benet; Peter Bourgnignon and Susan *wife*, James Baquer; John Bibbant, Margaret *wife*; Louis Burchere, Susan *wife*; Thomas Benoist, Judith *wife*, Elizabeth, James and Catherine *children*; John Boullay, John Dubois, Paul Dubois, James Beau-lande; Isaac Bernard, Magdalen *wife*, Magdalen, Isaac, Louis, and Peter *children*; Peter Barbule, Elizabeth *wife*, Elizabeth *daughter*; Louis Belliard, Philip Barel, Isaac Blanchard, Vincent Borcoult, Peter Bruino; James Boissonet, Mary, Susan, Louis, Marianne, and Olympia *children*; Stephen Dubard, John *son*; Isaac Buteux, Judicq *wife*, Judicq *daughter*; James Boche, Christian Bodvin, James Bayle; Francis Bridon, Jeanne *wife*, John and Susan *children*; Peter Baume, Mary Magdalen *wife*, Peter and Nicholas *children*; Margaret Baume, sister of the former Peter Baume; Simon Beranger, James Biet, Anthony Biet, James Bamet; Vement Bourn, Jeanne *wife*, Mary and Elizabeth *children*; Jeanne Guery, daughter of said Jeanne Baume, James Brehut, Peter Panderan, David Bessin, Isaac Bonouvrier, Stephen Bon-amy, John Benoist, Abraham Basille, James Bonnel; Mark-Antony Briet, Susan *wife*, Mark-Antony and Claude *children*; Gabriel Bontefoy, Daniel Brusson, Mary *wife*; Theodore Bondvin, Daniel Blondel; Anthony Bauran, Margaret *wife*; Peter Bonnel, Mary *wife*, Zachary, Peter, Gaspar, and Susan *children*; James Bournot, John Bouche, Isabella *wife*; James Baudwin, Adrian Bazire, Francis Biart, Daniel Brunben, Abraham Belet, Bené Barbotin; John Benoist, Mary *wife*; Stephen Bernard, Peter Boullay, John Bernard, James Baudwin; Mary, widow of James Bonvar, Isaac, James, and Mary *children*; Mary wife of James Barbe, James, Catherine, and John *children*; John Dubarle, Paul, Stephen, and Henry *sons*; Margaret widow of Daniel Bourdon, John, Margaret, Louisa, and Mary *children*; Mary Beule, Mary wife of James Gilbert, Mary wife of John Bernard, Anne Brisset *virgin*, Magdelaine Bonnelle *virgin*, John Bucaille, Mary Bournot, Esther Bournot, Catherine Bouchet, Jane Brunier, Mary Benoit, Susan wife of Michael Brunet; Mary wife of John Bouquet, John *son*; Jeanne widow of John Barber, Gerarde widow of Louis Baudrie, Catherine Bos, Mary Bouchett *virgin*, David Boutonnier, Paul Cari, Claude Casie, Samuel, Susan, Peter, and Marianne *children*; Abraham Cambelan, Mary and Stephen *children*; Abraham Carron, Daniel Cailleau, Charles Casset, Judicq, Peter, and Elizabeth *children*; James Carron, John Cardon, John Carpentier, Judicq *daughter*; Louis Cassel, Paul Cellery; David Cene, Annah *daughter*; Gideon Charle, Paul Chappell; Stephen Chartier, John-Francis *son*; John Cheval, Elizabeth *wife*, Margaret and Mary *children*; Samuel Cheval; Abraham Vincent

Chartier, James *brother*; Jeanne Carlier, Annah wife of John Carlier, John Combe, John Chaboussan, Mary, Jane, Louisa, and John *children*; Francis Chesneau, Isabella Chatain, John Chapet, Hester *wife*; Daniel Cheseau, Samuel Challe, Matthew Chabrol, Francis Chouy, Laurence Chemonon, Stephen Camberland, Mary *sister*; Mary Chovet, Andrew Cigournai, Charlotte *wife*, Mary, John, Charles, Michael and Abraham *children*; James Courtois, Martha *wife*, Mary, James and Philip *children*; John Coliveau, Francis Coliveau, John Colombel; Paul Cozun, Nohemy *wife*, Paul and Elizabeth *children*; Pruden Courtet; Luke Cossart, Luke, Peter, John, and Joanna *children*; James Courtet, Jeanne *wife*, Margaret and Susan *children*; Francis Coste, Jeanne, Marianne and Margaret *children*; Henry Collier; Abraham Cogin, Mary *wife*, Abraham *son*; Charles Cottibi, Peter Courteon; Abraham Covillart, Hester *wife*, Abraham and Annah *children*; Mary Covillart sister of former Abraham Covillart, Louisa wife of Louis Condain, Mary Courtois, Mary wife of John Courcelles, Louis Crispin; Thomas Cretes, Annah *wife*, Annah, Thomas, Ferdinand, Francis and John *children*; Daniel Cresse, Charles Crespin, Jeanne Crespin, Mary Crespin, Claire Crespin, Mary Crespin; John Curoit, Mary *wife*; Bartholomew David, Gabrielle *wife*; Samuel Davi, Benée *wife*, Isaac and Samuel *sons*; John David, Hester *wife*, John *son*; James David, Mary David, Gabrielle David, Elizabeth David, Nicholas Daure, James Daneans, Mary *wife*; Nicholas Daure *widower*; John Darel, Magdalen *wife*; Diana Dansay, Susan, Mary and Jane *her sisters*; Peter Dallain, James *son*; Anna wife of Francis Dansay and three children; Peter Donnel, Mary *wife*, John, Samuel and Peter *sons*; Stephen Doussiner, Susan *wife*, Mary and Marianne *children*; Charles Doussiner, Jeanne Doussiner, Andrew Dor, Anna *wife*; John Dessebues, Mary *wife*, Mary *daughter*; William Deseune, Elizabeth *wife*, William, John, James, Leonore, Catherine, Elizabeth and Mary *children*; Peter Du Beons, Elizabeth *wife*; Henry Durval; John De Courcelles, Mary, Egideus, and John *children*; John De Hausi, Peter De la Fond, Peter *son*; Abraham De la Hays, Battesel *wife*, John, Nicholas and Bartholomew *sons*; John Denin, Stephen Des Fontaine, Isaac De La Roche, John Despomare, Anthony De la Foreste, Cornelius De Champs, Abraham *his brother*; Michael De la Mare, Peter Demons, Jeanne Magdalen, Leah, Peter and Annah *children*; John Delgardins, Peter De la Riverolle, James Demarais, Michael Destaches, Stephen De Marinville, Tobias De Maistre, Abraham De Montorby, Andrew De Hombeau, Peter De la Bye, Abraham De Heule, John Charles De Selincourt, Samuel De Courceille, John De Cautepye, Isaac Delhomme; Isaac Dubois, Margaret *wife*, Magdalen *daughter*; Isaac Dubois, Antoinette *wife*, Isaac, John and Alexander *sons*; Paul Dubois; Charles Dubois, Hester *wife*; Isaac De la Fons, Judicq *wife*; Anthony Despeiot, Anthony *son*; Isabella Demonte *virgin*; Magdalen Demonte, Mary Despere, Jeanne Dumons, Catherine De la Cour; Nicholas Dufay, Catherine *daughter*; Simon Dufay, David Dufay, Mary Dufay, James Du Quesne, Mary *wife*, Jeanne *daughter*; Peter Du Quesne, James Duchier, Mary *wife*, Arnold and Anthony *sons*; Amateur Duchier; James Montier, Judicq *wife*, James, Peter and Judicq *children*; John Dumontier, Annah *wife*, James, Magdalen, Annah and Isaac *children*; Stephen Dumontier, Annah *wife*; Abraham Dumontier, Mary *wife*, Abraham *son*; Hester Du Monte; Gideon Du Chesne, John, Francis, and Mary *children*; John Du Ru, Isaac Du Hamel, James Du Tens, Stephen Du Cros, James Du Bre, Martin Du Perrior, Noel, Daniel, Peter, Philip, John, and John-Thomas *sons*; Louis Du Clou; Michael Du Brevie, Annah *wife*; John Dubare, Antoinette Dubare, John Bn. Du Soutoy, Eustache Du Couldray; Stephen Durant, Mary *wife*, Stephen, Elizabeth, and Annah *children*; Abraham Du Thuille, Gabriel Darans, Isaac Dumore, John Du Puy, John Du Puy *minor*, John Du Hurle, Mary *wife* Elizabeth *daughter*; Catherine wife of Francis du Pu, Susan Du Pu, Claude Equerie; Abraham Enoe, Catherine *wife*, Jeremy and Annah *children*; John Esquier, Abraham Foucon; Pierre Foucon, Annah and Peter *children*; John Faviere, Hillaire *wife*; Michael Francq, Elizabeth Ferre, Charles Faucerreau, John Ferret, Samuel Ferman, Louis Fleurisson, Daniel Flury; Daniel Flury, Daniel and James *sons*; Annah Fourgon, Mary Fourgon, Jeanne widow of Charles Fourche, Hester *daughter*; Samuel Furon, Francis Furon, Thomas Fourgon; John Forme, James *son*; Mary Foretier, Jeanne Fleury, John Freneau, Mary wife of John Freneau,

Michael Frau, Peter Fromenteau, John Feuilleteau, Elizabeth Freneau, Nicholas Gancian, Susan *wife*, Philip Gautron : Simon Gaugain, John *son* ; William Gaugain, Ezekiel Gualtier, John Gautier, John Gaude, John Gavot, John Galliard, John Gaiot, Elizabeth widow of James Gabelle, Francis Gebert ; John Gerbier, Susan *wife*, Susan, Francisca and John *children* ; Louis Gervaise, Peter Gillois, Isaac Gillois, James Gilbert ; Peter Girard, Magdalen *wife*, Judicq *daughter* ; John Girard, Susan *wife* ; Robert Godefroy, Catherine Godefroy ; Francis Godeau, Anna *wife* ; Jacques Gorion, Renatus Goulle, Francis Gabelle, John Gorion ; Jeremy Gourde, Jeremy, James, Magdalen, Mary, Charlotte and Louisa *children* ; John Gobert, John Gourde, Jeanne widow of Henry Gobs, Louis Grobeau, Peter Grossin ; Adam Guider, John, Mary, Peter and Anna *children* ; Paul Grimault ; James Gravelle, Mary-Magdalen and Mary *children* ; Claude Grumpet ; Austin Grumpet, Sarah *wife* ; Mary widow of James Gribelin, Sarah, Mary and Jeanne *children* ; Simon Gribelin, Augustus Grasset, Mary Grasset, Elizabeth Griet, John Guillaume, Joseph Guillon, Paul Guillard, Stephen Guillard, Simeon Guerin ; William Ghiselin, Margaret *wife* ; John Ghiselin, Mary *wife* ; Nicholas Ghiselin ; Peter Hesne, Anna *wife*, Peter, Rachel, Marianne and Mary *children* ; William Heron, Catherine *wife* ; Peter Hebert, Rachel *wife*, Mary, Maria and Judicq *daughters* ; Stephen Hebert, John Hammel, Mary *wife* ; John Hibon, Mary *wife*, Mark and John *sons* ; Henry Hesse, Mary *wife* ; Solomon Hesse ; Nicholas Heude, Laurans and Francis *sons* ; James Houreau, Peter Hervot, Mary Hellot, John Henault ; Noel Houssay, Mary *wife*, Noel *son* ; Daniel Huet, Mary *wife*, Mary *daughter* ; Matthew Huet, Abraham Huet ; Daniel Huger, Jeanne *wife* ; Isaac Hayes ; Peter Horion, John *his brother* ; Samuel Janse, Samuel, Mary and Isaac *children* ; Judicq Janse, Hester Janse, James Janse, John Jerseau ; 'Touslaine Jegn, Mary *wife*, Isaac and Mary *children* ; John Ilamber, Elizabeth *wife*, Elizabeth *daughter* ; Jerosme Jouvenel, Francisca *wife* ; John Jacques, Charles Le Chevalier, Daniel Le Tellier ; Gabriel Le Quien, Catherine *wife* ; John Lesclure ; Nicholas Le Febure, Nicholas and Mary *children* ; Francis Le Blon, Mary *wife*, Jeanne and Peter *children* ; Isaac Le Vade ; John Leger, Mary *wife* ; James Lombard ; Elias Ledeux, Martha *wife*, Elias *son* ; Peter Lalon, Magdalen *wife*, Susan and Mary *children* ; James Leahad ; Paul Le Fabure, Mary *wife*, Isaac and Hester *children* ; Peter Le Febure, Jeanne *wife*, Peter and John *sons* ; David Lesturgeon, Susan Lesturgeon, Francis Lesturgeon, David Lesturgeon, Mary Lesturgeon, Philip Le Clereq ; Noah Levesque, Mary *wife*, Mary-Magdalen *daughter* ; Charles Lefebeure, Jeanne *wife* ; Charles Lasson ; James Le Roy, Catherine *wife*, James and John *sons* ; Peter Le Roux ; Stephen Levielle, Magdalen *wife* ; John Leriteau ; John Le Noir, Martha *wife* ; John Laurens, Anne *wife*, Annah and Susan *daughters* ; Michael Le Hueur, Abraham Le Royer, John Le Roy, Peter Le Maistre, James Le Moine ; Isaac Le Doux, Mary *wife*, James, Louis and Magdalen *children* ; Isaac Le Doux, Peter Le Castile, Marino Lefubure, Mary *wife*, Peter and Mark-Antony *sons* ; John Le Vieux, Jeanne *wife* ; Ephraim Le Carron, Francis Lebert, Henry Limousin ; Daniel Lucas, Mary, Augustus, James and Peter *children* ; Louis De Coutte, Louis *son* ; John Le Cartier, Marianne and Anne *children* ; John Lambert, James Liege ; Peter Le Anglois, Mary *wife*, Martha, David, Peter and Mary *children* ; John Lestrille de la Clide ; John Lewis Le Jeune ; Peter Le Clere, Elizabeth *wife*, Mary-Elizabeth, Marianne and Anne *children* ; Peter Legrand, Nicholas Le Grou, James Larcher ; Michael Liegg, Magdalen *wife*, John, Francis and James *sons* ; Anthony Lesneur ; Elizabeth widow of Peter Legrand, David, Mary and Peter *children* ; John Lavannotte, Susan *wife*, Mary and Isaac *children* ; Margaret widow of Peter Ledoux ; Mary Le Mer, Sarah Lespine, Hester Lame, Isabella Faucon, Magdalen wife of David Lailleau, Anna widow of Richard Legrand, Annah La Postre ; Susan widow of Peter Lefabure, Susan *daughter* ; Francis Le Porte, Annah *wife* ; Abraham Huyas, Paul Le Creu, Matthew Le Creu, Elizabeth wife of Anthony Le Roy ; John Le Page, Renatus *son* ; Anthony Le Page ; Isaac Michon, Rahomi *wife*, Mary, James and Jacob *children* ; Louis Merignan, Hester *wife*, Louis *son* ; Nicholas Masly, Susan *wife*, Abraham, Nicholas, James and Anne *children* ; Anthony Marinville, John Meroist, Peter Moissau ; James Morion, Catherine *wife* ; Vincent Maillard, Anne *wife* ; Philip Mery, Stephen Maillet, Renatus Melun ; Job James Marmot, John-Maximilien and John-James his *sons* ; John Mullett, Susan *wife* ; James Montier,

Matthew Montallier, John Maurin ; Michael Metaire, Michael *son* ; Henry Massienne, Gentien Mariet, Paul Maigne, Daniel Mahaut, Gabriel Morand, Francis Manvillain ; James Montagu, Louisa *wife* ; James Maume, Mary *wife*, Mary *daughter* ; Peter Maintry, Abraham Michael, John Marot, James Moreau, Denis Melinet, Mary-Magdalen his *wife*, Anne-Mary-Magdalen *their daughter* ; John Martin, Peter Malpoil ; James Moisan, Rachel *wife* ; John Maraudel ; Bartholomew Morin, Jeremy, Henry, Bartholomew and Susan *children* ; James Menanteau, Elizabeth Marseille, Jansie Mariet, Oliver Martinet ; John Maurice, Margaret *daughter* ; Bernard Maudre, Paul Martin ; Andrew Martinet, Hester *wife* ; Daniel Marchant, Daniel, Joseph, Mary, Magdalen, Hester, Mary-Magdalen, Claude, Leah and Susan *children* ; Susan Matte, Judicq *daughter* ; John Monnerat ; — widow of Isaiah Marchett, Mary and Isaac *children* ; Joanna widow of Peter Mathe, Susan *daughter* ; Antoinette Martin, Hester Moreau, Peter Mougine ; Elias Naudin, Arnould, Mary and Elizabeth *children* ; Peter Nau, John Nourtier, Andrew Nyort, Claud Nourcy, Peter Normand, James Normande ; Anna widow of Isaac Normande, Mary and Elizabeth *children* ; Flizeah Obert, Mary *wife*, James, Abraham and Judith *children* ; Germaine Oufrie, Annah *wife* ; Louis Ouranneau, Mary *wife* ; John Ouranneau, Elye Pere, Elye and Austin *sons* ; Daniel Poulveret, Elizabeth Mary Pavet, Paul Puech, Bernard Puxen, Arnould Pron, Peter Pron ; James Poignet, Anna *wife*, Marianne *daughter* ; Charles Poupe, Annah *wife* ; Peter Porch, Frances *wife*, Mary, Judicq, James-Noel, John and Francis *children* ; Francis Pousset ; Margaret widow of John Pousset, Anthony Portevin, Gabrielle *wife*, Anne, Anthony and Peter *children* ; Charles Piqueret, Isaac *son* ; Francis Pontitre ; John Piquet, John *son* ; Anne Piquet ; Isaac Pinque, Catherine *wife* ; Louis Pellissonneau, John Pelletier, Andrew Pelletier, James Petitoiel ; Andrew Puisancour, Charlotte *wife*, Peter and Annah *children* ; Stephen Pesche, John Pesche, James Pelet, Jeanne Petitoiel, Anthony Penault ; Thomas Percey, Susan *wife*, Susan *daughter* ; Andrew Pensier ; Abraham Perrault, Magdalen *wife*, Martha, Hester, Peter-Laurens, Charles-Berthemey, Annah, and Theodore *children* ; Daniel Pilon, Esaiah Panthin, Esaiah Panthin, Esaiah Panthin, Abraham Panthin, Peter Paysant, John Paysant, John Pantrier, Peter Papawgn, John Baptist Paravienne, John Pau, James Paquis, Mary Pele, Jeanne widow of Andrew Perdereau, Anne Perdereau, Jeanne Pierrand, Mary wife of Paul Pigno ; — widow of Egidius Pauret, Elizabeth and Mary *children* ; Philip Pinandean, Jeanne *wife* ; Charles Pilon, Francois Quern ; Daniel Quintard, Louisa *wife*, Mary *daughter* ; Stephen Quinault, Magdalen *wife*, Stephen and Claud *sons* ; James Renault, Daniel Ravart, Louis Regnier, Daniel Regnier, John Ruel ; David Rollin, Hester *wife*, Martha, Peter and Anthony, *children* ; Peter Reberole, Hester Rollin ; John Robert, Annah *wife*, Anne and Mary *children* ; Peter Rousselet, David Ranel, John Raimond ; Elizabeth widow of Peter Raine, Elizabeth *daughter* ; Isaac Ranel ; John Resse *alias* Du Chouquet ; Francis Rousseau, James Rousseau, John Rousseau, John Roule ; James Roger, Julia *wife*, Anthony *son* ; James Rondart, James Roger, Jeanne widow of Gervais Ravcl ; John Robert, Catherine *wife*, Susan, Catherine-Mary, and Philip *children* ; David Sarasin, James Sarasin ; John Saint-Aman, Margaret *wife*, Magdalen *daughter* ; Matthew Saint-Aman, Mary *wife*, Mary, Judith, Rachel, Hester, Abraham, and Matthew *children* ; Francis Soureau, Frances *wife*, Francis, Peter, and Abraham *sons* ; Magdalen Shipeau, Magdalen *daughter* ; Luke Sene, Judith *wife*, John, Mary, James, and Elizabeth *children* ; Peter Segouret, John Sieurin, Renatus Simonneau, Peter Sibron, Leonard Souberan, Noel Solon, Jeanne Solon, Samuel Targier, Jeanne *wife* ; Peter Toullion, James Taumur, John Taumur, John Tavernier ; James Target, Isabella *daughter* ; Peter Tellier, John Tillon, Philip Thercot, Isaac Thuret ; Peter Toutaine, Judith *wife* ; Peter Totin, James Torquet, Peter Touchart, Catherine, *wife*, Magelin, Elizabeth, Peter, and Margaret *children* ; Michael Tourneur, Mary *wife*, John-Peter, John, and Mary *children* ; Michael Tourneur ; James Trigan, Margaret *wife* ; John Trillet, Elizabeth *wife*, Mary-Magdalen *daughter* ; John Vermallete, Anne *wife* ; Hector Vattemare, Joel Vauville, Samuel Vattelet ; James Vare, Mary *wife*, Mary, Susan, Anne, and Elizabeth *children* ; Charles Vermalette ; James Visage, Jeanne *wife* ; Peter Visage ; John Vignault, jun., Timothy *son* ; Anthony Vallotte, Abraham Vivier ; Stephen Vivian, Mary *wife*, Mary, Elizabeth, and Judicq

children; James Vincent, Susan *wife*, Livo, *son*; Joshua Vrigno, Judith, Jetel, and James *children*; Sana Vannes; Mary widow of John Vannes; Magdalen Veure, Sarah Vorer; James Yon, Mary *wife*, James *son*.

V.—8th March, 34 Car. II. (1682).

[Individuals naturalized in separate Deeds.]

John Chardin; David Mesquet; Louis David; Remond Regard *watch-maker*; Peter Villars *tailor*; Francis L'Egare *jeweller*, Anne *wife*, Francis, Solomon, Daniel, James, and Stephen-John *sons*; Peter Maudou *tailor*, Mary *wife*; Charles Godfrey *perruwig-maker*, Mary *wife*; David Berny *jeweller*, Jane Berny, Samuel David Berny; John James Besnage; John Lewis *goldsmith*; Moses Charas *doctor of medicine*, Magdalen *wife*, Frederick, Charles, Sampson, Francis, Magdalen, Susan, and Mary *children*; Claud Denise, Renata Gatini *wife*. [The following on 28th March.] Peter Chauet; Charles Augibant, Mary *wife*, Charles and Mary-Jane *children*; John-Baptist and Peter Rosemond.

VI.—June and July 34 Car. II. (1682).

[Several short Lists.]

16th June.—Esther Chardin; Philip Guide, Louisa *wife*, Philip, James, Louisa, Anne, and Philorée *children*; James Tiphaine, Elizabeth *wife*, Peter, John-James, John-Paul, Daniel, Charles, and Abraham *children*; James Daillon, Daniel Daillon, John Laure, Charlotte Brevint, Stephen Blondeau, Jeremie Le Pin, Susan Stanley.

28th June.—Isaac, Claude, and James Chauvet; Nathaniel Chauvit, Peter Flournoys, Daniel Lerpiniere, Luke de Beaulieu; Henry Rislay, Peter *son*; Sipirito Rubbatti, Paul Minvielle; Nicholas Grignon *merchant*, Margaret Petitot *his wife*, Margaret, Mary and Magdalen *their children*; Simon Grimault, Mary *daughter*; Samuel Joly; Francis Amonnet (of the city of Paris) *merchant*, Jane Crommelin *his wife*, Francis, Adrian, Susan, Jane, and Martha *their children*; Matthew Amonnet, John Bouchet, Esther Le Clercq, Jane Eleonore de Cherville, Mary Endelin, and Catherine Malherbe *servants* to the aforesaid Francis Amonnet.

6th July.—Peter Delapierre *alias* Peters (of the parish of St. George-the-Martyr in the city of Canterbury) *surgeon*; Catherine Modo wife of Michael Delapierre *alias* Peters of the same place.

22d July.—Louis Gervaise, Isaac, Louis, and Mary-Margarite, *children*; John Taillefer, Paul, and Mary-Anne *children*; Peter Herache, Anne *wife*; Daniel Bernard, Alexander Damascene.

31st July.—Louis Essart.

VII.—21 Nov. 34 Car. II. (1682).

Daniel Grueber, Susan *wife*, John, Henry, Nicholas, Susan, Margaret, and Frances *children*; Philip Le Chenevix, Magdalene Le Chenevix.

Louis Bachelier, Anne Auguste *wife*; Anne Bachelier, Charlotte Rossinel, Mary De Camp, Daniel Remousseaux, Mary *wife*; Pater Lenoult, Daniel Le Poulveret, James Venaus Genays, James Vabre, John Olivier, Peter Olivier, Raymond Gaches.

VIII.—18th January, 34 Car. II. (1683, n.s.)

Balthasar De Carron, Susan *wife*; Constance, Susan, Mary, Antoinette, and Charlotte *children*; Peter Bernard, Peter de La Coste, John Sehut; Louis Le Vasseur, Anne *wife*,

James, Louis, Anne, Elizabeth, and Mary *children*; Susan Le Noble *widow*, John, Peter, Henry, James, Mary, Susan, Magdalen, Charlotte, and Anne *children*; Alexander Vievar, Mary *wife*; Florence Lanriere, Thomas Le Ferre, Coelar De Beaulieu *clerk*, Stephen Le Coste, Peter Delmas, John Thuret, Isaac Thuret; Paul Sangé, Antoinette *wife*; Peter Lulo.

IX.—*2nd July, 36 Car. II. (1684).*

Samuel De Paz; John Pigou, Mary *wife*, John, Adrian, Mark-Antony, Susan, Catherine, and Mary *children*; Benjamin Grenot, Rachel Francois; Peter Trisser, Judith *wife*, John-Baptist and Peter-Paul *sons*; Alexander Sasserire, Mary, *wife*, Jane *daughter*; George Guill, Susanna *wife*, John, Jane, Susanna, and Martha *children*; Anne Lesturgeon, Mary Veel; Stephen Soullart, Mary *wife*; Arnold Prou, Paul Mainvielle Lacose, John Du Maistre, Peter Du Four, James Le Serrurier, Peter Le Serrurier, Paul Chaille, John Durand; Isaac De Lestritte, Isaac and James *sons*; John Cavalier, James Hardy, Jonas Cognard, Cornelius Denis, Theodore Janssen, Peter Richer, John Plumier, Peter Pelerin, Isaac Jamart, James Plison, Oliver Trivert; Peter Brisson, Catherine *wife*; Peter Tousseau, Catherine *wife*, Abraham, Susan, Mary, Catherine, and Susan-Catherine *children*; Gabriel Rarpe; Elias More, Elizabeth *wife*, Elias and Margaret, *children*; Daniel Torin, Peter Ferre, Louis Paissant; Paul Du Pin, Charlotte *wife*; Francis Hullen, Romanus Roussell, Thomas Crochon; Peter Le Fort, Magdalen *wife*; Francis Bureau, Anne *wife*, Anne, Mary-Anne, Philip and Francis *children*; Francis Barbat, John De la Salle, David Du Cloux; Isaac Messieu, Anne *wife*; Paul Dhervy, Peter Sauze, Sarah Moreau wife of John Tennys, James Gaudeneau, Egidius Gaudeneau, James Malevaire, Susan *wife*, Jacqueline-Susan *daughter*; Magdalen Bonin; Peter Reverdir, Benoni *son*; John Toton, Mary *daughter*, Mary Aarne wife of John De Grave. [15th Nov. Alexander Dalgresse *clerk*.]

X.—*21st January, 36 Car. II. (1685 N. S.)*

James Durand, James Paissant, Abraham Tessereau, John Roy, Charles Coliner, James Sartres, *clerk*, Daniel Barvand, Anne *wife*, Mary *daughter*; Isaac Du Bourdieu; John Du Bourdieu, Margaret *wife*, Peter, Isaac, Armand, Gabriel, John-Armand, John-Louis, James and Margaret *children*; Claudius Randeau, Anne *wife*, Mary-Anne *daughter*; John Rondeau, Anne *wife*, Henry *son*; Peter Foraville, Mary *wife*; John Mobileau, Isaac Des Champs; Samuel Curnex, Martha *wife*, Paul Vaillant, Mary-Magdalen *wife*; Jeremy Maion *clerk*; Isaac Garnier, John, Jonas, Daniel, Paul and Mary *children*; Abraham Torin; Isaac La Roche, Anne *wife*, Isaac, Daniel Ciprien, Judith and Catherine *children*; Isaac Du Bois, Margaret *wife*, Jonas, John and Alexander *sons*; John Henry Marion, Elizabeth Seigler and Francis Seigler; Louis De la Faye, Mary *wife*, Charles *son*; Theodore Dagar, Mary *wife*; Francis Lumeau Du Pont *clerk*; Michael David and Martha David, John L'Archeveque; Nicholas Massey, Susan *wife*, Abraham, Henry, Nicholas and James *sons*; Peter Lambert, Joachim Falck, Henry Retz, Joshua Meochim de l'Amour.

XI.—*4th April, 1st Ja. II. (1685.)*

Solomon Foubbert, Magdalene *wife*, Henry and Peter *sons*; Peter Lorrain, Judith Foubbert wife of Nicolas Durrell, Evert Jolivet, John Henry Lussan, Peter Azire, Susan *wife*; Louis Gaston, Peter, Tenne-Guy and Sarah *children*; Richard Le Bas, Nicolas Guerin, Robert Guerin, James Le Fort, Philip Collon, John Pluet, Michael Cadet, John Castaing, Daniel Le Fort, Stephen Mayen, Philip Rose, Reuben La Mude, Peter Martin, Isaac Le Fort, Peter Daval, Peter Careiron, Charles Piozet, James Gardien, Isaac Gomart (*clerk*), Abraham Faulcon (*clerk*), James Du Fan, Thomas Guenault, John Auriol, John Chotard, Isaac Caillabueuf, Noah Royer, Isaac Bertran, David Raymondon, Simon Testefolle, Elizabeth *wife*, Mary, Claude, and

Simon *children*; James Sangeon, Dionysius Helot, Olympia *wife*, Francis and John *sons*; Samuel Masse, and Samuel *son*; John Cailloué, Daniel Yon, Daniel Guy, Gabriel Guy, Simon Rolain, Thomas Quarante, John De la Fuye, Susanna De la Fuye, Josias Darill, James Ouvri, Abel Raveau, Gideon Mobileau, John Gueyle, John Baptist Estivall, John De Caux, Elias Boilin, Philip Guillandéau, Paul Baignoux, Francis Sartoris, John Billonart, John La Vie, Anthony Chauvin, James Peneth, Isabella *wife*, David, Antoinette, Catherine, Margaret, Anne and Isabella *children*; John Du Charol, (clerk) and Jane *wife*; Michael Mercier, Margaret *wife*, Daniel, *son*; Peter Fauconmer, and Magdalene *wife*; Louis Pasquereau, Magdalene *wife*; Louis, Peter, and Isaac *sons*; William Charpenelle, Susanna *wife*, Renatus, Margaret, Helen and Jane *children*; Samuel Ravenel, Anne Joiry, Louis Le Clere and Mary *wife*.

XII.—20th March, 2d Fa. II. (1686 N.S.)

Stephen Pigou; Anthony Holzafell, Mary *wife*, Anthony *son*; Anthony Sabaties, Alexander Theree Castagnier, Abraham Cardes, Bartholomew Pelissary; Charles Hayrault, Susan *wife*, Susan and Mary *children*; Cephas Tutet, Margaret *wife*, Mark-Cephas *son*; John Ridoutet, David Favre, David Minuel, David Garrie, Daniel Pillart, Daniel Aveline, Daniel Perdreau, Daniel Lafite, Daniel Rofe, Stephen Seigneuret, Stephen Die Port, Stephen Journeau; Stephen Brigault, Jane *wife*, Stephen *son*; Stephen Ayrault, Mary *wife*; Stephen Delancey, Elias Gourviel, Angelica Diband, Esther Dumoulin, Elias Nezereaux; Elias Boudinet, Peter, Elias, John and Mary *children*; Francis Mariette, Elizabeth *wife*, Francis, James, Claud, Elizabeth and Louisa *children*; Girardot Duperon, Henry Bruneau, James Pigou, John Lambert, John Sauvage; John Paucier, Elizabeth *wife*; John Bourges, John Girardot, John Garbot,* John Plastier, John Gendron, John Hanet, Isaac Courallet, James Gendrault; James Lievrard, Martha *wife*, Susan and Mary *children*; Julia Pelissary, James Mervilleau, John Noguier, Joshua Noguier, Jane Le Roux, James Scheult, John Sarazin; John Hervé, Anne, *wife*, John and Sarah *children*; John Gallais, Mary *wife*; John Paul Gausoin, Francis, Mary-Anne, and Judith *children*; Louis Soulard, Louis Boucher; Louis Rebecourt, Anne *wife*, Susan *daughter*; Moses Lamouche, Esther *wife*, Moses, Paul, Louis, Susan and Anne *children*; Matthew Faure; Moysse Aviceau, Mary, Elizabeth, Catherine and Martha *children*; Nicholas Pillart; Peter De Boucgin, Magdalene *wife*, Peter, Mary, and Magdalene *children*; Peter Trinquant; Peter Lauze, Dorothy *wife*, Claud, James, Peter, Susan and Dorothy *children*; Peter Albert, Peter Le Moleaux; Peter Jamet, Mary *wife*, Peter, Mary and Susan *children*; Peter Longuevil; Peter Arnauld, Mary *wife*, Samuel *son*; Peter Pacquereau, Paul Bruneau, Peter Bidley, Peter Barayleau; Peter Durand, Charles *son*; Robert Badenhop; Simon Duport, Simon and Susan *children*; Simon Le Blan, Simon Tristan, Susan Berchere, Solomon Bailly; Thomas Satur, Jane *wife*, Isaac, Jonathan, Thomas, James, Jane-Sarah, and Jane-Mary *children*. [28th May. Laurence Renaut.]

XIII.—15th April, 3d Fa., II. (1687).

Daniel Albert, Francis Asselin, Gabriel Angier, James Ausol, James Arnaudin, Francis Andrieu, Alart Bellin, Anthony Boureau, Adam Bosquetin, Daniel Borderie, Peter Bellin, John Bourreyan, Paul Bussereau, Oliver Besly, Peter Baisseaux, John Baudouin; Isaac Buor, Aymé *wife*, Francis *son*; Gabriel Buor, Margaret *wife*, Gabriel and Israelete *children*; Elias Bauhereau, † Margaret *wife*, Elias, Richard, Amator, John, Margaret, Claudius and Magdalene *children*; Louis Brouart, Aymé *wife*, Aymée *daughter*; Samuel Bourdet, Anthony Barron, Isaac Brian (clerk); René Bertheau (clerk), Martha *wife*, Charles and Martha *children*; James De Brissac (clerk), Rachael *wife*, Gabriel Bernou, Peter Burtel, John Bussac, David Butel, Peter Bratelier; Isaac Bousart, Anne *wife*; Jane Bernard; John Barbier, Mary *wife*, James, Theodore, Oliver and Richard *sons*; James Benoist; James Radiffe des Romanes, Perside *wife*, James,

* Perhaps, Barbot.

† Ought to be BOUHÉREAU.

René, Benine, Isabella, Mary and Gabriel *children*; Daniel Brianceau, Elizabeth *wife*; Jacob Courtis; Peter Chastelier, Mary-Susan *wife*; Abraham Cossard, Peter Caillard, Henry Coderk, Henry Augustus Chastaigner de Cramahe, Abraham Courson, Sampson Chasles; James Chirot, Anne *wife*, James and Susan *children*; John Chasles, Moses Chasles, Paul Courand; John Chaigneau, Mary *wife*, Peter and Esther *children*; Elias Cothonneau, Abraham Carre, Daniel Chardin, Michael Chalopin, William Cromelin; Matthew Chaigneau, Mary *wife*, Matthew, Peter and Susan *children*; Peter Chardon, Peter Correges, Abraham Clary, Abraham Costat; John Constantine, Elizabeth *wife*; John Chevalier, Jane *wife*, John, Daniel, Peter, Elizabeth and Judith *children*; Elias Dupuy, Elizabeth *wife*, Michael, Mary, Daniel, Elizabeth, Elias, Mary-Anne, Francis and Joseph *children*; John James David; Joseph Ducasse; Anne Daval, Mary, Magdalen, Charles and John *her children*; Michael De Caux, Esther *wife*, Judith *daughter*; Peter Du Hamel, Stephen Duclos, Louis De Veill; James De Caux, Elizabeth *wife*, James, Elizabeth and Mary *children*; John De Sene, John *son*; James D'Allemagne (clerk), Peter De Vaux, Isaac Des Lands, James Ducasse, Stephen Dusoul cl., Jacob Demay, Benine *wife*, Louis, Jacob and Jane *children*; Paul Douxain, Esther *wife*, Mary *daughter*; Samuel Du Bourdieu, Peter De la Marre, Abraham Desessars; James De Bourdeaux, Magdalen *wife*, Margaret, Magdalen, Judith-Jane, and Judith *children*; Jacob De Hane, Jacob De Millon, Louis De Lausat, James De la Barre, George Louis Donut, John Defray, Catherine *wife*, John *son*; Paul, Caroline and Mary Du Pin; Charles D'Herby, Philip Du Pont (clerk); Margaret De Louvain; David, Francis and Peter De la Combe; Louis Emery, Paul Emery, Louis Escoffier, Peter Fleureau, Andrew Foucaut, Peter Firminial, Benjamin Fanevil, Anthony Favre; Louis Fleury (clerk), Esther *wife*, Philip, Amaury, Esther and Mary *children*; James Fruschart, Catherine *wife*, James and Philip *sons*; Philip Ferment, Stephen Fovace* (clerk), Charles Fovace,* Abraham Le Conte, Stephen Faget, Cagne Fresneau; Anne, Andrew, Elizabeth and Gabrielle Ferre; William Fret, James Fouquerell; Martha Fumeshau, John, Peter, Magdalen and Judith *her children*; David Godin, Francisca *wife*, David, Benjamin, Mary and Martha *children*; Ezekiel Grasrellier, Laurence Galdy, Henry Gardies, Peter Gullet; Michael Garnier, Mary *wife*, James, Daniel and Samuel *sons*; Peter Garnier, Philip Gaugain, Stephen Guitain, Nicholas Gandies; Stephen Gasherie, Stephen, David and Louis *sons*; Samuel Guignier, Peter Gloria; Judith Gaschere, John and Stephen *sons*; René Guibert (clerk); John Gerny, Anne *wife*; John Gaudet, Jaquette *wife*, Charles and John *sons*; Charles Gauche; John Gomar (clerk); John Gayot, Jane *wife*; Moses Guillot; Philip, Peter and Jane Guesnard; David Guepin, John Guepin; [Peter Guepin, Rachael *wife*, Peter, John and Abraham *sons*]; James Goubert; Peter Gourdin, Mary *wife*; James Hattanville, James Herbert, John Hervieu Armand Harey, Henry Justel, Daniel Jamineau, Claud Jamineau, Abraham Jamain, Louis Jourdain, Fleurance Joyay; Peter Julien de St Julien, Jane *wife*, Peter, Louis, Paul, Aymée, Caroline, Margaret and Emily *children*; David Laurede, Denis Lambert, Jacob Le Febvre, John Le Lordier, Oliver Longuet; Peter Laisne, Anne *wife*, Anne and Jane *daughters*; Moses Le Croie; James Luge, Mary *wife*; John Loquin, Stephen Lufoes, Matthew Lafitte; James and Mary Lambert; Rachiel Le Plastrier, Catherine and Anne *daughters*; Charles Le Cene (clerk), Peter Le Blond; Andrew and Francis Laurant; John Lisns, Vigor Le Cene, Hilair Lafeur, Jacob Leguay, Peter Lalovele; Stephen Le Moyno, Esther *wife*, Esther *daughter*; Matthew Le Cerf, Cæsar Moze, Peter Mousnier; Stephen Mazicq, Sarah *wife*, Stephen *son*; Gabriel Marbeust, Thomas, Anne and Esther *children*; Abraham Meure, Magdalen *wife*, Abraham, Andrew and Daniel *sons*; Peter Michon, Catherine *wife*; John Metivier; Stephen Maret, Anne *wife*; John James Martin, Francis Macaire, James Mell; David and Samuel Moteux; Claud Mazieres, Adam Maintru; John Menanteau, John, Daniel, Jonas, Peter, Moses, Judith and Mary *children*; Peter Malacarte, Abraham Martin, Guy Mesmin, Anne-Mary *wife*, Guy *son*; Isaac Mazicq, Thomas Michel, James Moreau, Abel Melier, Francis Marchant, James Martell; James Misson (clerk), Judith *wife*, Maximilien, James-Francis, Henry-Peter and Anne-Margaret *children*; Martha Minuel, David *son*; Elias

* Ought probably to be FOUACE.

+ I copy this family from the Camden Society Volume.

Nisbet ; Claud Nobillieau, Margaret *wife*, Daniel, Henry, Elizabeth and Judith *children* ; Elias Nezereau, Magdalen *wife*, Elias and Jane *children* ; James Neel ; Nicholas Neel, Mary *wife*, Mary *daughter* ; Nicolas Oursel, Bartholomew Ogelby, Daniel Perreau ; John Pare, Peter, John, Mary and Susan *children* ; Peter Pascal, Mary *wife* ; Elias Prioleau (clerk), Jane *wife*, Elias and Jane *children* ; David Pringel ; William Pierre, William, David, Gabriel, Mary, Rachael and Anne *children* ; Elizabeth Play, Samuel Pariolleau ; Samuel Paquet, Anne *wife* ; Joseph Paulet ; Martha Peau, Martha, Elizabeth, Mary and Renatus *her children* ; Alexander Pepin, Magdalen *wife*, Paul and Magdalen *children* ; Susan Perdriaux, Elias, Elizabeth, Esther, Rachel and Mary-Anne *her children* ; Cæsar Paget, Gabriel Pepin ; Cæsar Pegorier, Mary *wife* ; Peter Perdriaux, Elizabeth *wife*, Peter and John *sons* ; Stephen and Hosea Perdriaux ; Clement Paillet, Mary *wife*, Daniel *son* ; Charles Picaut ; Paul Paillet, Anne *wife*, Mary *daughter* ; Clement Paillet, Judith, Mary, Margaret, Jane and Susan *his daughters* ; James Quesnel ; Stephen Robineau, Judith *wife*, Mary *daughter* ; Francis Robain, Henrietta *wife*, Esther *daughter* ; John Renaudet (clerk), Magdalen *wife*, John, Daniel, Julia and Israelita *children* ; John Riboteau, Magdalen *wife*, Henry, Magdalen and Mary *children* ; Isaac Rambaud, Peter Riolet, Daniel Ruel, Philip Rousseau, William Roche ; Peter Rondelet, Joseph *son* ; Laurence Sauvage, John Sabaties, John Severin ; Peter Sanson, Mary *wife* ; Mary Sterrel, Matthew Schut, Gabriel Tahourdin, Nicholas Tourton, Benjamin Tourtelot, Peter Trinquant ; Daniel Thouvois, Paul *son* ; James Trittan, Jane *wife* ; Anthony Vanderhulst, Isaac Vauchie ; Peter Videau, Jane and Elizabeth *daughters* ; John Vergier, Gabrielle *wife* ; Francis Vaillant, Jacqueline *wife*, Paul, Francis, Isaac, Susan and Mary *children* ; Magdalen Vaucquet, Henry Vareille.

9th May. James Delabadie, Francis Gualtier, Peter Diharce, Maria Reed.

18th November. Gerrard Martin, Ursin Allard, Nicholas Moizy, Peter Debilly, Peter Dufresney, Lawrence D'Arreche, Raymond Rowdey.

XIV.—5th January, 3d Ja. II. (1688, n.s.)

Peter Allix (clerk), Margarette *wife*, John, Peter and James *sons* ; Philip Artemot, John Arlandy, James Asselin (clerk), Jonas Arnaud, Susan *wife*, Elias, Abraham, Jonas and Jane *children* ; James Aure, Louis Assaire, Mary Aubertin, Mary Aimée Aubertin, Isaac Abraham, Peter Aissally, Charles Ardesoife, Jane *wife*, Peter, John and Jane *children* ; John Barberis, Peter and John-Peter *sons* ; Peter Baillereau, Paul Boye, Hosea Belin and Hosea *son* ; James Breon ; Anne Burcar, Elizabeth, Mary, and Anne *her children* ; Thomas Bureau and Anne *wife* ; Gabriel and Peter Boulanger, George Boyd, Aaman Bounin, Peter Billon, Nicholas Bockquet, James Augustus Blondell, Mary Bibal, Samuel Bousar, Francis Brinquemand, John Bernard, Peter Bernardeau, John Bruquier, James Bruquier, Isaac Bonmot, Daniel, James and Benigna *children* ; Frederic Blancart, Henry Bustin, Matthew Bustin, Joseph Bailhou ; Esther Bernou, Gabriel, Mary, Esther and James *her children* ; James Barbot, Peter Bourdet, John Bourdet, Stephen Baractin, Louis Baractin, Isaac Beaulieu, Samuel Brusseau, John Beaufills, David Bosanquet, Theophilus Bellaciay, Elisha Badnett ; George Basmenil (clerk) and Mary *wife* ; Peter Boycoul, Catherine *wife*, Catherine and Magdalene *children* ; Abraham Binet, Magdalene *wife*, Judith *daughter* ; John Peter Boy, John Boisdeschesne ; Abraham Chrestien, Mary *wife*, Martha and Magdalene *children* ; Peter Chrestien, Bernard Coudert, Bernard, Benjamin and Jane *children* ; David Chasles, Isaac Couvers and Anne *wife* ; John Colom, Anne *wife*, Anthony, John, Martha and Mary *children* ; James Callivaux, Jane *wife*, Charlotte *daughter* ; Arnaud Cazauntech and Jane *wife* ; Daniel Chevalier, Susanna *wife*, Daniel and James *sons* ; John Baptist Chovard ; Peter Chasgneau ; Samuel Cooke, Thomas Chauvin, Charlotte *wife*, Thomas, Francis and Catherine *children* ; John Coutris, James Crochon ; Peter, Sarah and Esther Chefd'hotel, Peter Caron, Peter Chaselours, Paul Charron and Anne *wife* ; Marquis Calmels, George Chabot, Paul De Brissac, Samuel De la Coutere, Mary *wife*, Judith and Margarette *children* ; Jane De Varennes, Peter and Jane *her children* ; Daniel Du Coudrau, Mag-

dalene *wife*, Daniel *son* ; Paul De Pont, Gabriel De Pont, James Droze, Abraham and Daniel De Moasre,* Isaac De Hoguet, Rachel *wife*, Charles and Isaac *sons* ; Josias Du Val, Peter Du Fan, Francis Dese, Mary *wife*, Reynard and Peter *sons* ; John Mendez De Costa ; John De la Haye, John, Thomas, Charles, Moses, Adrian and Peter *sons* ; James Doublet, Martha *wife*, David, James and Mary *children* ; Peter Daude, Isaac Delamer ; John Deconmur, Catherine and Martha *children* ; Isaac and Mary De Mountmayour ; John De la Place and Louise *wife* ; John De Bearlin, James De Bordet and Mary *wife*, James Gideon De Arqueville (clerk), Henry le Gay De Bussy, Philip De la Loe (clerk), Abraham Dueno Henriquez ; Abraham Duplex, Susan *wife*, James, Gideon, George and Susan *children* ; Peter Greve, Francis Francia ; Mary De la Fuye, Catherine, Elizabeth, Magdalen, Mary, Margaret and Anne *children* ; Moses De Pommare, Magdalene *wife*, Moses and Susan *children* ; John Droilet, John De Casaliz, Peter Dumas, Abraham Dugard and Elizabeth *wife*, Gerard De Wycke, Daniel Delmaitre, Solomon Eyme, Denys Felles, John Femivett, Andrew Fanevie ; Arnaud Francis, Anne *wife*, Arnaud *son* ; Rénatus Fleury ; Peter Fontaine (clerk), Susan *wife*, James, Louis, Benigne, Anne, Susan and Esther *children* ; John Fargeon, Isaac Farly, Peter Flurissin, John Fallon, Andrew and John Fraigneau, Daniel Flurian, Francis Guerin, Magdalene *wife*, Francis and Anne *children* ; Nicholas Guerin, Louis Galdy, Paul Gravisset (clerk), Samuel Georges, Elias Guinard, Henry Guichenet, Louis Galland and Rachel *wife*, Joseph Guicheret, Claud Groteste (clerk), James Garon, Isaac Garinoz, William Guillon, Daniel Goisin, John Gurlzelier, Andrew Gurlzelier, Peter Goillard, James Martel Gouland, William Govy, John Gravelot and Catherine *wife*, Matthew Gelien, Isaac Hamon, John Harache, John Hebert, Elizabeth *wife*, John, Samuel, Elizabeth and Mary *children* ; Mary and Susan Hardossin ; Moses Herviett, Esther *wife*, John and Matthew *sons* ; Anthony Hulen, Anthony Julien, Jane *wife*, Anne, Susan, Mary and Esther *children* ; Henry Jourdin, Louis Jyott, Esther *wife*, Esther and Mary *children* ; Charlotte Justel, Andrew Jansen ; Anthony Juliot, Anthony and Abraham *sons* ; James Jousset, Mary Joly, John Lavie, Anthony L'heureux ; Simon-Peter and Mark Laurent, James Le Blond, James Louis and Abraham *his son*, Esaias Le Bourgeois, Henry Le Conte ; John and Robert Le Plastrier, Helen Le Franc de Mazieres ; John Lombard (clerk), Francisca *wife*, Daniel and Philip *sons* ; Daniel Le Febvre, Abraham Lernoust, Peter Le Bas : John Le Plaistrier, Charlotte *wife*, Abraham and Jane *children* ; Francis Lacam (clerk), Gabriel Le Boytevy, Benjamin Le Hommedieu, Samuel Le Goneu, Anne *wife*, Magdalene *daughter* ; Francis Le Sombre ; Michael Le Goneu, Anne *wife*, Thomas, Matthew and John *sons* ; James Garnt Louzada, John Lenalache, Mary *wife*, Mary and Martha *children* ; John Peter Laferre, Ferdinand Mendez, Samuel Metayer (clerk), Philip Martines ; Susan Metayer, Louis, Mary, Anne and Rachel *her children* ; John Metreu (clerk), Elizabeth *wife*, Martha and Susan *children* ; Peter Moreau, Francisca *wife*, Daniel, Elizabeth, Mary Anne, and Mary *children* ; Charles Moreau, Mary Anne *wife*, Daniel and Henrietta *children* ; Jonas Marchais, Judith *wife*, and Isaac *son* ; Ambrose and Isaac Minet, Nicholas Montelz and Magdalen *wife*, Patrick Marion, Solomon Monnerian, Judith and Frances Moret, Peter Montelz, Michael Mauze, Michael, John, Peter, and Isabel *his children* ; Stephen Mianan, Isaac Martin, Peter and Mary Moreau, Francis Maymal, Daniel Mussard, Peter Monhallier de la Salle, Daniel Mogin and Margaret *wife*, Petitus Mire, James Maupetit and Susan *wife* ; Mary Minuel ; Peter Mercier, Susan *wife*, Peter, Jane, Susan and Anne *children* ; Lewis Marchet and John *son* ; Abraham Baruch Henriquez John Nolleau, Elias Nezereau, Judith *wife*, Esther, Judith, and Helen *children* ; John Oriot, Solomon Pages (clerk), Daniel Payen, Peter Phellipeau, John Papin, Francis Papin, Aaron Pereira, Peter Pain and Margaret *wife* ; David Papin, Anne *wife*, David and Susan *children* ; James Pelisson, Adrian Perreat, Simon Pautuis, John Prou, Peter Prat, Abraham Page ; William Portail, Margaret *wife*, William, Francis, Hector, Mary and Gabrielle *children* ; James Pineau, James Paisible, Daniel Paillet, Moses Palot and Martha *wife*, Stephen Peloquin, Alphonzo Rodriquez, John la Roche, John and Peter Renie, James Roussell, Peter Esprit Radisson, Stephen Ribouleau ; Peter Roy, Susan *wife*, Elias, John, Daniel and Susan

* Supposed to be De Moivre.

children; Gabriel Ramoudon, Paul Rapillart, Adam Roumie, Anne *wife*, Adam, James, and Peter *sons*; Louis Rame, Reymond Rey, Paul Ray, Abraham Renaud; Anthony Rousseau, Elizabeth, Francis and Ouvrez *his children*; Francis Robert, Samuel Sasportat, Peter Sanseau, Peter Seguin* and Peter *son*, Charles Songat, Stephen Setirin; Matthew Simon, Rachel *wife*, Matthew *son*; Alexander Siegler, Francis Sanzeau, Francisca *wife*, Abraham, Daniel, Peter and James *sons*; John Saulnier, Matthew Savary, Stephen Savary, Luke and Matthew *his sons*; Joshua Soulart and Elizabeth *wife*, Paul Senat, Mary Toulchard, David Thibault, Margaret Ternac, Francis and Anne *her children*; John Thierry, Peter Thauvet, Abraham Tourtelot; James Thomas, James, Moses and John *his children*; John Thomas, Aaron Testas (clerk), Peter Toussaint, Peter Vatable; Francis Vrigneault and Jane *wife*, Mark Vernon (clerk), Anthony Vareilles, John Van Leusteran, Gabriel Verigny, Francis Vaurigand, Francis Villiamme; Mary Yvonnet, John, Samson and Mary *her children*; Mary Lespiniere, James Mougine, — Heude, Francis Beauheu; Susan De Beauheu, Henry and Henrietta *children*.

26th February. Esther De la Tour, wife of Henry, Lord Eland.

XV.—21st March, 4 Ja. II. (1688 N.S.)

Franc Colomiez (clerk); James Amail, Mary *wife*; Peter Amelot, Magdalin Arvonin, Frances Alotte, Peter Asselin; Louis Bennet, Martha *wife*, Catherine *daughter*; David Boulanger, James Borie, Elias Brevet (clerk), Isaac Bonneval, James Brunet, Denis Barquenon, Clement Boehm, Gideon Benoist, Samuel Banquier, Daniel Bellet, Andrew Bernon; Michael Brunet, Mary *wife*, Mary and Catherine *daughters*; Mark Barbat (clerk), Samuel Barbat, Catherine Barbat, Anne Bourdon; Elizabeth Barachin, Peter, Daniel and John *her sons*; John Baille; Louis Carre, Pergeante *wife*, Mary and Jane *daughters*; James Clement, Mary *wife*, Peter and John *sons*; David Coupé (merchant); Henry Chabrol, Samuel Chabrol, Matthew Chabrol; John Chaboissan, Catherine *wife*, John, Peter, Isaac, Mary, Jane, and Louisa *children*; Paul Charles, Susan *wife*; Peter Chaignean, Catherine Caron; John Chardavoine, Esther *wife*, John, Isaac, Renatus, and Daniel *sons*; John De La Perelle, Esther *wife*, Thomasset and William *children*; Gally De Ganiac (clerk), Bernard Duvingan, John De Penna, Barnabas Delabat; Mary and Susan Durie; Henry Duclos; John De La Heuse, Magdalen Dumas; Paul Du Four, Magdalen *wife*, Mary Derbey; James Du Fay, Judith *wife*; Sarah and Judith *daughters*; Philip Du Fay, Susan *wife*; Francis Dansays, John Espinasse, John Fauquier, Francis Fauquier, Peter Fasure, Renatus Fleurisson, Matthew Forit, Solomon Faulcon, David Faulcon, Anthony Guigver, John Gualtier, Honoratus Gervais (clerk), Gabriel Guichard, Thomas Gautier, John Galineau; Mary and Margaret Holzafell; Abraham Hallee, Madaline *wife*, James *son*; Theophilus Jarsan, Pauline *wife*, Mark and Magdalen *children*; Magdalen Laurent, Isabella *daughter*; Michael Le Gros, Adrian Lernoult, James Limart; Charles Le Signiour, Mary *wife*; Adrian Lofland, John Landes, Louis Le Febure, Esther *wife*, James, Susan, Mary, and Anne *children*; Samuel Le Febure; John Lormier,† Madaline *wife*, John, Mary and Magdalen *children*; Guy Le Bon De Bonneval; James Lope, Mary *wife*; Nicholas Lunel, Mary *wife*, Nicholas and Benjamin *sons*; Jane Montebr, Margaret *daughter*; Fortin Moyne; Peter Moreau, Francis, and Peter *sons*; Paul Maricq; Daniel Motet, Louisa *wife*, Martha, Louisa, Jane, Dinah, Francis, Daniel, and Gabriel *children*; Dorothy Motet, Isaac Monet, Gaston Martineau, Benjamin Masfagnerat, Philip Morgas; James Monbocvil, Susan *wife*, James, John, Mary, and Jane *children*; Peter Manvillain; Peter Monet, Catherine *wife*, Peter *son*; James Menil, Mary *wife*, Thomas, James, Vincent, Mary, and Elizabeth *children*; Peter Moulong, Elizabeth *wife*, Andrew, Elizabeth, and Paul *children*; Peter Novell, Peter Patot; James Page, Anne *wife*, Jane *daughter*; Samuel Peres, Mark Paillet; John Prevereau, Mary *wife*, John, Susan, Moses, Mary, Gaspard, and Sarah *children*; Francis Paulmier, Richard Quesnel, Peter Rogne, Daniel Rabache, Peter Ruffiat; Matthew Renaudin, Charlotte *wife*, Charlotte, Matthew, and Esaias *children*; Louis Reynaud, Anne *wife*, Louis

* Perhaps SEYNIN.

† It might be Lorimer.

and Sarah *children*; Benjamin Reynaud, Mary *wife*, Peter Rigaud, Louisa *wife*, Rachael and Susan *daughters*; Daniel Roussel; John Risteau, Maudlin *wife*, Mary, John, Isaac, Elias, Susan and Margaret *children*; Barnard Smith; Daniel Streing, Charlotte *wife*, Peter, Matthew, Mary and Anne *children*; Peter Saint Pe, Stephen Sarazin, John Peter Saint-Favet, Peter Schrieber, John James Theronde, Peter Testas, Mary *wife*, Peter, Matthew, Mary, and Jane *children*; Daniel Thadin, Elias Tessier; Elias Traversier, Peter, James, and John *sons*; Elizabeth Torin, Thomas Veroot; Daniel Vautier, Margaret *wife*, Rachael *daughter*; John Verger, Joseph Wildigos.

XVI.—10th October, 4th Ja. II. (1688).

Daniel Amiand (clerk), John and William Amiand, Isaac Amiand, Daniel Allotte, Daniel Andert, John Ayland, Isaac Auriol; John Audebert, Magdalen *wife*, John, Philip, and Moses *sons*; Paul Bussiere, John Bertrand, John Bouteiller; Abraham Bonnell, Mary *wife*, Samuel, Abraham, Peter, Paul, and Henry *sons*; Daniel Bryon, Louis Bongrand, Lambert Bosch, Louis Brevet, Elizabeth Chevalier; Daniel Chevalier, Susan *wife*, James and Daniel *sons*; John Casals, James Coupé, John Castaing, Peter Cabibel; Isaiiah Couturier, James and Daniel *sons*; Peter Cheneu, Matthew Collineau, Valentin Cruger, Abraham Cohen, David Cashaw, Stephen Cadroy, James and Andrew Dangirard, Nicholas Du Monthel, Nicholas De La Gayene, Peter Languetuit, Catherine *wife*, Catherine *daughter*; Paul Durand; Benjamin De Joug (clerk), Magdalen *wife*, Oliver and Mary *children*; John Darticues, Peter Dauche, Peter Doron, Peter De Rideau, Peter Dupuy, Peter De Vivaris, Isaiiah De Walpergen, Christian Breda, Margaret Dumas; Francis Estienne, Catherine *wife*, Daniel and Gerson *sons*; John Farly, Francisca *wife*, and James *son*; James and David Fresnot, Anne Fagett, and Stephen *her son*, Daniel Fleuris and Jane *wife*, Jane Garis and Peter *her son*; Peter Gualtier, Francis Gabet, John Peter Gairand, John James Gaches (clerk); Mary Grateste, Henry Gaches (clerk); Rowland, Abraham, and Sampson Gideon; Louis Jamin; Louis Igon, Peter, John, Isaac, Solomon and Judith *his children*; Cornelius Johnson, Henry Philip Kugelman, John King; Elizabeth Le Moteux, Judith and Catherine *her children*; Aaron Le Fourgeon, Anne, Francisca, Anne-Mary, Martha, Magdalen and Susan *his daughters*; John Lofting, Daniel Lutra, Anthony Laurent, James Le Blond, John Mallenoe de la Menerdiere, Gabriel Minvielle, Peter Morin and Francisca *wife*, Paul Merlin, James Mathias; Paul Mousnier, Paul and James *sons*; Peter Massoneau, John, Louise, Anne-Mary, Margaret and Susan *children*; Barthe Midy; Louise Maion, John, Hosea, Francis, Margaret and Judith *her children*; John Noval (clerk) and Judith *wife*, Daniel Penigault, Isaac Poitiers, Andrew Pertuison, John Pastre, John Peller, John Poltais, James Rouseau, Leonard Richard, David Rowland; Peter Renaud, Sarah *wife*, Peter, Louis, Hester and Marque Francisca *children*; John Robert; James Rolas and John *son*; Elias Savoret, Andrew Stockey, John Stahelun; Peter Tardy, Mary *wife*, Peter, Hester and Mary *children*; Mary Testas, James Thomas, John Tiran, Anne Van Hatten, John Van Hatten, John De Clene and Michelle *wife*; John Austin, Adrian and Catherine *his children*; Samuel Torin, Gerard Vandernedon (clerk), Andrew Roy.

XVII.—31st January 1st William and Mary (1690 N. S.*)

John Mesnard (clerk), Louisa *wife*, Mary, Susan and Peter *children*; Anne Gendrant; Elias de Bonrepos, Esther *wife*, Elias, Alexander, Anne and Margaret *children*; Matthew Hebert, Elizabeth *wife*, Matthew, James and John *sons*; Matthew Renaudet, Caroline *wife*, Caroline, Matthew and Isaiiah *children*; Peter Goineou, Esther *wife*, Nicholas and Isaac *son*; Anthony Beraud, Louis Ginonneau; Samuel Boutet, Samuel, Adam, James, Peter and John *sons*; Claud Bruyer, Sebastian Poitevoine; Andrew Jaquand, Magdalen *wife*, John *son*; Peter Bigot, Magdalen *wife*, Peter and Magdalen *children*; Timothy Archboneau, Stephen La Jaielle,

* The first year of William and Mary began 13th February 1689 and ended 12th February 1690, (new style).

John Moller, Thomas Gulry ; James Testard, Catherine *wife*, James and Anthony *sons*; William Barbut, Hilary Reneu, Daniel David ; Esther Carlat, Catherine *her daughter*; Michael Hubert, Claudine *wife*; Isaac Bossio, Charles Moreau, Peter Hogelot, Peter Hugues, Louis Testefolle, Samuel Paquet, John Roux, Isaac Bedoe, John Pineau, John Dry, Francis Beuzelin, Paul Boucher, Francis Foriner, Abraham De Fouqueinbergues, Pascal Gaultier ; John Girard, Anne *wife*, Anne *daughter*; David Barrau, Arnaud Parquet, Elias Neau ; Andrew Pasquinet, Peter *son*; John Machet, Peter and John *sons*; Nicholas Jamain, Jane *wife*; Martin de Carbonnel, Antoinette Marie de la Croze, David Preux ; Peter and Margaret Pasquereau, Paul Lorrain, James Gastigny ; Francis Bauldevin, Anne *wife*; Stephen Poussett, Thomas and Stephen *sons*; Moses Moreau, Peter L'hommedin, William Le Conte, John Simeon, John Pelser ; Peter Jay, Gabriel, John and David *sons*; Davierre Baldouin, Mary *wife*; Stephen Mouginot, Catherine *wife*, Stephen, Paul and James *sons*; James Renaud, Gabriel Thomas Marbœuf, Thomas *son*; Peter Simon, Theodore de Maimbourg, Catherine Laurent, Magdalen Chenevix, Louis Seigneuret.

XVIII.—Naturalizations of single families or persons 1691 to 1694.

Esther Hervart, widow of Charles De la Tour, late Marquis de Gouvernet, 16th January 1691 (N.S.)

Mainhardt Conte de Schonburg and Charles his son, 25th April 1691, (according to the old style, new-year's day).

Anthony Didier, 4th April 1692 (N.S.).

Antoinette Didier, 10th August 1693.

Frederic William De Roy De la Rochefoucauld Conte De Marton, Lady Charlotte De Roy la Rochefoucauld, Lady Henrietta De Roy De la Rochefoucauld, son and daughters of the late Conte De Roy, 20th September 1694.

XIX.—5th March 3rd William and Mary (1691 N.S.).

Philip Le Roy (clerk), Joseph Boiste, Peter Cauchie, James Cauchie, Francis Oliver, James Martinet, Elizabeth *wife*; Isaac Cardel, James Seigneuret, Francis Folchier (clerk), Paul La Boucille (clerk), Bonaventura Panier, Peter Le Breton, David Lexpert, Anthony Pluet, Matthew Forister ; John Massienne, Anne *wife*; Peter Villepontoux, Jane *wife*, Peter, Mary and Jane *children*; John Fournier, Peter La Coste, Margaret Denise, Peter Guenon, James Bernard, De la Mothe Mirassoz, Thomas Pierresene, John Bernard, Andrew Luy La Grange ; Solomon Le Gourgeois, Peter *son*; Peter Chasselon, Esther Caron, Philip Verhope, Daniel Guichardiere, Anne *wife*; Nicholas Tostin, Stephen Emery, Mary Goslin, Mary Carolina Havet, John Gesson, Isaac Charrier, Louis Jamain ; James De Bac, Mary *wife*; Augustus Carre, Mary *wife*, Augustus and Gabriel *sons*; Peter Belin, Peter Girard, James Chauveau, James Barbaud, John Le Saye, Andrew Reinhold Dolep, Anne Catherine Goldevin, John Bonier, Francis Duprat, Peter Broha (clerk), Paul Van Somer, Joseph Daney, Stephen Obbema, Philip Rollos ; Anne Alden, Jean Blancard (son-in-law),* Mary *his daughter*; Peter De Forges (clerk), Christian Bauer, Isaac Cavallie, Paul La Rivie (clerk), Isaac Caillobœuf, Judith Dergnoul De Pressenville, Noel Cassart, Bertrand Cahuac, Nathaniel Parmenter ; Peter, Thomas and Gabriel Champen ; Stephen De Borde, Margaret *wife*; Margaret and Mary Dess Essarts, John Dess Essarts ; Peter Hemet ; Anthony and Peter De Pierrepont ; Susan Rence, Jane Champion, Mary Emet, Judith De Pierrepont, Jaques Levi.

XX.—15th April 5th William and Mary (1693 N.S.)

Alexander Sion (clerk), Peter Lalone (clerk), Isaac Odry (clerk), Peter Hamelot (clerk), Abel Ligonier (clerk), John Gohier (clerk), James Gohier (clerk), Peter Ducros, John

* Investigators as to this name must consult the Patent-Roll, as I find in my copy I hesitate between *genero* (son-in-law) and *generoso* (gentleman.)

Buschman, John Beekman, Lucas Jesnouy, John Weselhem Sperling, William Berlemeyer, John Gaspard Meyer, Hugo Marinyon, Michael Garnault, Peter Garnault, Louis Peinlon, Stephen Foulouse, Peter De Lisle, John Bragvier, Henry Justel; Peter Daniel, Peter *son*; Peter St Julien De Maleraye, Peter and Louis *sons*, David Sabbatier, Peter John Davies; Peter Verdetty, Theodore *son*; Samuel Mar, John Luquet; Peter Brochart, Mary *wife*; James Davy, Dorothy *wife*; John Ruber, Antoniole Mercier, Peter Angel, John Theron, Peter John David, Henry Heuser, Francis Grumpet, Michael De Neuville, Daniel Helot, Gabriel Cosson, Abraham Desmarets, John Treville, Isaac Sanselle; Peter De la Touche, Martha *wife*, Peter, James and Mark *sons*; John Mariette, John Rapillard, Isaac Cousin, Henry Bagnoux, John Robethon, Abraham Kemp, Daniel Duchemein, Philip Bouquet, John Alexander Faire; David Lardeau, Jane *wife*, David and Anne *children*; Stephen Thibaut, Esther *wife*; Peter Pastureau, Jane *wife*; John Labe, Elizabeth *wife*; Samuel Binand; Stephen Rouleau, Mary *wife*; Francis Basset, Mary-Magdalen *wife*, Susan-Magdalen and Susan *children*; James Main, John Main, John Pages, Benjamin Godfrey, Andrew Jolin, Claude Fonnereau, Louis Faure, John Le Sage, Daniel Andart, John Anthony Roche, Henry Roche, Richard Moyné, John Tadongneau, Susan Basset, Christiana Baber, Nicholas De Wael, Peter Roux, John Chadaigne, Henry Journeau, Adrian Brevinck, William Sest, John Valteau, Vincent De Lainerie; John Audebert, Elizabeth *wife*, John, Philip and Moses *sons*; Daniel Fougeron, John *son*; Peter La Brosse, Andrew Dennis, Samuel Du Rousseau, Gerard Bovey, Nicholas Wilkens, Cornelius Van Deure, Peter Brun, John Dubrois, Abraham Dupont, David Knigg, William Moyon, Isaiah Valteau, Nicholas Fallet, Thomas Fallet, George Nicholas Dobertin, Austin Gosnemin, Abraham Tixier, Nicholas Moyné, John Papin, Daniel Marcherallier De Belleveve; Matthew Chouard, Paul and Gabriel *sons*; Josiah Caillon, Josiah and John *sons*; James Thomeaur, John Thomeur, Peter Thomeur Dupont; Elias Arnaud, John and Elias *sons*; Jeremy Marion, Ambroses Godfrey Hautkwits, James Egidius Zinck; John Motteux, John, Anthony, Timothy, Peter, Judith, Catherine, and Martha Mary *his children*; Isaac Charier, Peter Chavet, Denis Chavalier, Peter Maurice, Daniel Cadroy, Moses Jaqueau, Mary Anne Pryor, Peter Fermend, David De la Maziere, Esther Sandham, Isaac De la Haye.

The chronology of history requires me to interrupt these lists of adopted *indigenæ* and *ligei*, in order to glance into the House of Commons of 1694. Until almost recent times the House sat with closed doors, and the reporting of its transactions and speeches was illegal. Even a member could not report his own speech; and if he experimented on the not quite impossible forbearance of the executive by printing his speech, the public had to take its accuracy upon trust. It was known that in 1694 a Bill for naturalizing all Protestant strangers had come to a second reading, but had been dropped. But Sir John Knight, M.P. for Bristol, published an elaborate oration, which he represented as having been delivered by himself, off-hand, in his place in parliament, concluding with the amendment, "That the sergent be commanded to open the doors, and let us first kick the Bill out of the House, and then, Foreigners out of the kingdom."

This *brochure* drew forth a reply, entitled:—"An Answer to the Pretended Speech, said to be spoken off-hand in the House of Commons, by one of the Members for B——l, and afterwards burnt by the Common Hangman, according to the order of the House—*London*, printed in the year 1694." "Its very probable," wrote the pamphleteer, "that if this speech had been spoken within as it was printed without doors, that the author had undergone the same fate to which he would have condemned the Bill for Naturalizing of Foreign Protestants. . . . Let him *cave and bray and kick*, and do what he pleases, it signifies nothing so long as he *kicks against the pricks*, whereof I hope that by this time he himself may be persuaded; especially if he consider the disgraceful exit which the Commons have given to his speech, and he may thank his stars for having escaped so well."

The foreigners, pelted and bespattered by Sir John, were chiefly the Dutch, and by including even the king his words were seditious. There was only one paragraph as to the French, which I quote:—

“*A Fourth Pretence* for this Bill is, a want of husbandmen to till the ground. I shall say little on this head, but request the honourable person below me to tell me, Of the 40,000 French (which he confesseth are come into England) how many does he know, that at this time follow the plough-tail? For it’s my firm opinion, that not only the French, but any other nation this Bill shall let in upon us, will never transplant themselves for the benefit of going to plough. They will contentedly leave the English the sole monopoly of that slavery.”

True to its description [“The said pretended speech is faithfully repeated, paragraph by paragraph—the falsehood of its reasoning, and the malice and sedition couched in it, plainly demonstrated and confuted.”] the pamphlet contains the following answer to that paragraph:—

“This worthy knight may please to consider, that abundance of those French would be glad to follow the plough-tail in England, if their language and other circumstances would but admit it, rather than be in the starving condition that many of them labour under. Such of them as have been farmers are neither acquainted with our way of manuring, nor have they stock or credit to procure farms. Most of them have been brought up in another way of living; for it’s sufficiently known that the Protestants in France had the greatest part of the trade and manufactures in the nation. Many of them are gentlemen, officers, and scholars, and consequently unfit for such an employment; and our farmers have not commonly so much respect for the meaner sort of them, as to make use of their service either for plough or cart. And, for such as would come hither to reap the benefit of being naturalized, it’s probable that they may be persons of better condition than ordinary farmers, and their stocks might be more advantageously employed in the kingdom. While at the same time the increase of people will require an increase of provisions, and by consequence make farming and ploughing both more frequent and profitable than it is at present.”

We pass on to 1696, and discover in the Patent-Rolls five more lists of naturalized foreigners, dated from that year down to the last year of William III.

XXI.—10th July, 8th Will. III. (1696).

Peter Brocas De Hondesplains (clerk), John *son*; Moses Pujolas (clerk), James Guesher (clerk), Charles Theophilus Mutel (clerk), Richard Wilcens (clerk), John Mason (clerk), Ireneus Crusins (clerk), James Teissoniere D’Ayrolle; Anthony Cordes, Esther-Magdalen *wife*; James Fury, Louis Fury; Peter Poincet, Esther *wife*; Henry Albert, John Bonine, Louisa Beauchamp Varelles, Magdalen Olympia Beauchamp, John Galissard, Berend Lorens, Thomas Tuist, Anne Barat, Elizabeth Barat De Salenave, Alexander La Plaigne, Peter Silvestre, Peter Gusson; Renatus Brillet, John and Renatus *sons*; Stephen Rainbaux, Charles Breband, Jonah Bonhoste, Burchard Porpin; John Le Bailli, John *son*; John Molet, Abraham De Mombray, Elizabeth Ogilby, James Couvreur; James Barbot, Mary *wife*; Peter Perpoint, Mary Magdalene *wife*; Peter Grudet, Richard Elijah *his son*; Elisha Chirpin, John Muchel, Thomas Muchel, Louis De Hanne, Isaac Hoissard; Daniel Hozzy, Elizabeth *wife*; James Guibal, Esther *wife*; Anthony Bourreau, Jane *wife*, Jane *daughter*; John Le Moyne, Abraham Labourse, Peter Gulston, Peter Hozzy, John Hesdon, Peter La Salle, Abel Denys, Christiana Bege, John De Raedt, John Abelain, James De Pont, David Christian, Remier Sbuelen, Theophilus Guerineau, James Chretien, John Lestocart, David Mortier, Charles Clari, John Bernard, Laurence Loveres, James Nyna Cruger, Henry Mazick, Jaquette Stample, Daniel Guyon, John Guyon, William Ballaire, Gerard Sohnms, Peter Noblet, Martin Neusrue, Adam Billop, John Charron, Nicholas Charron, Cornelius Bewkell; Paul Fenoulhet, Magdalen *wife*, Elizabeth, Mary, James, Francis and Louis *children*; Isaac Le Blond, John Reyners, Gabriel Vanderhumeken, Peter Dove, Benjamin Barbaud, Francis Fox; Francis Girard, Mary *wife*; Gerard Baudertin, Paul Labelle, Daniel Bobin, Benjamin Dariette; Renatus Rezeau, Renatus, Abraham and Peter *sons*; Anthony Puitard, John Hastier, James Corse, Elias Polran, John Polcran; James La Bachelte, Judith *wife*, Peter, John and Henry *sons*; Paul Girard, Mark

Huguetan, Christiana Holl, John Ermenduiger, John Matthews, Louis Guetet, Benjamin Boulommier; Peter De Boiville, Elizabeth *wife*, Renatus, Anne and Elizabeth *children*; Peter Triquet, Daniel Collet, Elias Rondeau, Elias Derit, John Beneche, John Le Clerk, Richard Regnauld, Guidon Babault, Alexander Mariette, Magdalen, *wife*; William Bichot, Mary *wife*, James, William, Peter, David and Mary *children*; Mary Gilbert, Thomasset Catherine Gilbert, Anne Girardot Du Perron, Samuel Van Huls, William Van Huls, Anthony Meure, Isaac Francis Petit, Nicholas Lougvigny, Peter Du Boulay, Isaac Berenger, Elizabeth Chalvet, Martin Eele, Mary Anne Dornaut, Mary Gontier, Francis Du Plessis, James Chevalier Knight, Francis Foulrede, John De la Tour, Elizabeth Beranger, Elias Foillin, John Bourgeon; Peter, David and Thomas Carre, Adam Beaune, Adam Willaume; John Petineau, Judith *wife*; Humphrey and Paul Torquet; Stephen Rougeart, Austin Courtand, Daniel Guesnand, Charles Gabrier; Peter Le Conte, Peter, Josias and Michael *sons*; Daniel Sandrin, James Malide, Joachim Bashfeld, Andrew Thauvet.

XXII.—8th May, 9th Will. III. (1697).

Peter Boherau, Isaac Pinot, James Du Four, Paul Quenis, Abraham Monfort, John Anthony Rocher, Peter Amiot, John de Bournonville, Peter Bouchet, Isaac Bouchet, Daniel Henry, James Vassall, Louis Martin, Peter Le Ficaut, Michael Brunant, John Alvant, Rock Belon, Peter de Nipeville, John Aubourg, John Ceaumont, Daniel Le Sueur, John Merit; Peter Baudovin, Magdalen *wife*, John and Peter *sons*; Peter Thiboust, Michael Caillon, John Boudier, Dionysius Quesnel, John Tonard, Andrew de l'Espine, James Marche, Gaspard Pillot, Paul Retier, James Aubri, David Quache; John de Charines, Elizabeth *wife*; Louis Perand, Francis Francillon, Francis Jaye, Anne le Clere d'Argent; Isaac Roger, Esther *wife*; Henry Cetignes, Abraham Thesmaler; Stephen Albert, Judith *wife*, Stephen and Catherine *children*; John Albert, Michael Giraux, Isaac Guiday, Daniel Bessemart, Susan Martinaux Ferrant, Louis Martinaux, Nicholas Martinaux, James Martinaux, Susan Martinaux, Ephraim Fouquet, Peter Fouquet, John Pertuson; Peter Richer, Mary *wife*, Peter *son*; Solomon Gilles, Baptist Dupre; John Yoult, Jane *wife*, Peter *son*; John Perigal, James Perigal, Robert Aubert, James Digard; Scipio Dalbias, Louisa *wife*; John Quesnel, Abraham Quesnel, Theophilus de Bernonville, Peter Gilbert, John Quille; Isaac Tonard, John *son*; Peter Hemard, James Beschefer, Peter Platel, Claud Platel, John Chartier, Louis Cuny, John Maillard, Peter Maillard, James Le Maitton, Michael Couvelle, Isaac Joly, Peter Dufour, John Chenevie, Louis Cart, Peter Gervaut, Redegonde Carre Bragnier, Simon Dubois, Henry Wagener, Augustin Christian Gozuma, Olympia Favin, Thomasset Mary Ann Boulier de Beauregard, Catherine Siegler, Ursula Siegler; Isaac Martin, Mary *wife*, Isaac, Jacob and Louis *sons*; Margaret du Guernier du Cloux, Matthew Perrandin, Abraham Perrandin, John Cheradaine, Peter Maudet, Frederick Keller; Louis Grude, Daniel Montil, Peter Pelerin, Peter Culston, Charles de la Tour, Rachel Maynard; Anthony Monteyro, Anthony *son*; Bernard Laurans, Ruben Cailland, Daniel Bretelliere, Robert Caille, Luke Dondart Trevigar, Mary Rapillard; Solomon de Guerin, Anne *wife*; John Jourdon (clerk), Mark Antony de la Bastide, John Rodet, George Beckler, Stephen Le Monnier; John Lesturgeon, John and David *sons*; Louis Bonnet, John James Girod, Jane Frances *wife*, John, Gabriel, Catherine, Jane, Margaret and Adrienne *children*; James Brisson, Francis Bussat, Stephen de la Haye, Jonas Rock (clerk), Vincent Benard, James Vincent Bozey, John Raynaut, Peter Perbelin, Michael Maittaire, James Arbunet, Nicholas Bocquet; Peter Berault, Peter *son*; John Daniel Treiber, John Smith, Paul Famoux, Renatus Rane, Magdalen Pourroy, James Dornant, William Gusy, Arnald Naudin; James Raner, Jael *wife*; Andrew Maillet, Alexander Vaille, Matthew Guerrier, Isaac Houssaye, Claud Houssaye, Elias Rembert, Daniel Russiat, Theodore Brissac, James Dumas, Hosea Guilhen, Anthony Bieisse, Isaac Chasseloup, Isaac Planarz, Isaac de la Jaille, John Francis Mousset, Mathurin Guinard, Peter Tissier, James Blanchard, Gabriel Adrien, John Arnaud, Peter Garard; Daniel Marchay, Daniel *son*; Andrew de Commeau; Peter de la Lande,

Abraham, Peter, Isaac and Elizabeth *children*; Daniel Guitton, Peter Audart, John Benoist; James Benoist, Samuel Rodier; Gaspard de Vallan, James, Margaret, Magdalen and Esther *children*; Moses Vome; John Sozze, Louisa *wife*; David Gervazet, Peter Bessier; John Chevallier, John *son*; Daniel De Pont, Daniel Jovet Vollier, Mary *wife*, Daniel and Peter *sons*; Peter Failloux Noel, Daniel Aufrere, Theodore Hedshon, John Vashon, Stephen Romat, Charles Clarke, Richard Reale, James Thomas, Henry Lamp, George Holin, Henry Farinet.

XXIII.—9th Sept. 10th Will. III. (1698).

Isaac Amiand, Anne *wife*, Charles, Isaac, Claudius, John, Theodore, Benjamin and Mary *children*; Magdalen Morin, Elizabeth Marchand, Peter and Paul *her sons*; Elias Pain, Louis Guitton, Daniel Merigot, Nicholas Erraux, Charles Erraux, Anthony Erraux; John Monicat, Moses *son*; John Peter Bouillier de Beauregard, Paul de St Julien Malaiare, Claudius Viet; Anthony Aubry, Magdalen *wife*; Philip Moreau, Catherine *wife*, James, Philip and Elizabeth *children*; Michael Giraud, Philip Surville, Daniel Baudris, Peter Maryon, Toussaint Moreau, Peter Chameau, James Dulon, John Asselin, Stephen Le Sire, James Hervet, Francis Claus, John Steger, James Scholten, Peter Mousnier, Charles Guillet; Charles Billy, Catherine *daughter*; Daniel Coenen, Frederick Schwob, Michael Schwob, Peter Marignac, Daniel Bremont; John Depond, Jane *wife*; Andrew Dupuy, James Paulsen; Daniel Guiton, Magdalen *wife*; Peter Bargeau, Elias Bargeau, Daniel Lambert, Frederic Jordis, John Baptist Schozer, Christopher Greenwood, Bagtiani Paustian, Philibert Hervart, Michael Derrier; William Mahien, Elizabeth *wife*, Judith and Anne *children*; Peter Herache, James Roy; Nicholas Gambier, Esther *wife*, Theodore Le Coq, Magdalen *wife*, Theodore, Henry, Charlotte, Magdalen and Dorothea *children*; John Guillet, Daniel Suire, Peter Bonneau, John Menage; Michael Dien, Peter, Charles, Michael, Anne, Esther and Mary Magdalen *his children*; Christopher Tiel, George Russeller, Christian Colebrant, Jaspas Corchman, Eymer Corchman, Henry Cancellor, Samuel Margas, John Hallinguis, Reginald Vincent, Peter Bouvet, Daniel du Perron, James Fradin, James Frallion, James Martin, John Barbotin, Isaac Bardeau, John Hardouin, Henry Waltis, Michael White, Henry D'Agar, Rensus des Clouseaux, John du Commun, John James D'Abadie, Daniel Crohare, Louis Duplessy, Harman Freeman, Andrew Bonomirier, Rensus Roy Rand, John Bennet, Esther Bennet, Theodore Godet; Francis Thomas, Judith *wife*, Francis, Isael and Anne *children*; John Hioll, Joshua Thomas, Peter Heuze,* Francis Guillier, Peter Buretell, Abraham La Tourtre, Peter Varine, Adam Quesnel, James Pyron, Moses Channett, William Le Berginer, Benjamin Le Berginer, John Barselaer, Gybert Gnede, Joost Crull, William Highstreet, Joseph Honze, John James Maupeit, Matthew Riou, John James Minnielle, Augustus Jay, William Govis, Francis Lagis, Theodore Blanc (clerk), Peter Rolland, John Rolland, Peter Roche, Peter Pitan, Peter Mahien; Stephen Sarazin, Stephen *son*; Elizabeth Allen, Peter Juglas, Peter Biball; Louis Noiray, Henrietta *wife*, Anne, Henrietta, Louis, Charles and Francis *children*; Michael Le Vassor, Louis Girard, James Forrestier, Thomas Forrestier, Peter Havy, Paul Coyald, John Barbier, Charles Charles, Paul Charles, Louis Molet, Peter Darrac; John Massoneau, Mary *wife*; Josias Villier, Peter La Roche, John Peter Zurichrea, Gabriel Rappe, William Cothoneau, Cæsar Ghiselin, Joseph Bremont, John Maintru, James des Lauriers, Nicholas Phelippon, Isaac Phelippon, Abraham Le Large, John Le Large, Arnold Bush, Peter Chaille; John Orion, John *son*; Henry Mazener; Peter Bire, Mary *wife*, Mary and Jane *children*; Samuel Pien, Abel Rufiat, Stephen Duport, John Duport, Louis Liron, John Bouillere, Alexander Morisset, John Perlier, Francis Brielle, William Croyard, Gousse Bonin, John Guerrier, John Tuley, Peter Senech, Peter Carles, Mary Carles, Charles Telles, James Tabart; John Raoul, Mary *wife*; Mary Roquier, Gabriel Doubelet; Peter Lelarge, Abraham and John *sons*; Nicholas Phelippon, Isaac Phelippon, Michael Giraud, Peter Favet, Samuel Barbier, Louis Galabin, Samuel Fradin, Francis Lechabrun, Elias Verdois.

* Perhaps HENRE.

XXIV.—11th March, 12th Will. III. (1700 N. S.)

James De Rousignac, Peter and Guy *sons*; Samuel George Lane, Samuel George *his son*; Isaac Roberdeau, John Baptist Roberdeau, Peter Soulegre, John Soulegre, Peter Brozet, John Brozet, James Brozet, James Cortiere, Mark Antony Cortiere, Anthony Du Roy, Peter Durant, Stephen Cabibel, John James Ceyt, Mark Antony Bonafons, Daniel Rousseau, Gabriel Rousseau, Francis Rybott, Louise Jammeau, Peter Gaussen, Samuel Du Fresnay, John Davois, James Davois, Richard Philip Davois, Isaac Gron, James Fouache, Peter Clavier, Jerome Dubossq, Solomon Larrat, Josias Goddard, Abraham Lemasle, Paul Soyer, Stephen Linard, John Cardon, Thomas Le Carron, Isaac Hebert, John Hiesill, John Jouanne, Stephen Auber, Peter Maurin, Peter Godin, Michael Mell, Peter Goddard, Elias De Vassale, John Faron, Elias Faron, Thomas Godard, Peter Le Berquier, John Le Berquier, Mary Le Berquier, Charles Quesnell, Peter Le Berquier, Peter Beaufils, Louis Andrieu, William Andrieu, John Hellott, Isaac Piron, Francis Braequehaze, Solomon Meldron, David Chrestien; James Cadett, Jane *wife*, James, John sen., Martha, John jun., Daniel, Francis and Jane *children*; Daniel Guirauld, Solomon Le Bayent, Abraham Le Bayant, Paul Gosseau, Andrew Gosseau, Samuel Paquet, Michael Moreau, Andrew Alexandre, Solomon Alexandre, David Couppé, James Couppé, Solomon Moreau, Jacob Meldron, John Caovet, James Chretien, Isaac Blond, Peter Retout, Samuel Vourion, Matthew De la Place, Peter Renaust, John Hebert, William Boncourt, Peter Bennet, James Fouquerett, John Fouache sen., John Fouache jun., John Girard, John Lavaine, James Crouard, Francis Griel, John Vincent, William Bastell, Isaac Le Tellier, John Guespin, Gabriel Doublet, David Chretien, Robert Le Blond, David Dosselin, Isaac Clerenceau, Isaac Levy De Diepe, Samuel Jourdain, Abraham Grimaust, Stephen Dumontier, James Nourétier, James Dumontier, David Du Jardin sen., David Du Jardin jun., James Leturgeon, Simon Morriseau, Peter Malet, Louis Durand, Isaac Cloude, Francis Gallais, Abraham Jonneau, Matthew Lys, Augustin Esmont, Abraham Govin, Solomon Bouffard, Gabriel Brus, Christopher Baudovoin, Solomon Prevost, Peter Bacat, John Bacat, Elias Regnand, John Boissnard, John Roffey, Matthew Jammeau, Jane De Senne, David Doublet jun., Peter Thomas, Peter Bertin, Robert Osmont, John Brus, Charles Herman, Francis Violeau; Andrew Page, Peter *son*; Elias Verger, Isaac Poitier, James Parielleau, Isaac Parielleau, Moses Marionneau, Elias Fleurisson, Peter Taillett, Elias Dupont, James Dupont, John Masson, Daniel Masson, Thomas Guiton, Thomas Durand, John Castanet, John Chave, Peter Davois, John Bacot, James Chauvet, Peter Rousseau, Gilles Lievre, William Debosc, Peter Bernard, John Drovillart, Andrew De Lhoumeau, Francis Vrigneau, Peter Orian, William Henry Aure,* William Sureau, John Tribble, Gabriel Montelz, James Thibault, Peter Martin, John Carriere, Abraham Gilles, John and James *sons*; Peter Fouquet, John De la Jaille, Charles Francis Grechie Leber, Anne *wife*, Francis Duplessis, Elizabeth Rabache, John De la Newfmaison, Andrew Peschier, John Reynell; John Des Rumeaux, Mary *wife*, Louis and James *sons*; Carollette Chrispin, David Senecat, Godfrey Steger, Robert Le Blond; John Sene, John, James and Peter *sons*; Abraham Salomon, Abraham Harache, Peter Benoict, John Bachand, Stephen Giraud, John Robin, Louis Rivard, James Vallett, John Roy, Daniel Giraud, Daniel Savary, Philip Dupuy, Simon Morisseau, Philip Raynaud, John Gaindait, John Sotie, Peter Aurius, Peter Teisseire; Theodore Ducros (clerk), William, Carollette and Mary *children*; Peter Jollan, John Rouquet, Peter Perpoin, Peter Betton, Peter Pelisson, Peter Bezin, James Barion, Mary Baron, Elizabeth Hemard, John Paret, Anthony Tulon, Peter Laurent, John Quet, Joachim Bielfeld; John Meslier, Jane *wife*, John, Jane, and Magdalen *children*; John James Cazeneusne; Stephen Joyeux, Mary *wife*; Peter Deschamps, Isaac Cousteil, Alexander Allaire, Claud Bessonnet, Daniel Jaudin, James Rivand, Paul Girardot, Simon Fouchard, Moses Amyraut, James Formont; Mary Amyraut, Henry and Mary Anne *her children*; John Grazeillier, David Senecat, Peter Prion, Judith Brulon, Mark James Jacob Peloquin, Peter Renaud, Elias Jamin, Daniel De Laire, Peter Remy, Clement

* Perhaps AUREZ.

Remy, Charles Chapon, Andrew Gaydan, Michael Remy, John Gentilet, John Dumas, Matthew Dinard, Francis Dinurlin, John Gorin, Stephen Gronguet (clerk), Francis Vigot Gronguet (clerk), John La Combe, Peter Lombard, Isaac Bernard, Francis Cairtois, John Cairtois; Albert Derignee, Peter and Matthew *sons*; John Furen, James Mork, James Margas, Peter Jastrain, Henry De la Faville, David Lesturgeon, Abraham Barian, Anthony Bartalot, Israel Daignebere, John Claverie, Peter Benouad, James Chaille, Stephen Boureau, Francis Bouchet, Andrew Leger, Matthew Boigard, Peter Ramier, James Valet, Abraham Moncousiet, John Louis Loubier, John Castaing, James Sanson, Peter Blanchard, Michael Chaille, John Greene *alias* Vert, James Bire, Julien Bire, John Fougeron, John Maddar, Daniel Beluteau, John Mayer, John Poitier, Louisa Duport, Mary Duport, Michael Roux, Francis Gautier, Peter Le Cheaube; Daniel Tirand, Mary *wife*, Daniel, David, Joseph, John, Stephen, Mary, Magdalen, Margaret, Mary Anne and Elizabeth *children*; Isaac Barbier, Jane *wife*, Isaac and Jacob *sons*; Gabriel Dugua, Anne *wife*; Thomas Crispeau, Mary *wife*; Isaac Chapellier, Anne *wife*; John Chabaneil, Paul Galabin, James Dargent, Aymé Garnault, Josias Le Comte, John Baptist Galabin, Alexander Le Rouz; Samuel Simon, Martha *wife*; Simon Le Plastrier, Anne *wife*, Simon and Anne *children*; Samuel La Fertie; David Le Court, Mary Anne *wife*, David, Taneguy and Catherine *children*; Benjamin Le Court, Rachel *wife*; Anthony Clerenbault, Gideon Battailhey; John Caussat, Magdalene *wife*; Peter Malegne, Peter Souhier, John Souhier, David Le Tellier, John Lequesne, David Lequesne; Paul Godard, Elizabeth *wife*; David Doublet, jun., Henry Beaumont, John Bachan, John Russiat, Daniel Cannieres (clerk), Peter Ardesoif, James Neau, Anthony Dalbis, Samuel Coignand, Victor Coignand, Samuel Perreau, Stephen Chevalier, Henry More, David Gausson, Peter Bossairan (clerk), Catherine *wife*, Mary and Anne *children*; Anthony Aufrere, Israel Anthony Aufrere (clerk), James Juibert, John Chavot, David Chavot; James Montier, Mary *wife*.

XXV.—3d July, 13th Will. III. (1701.)

Abel Langelier, Mary *wife*, Abel, John, Louis and Mary *children*; Elias Tovillet, Elias Brossard; John Gaudy, John, Isaac, and Francis *children*; Isaac La Font, Rachel *wife*, Jane and Honorée *children*; John Lafont, Abraham Lafont, Isaiiah Deveryt; Isaac Lussou and Mary *wife*; Daniel Poletier, James Soufflet, Laurence Payen, Abraham Courtin, Henry Cocker, John Maynard, Abraham Allais, Catherine *wife*, Stephen, Mary, and Catherine *children*; Arthur Le Conte, James Chaband, James Peraud, Abraham Outand, William Drovett, Peter Doruss, Peter Guioneau, John Guerin, Elias Vouliart, Noah Vuclas, David Espinet, Peter Jambelin, John Cornet, Vincent Tillon, James Cromer, James Guion, Charles Couilland, James Mercie, and Anne *wife*; Stephen Gendreu, John Ageron, Henry Berslaer, Adam Paetts, Daniel Bernardeau, Isaac Prestrau, Samuel Guibald, John Tartarin, Francis Gourdon, James Massiot, John Savouret, John Hester, Susan, Marianne, and Mary *children*; William Heurtin and Elizabeth, *wife*; Andrew Malie, Benjamin de Charrieu, Nicolas L'Advocat, Elizabeth *wife*; Peter Aubin, Elizabeth, Margaret, and Mary *his children*; James Ruffiat, Abraham Morisset, John De Loumeau, Isaac Delpeth, Mary Seigneur, Claude Daniel *son*; John Farcy, and Frances *wife*, George Gemhemier, John Jappie, Mary Jappie, Andrew Bonneau, Magdalene, Andrew, James, Mary, Jane, and Susan, *children*; John Glenisson, James de Molieu, Susan *wife*; Peter Fald (clerk), John Adam (clerk), George Felster, Francis Allard, David Delamere, Solomon Delaleu, Zachary Savory, Thomas Lee, Francis Lee, Fitzwilliams Lee, Hermes William Lee, James Lee, Caroline Lee, Simon Raine, Elias Ausonneau, John Deloumeau, Anthony Poncardant, Peter Formont, John Page, John Martin, Charles Cossart, John Pigou, Mark Antony Pigou, Arnaud Bergignac, Jane Myre, Peter Le Conte, James Gariot, Francis Vorer, Elias Chabosseau, Alex. De Roure des Bonneaux James Peyret, Henry Demoney, James Buicarlelet, James Gashlie, John Gunge, John James Fourchars, Isaac Lyon; Peter Robateau, Susan *wife*; John Robateau, Anne *wife*; Isaac Langue, John Peter Langue, Francis

Louis Billot, James Renaudet, Ouriel Maur Wieten, John Cruyger, John Corso, Albert de Urie, James de Surville, Joseph Stokey, John *son*; John Mallet, Charles Bartholomew de la Tour, Moses Boussac, Henry Guichinet, Claude Francis Paul Estrange, Francis Bouchet, John Peter Salnau, Isaiah Verit, James Gastily, Daniel Boreau, Mary Garnault, James Aleber, Charles Gouy, John Villeneuve, John Girandeaun, Daniel Mainard, John Mallet, James Morgat, James Berand, Peter Guillard, Louis Thomas, Matthew Guerrier, Paul Grangier, John Morgue, Anthony Vatier, Nicolas Le Tavernier, Nicolas, James and Judith *children*; Peter Selmes, Philip Gendron, Paul Mesnier, John Moret; John Paul, and Mary *wife*; Peter Vidal, and Esther *wife*; Nicolas Duval (clerk), Margaret *wife*, Elizabeth *daughter*; David Chais La Place, and Magdalen *wife*; Sebastian Rucault, and Susan *wife*; John Savignai, James Pitau, Stephen Gendran, Peter Gullard, Simon Peter Babault, James Champion (clerk), Elias de Grandges, James Fevilliteau, Francis and Louis *sons*; James Lardien, Peter Galand, Peter Pilote, James Darriguard, Moses Ruchard, John Boisnard, Peter Geutet, Daniel Blond, John Cotreau, Peter Rolland, David Jardeau, Isaac Prevost, Josias Bureau Chaieler, James Guitton, John Anviceau, Moses Reneau, Isaac Bosy, Elias, Abraham, John and Isaac *sons*; John Marion, Peter Chevallier, Peter and Samuel *sons*; Renée Gougeon, Renée Mary *daughter*; Peter Girard, James Girard, Aaron Faitout, Charles Govis, Stephen Dubuer, Nicolas Fresneau, Stephen Benouad, Jane *wife*, Stephen *son*; Claude Cagrou, Daniel Robert, Michael Haquinet, Samuel Greneau, John Guirodos, Elias Grolon, John Lauber, John Coureau, Peter Vauvelle, and Susan *wife*; Peter Durand, Anne Cabibel, Louis de Marsall, Louis *son*, John, Thomas, Peter, and Isaac, *his sons*; Philip Brouard de la Cössaye, Peter Fraylle, Daniel Baile, Rebecca *wife*, Daniel and Isaac *sons*; Isaac Hartman, Isaac and John *sons*; Francis Guichard, Anthony Guichard, Abraham Hasbrouk, John Hasbrouk, Louis De Viere, Peter D'Oyan, Abraham Dubois, Moses Cautin, Peter Guimard, James Povillon, Andrew Cauon, Peter Manin, Abraham Lakeman, John Bellville, John Casier, Nicolas Crocheron, Abraham Cauon, John Thaveau, John Causson, John Samon, Daniel Robert, James Cormier, Isaac Roussell, Stephen Roussell, Francis Roussell, David De Serme, Theophilus Robert, John Villiers, Henry de la Reve, John Le Chaleur, John James Peytrignet, John Lesmere, Peter Belvere, Daniel Collett, Peter Dumoulin, John Suyre.

I have not observed any long lists of Naturalized Foreign Protestants in the reign of Queen Anne. The fact is, that during the vigorous prosecution of the war with France they were recognized practically as British subjects. And at length it was felt that their warm and active devotion deserved a more open and formal recognition. Accordingly a Bill for the Naturalization of Foreign Protestants was brought into the House of Commons on the 14th February 1709, by the Hon. Sidney Wortley Montague, M.P. for Peterborough, in concert with Lord William Powlett, M.P. for Winchester; Sir James Montague, M.P. for Carlisle; Robert Eyre, M.P. for Salisbury; Sir Joseph Jekyll, M.P. for Eye; Richard Nevil, M.P. for Berkshire; Sir Peter King, M.P. for Boralston; William Lowndes, M.P. for Seaford; and Roger Gale, M.P. for Northallerton. The Bill became an Act of Parliament on the 23d March 1709;—the qualification was the taking of the usual oaths, and there was also a Proviso, “that no person shall be naturalized, &c., unless he shall have received the Sacrament in some Protestant or Reformed congregation within this kingdom.”

The following is the Bishop of Sarum's (Burnet), account of this honourable deed:—“An Act passed in this Session, that was much desired, and had been often attempted, but had been laid aside in so many former Parliaments, that there was scarce any hope left to encourage a new attempt. It was for naturalising all Foreign Protestants, upon their taking the oaths to the government, and their receiving the Sacrament in any Protestant church. Those who were against the Act soon perceived that they could have no strength if they should set themselves directly to oppose it; so they studied to limit strangers in the receiving the sacrament to the way of the church of England. This probably would not have hindered many who were otherwise disposed to come among us; for the much greater part of the French came into the way of our church. But it was thought best to cast the door as wide open as possible for encourag-

ing of strangers. And therefore since, upon their first coming over, some might choose the way to which they had been accustomed beyond sea, it seemed the more inviting method to admit of all who were in any Protestant communion. This was carried in the House of Commons with a great majority. But all those who appeared for this large and comprehensive way were reproached for their coldness and indifference in the concerns of the Church. And in that I had a large share, as I spoke copiously for it when it was brought up to the Lords. The Bishop of Chester, (Sir William Dawes), spoke as zealously against it, for he seemed resolved to distinguish himself as a zealot for that which was called High Church. The Bill passed with very little opposition."

To leaven the British population with Protestantism of Huguenot intensity was always the policy of the Williamite or true English party. But the aim of the opposition was to drive this influence out of the kingdom. So that when the opposition became the Queen's ministry under the leadership of Harley and Bolingbroke, they assailed the authors and supporters of the Naturalization Act, proclaimed them to be "the Queen's and the kingdom's enemies," on account of it, and lost no time in introducing a Bill to repeal it. This was in 1711.

Great numbers of the French refugees had been content with simple toleration, because they did not wish to cast off their French citizenship. They had lived in hope that a good time was coming when their native country would receive them,—a time when the victories of Britain and of the Anti-Bourbon Alliance would, by a satisfactory treaty of peace, purchase their restoration to their homes and estates. But the tone of the debates of 1711 alarmed them, and drove above two thousand to take advantage of the Act, and to enrol themselves as British subjects. [It should therefore be observed that the date of the naturalization of a Huguenot refugee is not necessarily the same, or even almost the same, as the date of his arrival on British soil.] Although the first attempt to repeal the Act failed; yet the second assault, renewed with the utmost possible haste, put an end to its existence. And on the 9th February 1712 the royal assent was given to "An Act to repeal the Act of the seventh year of Her Majesty's reign, entitled an Act for Naturalizing Foreign Protestants, except what relates to the children of Her Majesty's natural born subjects, born out of Her Majesty's allegiance." In Ireland, naturalization, on taking the oaths before the Lord Chancellor, was granted without difficulty. The following are all the names I find in my note-book:—

DUBLIN PATENT ROLLS. Adam Billon, (1 Aug. 1699). The following merchants being "Protestant strangers,"—(29th Nov. 1704).—Henry Maynard, Anthony Guizot, Stephen Peridier, David Dupont, James Bournack, Clennet Clancherie, Peter Bigot, Daniel Guion, John Clamouse, James Soignon, Samuel Offre, Marke Le Blanc, Andrew Le Blanc, William Boncoiron, Peter Dumas.

Section III.

THE ROYAL BOUNTY.

THE Royal Bounty for the French Protestant Refugees consisted of moneys raised throughout the United Kingdom for distribution among the necessitous exiles. The Huguenots were always celebrated for their industry and self-reliance, and many of them for inventive genius or skill. And when they took refuge in this and in other lands, both masters and journeymen, in their various useful and beautiful manufactures, hastened to secure remunerative employment. Few of this class looked to us for more than some casual relief in small donations of money on their arrival; but there were refugees in different circumstances, who required permanent aid. These were described as "persons of quality, and all such as through age or infirmity

are unable to support themselves and their families." The persons of quality were noblemen and landed proprietors who, having been born to good estates, had never learned any profession, and who by flight and forfeiture had lost their all; also unsalaried pastors, whose education and habits unfitted them for secular business, and genteel persons brought up to law and physic, and equally unable to find remunerative employment.

"The "Bounty," which in the needful substance came from the hearts and pockets of the people, was called "Royal," because the King's Letter, or "Brief," was required in order to sanction the appointment of a collection in the churches, and the Lord Chancellor as the keeper of the king's conscience, had to sign the Brief. The only collection which historians have immortalized was one made in consequence of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But (as I have already recorded) a collection was made in 1681, and in that year and in two or three following years, a large sum must have been raised upon the Brief, as there appears to have been a balance of £17,950* after the distribution of the relief required before 1685.

Here it may be well to observe that private societies or committees for receiving and distributing money, and public meetings of the subscribers and friends of such societies, have always been discouraged by despotic governments. The government of the Stewarts being essentially arbitrary, the bounty to the refugees fell to be distributed by a committee under the king in council, and national accounts of receipt and expenditure were not exhibited (never, in fact, until the days of Colonel Barré). Therefore the exact state of this benevolent fund could not be known to the public. We now have reason to believe that the City of London agreed to borrow the unexpended balances. Thus a capital fund was lodged, and was gradually augmented in the chamber of the city. It also seems that (perhaps in order to prevent future church collections from falling off) the existence of this capital fund was kept secret both from the British public and from the French refugees.

The celebrated collection, for which a Brief was promised in the autumn of 1685, was not actually ordered until the spring of 1686. The promise was made in the eagerness of British hospitality; the French and English kings, along with Chancellor Jeffreys, concerted the delay. The irritation and anxiety of the public mind during this interval is evident from Evelyn's Diary. Distrust of the government comes out in his first memorandum concerning the Revocation, dated 3 Nov. 1685:—"One thing was much taken notice of, that the Gazettes which were still constantly printed twice a-week, informing us what was done all over Europe, never spake of this wonderful proceeding in France; nor was any relation of it published by any, save what private letters and the persecuted fugitives brought. Whence this silence I list not to conjecture, but it appeared very extraordinary in a Protestant country, that we should know nothing of what Protestants suffered, whilst great collections were made for them in foreign places, more hospitable and Christian to appearance." 4th December, "Persecution in France raging, the French insolently visit our vessels and take away the fugitive Protestants; some escape in barrels." 20th December, "Dr Turner, brother to the Bishop of Ely and sometime tutor to my son, preached at Whitehall, on Mark viii. 38, concerning the submission of Christians to their persecutors, in which were some passages indiscreet enough, considering the time and the rage of the inhuman French tyrant against the poor Protestants."

The diarist has better news to give on 14th March 1686:—"The Bishop of Bath and Wells (Dr Ken) preached, on John vi. 17, a most excellent and pathetic discourse. After he had recommended the duty of fasting and other penitential duties, he exhorted to constancy in the Protestant religion, detestation of the unheard-of cruelties of the French, and stirring up to a liberal contribution." On the 29th there is this entry, "A Brief was read in all churches for relieving the French Protestants." "Read" perhaps was an abridgment, either intentional or accidental, for "ordered to be read;" for on the 25th April Evelyn writes, "This day was read in our church the brief for a collection for the relief of the Protestant French, so cruelly, barbarously and inhumanly oppressed, without anything being laid to their charge. It had been long expected, and at last with difficulty procured to be published, the interest of the French Ambassador

* Burn's MSS.

obstructing it." Though not by Evelyn, it has been said that Jeffries gave instructions that the clergy were to read the brief, without any comments or appeals to the people. One more extract from Evelyn is connected with the subject of this section; it is dated 5th May:—"This day was burned in the old Exchange by the common hangman a translation of a book written by the famous Monsieur Claude, relating only matters of fact concerning the horrid massacres and barbarous proceedings of the French king against his Protestant subjects, without any refutation of any facts therein; so mighty a power and ascendant here had the French Ambassador, who was doubtless in great indignation at the pious and truly generous charity of all the nation for the relief of those miserable sufferers who came over for shelter."

It is commonly said that the collection amounted to upwards of £40,000. Probably this statement originated in the fact that the sum of £42,889, 8s. 10³/₄d. was paid into the chamber of the City of London. But this seems to have been the unexpended balance of two collections, and to imply a much larger amount realized between 22 Apr. 1686 and 16 Dec. 1688. The second collection is mentioned by Evelyn:—"1688, April 15th, The persecution still raging in France, multitudes of Protestants and many very considerable and great persons flying hither produced a second general contribution,—the Papists (by God's providence) as yet making small progress amongst us."

A Brief, dated 31st January 1689, was issued by William and Mary. The sums credited to it, which were lodged in the city chamber, amounted to £63,713, 2s. 3d. A part of this sum was a contribution from Scotland, where the Convention-Parliament issued a Proclamation (dated April 11, 1689) for a collection for the French and Irish Protestant Refugees. Sir Patrick Murray was made the Collector-General. As to the crowds of Irish, who had fled to the coasts of Scotland from Jacobite tyranny at home, relief was distributed to the applicants individually. But the only apparent method for relieving French Protestants was to remit part of the collection to the Commissioners in England. The Scotch clergy were required to read the proclamation from their pulpits; and obedience to this order was one of the tests of their loyalty. A pamphlet, entitled "The Scots Episcopal Innocence" (published in 1694), gives the cases of numerous Jacobite clergy tried, and many of them deprived of their parochial livings, by the Privy Council. We find, among other reasons for deprivation, the following one, expressed in several slightly varied terms:—"for not observing the collection for the French and Irish Protestants," (Case 38)—"for not observing the Proclamation for a voluntary contribution to the French and Irish Protestants," (Case 139)—"for hindering the reading the Proclamation for a collection for the French and Irish Protestants," (Case 5)—"for impeding the contribution for the French and Irish Protestants," (Case 67). The French Protestants were named first, probably because the great sympathy felt for their sufferings would make the collection popular among the Presbyterians of Scotland. On account of the vicinity of Ireland and the actual presence of so many refugees from Ulster, the first practical claim was possessed by the Irish.* And accordingly, one disloyal Prelatist (Case 175) denounced the intended recipients as "runnagadoes and rascals who came from Ireland, and pretended persecution, oppression, and force, when they had never lain under any."

Another item of £11,829 appears in the memorandum† of refugees' money paid into the Chamber of the city of London, the date being from 10th May 1699, to 16th February 1701. There was in 1699 a Brief for a Collection to which the diarist, Ralph Thoresby of Leeds, makes this allusion:—"1699, The learned Mr Boyse, being come from Dublin to this his native place, lodged at my house till his marriage with Mrs Rachel Ibbetson. The sermon he preached relating to the sufferings of the French Protestants was very moving, there being once about eight hundred churches in which the true worship of God was constantly celebrated,

* The Privy Council appointed Deputy-Collectors in various counties to distribute money (as soon as collected and without the necessity of first paying it over to the Collector-General) among the Irish Protestants. The Deputy-Collector at Stranraer was Provost Torburne, who was to be assisted by Sir Charles Hay of Park and Mr Miller, Minister of Stranraer.—*Privy Council Register*. Minutes of 7th June and 3d July 1689.

† Burn's MSS.

which are now demolished, fifteen hundred pastors banished, their flocks scattered, and many thousand families forced into exile, &c., for whose relief public collections are being made."

The distribution of the Royal Bounty was assigned by the Commissioners to two Committees; the pastors were relieved by the Ecclesiastical Committee, and the other refugees by the Lay Committee. The usual test for a French refugee's admission, either as a casual recipient or as a regular pensioner, was simple membership in the Reformed Church of France continued in this country. Occasionally either despotic politicians of the Jeffries type, or Laudean prelatists, endeavoured to introduce the taking of the sacrament in the Anglican mode, as the "key," or "pick-lock" of the sacred money-chest. And in the beginning of the reign of William and Mary, one or two quondam Huguenot pastors, who had become Anglican conformists, thought to please their new associates by re-producing this intolerant proposal. But they were silenced by the great theologian, Howe's appeal to one of the Commissioners (name not known):—"SIR, But that I am learning as much as I can to count nothing strange among the occurrences of the present time, I should be greatly surprised to find that divers French Protestant Ministers, fled hither for their consciences and religion, who have latitude enough to conform to the rites of the Church of England, do accuse others of their brethren (who are fled hither on the same account, *but have not that latitude*) as schismatics, only for practising according to the principles and usages of their own church which at home were common to them both, and as schismatics judge them unworthy of any relief here. Their common enemy never yet passed so severe a judgment on any of them that they should be famished. This is put into the hands of the appellants from this sentence unto your more equal judgment. And it needs do no more than thus briefly to represent their case and me, Most Honour'd Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant,

WALBROOK, *April 5th 1689.*

JOHN HOWE."*

The funds were faithfully administered. To this one of the refugees, Maximilien Misson, bears witness in 1697.† He writes:—"Of this multitude of poor exiles there are not at most above three thousand that receive alms, or (as we call it) are *au Comité*." "The sums of money that have been collected have always been deposited in the hands of four or five noblemen, who have referred the division and administration thereof to a chosen set of men picked out from among the refugees themselves. . . . Nothing can be more laudable than the charity, equity, moderation, compassion, fidelity and diligence with which these gentlemen acquit themselves of the employment which their goodness induced them to accept. It is impossible to express the sentiments of acknowledgement, esteem and love which all the poor, and all the refugees in general, have in their hearts for these good and pious administrators."

It remains that we should enquire regarding the votes and proceedings of the House of Commons, relative to the Royal Bounty. The statements as to this fund, handed down to us as history, are questionable, at least as to the source from which the income was raised, and as to the right of parliament to withhold, either in whole or in part, the annual sum of £15,000, which appears to have been first voted in 1696. In the present year (1869) the fund survives (though at its last gasp), and therefore official papers must exist with which the printed histories might now be compared, and by which they might, wherever they are erroneous, be corrected.

The most simple method for the present writer will be to begin by quoting the co-temporary history,‡ and to end by furnishing what (as he has been informed) is the right version of the case. To save trouble I have given all the references, belonging to the historical head, in

* Calamy's *Life of Howe* (Lond. 1724) page 145.

† Misson's *Observations of a Traveller—disposed alphabetically—published in 1698, translated into English in 1719*, see under the headings, *Committee* and *Refugees*.

‡ [Boyer's] *History of King William III.*, vol. iii. (Lond. 1703) pp. 52, 109 and 165. The Preface to a second translation of Claude's "Short Account of the Complaints and Cruel Persecutions of the Protestants in the kingdom of France." (Lond. 1707), p. 30, &c. The *British Chronologist* (founded on Salmon's *Chronological Historian*), vol. i.

one foot-note, and here acknowledge that (with slight exceptions) the language is that of the writers quoted, and not my own, as the enquiring reader may ascertain for his own satisfaction.

The distressed French exiles upon account of religion, having lost their best support by the death of Queen Mary, and having solicited the court to little purpose, did on the 9th April 1695, present a petition to the House of Commons, humbly praying that their deplorable condition might be taken into consideration. The Commons, out of a generous and Christian tenderness, presented an address to the king, that his majesty would be pleased to take the poor French refugees into his princely consideration, and vouchsafe them some relief. To this address his majesty answered, that he was desirous to have it complied with, and would direct the Lords of the Treasury to consider and report to him the fund wherein to place that charity. This Parliament was dissolved on the 22d October, and a new one was elected.

On the 22d November the king made his speech from the throne to the new parliament, and in the midst of the portion addressed to the gentlemen of the House of Commons, he said that compassion obliged him to mention the miserable circumstances of the French Protestants who suffered for their religion, and recommended their case to his faithful Commons. This matter was considered by Committees of the whole house, during several sittings, beginning on the 12th March 1696. Their report embodied the declarations of king Charles II. (28th July 1681) and of King William and Queen Mary (25th April 1689), importing, that the French Protestants having been invited with great promises of assistance to come hither, it would be a great scandal to the government and to religion if they were not speedily relieved, and that it would be strange if this nation should suffer itself to be outdone by their neighbours in so excellent a work, seeing that what charity soever is bestowed upon them (besides the blessing that redounds from it) the nation is never the poorer, since it receives back by consumption as fast as it is given. With regard to the necessities of the actual petitioners, the Committee made enquiries as to their numbers, and as to their several qualities, ages and callings, and reported that the numbers of old gentlemen and ministers, with their wives and children, also of widows and orphans, showed that there were 2460 persons worthy of the public charity of the nation. The House accordingly voted a grant of £15,000 per annum, for the distressed French Protestants, (£12,000 for the laity, and £3000 for the ministers), beginning on the 25th March 1696.

There is nothing in the subsequent statements of historical writers to contradict, or even to modify this account of the pedigree and birth of the annual £15,000. The remainder of their information concerns the payment of that annuity. And they complain that during the years 1696, 1697, and 1698 it was not paid in money; the Commissioners had to accept Exchequer bills, "remote tallies and malt tickets," which being sold realized not £12,000, but only £5440, 10s. 2d. Then they lost a whole year's income by the death of King William III., the warrant issued for that year having never been met by the government. During the best years of the reign of Queen Anne the money was regularly paid; but on the fall of Marlborough and Godolphin, with whom the vast majority of the refugees could not cease to sympathize, the enraged ministry of Harley and Bolingbroke stopped payment. This was in 1711; and Queen Anne lived until the 1st August 1714. The French Church of the Savoy, in London, at once sent a deputation to Hanover to congratulate King George, and to represent to the Baron de Bothmer and the Duke of Shrewsbury how "the late Queen's ministry had most inhumanly deprived the French refugees for four years of the allowance [£15,000 per annum], which had been granted to them by Act of Parliament in the reign of King William, so that many of them had been reduced to a starving condition." The deputation was very kindly received. On the new King's establishment payments were resumed, and they continued at the same rate until the days of Sir Robert Walpole. Thus ends the historical head of my discourse.

The true state of the case (I am assured) contradicts what I have copied from historians as to the pedigree of the £15,000 of income, and shews it was not, in literal truth, a Parliamentary Grant at all. There was a Grant from the House of Commons of £1718, 4s. per annum for the relief of French Pastors, to be distributed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the

Bishop of London and others. This grant is still paid without diminution. It did not escape the criticisms of Mr Joseph Hume in his place in Parliament. The Right Honourable George Robert Dawson,* in reply to the veteran economist, very fully stated and proved the advantages of keeping open the French churches in question. They are used by French visitors and residents, both rich and poor, and prevent multitudes of the latter from being engulfed among the dangerous and unproductive classes of the population.

The Lay fund, however, was the interest of the sum of a quarter of a million, a capital fund, belonging to the French refugees themselves, having accumulated in the hands of their trustees. I have already spoken of the sums paid into the Chamber of the City of London. The total paid 2d May 1681 to 20th Dec. 1695 amounted to £124,553, 4s. 2d. This sum was from collections in the churches; which, however, were not the only supply of means. Money was obtained (says Misson †) “partly by Brief, partly by Act of Parliament, and partly by the mere goodness and liberality of the King [William] and of the late Queen [Mary] of happy and glorious memory,” and was “always deposited in the hands of four or five noblemen who have referred the division and administration thereof to a chosen set of men, picked out from among the refugees themselves, these being more likely to know the necessities and cases of their countrymen than Englishmen possibly could be. These gentlemen are called the French Committee, or, in respect of the great Commissioners, the Little Committee.” We may take this statement as applicable to the beginning of the year 1696. And allowing, in addition to the £125,000 of unexpended balances, an equal sum for Parliamentary Grants and various benefactions, we would have the £250,000 to account for, which has been named at the beginning of this paragraph.

For this sum left with the City as a loan, interest at the rate of 5 per cent. had been given (or offered?) by the Metropolitan corporation. The Williamite wars, however, rendering money more than ordinarily needful for the national exchequer, the government offered one per cent. more, and the money was transferred from the City Chamber to the Treasury. A quarter of a million at 5 per cent. yields an income of £12,500—but at 6 per cent., £15,000. What was called a Parliamentary grant was, according to this representation, only the incurring of a plain obligation to pay stipulated interest upon a loan. Accordingly, a reduced payment would be a reduced rate of interest, and could not justly take effect without consultation with the lenders, or without an offer on the part of the borrower to refund the money. Sir Robert Walpole, according to his own statement, retrenched by a half the grant which had become too large for duly qualified recipients. But was not the transaction simply a reduction of the rate of interest to three per cent., without allowing the lenders the option of receiving back their own capital fund? The critical question, however, had been practically put and disposed of, before the reign of George the Second, perhaps before the reign of George the First, or even of Queen Anne.

There can be no doubt that there was a sum of about £125,000 in the Chamber of the City of London, belonging to the Commissioners for relieving distressed French refugees. (I do not deny the additional sum, but it may be left out of the discussion at present.) That money has disappeared; its fate cannot be traced. It has been spent. When, and by whom was it spent? Was it spent in paying King William's army? Was it spent during the glories of Marlborough's campaigns? Was it spent by Lord Treasurer Harley? That political quack offered to eclipse the great Treasurer who had preceded him, and by means of State lotteries to govern us for nothing. Amidst his arithmetical experiments, ready money would be a clamant desideratum. Did he appropriate the poor refugees' money? And was the best reason for withholding their income, the fact that there was no capital? The Hanoverian dynasty was not responsible for the loss of the capital. It found the refugees without capital; whatever may have been their former funds, and whosoever had spent their last penny for them, and however much punishment the crime of peculation merits, they were penniless at

* I am informed that the date of this Debate in the House of Commons is 20th May 1850.

† Observations [English Edition], page 41.

the footstool of King George's throne; and then, if not before, the annual sum of £15,000 became a public grant and liable to reduction. That it was on this footing in the reign of George I. is evident from the fact, that in 1718, when the incorporated Society for the relief of converts of any nation from the Church of Rome petitioned for funds, the king allocated to it £400 per annum "from the £15,000 granted out of the Civil List for the relief of the poor French Protestants."*

All trace of the capital having disappeared, the grant was reduced to £8,000 under Sir Robert Walpole's ministry. The prosperity of so many of the descendants of the refugees, and their amalgamation with the native population, as well as the occasionally successful applications of impostors for relief, contributed arguments for increasing economy and diminishing grants. During the great French Revolution many Roman Catholics fled for refuge from France to England, and, as our fellow-creatures, were hospitably treated. And though they were usually called "French emigrants" and not "refugees," yet their presence in the country led some members of Parliament to suppose that the grant to poor French refugees (the epithet "Protestant" having been accidentally omitted) was a grant to Papists—a supposition which raised opposition. In the year 1812 a most serious reduction was made, and nothing but the Bourbon Persecution in the south of France saved it from utter extinction three or four years afterwards—the ferocity and ingratitude of the Bourbons reviving a Protestant feeling in England. In 1836 the mistaken allegation that the refugees were Papists was repeated in Parliament, but officially contradicted by the Right Honourable John Charles Herries.

The once magnificent grant is now reduced to the puny annuity of £120, and the Treasury announces that with the lives of the present recipients the vote will disappear.

That there would be no particular object to which the lost money could at this date be applied is an honest suggestion, but far from correct. Considering what we owe to the refugees, and that the effect of the methods of manufacture introduced by them and which for us were new creations, inaugurated those gradually advancing processes by which the descendants of the Huguenots have been left behind in poverty, we should rejoice to see their poverty relieved by some plan which would elevate the children of such ancestry above common paupers. In Spitalfields, for instance, we see a population of undoubted Huguenot origin, singular in their customs and in their sufferings. That district has been frequently the occasion of appeals for relief—for instance, in 1816, when a Committee addressing the Lord Mayor represented that the number of unemployed weavers was computed at thirty thousand, and added this observation, "This district contains much of modest and retiring poverty that suffers comparatively without repining." At a public meeting in the Mansion House, the mover of one of the resolutions, said, "With regard to the soup society, its merits are not confined to the judiciousness of its distribution, but consist also in the real goodness of the soup, in support of which I may safely appeal to an honourable baronet, who is an admirable judge of such matters." (*A loud laugh.*)

SIR WILLIAM CURTIS, in seconding the motion, expressed his sense of the notice taken of himself, though the occasion was of that nature, that he hardly knew how to smile at it.

The Rev. Isaac Taylor, Vicar of St Matthias, Bethnal-Green, London,† writes, "The work of a parochial clergyman among the descendants of the Huguenots is a sad but most interesting duty. They have none of the servility, none of the brutality which is found among other classes of the London poor. . . . A physiognomist of small skill could, easily and almost infallibly, point out in any assembly of the inhabitants of Bethnal-Green those who could substantiate their claim to Huguenot blood. The jet black hair, the swarthy complexion, the dark, brilliant, and often passionate eye, the small hand, the lithe well-bred figure, the indescribable charm of demeanour, graceful, courteous, and self-possessed, and often a slightly oratorical manner, and an instinctive taste in dress, all so different from the ordinary type of the London poor, are things which it is impossible to mistake, and are the more

* Stowe's London.

† "The Huguenot Colony in Bethnal-Green," an article in *Golden Hours* for April 1869.

striking when their possessors are living in wretched garrets, and often in the extremest poverty. . . . Some of them still cherish a reasonable pride in their long pedigrees, and in the distinguished and noble surnames which they bear. . . . A nation of martyrs, not forgetful that they were once among the most prosperous of London artisans." Such testimony shews how the Royal Bounty might gracefully relieve their wants, or improve their houses and streets, or transplant some of their families to better fields.

Section IX.

CHURCH GOVERNMENT AND WORSHIP.

THE designation, "The Reformed Churches of France" (*Les Eglises Réformées de France*), instead of "The Reformed Church of France," must not connect the Huguenots in the reader's mind with the Independent or Congregationalist system of Church-Government. The national title had to be avoided, partly because Protestantism was tolerated not throughout the kingdom but only in some places, and partly because it would have needlessly offended the priest-ridden rulers of the nation.

The Reformed doctrines and rites in France were Calvinistic. The worshippers were called Calvinists, not as persons convinced by the study of theological manuals, but as the spiritual offspring of Calvin himself—an ecclesiastical vineyard planted by his own labours. Because they never had bishops or episcopal ordination, Bishop Bossuet in his Pastoral Letter (*page 11*) thus reproached them:—"If your pretended pastors will speak the language and attribute to themselves the authority of true pastors, let them shew us the original of their ministry and, like St Cyprian and the other orthodox bishops, let them make us see that they are descended from any Apostle. Let them shew us the eminent Chair, where all the churches preserve the Unity, where principally shines the concord and succession of Episcopacy. Open yourselves, my brethren, the books which you call your Ecclesiastical History; 'tis Beza that has composed it. Open the history of these false martyrs whose unhappy number they would have you to augment. You will find that the first who modelled the Churches in France, which you call *Reformed*, were laics made pastors by laics, and by consequence always laymen, who dared at all times to take the law of God in their mouth, and without power did dare to administer the holy sacraments. Call to your remembrance Pierre Le Clerc, a wool-carder; I do not speak it in scorn of his profession, or to revile an honest trade, but to tax the ignorance, the presumption and the schism of a man who, without having predecessor or pastor to ordain him, bolts out of his shop to preside in the Church. It is he who carved out the pretended Reformed Church of Meaux, the first hatched in this kingdom, in the year 1546."

The first Reformed Synod, which met on the 28th May 1559 and following days, drew up a *Confession de Foi* in Forty Articles and a *Discipline Ecclesiastique* in Forty Precepts. From these we discover the principles and practices of the Ecclesiastical system; (they are printed in the Appendix to Haag's *La France Protestante*, Pièces Nos. X. and XI.) The Doctrinal Articles, from the 29th to the 33d, describe the Huguenot belief as to Ecclesiastical rule and rulers. The office-bearers are of Three Orders, *Pasteurs*, *Surveillans*, and *Diaeres* [(1.) pastores or pastors, (2.) episcopi or overseers, (3.) diaconi or deacons.] Instead of *Surveillans*, the word used in the precepts of Discipline is *Anciens* (presbyteri or elders). The duties assigned to the *pasteurs* are similar to those of other Presbyterian Churches. The duties of the *anciens* are to assemble the congregation, and to report scandals to the consistory; while the *diaeres* are to

visit the sick, the poor and prisoners, and to catechize from house to house. The elders and deacons are not elected for life, their continuance in office being intended to be of freewill, only they must apply for permission to resign. At an ecclesiastical meeting the president should be a pasteur; but with this limitation he is to be freely chosen at each meeting, and his position as chairman terminates with the meeting.

The above rules recognize two courts, a consistory and a synod. A consistory corresponded with a Scottish Kirk-Session, and was the local court for superintendence over the members of one congregation. Between this court and a Synod, there was another "meeting," which, though not named in the rules, is implied. A considerable number of adjacent congregations were represented by their pasteurs, and by a corresponding number of selected elders, in a higher court of superintendence over congregations, called a Colloquy, the same as a Scottish Presbytery or an English Classis. Next in the ascending scale of courts was the Provincial Synod, the boundaries of whose jurisdiction over Colloquies could be conveniently mapped out, through the geographical division of France into provinces. And the supreme court was the National Synod, composed of representatives from the Provincial Synods; it held the same position as the General Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland.

The Public Edicts, which treated the French Protestants as a foreign people, necessitated the erection of Assemblies for their secular affairs. Historians call them *political assemblies*, but that is only a descriptive phrase, and not a formal designation. They were called "Assemblies"; the mass of them were local, and the highest was called the General Assembly. When the cautionary towns were taken away from the Protestants, there was little business left for these assemblies to transact. There was still the payment of their pastors and deputies-general; the funds came formally from the Royal Treasury, but really from the Protestant people, who having paid (Roman Catholic) tythes as citizens were repaid by this provision for their own spiritual guides. Professor Leonce Anquez, the historian of the Political Assemblies of the Reformed of France, fixes the birth and death of those assemblies by the dates, 1573 to 1622. At their final dissolution the Pastoral Fund fell to be distributed by the National Synods which, when invested with that additional function, most closely resembled the present General Assemblies of the Free Church of Scotland.

The Presbyterianism of the French Church was never doubted by any of its British correspondents. King James VI. extracted letters of advice from French pastors to Scotch ministers, on the ground that they were co-presbyters in theory and practice. When the Westminster Assembly (as formerly mentioned) communicated with the Foreign Churches, its letter, in order to give it weight with those Presbyterian communities, was (by order) signed by each of the Scottish Commissioners, the other signatures being only those of official members. In 1660 it is true that several French pastors, having a personal friendship for our mild-spoken King Charles, and having received partial news as to the religious state of England, were favourable, on the whole, to the Act of Uniformity, and almost seemed to wish our Presbyterians to conform to Episcopacy. But the utmost that any of these reverend individuals could state as to their own circumstances was that they regretted the fact that they had no diocesan Episcopacy in their Church. We do not impugn their regret, since they give us this testimony to the fact.

It was, however, from the department of Worship that the idea of Episcopalianism in the French Church arose. Many excellent people value the Prayer-Book as the grand feature of English Episcopacy. From the time of Edward VI., it was well known in London and Canterbury that the worship of the French Church was Calvinistic, and not liturgical in the Anglican sense. When owing to the distance of the City Church in Threadneedle Street, some of the French in Westminster wished a place of worship at their own doors, they received church accommodation from Cromwell. Thus the seed of liturgical disputes was sown, though unintentionally; for, at the Restoration, the king would not allow a church for this congregation unless it adopted the Anglican worship, the Book of Common Prayer being translated into French (all the older congregations, however, being tolerated in worshipping according to their home usages).

It will be remembered that Archbishop Laud attempted to force upon some of the refugees' churches the translation of the English liturgy into the French language. There was such an authorized translation from the date of the English Reformation, for the use of our sovereigns' French-speaking subjects.* In 1552 a new edition was contemplated to correspond with "the English new one, in all the alterations, additions and omissions thereof." This revision was committed "to a learned Frenchman who was a Doctor of Divinity," under the direction of the Right Honourable and Right Reverend Thomas Goodrick, who was both Bishop of Ely and Lord Chancellor. A petition was presented to Cecil on the part of a refugee printer, that he might receive a patent for printing and publishing the new French Prayer-Book for the use of the Islands of Jersey and Guernsey. Cecil wrote to Cranmer to ascertain the necessary facts; and the Archbishop reported, *first*, that the first edition had been translated by command of Sir Hugh Paulet, Governor of Calais, and revised by competent persons, under the direction of the Lord Chancellor; and *secondly*, that, in his opinion, "the commodity that might arise by printing of the book was meet to come to them who had already taken the pains in translating the same." The refugee printer was therefore not employed, but it was printed and published in 1553. And this was the French Prayer-Book which Archbishop Laud had in view.

The French-speaking Englishman, Dr Durel, followed out the desires of King Charles II. as to the worship of the Westminster French Church by undertaking a new translation. And the king, on the 6th October 1662, issued a Proclamation that henceforth Dr Durel's Version of the Book of Common Prayer should be used throughout Jersey, Guernsey and the adjacent islands, as also in the French Church of the Savoy, and all other French Churches in the English Dominions which have conformed or shall hereafter conform to the Church of England—that is to say, as soon as the book has been printed with the approbation required by law. The License was obtained in the following year dated from the Bishop of London's Chambers in the Savoy, 6th April 1663.† This translation is an exact reproduction of the English Prayer-book, including the prefaces, "It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England," &c., &c. The translation falls below the original in some respects, for instance, "Dearly Beloved Brethren" is rendered "Très-chers Frères;" and "our most religious and gracious king" becomes "notre Roi très-pieux et très-débonnaire." The Psalter however is taken from "la version de la Bible des Eglises Reformées de France et de Genève." This Prayer-Book was adopted by the Westminster Congregation, which was thenceforth accommodated within the Savoy Palace in the Strand. In the pulpit, before giving out his text, the preacher offered up a prayer, one of the petitions being for le très-reverend Père en Dieu, Gilbert, Seigneur Evêque de ce Diocese. The *pasteurs* and *anciens* retained their consistorial powers; but the congregation was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, as a judge to hear complaints from any quarter, and appeals from themselves.

I have said that controversy arose from this Savoy Chapel affair. When the King's terms were made known, Pasteur Hierosme (*alius* Jerome) advised submission, declaring that any debate or delay would be wrong in the circumstances‡—alluding probably to the strong current in favour of liturgical uniformity which had set in. The reasons amounted to one, namely, that it could not be helped. And the nervous pasteur prevailed with the congregation accordingly. Though the result pleased Dr Durel, he was dissatisfied with the reasoning; and accordingly he published a book to prove that the Calvinistic ritual of the French Church was as liturgical as the worship of the Church of England, and that the ceremonies of the two churches were identical. This, however, was not the logic of facts. The pretext for his state-

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, Book ii., chap. 33,—also Appendix of Documents, Nos. 54 and 106—from which it appears that the offer of the French Refugee was simply to print the French Prayer-Book, and not (as Strype says) to translate the Prayer-Book into French.

† Hanc Gallicam domini Joannis Durelli Liturgiæ Anglicanæ versionem perlegi, eamque per omnia cum Originali Anglico concordem me reperisse profiteor. GEOR. STRADLING, S.T.P., Rev. in Christo Pat. Gilb. Episc. Lond. a sac. domesticis. Ex Ed. Sabaud. Aprile. 6, 1663.

‡ Apologie des Puritains d'Angleterre, &c., 1663 [a book which I have already described] page 123, &c.

ments as to a French Liturgy was a Book of Prayers out of which the officiating pastors might, if they chose, read one or more prayers during public worship.

This manual is called the *Prières Ecclesiastiques*. In 1665 John Lauder, afterwards Lord Fountainhall, gave this account of the Huguenot Church Service at Poitiers:—"During the gathering of the congregation they sing a psalm. Then the minister coming up, by a short set form of exhortation stirring them up to join with him in prayer, reads a set form of confession of sins out of their *prières ecclesiastiques* or liturgie; which being ended, they sing a psalm which the minister nominates, reading the first two or three lines, after which they read no more the line as we do, but the people follow it as we do in '*Glory to the Father.*' The psalm being ended, the minister has a conceived prayer of himself, adapted for the most part to what he is to discourse on. This being ended, he reads his text. Having preached, then reads a prayer out of their liturgy, then sings a psalm, and then the Blessing."* Some pastors made less use of this Devotional Manual, and some, perhaps, more; while others appear to have made no use of it. In the second volume of the Memoirs of these Refugees, my readers will find a Life of the Rev. James Fontaine, who was an opponent of liturgies. In his autobiography he mentions his eldest brother, the Pasteur of Archiac, in Saintonge, who died before the Revocation, and of whom he says, "He had the infirmity of stammering when he repeated anything that he knew by heart, so he was obliged to employ another person to repeat the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in his church; but he could preach and pray extemporaneously without any hesitation."

The Book of Prayers was therefore no real foundation for Dr Durel's special pleading. The theoretical Anglican system, which was rigidly enforced in those days, was more than permissive as to the reading of prayers, and it positively prohibited extemporaneous ones. Every meeting for public worship and every preaching of a sermon must be prefaced by the reading at full length of either the morning or the evening service as printed in the Book of Common Prayer. Such commands, backed by pains and penalties, are by no means in conformity with the simple offer of a book called "*prières ecclesiastiques*" to be used at each pastor's discretion.

If Dr Durel had meant to state no more than that the French worship was not altogether in conformity with that of the English Dissenters, his assertions would have contained much truth. The Dissenters, while full of sympathy and charity towards the refugees, admitted that there were diversities, and were quite content that their foreign brethren should keep up a separate ecclesiastical system of their own. As to active aid on their side of the English controversies, the Dissenters expected none from the French refugees, who received personal kindness from men of both parties, and whose position might be described as half-way between the two contending systems. In Gilling's Life of the Rev. George Trosse, an eminent dissenter, it is stated (p. 105), "The French Refugees, those noble confessors, who were driven over hither by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the bloody persecution that ensued thereupon, had large supplies from his bounty; to one French minister he gave five pounds per annum."

The Huguenots most strongly agreed with the Dissenters in rejecting the Apocrypha. Dr Louis Du Moulin has an impassioned outburst on this subject in one of his pamphlets; it is as follows:—"The Conformists of England have been so far from retrenching those practices and ceremonies of Rome, which the first Reformers had retained, that they have called in others more gross than some of those they had banished; they have set up again the altars which they had thrown down, re-established the reading of *Bel and the Dragon*, and of *Toby and his dog*, in the Church. This is what they did in the last Conference (which was had at the Savoy in the Strand near to Somerset House) where, after a long contest and a warm dispute between the Non-Conformists and the Conformists, and these last having got the better, one of them cried aloud with a great transport of joy at his going out, *Well, now the cause of Bel and the Dragon has carried it.* This is what I learnt from the book of that great man,

* North British Review, Vol. XLI., page 179.

Mr Andrew Marvel, against Dr Parker." The Huguenots also rejected Saints' days, though they retained the observance of the festivals dedicated to the Divine Persons of the Godhead.

Their Baptismal ritual was simple. They, however, allowed, though they did not compel, the appointment of sponsors, but without such designations as god-fathers and god-mothers. A child might have one male sponsor called the *parrain*, and one female, the *marraine*.

What the Huguenots most delighted in was Clement Marot's metrical version of the Psalms. These they sang in their churches without instrumental accompaniments. They sang them as they walked in the streets or roads, and in their boats on the rivers, until the irate and jealous Romanists procured a law to silence them. Mary Queen of Scots' French education brought into Scotland her loathing abhorrence of this joyous and heretical psalm-singing, and she seems to have infected Darnley with the same feverish irritation. John Knox publicly from the pulpit accused him of "haveing caste the Psalme-booke in the fire." In 1751 appeared a splendid edition of the "Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg," in which Frederic wrote about the Refugees to this effect.—"An entire people departed from the kingdom out of party-spirit having the Pope as its object of hatred, and to receive under another sky the communion in both kinds. Four hundred thousand souls expatriated themselves and forsook all their possessions, that they might roar within other temples Clement Marot's old Psalms." The Poet Akenside rebuked the Royal Author:—

Whence then at things divine those darts of scorn ?
 Why are the woes, which virtuous men have borne
 For sacred truth, a prey to laughter given ?
 What fiend—what foe of nature—urged thy arm
 Th' Almighty of His sceptre to disarm—
 To push this earth adrift, and leave it loose from Heaven ?

Many of the nobles, bishops, and gentry of England laid the refugees under great obligations to them by many acts of kindness, so that the refugees in private life were more associated with them, than with the middle class to which the Dissenters belonged. The English upper classes also made it a matter of personal longing that their friends in the French churches should adopt the some prayer-book as their own ; so that gradually the majority of the French churches adopted Durel's Prayer-Book.* But this did not alienate the dissenters from them. Their leader, Dr Edmund Calamy, when the Schism Bill was to come before the House of Lords, sat up a whole night, drawing up queries which were addressed to my Lords the Bishops, and in which he pled equally for English Dissenters and French Protestants.

On the other hand, when the High Anglican Church party had the upper hand, it repudiated any alliance with the Huguenots. In 1712 both Houses of Convocation in Ireland addressed the Queen on the state of religion, which they represented as being unwholesome, and dangerous, and among other alleged proofs they particularized the following:—"Here we humbly acquaint your Majesty that the FRENCH REFUGEES who, upon their first coming over into this kingdom, did all conform to the Established Church and were treated with utmost tenderness and humanity, and great numbers of them subsisted at an immense charge for these twenty years past, in the hopes that the more they were acquainted with our constitution and worship, they would more firmly adhere to the Communion of our Church: yet for some years before your Majesty's happy accession to the throne, they were broken into non-conforming congregations—and this in contradiction to the known principles as well of other Reformed Churches and Divines as of those in France,—who, since the Reformation, have kept in strict communion with our Church, and on all occasions given ample approbation of our doctrine and worship. In all likelihood their numbers will be considerably increased when God shall bless these nations with peace; so that there is just cause to fear, that unless some effectual expedient be found out to bring them into union with the Established Church these divided

* Misson records as to the French Refugees' churches,—“Some have stuck to their old service according to the institution of Calvin, others have conformed to the Church of England, and part have grown amphibious.”

congregations may be perpetuated to posterity, and that their children at least will fall in with those several Sectaries among us, who will omit no art or industry to confirm them in their separation; BY WHICH MEANS THAT GREAT CHARITY MAY END IN THE PROMOTING OF SCHISM IN THE CHURCH AND FACTION IN THE STATE."

With much better spirit, grammar and logic the refugees rejoined in a quarto pamphlet published at Dublin in 1712, entitled, "An Apology for the French Refugees established in Ireland, addressed to all those who love the peace of the Church." It is worthy of being reprinted entire. I must content myself with saying, that it was a complete answer, representing that as to the Dissenters whom they found in their adopted country, they had formed no ecclesiastical connection with them, neither had they dabbled in any political theories that were purely English or Irish. The following spirited yet modest paragraph is a specimen of the style of the pamphlet:—"What a medley of inconsistent accusations has been made use of to blacken a poor exiled people, and make them odious to the Queen and nation! Fifteen years ago, to render them equally the objects of public aversion and contempt, they were represented as a people born and bred in slavery, always ready to be the instruments of the unlimited power of princes, and consequently dangerous in a government where the legislative power is mixed. But now it is asserted that they are of anti-monarchical principles, and ready to join with factious men. God be thanked, both accusations are without grounds, as their behaviour has always shewn."

The Rev. John Armand du Bourdieu in 1718 in an "Appeal to the English Nation," says, "It will not be amiss to take a cursory view of the three distinctions in the Church of England, to shew which of them we (the refugees) belong to. 1st. There is a Papist Church of England. . . . 2^d. Next to this class is the Laudean Church of England. . . . 3^d. I declare we are sincere and hearty members of the Christian Protestant Church of England—which does not found the validity of its ministry on an unbroken chain of Episcopal Ordainers or a succession from Rome, but which, in concert with all its fellow Protestant Churches, builds it on its conformity and agreeableness to the great standard, the Scripture, and the revealed will of its Lord and Lawgiver, as its only solid basis and unmoveable rock,—that church which, far from raising between itself and foreign churches a particular wall of *Jure Divino* notions and exalted pretensions and prerogatives, as also of ceremonies of all little concern as those meats which occasioned differences in the Apostle's time, hath constantly, since the Reformation, held a Christian and brotherly correspondence with the Protestant Churches abroad, particularly with the French Protestant Churches." *

With regard to the internal affairs and feelings of the French worshippers, Misson makes some amusing remarks as to wearing hats in church. As to the worshippers, he says, "they pull off their hats when they go into church, and never put them on during the reading of the Commandments, the singing of Psalms, or the saying of Prayers, but (if they please) they may cover their heads while the Scripture is reading, and all the time of the sermon." So the preacher, when he is about to begin the sermon, puts on his hat. This was their custom in France. Englishmen, who came to the refugee churches for an occasional service, could not endure this, and threatened never to come back—a threat which "induced some Consistories of French churches, though non-conformists in other respects, to take a resolution of conforming in that one point of preaching without a hat." Some, however, "pulled their hats over their eyes more than ever." And one minister, being unable to get attention to his discourse, through the number of uplifted hands making signals to him, saw that these were protestations against his preaching without a hat, but hesitated as to borrowing an elder's hat or leaving the pulpit to look for his own.

Either regularly, or occasionally, the refugees observed the anniversary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, as a fast-day. Mr Baynes' Bibliographical Appendix mentions a sermon preached at the Soho French church on 22d October 1735, entitled, "Les Larmes de Refuge," and purporting to be a sermon on the fast-day [jour du jeune] established in memory

* Quoted in Baynes' Witnesses in Sackcloth, page 227.

of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, by Rev. C. de Missy;—also another sermon preached in 1750 with the following title,—“Les Dedommagements d’une injuste Persecution, ou, Sermon sur l’Anniversaire de la Revocation de l’Edit de Nantes,” by Rev. James Du Plessis, Chaplain of the French Hospital of London.

As to church discipline, the French consistories watched over the morals of their members with great conscientiousness. In the countries where they took refuge, there was one scandal which kept all the consistories of their churches fully employed for some years. Weiss says, “During 1686, 1687, 1688, the London consistory, at its weekly meetings, was almost exclusively occupied with receiving the evidences of those who, after having abjured their faith for self-preservation, had stolen away from their persecutors. . . . The ministers examined their depositions, listened to the recital of their sufferings, and received them anew into the communion of their brethren.” Burn, in his “History,” has preserved the following minute:—“Le Dimanche, 13me May 1688, Elizabeth Cautin de St Martin de Retz, Susanne Cellier, et Marie Cellier sa sœur, de La Rochelle, ont fait reconnaissance publique au Presche du matin—l’une pour avoir été au sermon feignant d’être l’Eglise de Romaine, les autres deux pour avoir signé l’Abjuration. Monsieur Coutet les a recues.”

Mr Burn gives a specimen of a *Disjunction Certificate*, similar to the certificates which communicants in Scotland now must obtain on transferring themselves from one congregation to another:—

Monsieur Guillaume Benoist et Magdalon Hanet son femme ont été membres de notre Eglise, en laquelle ils ont participé a la Ste Cène et aux autres exercices de pieté publics et solennels, et ont vécu honêtement et sans scandale qui ont venu à notre connoissance. Nous les recommandons à la grace et garde de Dieu, et à la communion de nos frères de Londres ou ils font état de se retirer. Fait à Amsterdam le 16 Juin 1746.

Par les Conducteurs de l’Eglise Wallonne du dit lieu et au nom de tous,

BOULLIER, l’un des pasteurs.

LOUIS THELUSSON, l’un des anciens.

In the precept that baptism ought to be administered in public, they also agreed with the Scottish discipline. The Portarlington consistory (see the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*) decided, that on a formal representation to that church court, that an infant was very delicate, a petition for private baptism might be presented and acceded to, without prejudice to the discipline of the Church.

An oath being properly a devotional deed, I may notice that in the mode of swearing witnesses the French Protestants coincided, not with the English but with the Scotch practice. As to “the custom of swearing by laying the hand upon the Gospels and kissing them,” a foreign author* states, “Many of the Protestant churches condemned the usage and laid it aside. The Protestant Church of France in a national synod at Gap, 1603 (*Quick’s Synodicon*, vol. I., p. 239), determined it to be unlawful, and gave it as their judgment, that those who were called to swear, should content themselves barely with the lifting up of the hands. The Reformed Church of Scotland has also exploded the custom, and established the other in its stead. . . . Books were surely meant for reading and not for kissing; but [in England] we see those, who care not to read, forward to kiss. Many who never read the Bible once in their lives, can kiss it twenty times in a day. Thousands of infidels, who know not or believe not a sentence in the Gospels, are yearly allowed, nay, compelled to swear by or on them.”

A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* (vol. 121, page 495), suggests that in a preference for Scriptural names, and especially for Old Testament names, for their children, the French Protestants resembled the English Puritans. He says, “About the middle of the sixteenth century, as we gather from the names in their pedigree, the Dumont family became Huguenots, in common with many of the nobles of the province [of Normandy]. The Geoffroys, the Pierres, the Remys, and the Guillaumes, who had transmitted the honours of the house, give

* Strictures on the form of Swearing by Kissing the Gospels, in a Letter from a Foreign Protestant to his friend abroad (London, 1782), pages 10 and 16.

place to Isaacs, Abrahams, and Samuels." By turning back to the long lists under the head "Naturalization," my readers can form an opinion for themselves on this suggestion. The peaceful patriarchal names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,* are frequent; and the Apostolic names of Peter (the same as *Pierre*), James, and John; Guillaume seems no less abundant, and it is the fault of our language, that its equivalent "William" has not an old Norman sound. There is the Bible name, Daniel, to hint at the call for fidelity in a court and society which were more than semi-pagan; there are Abel and Stephen to whisper "Be thou faithful unto death." But from secular history there is a favourite name, "Mark-Antony" (perhaps associated with the difficulty of steering between the rocks of governmental vindictiveness and mob brutality). Antoine and Antoinette, Francois and Francoise, Louis and Louise, Mary, and Mary-Magdalen, are the other names that seem to have been most in favour.

To return to Church-government. The French Church courts were careful as to the trustworthy teaching for which the office of pastor was instituted. The pastors, as a body, were anxious that their soundness should be proved. In 1691, the Jesuits having accused of heterodoxy the French pasteurs in England, the charge was met by ninety-six ministers issuing and signing a paper declaring their sentiments. Along with their names they gave the places in France where they had resided (Baynes, p. 276). The *dictum* of Pasteur Cousin of London in 1569, expressed their idea of a minister as distinguished from a groping individual enquirer. A Spanish Protestant preacher, Antonio Corrano, applied for admission to the French Church. He was confronted before the consistory by a letter of his own writing, in which was a series of heterodox statements. His plea was that his letter was written by way of questioning, not of affirmation. The President replied, "Such kind of questioning is not meet in these times for a minister of God's Church."†

From a Minute-Book which is still extant,‡ it appears that the French Churches of London formed themselves into a General Assembly, "pour la paix et pour l'ordre dans notre Refuge." (Article 8). The first moderator was the Rev. Louis Saurin, minister of the Savoy; the first secretary, Moses Pujolas. There are several articles of Constitution. At the date of institution, 10th August 1720, there were eight churches in the City and eight in Westminster; of these churches, Threadneedle Street and the Savoy were to send, each of them, two ministers and four elders as representatives to sit in l'Assemblée Generale des Eglises Francoises de Londres; the other churches were to send, each of them, one minister and two elders, except the chapel of St James's Palace, which (having no elders) was to be represented by two ministers. The *Eighth* article declares that the Assembly's decisions are to have no authority except that of advice, unless in special cases, where consistories desire arbitration. The *Ninth* is to the effect that "Unknown ministers or proposants [students of divinity] shall not be admitted to our pulpits, unless they have produced good testimonials from the places from whence they come. Suspended or deposed ministers from foreign countries shall not be admitted to our pulpits, and any church contravening this rule shall lose its right to elect deputies to the General Assembly until the scandal is removed. The churches are entreated not to admit proselytes to preach until six months after their abjuration made in this town, or (if they made their abjuration elsewhere) six months after their arrival, and if during that time their conduct has been edifying." The following is the *Tenth* Article,—“When a consistory has suspended any one from the Lord's Supper, that consistory shall give intimation to all the other churches, and they shall hold that suspension good. If the suspended person complains of unjust procedure and presents an appeal, the General Assembly shall examine the affair in the fear of God, and shall confer with the consistory. If the General Assembly finds that the suspension is just, it shall

* In List XIII., which I happened to copy last of all, I saw reason to hesitate as to my opinion, that the Latin dative case, *Jacobo*, was used for both Jacob and James. "Jacobo" seems to have been intended for "to James," and an indeclinable "Jacob," or a dative of the third declension "Jacobi," to have been intended for "to Jacob;" and this view is supported by the corresponding *Camden Society* list. I had not time to re-examine the *Jeanses* and *Jacobs* of the other lists.

† Strype's *Life of Grindal*, Book I., chap. 15.

‡ Burn's MSS.

hold in all the churches ; but if the Assembly finds it ill-founded, it shall be held as null in all the churches, and the church appealed against shall be exhorted to submit to the advice of the Assembly."

The Assembly met in 1744 for the collateral object of reporting what number of volunteers could be mustered from their people, to defend the Protestant dynasty in case of a Jacobite invasion. They met to present loyal addresses to his Majesty George III. on his accession, and in 1761 on the announcement of his marriage, in September 1786 on account of the attempted assassination of the king by Margaret Nicholson, and on 5th April 1789 to offer congratulations on his Majesty's convalescence. Whatever spiritual business may have been discussed and settled, it was not minuted ; though, in February 1721, they found it advisable to appoint two secretaries, the Rev. Israel Antoine Aufrère and Mr Henry Guinand.

Section X.

THE FRENCH HOSPITAL OF LONDON.

THIS Hospital is a home for aged persons in poor or reduced circumstances, who can prove their descent from the French Protestant Refugees. The credit of the beneficent project is due to a French Refugee officer named James Gastigny, who will be noticed in his place in these Memoirs. At his death in 1708, he bequeathed £500 for building, and another £500 as a capital fund for maintaining, an Hospital (or Hospice) for the use of French Protestants, Refugees for religion's sake into Great Britain. The distributors of the Royal Bounty received this total sum of £1000 and allowed it to lie at compound interest for eight years. In 1716, the amount of accumulated funds having been announced, a subscription was cheerfully and rapidly made, the contributors to which were the principal families among the refugees, and the prosperous French merchants of London, and also several English people. The provisional managers were thus enabled to buy a piece of ground in Old Street, St. Luke's, from the Ironmonger's Company of London ; and a building was erected "for the reception of eighty poor persons."*

The king was solicited to erect the managers into a Corporation, which was granted. The Royal Charter was dated 24th July 1718—and is from George the First, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, (a better King of France practically, at least to the refugees, than their native king). The first Governor of "the Hospital for poor French Protestants and their descendants in Great Britain" was named in the charter, "our right trusty and right well beloved cousin" Henry De Massue, Marquis De Ruvigny, Earl of Galway ; and also the first Deputy-Governor, Mr James Boudoin or Boudoin. The number of Directors was to be unlimited ; the first treasurer was Mr Louis Des Clouseaux, and the first secretary, the Rev. Philippe Ménard. The latter preached a sermon at the opening of the Hospital on the 12th November 1718 before "a great concourse of French refugees." The charter empowered the Directors to appoint a Minister to perform Divine Service in the Hospital after the rites of the Church of England.

There is printed among the "By-laws" a special prayer to be used at the "Courts" (or Meetings) of Directors. It is the following :—"Dieu tout-puissant et Père miséricordieux, qui es le Consolateur des affligés, le Nourricier des pauvres et le Salut de ceux qui mettent leur

* All these details are from the Book containing "The Charter and By-laws" of the French Hospital—printed in 1860—with manuscript additions (bringing up the information to 1869) which have been most obligingly inserted in the copy presented to me by the Directors.

confiance en toi, regarde en tes compassions infinis tous ceux qui se trouvent dans l'affliction, dans la calamité et dans la misère, et particulièrement ceux qui ont été réduits pour la cause de ton saint Evangile. Fais que l'épreuve de leur foi leur tourne à honneur et à gloire quand Jésus-Christ sera révélé, et pourvois à leurs besoins selon les richesses de ta miséricorde. Et puisque tu nous fais la grace de nous appeler à donner nous soins au soulagement de nos frères qui sont parmi nous dans l'indigence, accorde-nous celle de nos acquitter fidèlement de ce devoir. Benis cette maison que ta PROVIDENCE a préparée pour nos affligés ; fais-leur y trouver les secours et les consolations qui leur sont nécessaires, et benis notre administration, la faisant réussir à ta gloire, au bien de tes pauvres et à notre salut éternel par Jésus-Christ notre Seigneur, Amen."

The Providence of God is acknowledged in this prayer. The seal of the Hospital has the motto, "Dominus Providebit," [The Lord will provide], and the device engraved upon the seal is "Elijah fed by the ravens in the wilderness;"* this is also stamped on the plates and dishes. The appropriateness of this tribute of recognition seems to have been felt from the first. One of the old French Church registers in naming the Hospital says that it was commonly called *La Providence*. And Professor Weiss concludes his account of the Refugees in Britain by saying as to their descendants in Spitalfields, "Ils invoquent fréquemment le droit de finir leurs jours à l'hôpital Français qu'ils appellent leur Providence."

The institution flourished. Munificent donations and legacies swelled its funds, as afterwards I shall have occasion to record in my Biographies. In 1736 additional ground contiguous to the hospital was purchased, and the area of the entire property was $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres, which was tastefully laid out. "On April 18, 1753, a sermon was preached in the chapel of the French Hospital in Old Street Road for the benefit of that charity, wherein 225 poor persons were maintained, when the audience was very numerous, and the collection amounted to upwards of £1250.†" The year 1760 is the year when prosperity had reached its greatest height. Additions had been made to the buildings at an early period, and for a number of years before that date, two hundred inmates at one time could be and were accommodated. But since that date the numbers have greatly fallen off. There are some permanent benefactions administered by the directors. Mr Stephen Mounier left a Bequest by which boys are apprenticed to trades, (one boy every half year). Madame Esther Coqueau provided a fund for poor widows or maidens of the age of fifty years and upwards ; there are ten recipients of monthly allowances of ten shillings each, for life. One of the directors, Frederic Albert Winsor, Esq., has bestowed £300 (consols) to give to two poor women and one poor man on the list of candidates monthly allowances of five shillings each, to be paid to them until they are elected and admitted as inmates of the Hospital. The gradual extinction of old families, and the drying up of sources of revenue, compelled the directors, in 1808, under a private Act of Parliament, to let the great mass of their land in building leases, and thus there sprang up Gastigny Place, Galway Street, and Radnor Street—(the latter street is named after the Earl of Radnor, in whose family the Governorship may almost be said to have become hereditary).

An article in "Household Words," (vol. viii., 1853), contained the following allusions :— "The hospital has lost much of its distinctive national character. Sixty years ago a visitor might have heard the inmates chattering away in antiquated French. They speak English now, probably some of them do not know a word of French, because the majority of their ancestors in four generations had been English. As a little amusing mark of deference to the land of their founders, I may mention that a Mrs Stephen (who was admitted after 1820) became Madame St Etienne as soon as she entered the French Hospital."

Amidst the decline of enthusiasm outside, the earnestness of the directors has been unabated. In the preface to their book they say :—"The Directors contemplate with the same interest as heretofore the descendants of those respectable families who suffered so much religious persecution. A charge of great value is entrusted to them ; it is endeared to them

* I give a copy of this seal on my title pages.

† British Chronologist, vol. 3.

by the memory of their fathers ; and their earnest desire is to preserve this monument to the benevolent foresight of their predecessors. They are sensible that at present the descendants of the refugees have a right, by birth, to the national hospitals and the assistance of their respective parishes ; but it is a fact presented to their daily observation, that the poor of this particular class are more happy, have more confidence and comfort in a charitable establishment, founded for their peculiar benefit, under a body of directors connected with them by common ties, in a society in which they find the same habits and the same remembrances, and in the frequent recurrence of religious aid, so particularly suited to their age and circumstances. On these grounds the directors of this Hospital are anxious to maintain it as a MONUMENT OF THE PIETY OF THEIR ANCESTORS."

Since 1865 much of the beauty and magnificence, which the mind associates with a monument, has been secured. I allude to the new hospital in the neighbourhood of Victoria Park. Not that the old venerable building was destitute of charms. In Bath Street the dusty smoke-breathing visitor knocked at the gateway, over which the name given to the Hospital by his majesty, George I, was inscribed. When the door was opened, at once he breathed pure air ; and his eye met a pretty peaceful rural scene, shrubs, grass, and beds of bright-coloured flowers. Though the rooms of the Institution, having been designed according to the habits of former days, were rather confined, yet there was no lack of home comfort ; and the site was convenient for visitors of the humble class to which the inmates belong.

The site of the new building is described as Wick Lane, Victoria Park ; though there is no appearance of a lane. The grounds are extensive, and studded with a pleasing variety of fine old trees. And by this time, no doubt, practical homage has been paid to the Huguenot hereditary love of flowers, and tastefulness in the carving and management of flower plots. The building is a massive and ornate French chateau, with handsome windows and minarets, a noble porch and a lovely chapel. The outside walls have variegated hues, the ground-work of red brick being crossed with a net-work of blue, and a similar effect being produced on the roof by the use of slates of different shades. The inner walls of the lobby, passages, grand staircase, and corridor are ornamented with a greater variety of hues and devices, all wrought in bricks of different colours, without any aid from pencil, paint, or varnish. The architect was Mr Robert Lewis Roumien, one of the directors. He gave the benefit of his architectural genius and practical experience, and valuable time, and all the duties of an architect, as a free gift to the Hospital. I also acknowledge his kindness to myself, especially in presenting me with a beautifully executed and accurate drawing of the Hospital, of which the engraving in my first edition was a copy.* There is also a porter's lodge at the entrance of the approach to the hospital, and in the same style of architecture. This inonumental mansion was opened in summer of 1865. As to the rooms, which are all that could be desired, I need mention nothing except that in the directors dining-room there are several good portraits, including General the Earl of Galway, in his old age, and Field-Marshal, the Earl Ligonier on horseback.

The names of all the directors of the hospital for upwards of 150 years are recorded in their book. I have arranged them in alphabetical order, giving the English forms of the Christian names, though until 1831 the official list has the French forms. When a surname is represented by two or more persons, I have connected them by a bracket. Thus the reader may see both the names of worthy Huguenots and also how far are they represented by descendants. Governors, and Deputy-Governors are signalized by capital letters. The military or other rank connected with some of the names gives the highest rank to which they had attained before their deaths, not their rank at the date of their election as directors, which is the only printed date. The directors having always had an unlimited power to add to their own number, no official intimation of a death in their ranks was required.

* In the summer of 1865 engravings of the new hospital appeared in the *Illustrated Times*, and the *Illustrated London News*. There is a vignette in GOLDEN HOURS, for April 1869, (London, Mackintosh.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> { 1759. Zachary Agace { 1763. Abdias Agace { 1764. Jacob Agace { 1788. Daniel Agace 1761. Peter Alavoine 1846. James Albers 1756. JACOB ALBERT 1765. Stephen Amiot 1723. Claude Amyand { 1756. David André { 1782. David André, jun. { 1786. JOHN LOUIS ANDRE { 1793. <i>Sir</i> William Louis André, <i>Baronet</i> 1809. JOHN LOUIS ANDRE 1814. James Peter André 1846. James Peter André { 1767. Isaac Ardesoif { 1789. Stephen Ardesoif { 1765. Joseph Artieres { 1755. Peter Auber { 1767. Peter Auber { 1779. James Auber { 1784. Peter Auber, jun. 1771. Peter Aubertin 1773. Anthony Aubert 1725. <i>Revd.</i> Israel Anthony Aufrere 1780. Peter James Auriol 1729. Charles Bacalan 1824. James Barbet { 1763. Stephen Barbut { 1772. <i>Captain</i> James Barbut 1767. James Baril 1737. Moses Barnege 1809. James Henry Barnouin 1718. Benjamin Baronneau 1771. John Rodolph Battier 1718. René Baudoin 1731. Louis Beliard 1799. James Belloncle 1718. James Louis Berchere { 1774. Stephen Beuzeville { 1776. Peter Beuzeville { 1777. James Beuzeville { 1814. Stephen Beuzeville 1796. Peter Bezenech { 1738. James Binet { 1740. Claude Binet { 1763. Jacob Blaquiere { 1763. John Peter Blaquiere { 1768. Charles Boileau { 1787. John Peter Boileau { 1839. <i>Sir</i> John Peter Boileau, <i>Baronet</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> { 1763. John Bonnet { 1766. Peter Bonnet 1825. William Henry Booth { 1735. John Bosanquet { 1741. Claude Bosanquet { 1782. Samuel Bosanquet { 1782. William Bosanquet { 1786. Henry Bosanquet { 1787. Jacob Bosanquet { 1787. William Bosanquet { 1826. Samuel Bosanquet 1760. John Boucher 1718. JAMES BOUDOIN 1831. James Bourdillon 1855. Frederic Armand Bourdon { 1770. William Bouverie, EARL OF RADNOR { 1789. Jacob Pleydell Bouverie, EARL OF RADNOR { 1803. William Pleydell Bouverie, EARL OF RADNOR { 1842. Jacob Bouverie (then VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE) 1837. Isaac Boyd 1787. Abraham Bredel 1783. RENE BRIAND 1774. <i>Captain</i> George Brisac { 1719. PAUL BUISSIÈRE { 1741. JOHN BUISSIÈRE 1743. ANDREW GIRARDOT BUISSIÈRES 1799. Daniel Bureau 1718. PETER CABIBEL 1856. Frederic William Capper 1769. <i>General</i> John Carnac 1752. Abraham Castres 1759. Peter Cazalet 1800. William Cazaly 1790. John Henry Cazenove 1838. Philip James Chabot, M.A. 1736. John Chalié { 1761. James Chalié { 1769. John Chalié { 1777. Matthew Chalié { 1795. Francis Charlié { 1780. Anthony Chamier, M.P. { 1781. John Chamier { 1718. John Philip Charles 1793. John Charretié 1761. John Chassereau 1776. Louis Chauvet 1811. Thomas Chevalier 1865. Charles Clark |
|--|---|

- { 1766. Matthew Clarmont
 { 1769. Gabriel Clarmont
 { 1723. Anthony Clerembault
 { 1767. John Clerembault
 1865. Charles Hastings Collete
 1751. Anthony Colombies
 1782. Gideon Combrune
 1793. John Cossart
 1770. Josias Cottin
 { 1718. Peter Champion de Crespigny
 { 1734. Philip Crespigny
 { 1760. Claude Crespigny
 { 1767. John Creusé
 { 1755. Simon Dalbiac
 { 1758. Simon Dalbiac
 { 1756. John Dargent
 { 1762. James Dargent
 1794. John Theophilus Danbuz
 1750. John David
 1803. Richard De Barry
 { 1783. Joseph Debaufre
 { 1787. Richard Debaufre
 1736. *Rev.* John De Beaufort
 { 1718. Jacob De Blagny
 { 1732. JOHN DE BLAGNY
 1721. René De Boyville
 1734. *Major* Isaac De Bruse
 1718. René de la Combe De Cluset
 1738. René De Comarque, M.D.
 1754. *Colonel* Ruvigny De Cosne
 1732. James De Foissac
 1721. John l'Espinasse De Fonvive
 1718. Louis De Gaillardy
 1728. Stephen De Gulhon
 1740. *General* Louis Dejean
 { 1788. Louis Andrew De la Chaumette
 { 1791. Francis David De la Chaumette
 { 1798. Henry Anthony De la Chaumette
 1731. John Delafon
 1769. Philip Delahaize
 { 1848. James De la Mare
 { 1858. James De la Mare
 { 1861. Francis De la Mare
 1753. Abraham Delamere
 1718. Albert De Lande
 1767. Abraham De la Neuve maison
 { 1740. *Captain* Peter De la Primaudaye
 { 1759. Peter Henry A. De la Primaudaye
 { 1761. Francis De la Primaudaye
 { 1787. Stephen De la Primaudaye
 { 1856. Warren De la Rue, Ph. D., F.R.S
 { 1861. William Frederick De la Rue
 1718. Nicolas De la Sabliere
 1754. David Delavau
 1743. John Remy De Montigny
 1721. John De Montledier
 1718. Francis De Pontereau
 1725. Anthony De Rambouillet
 1718. HENRY DE RUVIGNY, EARL OF GALWAY
 1718. John De Rossieres
 1740. Charles De Sailly
 1718. *Rev.* Henry De St Colome
 { 1789. Daniel De St Leu
 { 1816. Charles De St Leu
 { 1718. GUY DE VICOUSE, *Baron de la Court*
 { 1732. Guy De Vicouse
 { 1753. Arthur De Villettes
 { 1777. *Lieut.-Gen.* Henry Clinton De Villettes
 { 1779. *Major* William Ann De Villettes
 1718. John le Clerc De Virly
 1794. David Des Carrieres
 { 1736. Peter Deschamps
 { 1757. Peter Deschamps
 { 1771. John Deschamps
 1718. Louis Des Clouseaux
 { 1765. Phineas Deseret
 { 1795. John Deseret
 { 1732. CLAUDE DESMARETS
 1760. Francis Desmaretz
 1798. James Louis Desormeaux
 1718. James Devaux
 { 1760. John Devaynes
 { 1770. William Devaynes, M.P.
 1778. Richard Devins
 { 1765. Peter Devisme
 { 1780. William Devisme
 { 1788. Gerard Devisme
 1794. Peter Dollond
 1819. George Dollond
 1853. George Dollond
 1726. Louis Benjamin D'Olon
 1788. Simeon Droz
 { 1731. Thomas Dubisson
 { 1775. John Du Bisson
 1726. John Duprat Du Charruau
 1718. Peter James Dudesert
 1718. Paul Du Four
 1737. James Dulamon
 1783. *Capt.* Augustus Dumaresq., R.N.
 1779. John Isaac Dumoustier
 1737. Amand Duperron
 1794. Gainsborough Dupont
 { 1769. John Durand, M.P.
 { 1824. John Charles Durand

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| { 1742. FRANCIS DUROURE | { 1795. William Griffin |
| { 1781. John Duroure | { 1796. John Griffin |
| 1749. Peter Dutens | 1809. Claude Grignon |
| 1767. Peter Dutens | 1787. Peter Guillebaud |
| { 1777. Louis Duval | { 1769. John Guillemard |
| 1786. John Duval | 1785. Isaac Guillemard |
| 1786. DAVID DUVAL | { 1789. James Guillemard |
| { 1826. PHILIP SMITH DUVAL | { 1793. JOHN GUILLEMARD |
| 1826. Louis Duval | { 1810. Daniel Guillemard |
| 1845. Henry James Duval | 1819. George Guilloneau |
| { 1859. Philip Snaith Duval, B.A. | { 1721. HENRY GUINAND |
| 1838. <i>Rev.</i> Richard Edwards | { 1756. Henry Guinand |
| 1848. Henry Emly | 1767. Peter Guinard |
| 1859. Charles James Fache | { 1756. Stephen Guyon |
| { 1782. Abraham Favenc. | { 1771. Henry Guill Guyon |
| 1805. Abraham Favenc. | { 1831. <i>Captain</i> John Guyon, R.N. |
| 1826. Rice George Fellowe | 1855. Richard Habberfield |
| 1795. James Fenouillet | { 1846. Henry John Haines |
| 1805. John Ferard | { 1860. Hy. G. Rosseloty Haines |
| 1735. Alexander Forrester | 1843. Philip Hanbury |
| 1740. Gabriel Fouace | 1766. John Hanet |
| 1769. Michael Fontaine | 1765. Benjamin Harenc |
| 1827. George Fournier | 1749. James Hays |
| 1776. John Fremont | 1769. Peter Herison |
| 1771. Peter Nicholas Frisquet | { 1720. PHILIP* HERVART, <i>Baron d'Huningue</i> |
| { 1718. Philip Fruchard | { 1765. William Hervart |
| { 1749. James Fruchard | 1776. Solomon Hesse |
| 1783. Robert Galhie | 1866. D. De Berdi Hovell |
| 1729. James Gambier | { 1763. Jacob Jamet |
| { 1752. Peter Garnault | { 1787. John Jamet |
| { 1762. Aymé Garnault | 1769. <i>Sir</i> Stephen Theodore Janssen, <i>Bart.</i> |
| 1740. James Gastine | 1795. Samuel Jaumard |
| 1808. J. Peter Gaugain | { 1818. Francis Jolit |
| 1720. JAMES GAULTIER | { 1836. Thomas Russell Jolit |
| { 1741. PETER GAUSSEN | { 1856. Francis Henry Jolit |
| 1755. Peter Gaussen | 1779. Louis Jouenne |
| { 1780. Peter Gaussen, jun. | { 1749. Nicolas Jourdain |
| { 1782. Samuel Robert Gaussen | { 1834. William David Jourdain |
| 1747. John Gignoux | { 1779. John Jourdan |
| 1780. Daniel Giles | { 1794. George Jourdan |
| 1811. John Gilman | 1725. Andrew Juillot |
| 1776. Andrew Girardot | 1748. John Jullian |
| 1829. Richard Hervé Giraud | 1731. Josias Laborde |
| { 1742. James Godin | 1846. John Labouchere |
| { 1758. Giles Godin | { 1753. John Luke Landon |
| { 1769. Stephen Peter Godin | { 1764. John Landon |
| { 1760. Gideon Gosset | { 1799. James Landon |
| { 1764. Isaac Gosset | 1765. Christopher Langlois |
| { 1778. Jacob Gosset | 1740. Peter Lapiere |
| { 1820. Peter Paul Grellier | 1738. Charles Laporte |
| { 1837. Richard Grellier | 1734. Samuel La Riviere |

* According to the *Maisondieu* Register, Southampton, PHILIBERT was his Christian name.

1847. Sir George Gerard De Hochepped Larpent, *Baronet*
1824. Thomas Lawrance
- { 1775. Daniel Peter Layard
- { 1780. *Major-General* Anthony Louis Layard
- { 1780. *Colonel* John Thomas Layard
1721. Charles Lebas
1719. Rev. — Le Blank
1787. Robert Le Blond
1777. Samuel Lechigaray
1762. Noah Le Cras
1847. Henry Beaumont Leeson, M.D.
- { 1768. John Lefevre
- { 1776. Peter Lefevre
1724. Gideon Leglise
- { 1718. Thomas Leheup
- { 1741. Michael Leheup
1742. Peter Lemaitre
1818. Michael Le Mann
1794. *Alderman* Paul Le Mesurier
1736. *Sir* John Lequesne, knt.
- { 1784. John Le Souef
- { 1791. Peter Le Souef
- { 1796. John Levesque
- { 1013. PETER LEVESQUE
1748. SIR JOHN LIGONIER, K.B. (afterwards Earl Ligonier)
1850. Richard Harman Lloyd
- { 1741. John Anthony Loubier
- { 1756. Matthew Loubier
- { 1769. John Peter Lucadou
- { 1788. John Louis Lucadou
- { 1843. Hollingworth Magniac
- { 1867. Charles Magniac
1775. Cyrus Maigre
- { 1752. Rev. John James Majendie, D.D.
- { 1845. Ashhurst Majendie
1770. John Malliet
1718. Peter Marchant
1731. James Mare
1773. John Marissal
1790. John Marplay
1773. Peter Marriet
- { 1757. James Martel
- { 1778. Isaac Martel
- { 1799. John Martineau
- { 1799. David Martineau
- { 1859. Richard Martineau
1804. Francis Maseres, *Cursitor Baron of the Exchequer.*
1741. James Massé
1785. John Massu
1836. Henry William Masters
1847. Marmaduke Mathews
1799. Edward Matthews
- { 1770. James Matthias
- { 1770. Vincent Matthias
- { 1787. Gabriel Matthias
1769. Joshua Mauger, M.P.
1782. James Maze, jun.
1718. *Rev.* Philip Ménard
1780. Francis Menet
1771. Peter Merzeau
1793. Peter Ferry Michel
- { 1769. Hugues Minet
- { 1791. John Louis Minet
- { 1791. Isaac Minet
- { 1783. Charles Minier
- { 1721. James Molinier
- { 1756. Charles Molinier
1775. *Rt. Hon.* Frederic Montague
- { 1718. *General* David Montolieu *Baron de St Hippolite*
- { 1759. *Colonel* Charles Montolieu
- { 1766. *Colonel* James Gabriel Montresor
- { 1779. *Major-Gen.* John Montresor
- { 1788. *Major-Gen.* Henry Tucker Montresor
1815. Daniel Moore
- { 1721. Philip Moreau
- { 1734. James Philip Moreau
1772. John Tirel Morin
- { 1729. John Motteux
- { 1759. Peter Motteux
- { 1763. John Motteux
- { 1812. Abraham John Mouchet
- { 1814. John Aldebert Mouchet
- { 1750. Stephen Mounier
- { 1784. Peter Mounier
1859. Herbert Moxon
1774. Philip Muysson
1726. John Narbonne
1788. John Anthony Noguier
1860. Charles Norris
- { 1760. Peter Nouaille
- { 1789. Peter Nouaille, jun.
- { 1761. Peter Ogier
- { 1771. Louis Ogier
1765. Daniel Olivier
1859. Charles Panton
1729. John Payrené
- { 1752. Samuel Pechel, *Master in Chancery*
- { 1772. *Sir* Paul Pechel, *Baronet*
- { 1801. *Sir* Thomas Pechell, *Baronet*
1846. Henry William Peek

1718. Solomon Penny
 { 1774. John Perchard
 1794. *Alderman* Peter Perchard
 { 1718. John Perigal
 1769. Francis Perigal
 1784. John Perigal
 { 1773. John Louis Petit, M.D.
 1829. Louis Hayes Petit, M.P.
 { 1845. Louis Peter Petit
 1849. *Lt. Col.* John Peter Petit
 { 1858. *Rev.* John Lewis Petit
 1866. Frederick Philbrick
 1755. John Pigou
 1754. Daniel Pilon
 1855. Parke Pittar
 { 1766. Anthony Planck
 { 1812. Peter Planck
 1855. Arthur Becher Pollock
 1749. Joseph Pouchon
 1799. Peter Pousset
 1718. MOSES PUJOLAS
 { 1819. William Pulley
 1820. William Mills Pulley
 { 1820. Joseph Pulley
 1821. Henry Pulley
 { 1846. Joseph Pulley
 1790. *The Hon.* Philip Pusey
 1803. James Racine
 1747. Stephen David Ravaud
 1740. Edward Ravenel
 1759. Andrew Reignier
 1718. Peter Reneu
 1802. Peter Renvoizé
 1725. Isaac Reynous
 1771. Daniel Richard
 1723. Moses Rigail
 { 1751. Isaac Roberdeau
 { 1786. John Peter Roberdeau
 { 1718. James Robethon
 1721. *Rt. Hon.* JOHN ROBETHON
 { 1770. Peter Romilly
 1779. Thomas Peter Romilly
 { 1786. *Sir* Samuel Romilly, *knight*
 { 1865. George Thomas Romilly
 1782. James Rondeau
 { 1843. John Roumieu
 { 1856. Robert Lewis Roumieu
 { 1861. Edward Abraham Roumieu
 1720. James Roussy
 1766. *General* William Ruffane
 1759. John Sabattier
 1791. Gideon Saint
 1729. Charles St Maurice
 1740. Peter Augustus Samson
 1790. Peter Anthony Sapte
 1718. *Rev.* Louis Saurin
 1718. Claude Scoffier
 { 1718. Stephen Seignoret
 { 1719. Peter Seignoret
 1818. William Denison Sevestre
 1867. Charles John Shoppée
 1818. John Vatas Simpson
 { 1847. Thomas Smart
 { 1867. Dr James Smart
 1866. Dr Edward Smith
 1731. Peter Soulegre
 1860. Thomas Stone
 1811. *Sir* John Sylvestre, *Baronet*
 1718. James Tabare
 1727. *Rev.* ——— Tacher
 1849. Charles Tanqueray
 { 1762. Louis Teissier
 { 1776. Charles Teissier
 { 1781. Stephen Teissier
 1747. Stephen Tessier
 { 1862. Samuel Saunders Teulon
 { 1863. William Milford Teulon
 { 1864. Seymour Teulon
 { 1866. William Hunsman Teulon
 { 1718. Thomas Thomas
 { 1736. Peter Thomas
 { 1766. Thomas Thomas
 { 1776. Ivon Thomas
 { 1794. Matthew Thomas
 { 1856. John Joseph Tiercelin
 { 1735. Peter Tirel
 { 1804. Michael Peter Touray
 { 1852. Peter Touray
 { 1735. Daniel Touvois
 { 1776. John Travers.
 { 1718. Peter Triquet
 { 1756. Peter Triquet
 { 1718. Louis Tudert
 { 1770. Leonard Turquand
 { 1777. James Louis Turquand
 { 1825. William Turquand
 { 1849. William Turquand
 { 1756. Daniel Vautier
 { 1794. Peter Vere
 { 1777. John Daniel Vernezobre
 { 1757. Daniel Vialars
 { 1776. Emerie Vidal
 { 1769. *Colonel* Charles Vignoles
 { 1828. John Robert Vincent

1865. Henry Wagner
 1824. Seth Stephen Ward
 1866. Thomas Ware
 1857. John Francis White

1848. John Butts Tanqueray Willaume
 1794. Robert Williams
 1836. Frederic Albert Winsor
 1829. Edward Wyndham

CHAPLAINS, *with date of election of each* :—Rev. Mr Du Plessis, 1720. Rev. Mr Le Moyne, 1723. Rev. James Du Plessis, 1742. Rev. Louis Villette, 1763. Rev. John Carle, 1768. Rev. Peter Lescure, 1790. Rev. Th. Abauzet, 1803. Rev. George Lawrence, 1820. Rev. Joseph Claude Meffre, 1826. Rev. Bryan T. Nurse, 1847.

OFFICE-BEARERS at the date of printing.

GOVERNOR, . . . The Earl of Radnor.
 DEPUTY-GOVERNOR, Philip Smith Duval, Esq. (who was elected in 1859, in succession to the late Peter Levesque, Esq.)
 TREASURER, . . . Richard Hervé Giraud, Esq. (who was elected in 1854, in succession to the late George Guillonneau, Esq.)
 SECRETARY, . . . Charles James Fâche, Esq. (who was elected in 1863, in succession to the late Richard Grellier, Esq.)

End of the Historical Introduction.

PROTESTANT EXILES FROM FRANCE.

Chapter I.

THE THREE DUKES OF SCHOMBERG.

I. FREDERICK ARMAND, FIRST DUKE OF SCHOMBERG.

“Le Maréchal de Schomberg dans l'armée, l'Amiral Duquesne dans la marine, et le Marquis de Ruvigny dans la diplomatie, la Revocation de l'Edit de Nantes (sans parler de ses conséquences générales) coûta à la France et au Roi ces trois excellents et glorieux serviteurs.”—GUIZOT.

FREDERIC ARMAND DE SCHOMBERG* was by birth a German Count, a scion of a noble house of the Palatinate. His mother was an English lady, and when he was but a boy, he became a citizen of the world. By his talents he learned to be a good Frenchman, and by his habits he ripened into a grand and unrepining exile, and a model British subject and soldier.

He was born in 1608, being the son of John Mainhardt de Schomberg, Comte de Schomberg, by his wife the Honourable Anne Sutton, daughter of the Right Honourable Edward Sutton, ninth Baron Dudley of Dudley Castle, Worcestershire, and of Theodosia, Lady Dudley, who was a daughter of Sir James Harrington. Count John, Grand-Marshal of the Palatinate of the Rhine, was the negotiator of the marriage of Frederick, the Elector Palatine, with Princess Elizabeth of England, in 1612. Frederick was elected King of Bohemia in 1619, but was dethroned in 1620; and being also despoiled of the Palatinate, he retired to Holland.

Frederic de Schomberg, whose father was dead, followed the ex-king; and four trustees were appointed for his education. He thus became a denizen of Holland. He had the patronage of the great soldiers, Maurice Prince of Orange, and Maurice's half brother, Prince Henry Frederick (who succeeded in 1625), the latter being a grandson of the heroic Coligny. Under such protection, and with the remembrance of the wrongs inflicted on his own Prince by the Roman Catholic league of Germany, young Schomberg was prepared to fight with all his heart in the great Protestant confederation. At the date of his first recorded appearance in arms, France was engaged in the Anti-Imperialist cause, in spite of its Protestantism. This

* SCHOMBERG is the French form of the German name SCHONBERG, and the form adopted by all our historians; their usage the Author of a Huguenot Memorial volume is not called upon to abandon. The German and French pronunciations must have been almost identical. The German pronunciation of the first syllable is *Shon* (the c being mute), not unlike the French prefix *champ*, in which we see the shape of M, but hear the sound of N (c having the sound of s, and p being mute). The name was known in France before our hero's days.

In much more ancient times Schomberg, Duc d'Hallvin, a Roman Catholic, was a marshal of France. To the same family belonged Gaspard Schomberg, Comte de Nanteuil, who contributed to the accession of Henri IV. to the throne by drafting the plan of an accommodation with the factious party of the League.

The Protestant Schombergs were a distant branch of the family, settled in the Diocese of Treves on the Rhine.

was at the battle of Nordlingen, in September 1634, where, however, he was not on the winning side, for the Imperialists gained the day. He had some pleasing experience of the French as comrades in war, which was the basis of his employments as a naturalized Frenchman in after years. He served during the remainder of the thirty years' war. According to the *Biographie Universelle*, he was before Dole as a captain in Marshal Ratzau's regiment. By that marshal he was detached to surprise Nordhausen. He put the advance guard to flight, ran a race with them to one of the gates, pursuers and fugitives reached the goal *en masse*, and threw themselves pell mell into the town.

Holland continued to be his adopted country. In 1647 he lost his princely benefactor and preceptor in the art of war. Henry Frederick, Prince of Orange, died on the 14th March of that year, aged 63. The war ended in the peace of Westphalia in 1648.

Schomberg was admitted to the intimate friendship and confidence of Prince William the Second. This prince, his predecessor's only son, was the husband of Princess Mary of England. Her brother Charles, Prince of Wales, came in 1648 or sooner, and made the Hague his headquarters, from which he watched the troubles of his native country. Here Schomberg was introduced to his acquaintance, and became a favourite. The youthful Charles (the year of whose birth was 1630) allowed the good man and gallant soldier to speak freely to him.

The rule of the second Prince William was a short and troubled one. Because peace was established, the States wished to disband the army. But he felt that powerful and unscrupulous neighbours would at once take advantage of such a defenceless situation. He had at last yielded to a project of disbanding one hundred and twenty companies, on condition that the disbanded officers should continue in receipt of full pay. The latter part of the compromise having been rejected by the province of Guelders and the city of Amsterdam, William again declared himself against any disbanding. He then began a tour to the principal cities. Accompanied by the principal colonels of the army, he personally pled and expostulated with the burghers. These conferences were suddenly interrupted by a deputation from Amsterdam, Haarlem, and other towns, whose errand was to request the Prince to postpone his visit to them. He interpreted this message as an affront, a feeling which was not removed by a prolonged correspondence, and the result was the imprisonment of six of the principal magistrates in the Castle of Lovestein. William followed up this step by besieging Amsterdam with a military force; this was on the 30th of July, 1650. The citizens opened the sluices and flooded the country; and three days after the Prince and the city concluded a treaty of accommodation. He then released the incarcerated magistrates, on condition "that they should be for ever disqualified for any public employments or places." He also sent an explanatory paper to the States, which was returned unopened, on the ground that no justification was required, as the difference had been adjusted. This beginning of tranquillity was all the Prince lived to see. Small-pox carried him off on the 6th of November following, in the 24th year of his age.

The death of Prince William the Second terminated Schomberg's residence in Holland. The reason of his retirement has been preserved by Bishop Burnet—"Schomberg was the Prince of Orange's particular favourite, but had so great a share in the last violent actions of his life, seizing the States, and in the attempt upon Amsterdam, that he left the service upon his death."

All that can be said about the private life and affairs of Frederic de Schomberg is, that we cannot suppose that at this date he was a rich man. He was only a soldier of fortune. His paternal estates in the Palatinate had been confiscated. He had the Armorial bearings of the Princes of Cleves, his ancestors, ("quorum adhuc gestat insignia.") He was a Count of the Holy Empire, and had other titles of nobility; but these dignities furnished no revenues. He had also entered into the married state, his wife being by birth his first cousin Johanna Elizabetha de Schomberg, daughter of Henry Thierr, Count of Schomberg, residing in Wesel. She was the mother of his five sons.

He turned his steps towards France. The French army was open to him, he having served with it already. He was also ready to enter into church membership with the Huguenots of France most heartily. His poverty was a visible martyrdom for the Protestant faith. And it was not to the Lutheran form of Protestantism that he was attached, but to the system which the Lutherans styled Calvinistic, and which its adherents called *Evangelisch*.

Both in the Palatine and in Holland, the Catechism of Ursinus was used, often called the Belgic Catechism, and now, the Heidelberg Catechism. The whole life of Frederic Schomberg proves that he really believed the doctrines so beautifully expressed in that Catechism. Because it is little known, and as I have long thought that it might be the rallying point for a grand incorporation of Protestant Churches, I request my readers to picture young Schomberg repeating a few of its questions and answers, with a view to recommend it to their approval. How suitable to an exile is the beginning of the Catechism. "*Quest. 1st.* What is thy only comfort in life and death?*" *Ans.* That both in soul and body, whether I live or die, I am not mine own, but belong wholly unto my most faithful Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who, by his precious blood most fully satisfying for my sins, hath delivered me from all the power of the devil, and so preserveth me that, without the will of my heavenly Father, not so much as a hair may fall from my head, yea, all things must serve for my salvation. Wherefore by his Spirit also he assureth me of everlasting life, and maketh me ready and willing that henceforth I may live to him."

The second question gives a lucid division of personal and practical religious truth:—" *Quest. 2d.* How many things are necessary for thee to know that thou, enjoying this comfort, mayest live and die happily? *Ans.* Three—the first, what is the greatness of my sin and misery—the second, how I am delivered from all sin and misery—the third, what thanks I owe unto God for this delivery." The Catechism is divided into three portions accordingly. The first portion concludes with *Quest. 11th.* "Is not God merciful?" *Ans.* "Yes, verily he is merciful, but so that he is also just. Wherefore his justice requireth that the sin which is committed against the Divine Majesty of God should also be recompensed with extreme, that is, everlasting punishments both of body and soul."

The following is the appropriate introduction to the second department: *Question 12.* "Is there yet any way or means remaining whereby we may be delivered from these punishments and be reconciled to God?—*Answer.* God will have his justice satisfied, wherefore it is necessary that we satisfy either by ourselves, or by another. *Quest. 13.* Are we able to satisfy for ourselves?—*Ans.* Not a whit. Nay, rather we do every day increase our debt." We pass on to *Quest. 21.* "What is true faith?—*Ans.* It is not only a certain knowledge, whereby I surely assent to all things which God hath revealed unto us in his word, but also an assured trust, kindled in my heart by the Holy Ghost through the Gospel, whereby I repose myself upon God, being assuredly persuaded that remission of sins, everlasting righteousness and life, is given not to others only, but to me also, and that freely through the mercy of God for the merit of Christ alone. *Quest. 22.* What then is necessary for a Christian to believe?—*Ans.* All that is promised in the Gospel, which the Articles of the Apostles' Creed, being the Catholic and undoubted Christian belief, teach us in one sum." Then follows a catechetical exposition of the Creed—which being completed, we have arrived at *Quest. 59.* "But now what profit redoundeth thence unto thee that thou believest all this?—*Ans.* That I am righteous in Christ before God, and an heir of eternal life." "*Quest. 60.* How art thou righteous before God?—*Ans.* Only by a true faith in Jesus Christ, insomuch that if my conscience accuse me, that I have grievously trespassed against all the Commandments of God, nor have kept any one of them, and moreover am still prone to all evil, nevertheless the full and perfect satisfaction, righteousness, and holiness of Christ is given and imputed to me without any merit of mine,

* The German is the original language of the Catechism. The Latin version is better known, being included in *Sylloge Confessionum*. The English edition was translated from the Dutch, "for the English Reformed Congregation in Amsterdam."

of the mere mercy of God (if only I accept this boon with a true confidence of heart *) even as if I had never committed any sin, or as if no spot at all did cleave unto me—yea, as if I myself had perfectly performed that obedience which Christ performed for me.” “*Quest. 61.* How affirmest thou that thou art made righteous by faith only?—*Ans.* Not that I please God through the worthiness of my faith; but only because the satisfaction, righteousness, and holiness of Christ is my righteousness in God’s presence, and I cannot take hold of this righteousness, or apply it unto myself in any other way than by faith.” This second department winds up with the Sacraments, and good specimens of Protestant definitions are supplied by Questions 67 and 80. “*Quest. 67.* Do not then both the word and sacraments tend to this end—to lead our faith to the sacrifice of Christ finished on the cross as to the only ground of our salvation?—*Ans.* It is even so. For the Holy Ghost teacheth us by the Gospel, and assureth us by the Sacraments, that all our salvation standeth in that only sacrifice of Christ offered up for us on the cross. *Quest. 70.* What difference is there betwixt the Lord’s Supper and the Popish mass?—*Ans.* The Lord’s Supper testifieth unto us that we have perfect remission of all sins, for the sake of that only sacrifice of Christ, which himself once fully performed on the cross—also, that we by the Holy Ghost are engrafted into Christ, who now according to his human nature is not on earth but only in heaven at the right hand of his Father, and will have our worship addressed to him there. But in the Mass it is denied that the quick and dead have remission of sins for the only Passion of Christ, except Christ be still daily offered on their behalf by the Mass Priests; it is also farther taught, that Christ is bodily under the species of bread and wine, and ought therefore to be worshipped in them. And so the very foundation of the Mass is nothing else but an utter denying of that only sacrifice and passion of Christ Jesus, and is accursed idolatry.”

The third department, entitled “Of Thankfulness,” opens with Question 86. “Because we are delivered from all our sins and miseries, without any merit of ours, by the mercy of God for Christ’s sake—for what cause are we then to do good works?—*Ans.* Because Christ, after he hath redeemed us by his blood, reneweth us also by his Spirit to his own image, that we, receiving so great benefits, should show ourselves all our lifetime thankful unto God, and should honour him. Secondly, that every one of us may be assured of his faith by his fruit. And lastly, that by our honest and good behaviour we may win others unto Christ.” The principal contents of this department are an explanation of the Ten Commandments, some instruction on the duty of prayer, and a paraphrase of the Lord’s Prayer evolved clause by clause catechetically, for instance, “*Quest. 125.* Which is the fourth petition?—*Ans.* Give us *this day our daily bread*; that is, give us all things needful for this life, that thereby we may acknowledge and confess thee to be the only fountain from whence all good floweth, and that without thy blessing all our care and industry (yea, even thy gifts themselves) cannot prosper us, but are hurtful to us. Grant therefore that we, taking off our confidence from all creatures, may settle it on thee alone.”

Animated with these sentiments, Schomberg removed his family into France in the end of 1650 or the beginning of 1651. He served in the army as a gentleman volunteer in 1651 and 1652, until he effected the purchase of a company in *Les Gardes Ecossoises* (the Scotch guards). His campaigns were in Poitou and Champagne. At the siege of Rhetel, as the senior officer present, he had the chief command of the royalist infantry. The prime-minister, Cardinal Mazarin, rewarded him with promotion to the rank of Lieutenant-General. In this rank he served under Marshal Turenne in Flanders, and had an honourable share in the taking of Landrècies, Condé, and Saint-Guilain; he was appointed Governor of the latter place.

The siege of Valenciennes in 1656 was sadly memorable to him, for during its progress Otho, one of his younger sons, was killed before his eyes. The presence of mind, with which he continued to give his orders, was generally observed. It was well-known what a loving and exemplary father he was, and he received both admiration and sympathy. Turenne gave him the principal charge of the retreat of the French army, in which he did justice to his military

* Wenn ich allein solche Wohlthat mit glaubigen Herzen annehme.

talents, and it is still spoken of as *la belle retraite*. In March 1657, he had to surrender Saint-Guilain to the enemy, but made a gallant resistance. A few months later he took Bourbourg, and was made governor of that town.

He is next mentioned in connection with the siege of Dunkirk, which the French, co-operating with the English under Morgan and Lockhart, took from Spain for Oliver Cromwell. This was on the 17th June 1658. The French had soon after to fight the Spaniards under the Prince of Condé at Dunes (or Downs). Schomberg commanded the second line of the left wing; and Condé was defeated here also. The victors now overran a great part of Flanders. Schomberg was at the taking of Bergues and other places, and obtained a second governorship.

The Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659 gave him a short period of repose, during which it is said he visited Germany. A new field now opened up to him; and to describe it we must take a momentary retrospect of eighty years.

In 1580, on the death of Henry, the Cardinal King of Portugal, who was the last of his generation, and (according to ecclesiastical regime) a celibate, a number of collateral heirs proclaimed themselves. Among these claimants Philip II., the king of Spain, had a very fair case to submit to genealogists, but he preferred to rely on military force, and seized the throne. Catherine, Duchess of Braganza, having no funds to enter upon this rough style of competition, had to content herself with the conviction that her pedigree proved her right. Her son, Duke Theodosius, and her grandson, Duke John, both professed outwardly to be obedient subjects of the Spanish potentates, Philip III. and Philip IV. The tranquil mind of Duke John would have kept him within his magnificent estates in comparative retirement. But the instinctive unpopularity of the fourth Philip's sway in Portugal, especially as deputed to a Spanish Vice-Regal lady, made more apparent the liberal and virtuous Duke of Braganza's popularity with the Portuguese nation. After a deceitful calm, a very summary insurrection put the crown on the Duke's head, and enthroned him in Lisbon as King John IV. This was in December 1640. For sixteen years he successfully defended his frontiers against the Spaniards, who could not attempt any bold stroke, on account of the drain upon their resources made by their war in Flanders. He died in 1656, and his sons being minors, his widow, Queen Louisa, took the reins as Regent. She was even more popular than the late king, for the people knew that it was her ambition and spirit that had placed and sustained her husband at the head of the revolution. The want of a good general procured her some reverses and disappointments in the national war, which was continued.

In the Peace of the Pyrenees, Spain saw an opportunity for recovering Portugal with one great effort; it being understood that Louis XIV., who notoriously sympathized with independent Portugal, had bound himself by treaty to send no succours to the Portuguese army.

The Queen Regent of Portugal, having heard of Schomberg as an able general, desired her agent in France, Joaom d'Acosta, Count of Soura, to treat with him. Her proposal was that he should have the real command of her armies, although a Portuguese officer would have the name of generalissimo. Portugal was divided into provinces, in each of which there was a military governor in command of an army. The seat of war was the province of Alentejo, where, according to the rules of the Portuguese service, the regular military governor could not be superseded. Schomberg's appointment would therefore be Camp-Master-General of the army of Alentejo, with a salary of 12,000 crowns, and a prospect of promotion to the military governorship in the event of a vacancy.*

When Louis XIV. heard of this overture, he at once relieved Schomberg of his connection with the French army, giving him a handsome retiring pension. He charged him to select his followers secretly (who should be clandestinely paid by France), and to proceed to London, where he might openly negotiate with the Portuguese ambassador at the court of Charles II., who had by this time been restored to the British throne. This enabled Louis to reply to the Spanish king's inevitable remonstrance by saying, that Count Schomberg was not a Frenchman,

* Memoirs of the Sieur d'Ablancourt—translated from the French copy printed at Paris in 1701. London 1703.

but a German ; and the king of France could not prevent his enlistment in the Portuguese army, when the peace establishment of the French army did not require his services.

Schomberg, who had been admitted to renewed friendship with the titular Charles II. in Paris, had thus the opportunity of saluting him as a real king in his recovered dominions. He was still allowed to speak freely, and to give advice. But he afterwards told Burnet, when narrating his recollections of this period, "I found the king's mind was so turned to mirth and pleasure that he seemed scarcely capable of laying anything to heart." One of his neglected advices was that Charles should declare himself to be the chief defender of European Protestantism ; "though religion is not what your Majesty professes to have much heart for, yet such a course would be for your interest ; it would keep the princes of Germany in willing subservience, and would make your majesty the umpire in all their affairs ; it would also procure for the restored King of England great credit with the Huguenots of France, and would keep the French government in perpetual fear of him." This advice was unpalatable to Charles, because he was ready to sacrifice all public and serious interests on receiving pocket-money from the French monarch. "I advised the king," said Schomberg to Burnet, "to employ the military men who had served under Cromwell, who were the best officers I ever saw ; and I was grieved to see that they were dismissed, and that a company of wild young men were those on whom the king relied."

The memory of Cromwell was what Charles detested. As it was to the late Protector and to his admired European policy that England owed Dunkirk, he had no pride in possessing it. The French offered to buy it at a tempting price ; so he had an opportunity to gratify both his malicious envy and his love of money. Schomberg strongly advised him not to give up such an important post to a foreign power. "But," said some of the weaklings in the dress of soldiers, "the place is not tenable ; in time of war it will not pay the cost of defending it, and even in time of peace it will be a source of expense." Lord Clarendon then asked Monk to give his opinion, and that General said, "By all means, let it go for the sum offered by France." Schomberg exclaimed, "The King should keep it. Considering the naval power of England, I declare it cannot be taken. France may talk big, as if they will break with England unless it is given up ; but I know that any such rupture is far from their thoughts. I have been at Dunkirk and have studied its defences, and I am sure that it can never be taken from England as long as she is mistress of the sea. The holding of it will be an effectual check upon both France and Spain." But no courtier supported Schomberg, and Dunkirk was sold, amidst the contempt of all Europe.

Schomberg's ostensible errand was to the Portuguese Ambassador at the English court. When all needful business had been transacted, he set sail, under the convoy of an English frigate. He had made an appointment with the Count of Soura to take him and his men on board at Havre-de-Grace ; before that town he came to anchor on the 31st October 1660. Soura and his men were assaulted by some Spaniards who had been keeping a look-out, and who by giving and receiving some bodily wounds soothed their own wounded feelings. Louis XIV., still acting his part, had given the Spanish Ambassador his royal permission to arrest Schomberg if he could. But being (of course) forewarned, Schomberg remained on board the frigate, set sail again on the next day, and arrived at Lisbon on the 15th of November. His immediate followers, who met him there, were 80 officers, and 400 veteran cavalry, who had also been officers ; another account makes their number 600.

The years 1661 and 1662 Schomberg spent in training the Portuguese troops, who had many of the qualities of good and brave soldiers, though apparently incapable of producing generals. He also stood on the defensive against Don John of Austria, the General of the Spaniards, who made no progress while Schomberg built the necessary walls and forts in the frontier towns. In the meantime, Queen Louisa had strengthened her cause by marrying her daughter Katharine to the King of England. Charles, in acknowledgment of her handsome dowry, sent the Earl of Inchiquin with a body of British troops to augment the Portuguese army. The Earl was soon recalled, and the auxiliaries were handed over to Schomberg.

In 1663, having trained the army, and having at last convinced the jealous native officers that they could not campaign successfully without him, Schomberg was prepared to act on the offensive. He also could leave Lisbon without uneasiness, his friend Fremont d'Ablancourt, who was a clandestine envoy from the French court, being in constant and friendly communication with the Portuguese ministry. The Portuguese town of Evora having surrendered to Don John, the army under the direction of Schomberg marched to oppose his progress, and, coming up, cut off his supplies. Don John had no choice but to attack the Portuguese, which he did in the neighbourhood of Evora, and was repulsed. Schomberg pursued him, and overtook him in the vicinity of Estremos. "A battle being now unavoidable,"* says Dunlop, "Don John possessed himself of two hills, on which he planted his cannon and the greater part of his infantry. His baggage was placed in the rear, and the cavalry was drawn up in four bodies on the plain below. The fight continued for a long while doubtful, till the English auxiliaries in the service of Portugal undertook to climb, on their hands and feet, the steep hills on which the Spaniards were posted; and though many of them were slain in the attempt, the greater part gained the summits. This exploit encouraged three regiments of Portuguese infantry to ascend by an easier and more circuitous path. The Spanish foot were so daunted by this unexpected boldness of the enemy, that they immediately betook themselves to flight, though Don John, alighting from his charger, used every exertion to induce them to rally and face their antagonists. And now the Portuguese horse, which had also been successful against the Spanish cavalry, advancing to second their foot, a great slaughter ensued." The victorious cavalry were chiefly Schomberg's veterans. The victory was complete, Evora was restored, and that year's campaign was closed.

The nominal commander-in-chief, the Count de Villa-Flor, having thwarted Schomberg on all occasions, was now removed. Schomberg was promoted to be the Military Governor. He was also made a Grandee of Portugal, and was given the title of Count of Mertola. These honours were not only rewards for his services, but also heraldic qualifications for high military command.

In 1664, the Spanish army was again commanded by Don John, but could do little more than look on, while Schomberg entered the Spanish territories and took Valencia d'Alcantara. The campaign ended in the defeat, near Castel-Rodrigo, of the Duke of Ossuna, an amateur general of the Spaniards.

In 1665, the Marquis of Caracena superseded Don John in the command of the Spaniards, and gave a kind of personality to the war by marching upon Villa-Viciosa, the landed estate of the Dukes of Braganza, within which was the Palace of Braganza. He took the town, and was besieging the fortified castle that towered above it, when Schomberg and the Portuguese army were descried in the distance. The two armies met on the plain of Montesclaros. On this occasion the Portuguese had some advantage in numbers. The first charge was on the Spanish side, and the Italian auxiliary cavalry under the command of Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, broke the first line of the Portuguese. I follow Dunlop's narrative, and now quote his words:—"Schomberg having advanced to rally his troops, the Prince of Parma, who had an eye on all his movements, engaged with him in personal combat, by striking him on the breast two blows with his sabre, which nearly threw him from the saddle, and would have slain him, had not the Prince's sword been shattered at the second stroke on the cuirass which the general wore under his uniform." The Portuguese, however, gained the day, and completely surrounded and entangled the retreating enemy. The Spanish artillery and the troops, left before the Castle of Villa Viciosa, fled to Badajoz. The Portuguese made an irruption into Andalusia, and carried off immense booty. Dunlop adds, "The decisive battle of Montesclaros completed the misfortunes and national disgrace of Spain. It finally fixed the crown on the head of the King of Portugal, and highly raised that country in the scale of European nations. For this splendid victory, however, as well as all their previous successes, the

* Memoirs of Spain, during the reigns of Philip IV. and Charles II., from 1621 to 1700. By John Dunlop. 2 vols. 8vo. Edin.: Clark.

Portuguese were chiefly indebted to the military skill of General Schomberg and the valour of the foreign auxiliaries." We have to add that it hastened the death of Philip IV. of Spain, who expired on the 17th of September, 1665, in the 61st year of his age and 45th of his reign. At the end of this year, the idiotic and violent Alphonso VI. of Portugal declared himself of age, and his mother, the Queen Regent, having surrendered the government into his hands, died in a convent on the 18th of February, 1666.

Overtures for peace between Spain and Portugal began immediately after the victory of Montesclaros. But during diplomatic delays, Schomberg continued to fight, and carried all before him in 1666 and 1667. At last peace was settled on the 12th of February 1668. Schomberg had also to take some share in the settlement of the government at Lisbon. The king's imbecility and abandoned behaviour gave occasion to a project for laying him aside, and putting the sceptre into the hand of his brother Pedro. The king's favourite minister endeavoured to restore Alphonso's influence by marrying him to Mary, Princess of Nemours. The Young Queen soon obtained from the Pope an annulment of this marriage, having first formed a party at court, which Schomberg joined. The king was also forsaken by his premier, Count Melhor; and the regal power, though only with the title of regent, was transferred to the brother. It was under Pedro's rule that peace was proclaimed. Schomberg left Portugal on the 1st of June.

D'Ablancourt preserves one or two anecdotes connected with his residence in that kingdom.

The jealousy and insubordination of the Portuguese officers often resulted in their disregard of Schomberg's orders and in the marring of a whole day's projects. One night he directed General Denis De Mellos to detach six squadrons of horse to a certain point. The next day he easily detected that his order could not have been obeyed. The officer on being interrogated replied, that he had sent thirty cavaliers with a guide, having thought that sufficient. "Sufficient?" exclaimed Schomberg, "yes, sufficient to cut off your head, for you had your orders in writing."

During the Battle of Montesclaros he remarked to his aide-de-camp, when they observed some of the enemy's horses and men tumbling down from a mountain, "The painters of ancient battles are accused of drawing largely upon their imagination, but that looks very like one of their pictures."

On two occasions Schomberg, having resolved to retire from Portugal on account of the hostility of the king and his courtiers, was actually retained by the king, who was moved by an appeal from "The Council of Four-and-Twenty." This Council was a constitutional corporation, consisting of twenty-four tradesmen of Lisbon. A candidate for membership had to prove himself to be a son and grandson of persons of eminent integrity and purity of morals; and, on being elected, he was nobilitated. The President, who was styled the Judge of the Council, had a power in the kingdom like that of the Tribune of the People among the ancient Romans. This Judge twice made an official representation to the king to the following effect:—"I declare to your Majesty in the name of all your good Subjects, that you ought not to let the Count of Schomberg depart, and further, that any advisers to the contrary are enemies to the State." Then turning to the king's secretary, he demanded a written minute, recording what he had said. The king, according to the usage in such a case, replied:—"Due regard shall be had to your remonstrance."

General Schomberg's name became quite a proverb in Portugal and in Spain. The Spanish Guards, raised soon after his departure, were called *The Schombergs*. The peasants so often dressed their images of the saints in "embroidered coats, long periwigs and French points," that the priests at last interfered, and forbade all persons, in time to come, to adorn the saints *à la Schomberguaise*.

On the 14th of June Schomberg arrived at La Rochelle. Luzancy says, "A famous wit was commanded to compliment him. The Count's modesty was more troubled at his praises than ever was his courage at the sight of the Spanish battalions. And he replied that he had endeavoured only to be as instrumental as he could to the glory of his Prince."

Having brought him home to his adopted France we may again glance at his domestic life. He was a widower, but the date of his wife's death is not on record. I have already mentioned the death of his son Otho. Another son, Henry, died at Brussels of wounds received in battle; but whether before or after the date at which we have arrived, I cannot ascertain. Three sons remained to him, namely Frederic, Mainhardt, and Charles, all of whom were with him in the Portuguese service. In the following spring he entered upon a second marriage. The lady of his choice was a zealous French Protestant of good family, Susanne d'Aumale, daughter of Daniel d'Aumale, Sieur d'Haucourt, and of Francoise de Saint Pol. The marriage was solemnized in the Parisian Temple of Charenton, on the 14th of April 1669. The witnesses who signed the registration were two gentlemen, Philip de Madaillan, and Jean Jacob Fremont d'Ablancourt, and three ladies, Marguerite de Rohan, Jeanne d'Aumale, and Madelaine de Montmorency.

Schomberg went to England in 1673. He was brought over by King Charles to command his army on the French model. Burnet says that so high was his reputation in France, that he was "not raised to be a Marshal only on the account of his religion." The following is Burnet's description of him: "He was a calm man, of great application and conduct. He thought much better than he spoke. He was a man of true judgment, of great probity, and of a humble and obliging temper; and at any other time of his life he would have been very acceptable to the English."

The nation now disliked him as "one sent over from France to bring our army under a French discipline." The Duke of Buckingham hated him, for he wished to be commander-in-chief himself. The Duke of York and Lord Clifford black-balled him as a Presbyterian, because "he liked the way of Charenton so well, that he went once a-week to London to the French Church there, which was according to that form."

"He was always pressing the king," says Burnet, "to declare himself the head of the Protestant party. He pressed him likewise to bring his brother over from Popery; but the king said to him, 'You know my brother long ago, that he is as stiff as a mule.' . . . Schomberg told me he saw it was impossible that the king could bring any great design to a good effect; he loved his ease so much that he never minded business; and everything that was said to him about affairs was heard with so little attention that it made no impression."

War had been raging since April 1672 between Holland and the united forces of France and England. In 1673 the navies were the most forward in the combat, and the Dutch had fought gallantly with the combined French and English fleet. The latter confederates agreed tolerably well, until the removal of the Duke of York from the command of our navy. Then the French captains, through the Duke's influence with the French ambassador at London, had to obey their admiral by keeping their ships aloof, and allowing the Dutch and English to perform several drawn battles. One French captain, who thought it his duty to co-operate with the English, was sent to the Bastille as soon as he returned to France. The effect of this upon the English and upon Schomberg is thus told by Burnet: "This opened the eyes and mouths of the whole nation. All men cried out and said, we were engaged in a war by the French, that they might have the pleasure to see the Dutch and us destroy one another, while they knew our seas and ports, and learned all our methods, but took care to preserve themselves. Count Schomberg told me he pressed the French ambassador to have the matter examined; otherwise, if satisfaction was not given to the nation, he was sure the next parliament would break the alliance. But by the ambassador's coldness he saw that the French admiral had acted according to his instructions. So Schomberg made haste to get out of England, to prevent an address to send him away. And he was by that time as weary of the court as the court was of him." Instead of this rather prosaic exit the enthusiastic Trenchard furnishes us with an eloquent climax as to the motive of the exit, namely, "the *never-to-be-forgotten* generosity of that great man, General Schomberg, whose mighty genius scorned so ignoble an action as to put chains upon a free people." *

* History of Standing Armies by Thomas Trenchard, Esq., (published in 1698) re-printed 1731, page 29.

The year 1674 found Louis XIV. grasping at the Spanish Netherlands, sword in hand. The brilliant actions of Turenne in Flanders threw into the shade Schomberg's successes. The frontier-province of Roussillon had only a small army under a Lieutenant-General to resist Spanish invasion from Catalonia; thither Schomberg was sent with re-inforcements, and to take the chief command. On the 26th June 1674,* he arrived in time to rescue Lieut.-General Le Bret, who had been defeated, and whose cavalry had been entrapped by an ambuscade. By striking an effective blow, which he followed up by a masterly disposition of his troops, he checked the advance of the Spaniards, who retired into their own country. In September a revolt broke out in Sicily against Spanish rule; and the quarrel was fomented and prolonged by the French during that year and the year following.

In 1675 Schomberg was favoured by the withdrawal of a portion of the Spanish forces for the defence of Sicily; but his achievements were nevertheless admirable. He entered Catalonia, and secured an extensive tract of country for the subsistence of his army. After a siege of five days he retook from the Spaniards the first-rate fortress of Bellegarde in Roussillon. In Catalonia he took the maritime town and castle of Ampurias, and the fortresses of Bascara, Figuières and Joui. The 30th of July 1675 was the most eventful date in his life, and of it the historian Benoist shall speak:—

“ Marshal Turenne was killed, and his death occasioned great changes in public affairs. The most considerable consequence was that the event compelled the court to do justice to the Comte de Schomberg, to whom a baton of Marshal of France had long been due. Religion had been the pretence for the injustice of withholding it. The King had with his own mouth assured him that he would promote him to that dignity if he would declare himself a Catholic. Schomberg had the courage to reply that his religion was more dear to him than everything else, and that if it hindered him from being actually invested with that honour, it was a sufficient consolation to him that His Majesty judged that he was worthy of such rank in his service. At last political necessity became stronger than Catholic zeal. It was now necessary to offer to the Comte de Schomberg an honour which he did not court, and even to make the offer in a manner to make it plain that they did not expect to draw him into abandoning his religion, by the bait of such promotion. On one occasion they had exacted of him that he should give a hearing to some Doctors, who would (they predicted) remove his scruples of conscience. He had had the complaisance to listen to the Doctors, and the resolution to declare that they had not satisfied him. That had happened while he had the command in Catalonia. It was soon after that last declaration of his, that he there received the news of the justice which had been rendered to him.”

In reviewing Schomberg's career at a later date, Macaulay gives his testimony as follows:—“ His rectitude and piety, tried by strong temptations, and never found wanting, commanded general respect and confidence. Though a Protestant, he had been during many years in the service of Louis, and had, in spite of the ill offices of the Jesuits, extorted from his employer, by a series of great actions, the staff of a Marshal of France.”

The date of his promotion was 30th July 1675. Among Pastor Du Bosc's letters is one headed A' Monsieur Le Duc de Schomberg, 12th May 1675, thanking him for giving his son a commission in his regiment. Another is to *Madame Schomberg*, who seems to have resided at Perpignan during her husband's command in Catalonia. There is a third letter to Monsieur *Le Maréchal Duc de Schomberg*, 7th August 1675, which I shall quote as expressing the sentiments of the French Protestants:—

“ My Lord, I thought to have filled my sheet with nothing but thanks for your extraordinary kindness shewn to my son; but public news have arrived, to furnish a more important subject for my intended letter; I mean, the justice which His Majesty has just done to your merits and services in promoting you to a dignity which has so long been your due. Never, my Lord, has the creation of a Marshal of France obtained such universal approbation. There are often

* Gifford's History of France.

Marshals whose promotion has set every body upon the enquiry who they are, and what they have done. But you, my Lord, have the applause of the whole kingdom, and your humble servants are overjoyed when they hear the manner in which all the world is speaking of you. There is no person who does not agree in the sentiment that only yourself is capable of supplying the place of Monsieur de Turenne, and of consoling the State bereaved of such a great and illustrious general. Judge, my Lord, what must be the joy of the church of God, to see you in a rank which will make your exemplary faith and virtues more conspicuous, and make your protection more powerful. Henceforth you are our glory and our support. Our eyes are all turned towards you, and our chief satisfaction is that there is no occasion for apprehension as to your Christian stedfastness after the proofs so authentic and so admirable, which you have already given of it. Nothing remains to be desired on your behalf, my Lord, but a long life for useful services to the glory of God, of the king, and of yourself; and to let all Europe see that God still raises up among us heroes not a whit less worthy than those of past times. Europe will offer many prayers for your preservation; but I very humbly beg you, my Lord, to believe that none will be more ardent or more assiduous than my own. Nobody can lie under greater obligations than do I; and the care which you have deigned to take of that young man, who has the honour of being near your person, so penetrates my heart, that I have not words to express with what gratitude I shall all my life remain your Lordship's, &c., &c.

DU BOSC."

That Schomberg was a Duke as well as a Marshal of France appears from the patent of nobility which at a later date he received from the English crown, and in which all his former titles and honours are accurately narrated. We may therefore infer that Du Bosc's biographer was correct in styling him Le Duc de Schomberg at a date prior to his receiving the highest military honour.

The Duke of Schomberg began active service as a Marshal in 1676 in Flanders. All the military deeds of this year were eclipsed by the naval triumphs of another Protestant of France, Admiral Du Quesne, in the Mediterranean. But as to Schomberg the *Biographie Universelle* informs us that he raised the sieges of Maestricht and Charleroy; and Burnet says that he got great honour in raising the siege of Maestricht. In the Spring of 1677 Louis XIV. took the lead of the army in Flanders, and his ambition for this species of glory was satisfied by the capitulation of Valenciennes, (which yielded on the first assault) and by one or two other successful sieges. It was a standing joke among the officers, that Louis would never fight a battle, according to the safe sentiment that royal blood must not be put in jeopardy, like blood of inferior dye. But an unexpected situation of affairs put this sentiment, as well as its regal advocate, into jeopardy. The French were besieging Bouchain according to the correct routine, and the king with an army was posted to cover the besiegers. Suddenly the Prince of Orange who had been lately defeated by the Duke of Orleans, drew his army together, and went up almost to the King's camp, offering him battle. And now, in the general opinion, Louis had a grand opportunity for gaining a decisive victory, but he heard all such representations coldly.

At last the king said, "I will come to no resolution, until I hear Marshal Schomberg's opinion." Secretary Louvois sent a trusty messenger to bring the Marshal, and to give him a hint what his opinion must be, in consideration of the king's valuable life. Schomberg could have no wish to overwhelm in disaster the young Prince of Orange. Though he had not any personal acquaintance with him, (for he was the posthumous child of Prince William the Second), he felt affection for his person, and admired the gallant course on which he had entered. Being not unwilling to take the Secretary's hint, he gave his opinion in the king's tent in conformity with it. This was his speech:—"The king is here, carrying forward his design to cover the siege of Bouchain. A young general has come up on a desperate humour to offer battle to his Majesty. I do not doubt but it would be a glorious decision of the war. But the king ought to consider his own designs, and not be led off of these by any braggado,

or even by the great hope of success. The king ought to remain in his post until the town is taken. Otherwise he suffers another man to be the master of his royal counsels and actions. When the town is taken, then His Majesty must proceed to new counsels; but till then, I think he should pursue his first design." Burnet adds, "The king said that Schomberg was in the right, and he was applauded that day as more of a courtier than a general. I had all this from his own mouth." The king soon returned home, leaving Schomberg in command.

In 1678 Schomberg commanded a division in Flanders. Finding, however, that his men were constantly drafted off and given to Marshal Crequi, he resigned his command, telling Crequi that he had applied to the king for leave to be among the veteran troops. He actually volunteered to serve under that Marshal, rather than continue in the inaction to which he seemed to be doomed, and which he could not submit to. The object of the French king this year, was to spread consternation in Holland, that the Prince of Orange might yield to have the terms of peace dictated to him. The object was gained, and the peace of Nimeguen was concluded in the beginning of 1679.

In 1683, Dr Burnet paid a visit to France, owing to the feeling of the court party against him as a friend of the late Lord Russell. Lady Russell's uncle, the Marquis De Ruvigny, introduced him to Marshal Schomberg. Burnet had no audiences of Louis XIV., but made his observations. "The exterior of the king," he writes, "was very solemn. The first time I happened to see him was when the news came of raising the siege of Vienna, with which he was much struck (Schomberg told me), for he did not look for it." The news which disappointed the king was that Sobieski, King of Poland, had gained a victory which relieved Vienna from the Turkish invasion. Louis had intended to do that favour to Austria, and to exact as a reward a diplomatic acknowledgement that all the places, seized by him on the pretence that by treaty they were his, did really belong to France. The consequence of the disarrangement of this scheme was, that Louis began a war without any formal attempt at justification in the autumn of 1683. In 1684, Schomberg received his route for Germany at the head of 25,000 men; but a few days after (namely on the 15th of August) peace was concluded by the mediation of Holland, France obtaining a formal cession to herself of some of the stolen property. Thus the Marshal's expedition became unnecessary.

He continued to live in Paris in 1684 and 1685. As to the summer of the latter year, the following friendly letter to Pastor Du Bosc has been preserved:—

19th July, 1685.

We have learned, Sir, from some of your friends, your intention to retire from this kingdom, and we have been very deeply touched by the news. We have been talking about the places where you might wish to settle. Rotterdam has been named, and it is said that you would prefer it to Copenhagen. I took the liberty of saying what I think of this plan; allow me, Sir, to repeat my opinion to yourself. I spent some years in Holland, and ascertained that Rotterdam is one of the towns where both the air and the water are most unwholesome. As for society, there are few people there whom a person of your abilities would find congenial. Denmark may be colder, but not much. And the air and water are more healthy, and the country not subject to inundations. The court being resident at Copenhagen, and the Queen being of *La Religion*, you will find better support and more rational conversation, even among the Lutherans. To the latter, (and this is a point more worthy of consideration), through the grace of God, and the understanding which he has given you, you can supply explanations, which will make them less bigoted in their religion, and will inspire them with gentleness towards ours. This is an important service which you might render to such a persecuted religion as ours is in France. But you are better able to judge than I am—so I conclude by assuring you, Sir, that no one can honour you more perfectly, and be more truly yours than I am, &c.

SCHONBERG.

On the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October, Schomberg "stedfastly refused to

purchase the royal favour by apostasy." "The man," says Macaulay, "whose genius and valour had saved the Portuguese monarchy at the field of Montesclaros, earned a still higher glory by resigning the truncheon of a Marshal of France for the sake of his religion." Lady Russell wrote on the 15th January 1686, "Marshal Schomberg and his wife are commanded to be prisoners in their house, in some remote part of France appointed them." Louis XIV. had rejected his request for permission to retire to Germany, but at last allowed him to seek a refuge in Portugal.

He sailed for Lisbon in the spring of 1686, accompanied by his wife (who, according to French usage, had the title of *La Maréchalle*), and with a few attendants. His departure was generally regretted. All lovers of their country esteemed him as one of their best generals. Souches says, "There was great regret throughout France, because they lost in him the best and the most experienced of the generals." Another authority* assures us "that the *Grand Condé* placed Schomberg on the same level as Turenne, and perceived in him rather more liveliness, presence of mind, and promptitude than in Turenne, when it was necessary to prepare for action on very short notice." The *Sieur D'Ablandcourt* enumerates as his characteristics "indefatigable diligence, presence of mind in fight, moderation in victory, and sweet and obliging carriage to every one."

"On his voyage to Lisbon," says Luzancy, "a storm raged for two days and two nights. He knew well whence the blow came, and how to apply himself to divert it. He caused continual prayers in the ship to be made to HIM who commands the waves to be still. And so all in the ship were preserved."

"All the favour he could obtain," writes Burnet, "was leave to go to Portugal. And so cruel is the spirit of Popery that, though he had preserved that kingdom from falling under the yoke of Castile, yet now that he came thither for refuge, the Inquisition represented the matter of giving harbour to a heretic so odiously to the King, that he was forced to send him away."

A letter from Schomberg to Du Bosc (who had fixed his residence at Rotterdam) shows that his brief stay in Portugal was trying to his feelings.

"LISBON, 13th May 1686.

"I do myself a great pleasure, Sir, in being able to give you the news of my safe arrival in this country, and it will also be a pleasure to be able to write to you as occasion requires, with more liberty. Madame de Schomberg sends you her compliments. She has borne her journey by sea better than one could have expected. But here one is equally unserviceable to oneself and to friends. It is my part to commit myself to divine Providence, hoping that one day He will guide us to a place where we can worship Him with more liberty. The Ambassador labours here with great officiousness to oblige five or six Protestant merchants to become Romanists. He has found a disposition in the King of Portugal to withdraw from them his protection, pretending that it is due to himself that he should be even more zealous than the King of France. There are some recantations. I beg you, Sir, to believe me ever and entirely yours,
"SCHONBERG."

The Marshal left the ungrateful Pedro, and set out for Holland; Professor Weiss informs us that "on his way from Portugal, Schomberg coasted England to observe the ports and places most favourable for the landing of an army; he also opened communications with the chiefs of the English aristocracy, who were weary of James II.'s government, and desired a revolution." Burnet says that he "took England in his way;" and Luttrell notes concerning him that he paid a visit to King James in the beginning of 1687, and was kindly received. A

* Erman and Reclam's *Memoirs of the Refugees in Brandenburg*. Vol. IX., p. 268. This interesting work is in the French language. Readers need not be repelled by its Nine Volumes, as they are in large type, and of a portable *duodecimo* size.

correspondent of John Ellis wrote from London, January 1686-7, "Arrived last night from Holland, Marshal Schomberg with his weather-beaten spouse, from Portsmouth by land, the wind being cross by sea."^{*}

On his arrival in Holland, he waited on the most renowned Prince of Orange, and was at once treated as a friend and counsellor. It would not have accorded with the secrecy of William's projects to engage the services of the great Marshal at that time. He was, therefore, encouraged to accept from the Elector of Brandenburg a commission to be his commander-in-chief; and he removed to Berlin. About this time his wife died; she had for some time been afflicted with a fatal malady. Benoist panegyricised her as a lady of lofty courage and eminent piety. And Du Bosc mourned the loss of Madame la Maréchale, as an illustrious lady, whose memory the Church would never let die, and who was a miracle of virtue of every kind.

Schomberg was thus left a widower again, at the age of 79. He continued to reside in Prussia. Here his honours and employments were multifarious. He was governor-general, minister of State, a member of the Privy Council (whose other members were of grand ducal blood), and also generalissimo of all the troops. A number of the mousquetaires or horse-guards of the King of France, being refugees in Brandenburg, and all of them gentlemen by birth, were formed into two companies of *grands mousquetaires*, each mousquetaire having the rank of a lieutenant in the army. The Elector assumed the colonelcy of the first company, which was quartered at Prentzlau, and Schomberg was the colonel of the second, quartered at Furstenwald. It was for him that the Elector built the mansion in Berlin, which afterwards became the Palace of the Crown Prince.

But he was a cheerful giver as well as a thankful recipient of bounty. The French officers in Brandenburg, on the suggestion of the Marquis de Villarnoul, agreed to subscribe five per cent. of their pay for the relief of poor French refugees. The other refugees, whom the Elector had provided for, offered to contribute at the same rate, one sou for every livre (a half-penny in each tenpence) of their annual pensions. And the Elector established an office for this charity, which was known as the *Chambre du sol pour livre*. "The Duke of Schomberg," says Weiss, "subscribed the annual sum of 2000 livres, which was regularly paid until his departure for England."

The storm which arose upon the interference of France with the affairs of Cologne brought Schomberg again into the front of events. He was appointed to command the imperial forces, sent in 1688 to defend that electorate and to garrison the city of Cologne. According to Luttrell, he garrisoned Cologne in September with 2600 foot and some horse. The French were thus blocked up on the German side; while the revolt of Amsterdam from French counsels obstructed the interference of Louis XIV. in an opposite direction.

France having her hands so full on the Continent—the Pope himself not escaping her armed visitations—the Prince of Orange hastened his projected descent upon England. He himself took the chief command; but it was necessary that a general of skill and fame should be his deputy, and, as Macaulay observes, "it was impossible to make choice of any Englishman without giving offence either to the Whigs or the Tories; nor had any Englishman then living shown that he possessed the military skill necessary for the conduct of a campaign." Macaulay delights to expatiate on Schomberg's popularity with the English, who believed him to be "the first soldier in Europe, since Turenne and Condé were gone." Burnet says that letters from England to the Prince pressed him very earnestly to bring Marshal Schomberg, "both because of the great reputation he was in, and because they thought it was a security to the Prince's person, and to the whole design, to have with him another general to whom all would submit in case of any dismal accident." The Prince was most happy to send for Schomberg, who accepted the second command with alacrity. The Princess also commissioned him to take the command under her authority if her beloved husband should fall. The French refugees in

^{*} The Ellis Correspondence. Letters to John Ellis, Esq., Secretary at Dublin to the Commissioners for the Revenue of Ireland. Two volumes. Edited by Lord Dover.

Holland volunteered in great numbers, and were formed into companies both of cavalry and infantry.

It is well known how storms and uncertain winds kept men's minds on the rack of anxiety. Timid counsels were the most dangerous obstacles, and it required all the constancy of the Prince, and all the reputation of Schomberg to preserve unanimity and co-operation. At last we find them at anchor at Torbay, and the Prince of Orange and Marshal Schomberg mounted on horses furnished by the villagers of Broxholme, and marking out an encampment for the soldiers. This was on Monday the 5th of November 1688, a day set apart in the country for thanksgiving on account of our ancient deliverance from a Popish plot; and strikingly appropriate for the public thanksgiving which the troops of the great champion of Protestantism offered up for their safe landing on our shore. Schomberg again rode by the side of William at the famous entry into Exeter on the Friday following.

The feelings of the patriots of England are described in the rhymes of Daniel Defoe; and the following quotation from his "True-Born Englishman" is appropriate here:—

"Schomberg the ablest soldier of his age,
With great Nassau, did in our cause engage;
Both join'd for England's rescue and defence,
The greatest Captain and the greatest Prince.
With what applause his stories did we tell!
Stories which Europe's Volumes largely swell!
We counted him an Army in our aid,
Where *he* commanded, no man was afraid.
His actions with a constant conquest shine
From Villa-Viciosa to the Rhine."

One of these lines seems to have been borrowed from De Luzancy's more poetical prose:—"The name of Schomberg alone was an army."

At Exeter the surrounding peasantry offered to take up arms, and many regiments might have been enrolled. But Schomberg said that he thought little of soldiers fresh from the plough, and that if the expedition did not succeed without such help it would not succeed at all. William concurred. They had brought a respectable army. And Lord Cornbury, eldest son of the Earl of Clarendon, set an example, which was followed by numbers, of leaving King James, and joining the ranks of the Prince of Orange. On the 19th of November the former was at Salisbury, while the latter was at Exeter. William earnestly desired that there should be no bloodshed, that no Englishmen might resent his coming as the cause of mourning in their families. That was one reason why James wished an engagement to be brought about. Schomberg was told that the enemy were advancing, and were determined to fight; the old campaigner replied, "That will be just as we may choose." As some skirmishing seemed inevitable, William put the British regiments in front, for which they felt pride and gratitude. Thus James's army presented more of the appearance of foreign intruders, its van being Irish. "The Marshal de Schomberg threatened to bring most of them to their night caps without striking a blow," says a writer in the "Ellis Correspondence." No real battle took place. Hearing a rumour that the Ducal Marshal was approaching, James fled from Salisbury. The final result was, that the army of England declared that they would defend the person of the king, but would not fight against the Prince of Orange.

We pass on to the 18th of December, when William, having Schomberg beside him, drove to St James' Palace, and took up his quarters there. On the 11th of February 1689, the Princess Mary arrived; and on the 13th, the crown was accepted from the Estates of the Realm by King William III., and Queen Mary. The year, according to the style then in use, was still 1688; and it was not till the 25th of March that the year 1689 began. The descendants of the French refugees, in arranging chronological notes concerning their ancestors, must remember that the summer, which followed February 1688 (old style), was not 1688 but 1689, and also that there were only three campaigns in Ireland namely, those of 1689, 1690, and 1691.

On the 3rd of April 1689, Schomberg was made a Knight of the Garter, and was installed on the 11th, along with the Earl of Devonshire. On the 18th of April, "Frederic, Comte de Schomberg, Duc et Maréchal de France," was made Master-General of the Ordnance.* The duties of the Master-Generalship were to be discharged either personally or by deputy; and the office was to be held (*habendum, tenendum, gaudendum, occupandum et exercendum*) in the same manner as it had been by his predecessor George, Lord Dartmouth. He was naturalized by Act of Parliament, and was made General of all their Majesties forces, and a Privy Councillor. He was also elevated to the English Peerage, and received the titles of Baron of Teyes, Earl of Brentford, Marquis of Harwich, and Duke of Schomberg.

During this spring and the beginning of summer, he had the only days of quiet and relaxation that he was destined to spend as an English subject. A few recollections of him at this period have been preserved. Bishop Burnet told him of his plan to leave behind him a history of his own times. "Let me advise you," said the old soldier, "never to meddle with the relation of military details. Some literary men affect to tell their story in all the terms of war, and commit great errors that expose them to the scorn of all officers, who must despise narratives having blunders in every part of them, and yet pretending to minute accuracy." The Right Reverend listener remembered the advice, and followed it. Cotemporaries† preserved the following reminiscences of Schomberg, applicable to this date:—"He was of a middle stature, well proportioned, fair complexioned, a very sound hardy man of his age, and sat a horse the best of any man. As he loved always to be neat in his clothes, so he was ever pleasant in his conversation, of which this repartee is an instance. He was walking in St James's Park amidst crowds of the young and gay, and being asked what a man of his age had to do with such company, he replied, 'A good general makes his retreat as late as he can.'"

In the House of Commons he was highly eulogized. The debate about voting him a grant of money (which led to the king undertaking to make a grant of £100,000) has been preserved. 1689, April 24th. Sir Robert Howard began, "The Duke of Schomberg, one of the greatest captains in the world, under His Majesty the then Prince of Orange, had his estates and pension all seized in France, and he has waived all things in this world to serve you and his religion. He has been solicited by the Duke of Brandenburg, and by the emperor, to be their general. He has quitted all to serve this king and kingdom; hither he comes, and the king is not in a condition to reward him, otherwise than with the honour of the Knight of the Garter. The king's condition is not equal to his desires to reward him. There cannot be a greater misfortune than to lose such a captain, I hope the House will do something for his fortune, as the king has done for his honour."

Mr Garroway said, "I have as high esteem as any body for Marshal Schomberg. Though we have no present use for him, yet we may have. But how to raise money upon the people, and have it immediately given to Marshal Schomberg, I know not that precedent."

Sir John Guise suggested, "If you declare those who assist King James rebels and traitors, I doubt not but that the King, out of their estates, will give a reward to Marshal Schomberg for his service."

Mr Harbord said, "The king told me that he had told Marshal Schomberg that he being not in ability to gratify him, he would recommend him to the consideration of this House; and I doubt not you will be able to find out on Monday some way to do it."

Sir Thomas Lee remarked, "You are told by Harbord that the king has had Marshal Schomberg under his consideration. I am surprised that the motion was not earlier. I remember when there were great commendations of General Monk here for what he had done; then the methods were these, the king gave him rewards and lands, and the parliament confirmed them afterwards. I would have it from the hand it ought, and I hope the crown will

* The first compiler of the list of Masters-General must have written "*Duc de Schomberg*" indistinctly. Hence the name appears in some lists as "David Schomberg."

† Boyer's History of William III.; Story's Wars of Ireland.

be maintained always in that plenty as to be able to do it. It will be best for the Marshal and the best for you."

Sir Christopher Musgrave interposed, "I have a great honour for Marshal Schomberg, but you are out of the way, if you put the question that we take upon us to recompense him for his service. That is a prerogative of the king only. We are only to enable the king to gratify such persons. I move for the order of the day."

Sir Henry Goodricke observed, "This house is possessed of the great merit of this gentleman as all the Protestants of Europe are; but to lay this debate aside now, I am against it. I would have it in your books to acknowledge this gentleman's great service to the king, and to enable the king to settle a grateful acknowledgment on this great man."

Mr Hampden, junr., concurred, adding, "Ireland is not to be reduced without a general; and this is the greatest general in Europe; he is used to conquer kingdoms. Portugal by him was restored to the rightful owner. You will use him for Ireland." The debate was adjourned.

Lord Macaulay translates into his own pictorial language the testimonies of that summer. "Schomberg had wonderfully succeeded in obtaining the affection and esteem of the English nation. He was regarded by all Protestants as a confessor, who had endured everything short of martyrdom for the truth. The preference given to him, over English captains, was justly ascribed to his virtues and his abilities. He was a citizen of the world, had travelled over all Europe, had commanded armies on the Meuse, on the Ebro, on the Tagus, had shone in the splendid circles of Versailles, and had been in high favour at the court of Berlin. He had often been taken by French noblemen for a French nobleman. He had passed some time in England, spoke English remarkably well, accommodated himself easily to English manners, and was often seen walking in the Park with English companions. At fourscore he retained a strong relish for innocent pleasures; he conversed with great courtesy and sprightliness; nothing could be in better taste than his equipages and his table; and every cornet of cavalry envied the grace and dignity with which the veteran appeared in Hyde Park on his charger at the head of his regiment."

The Duke was Colonel of the First or Royal Regiment of Foot. But he raised a cavalry regiment composed of French Refugee gentlemen, which was peculiarly his regiment. The aged Marquis de Ruvigny co-operated with him and also raised three infantry regiments of Huguenot refugees for the campaign in Ireland.

Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, still acknowledged James as their king. Ulster was for William and Mary, but was unable to contend with the other provinces, who introduced Popish garrisons into many of its fortresses. Derry shut its gates against the Jacobites, and became the Thermopylæ of the North of Ireland. One of the first acts of Schomberg as Commander-in-chief was to send to that glorious town relief under the command of Major-General Kirke.

At length Schomberg himself was appointed to take the command in Ireland. And about the 15th of July (1689) he paid a memorable visit to the English House of Commons.

Sir Henry Capel acquainted the House "that the Duke of Schomberg desired to have the honour to wait upon the House, he being just going in the service of the crown on the Expedition to Ireland. His merit was great, and the king had rewarded it like a king."

The Duke of Schomberg, being then introduced, sat down, covered, in a chair placed for him towards the middle of the House, where having continued some time, (the serjeant-at-arms with the mace standing at his right hand), he rose, and uncovered made a brief speech:—"Mr Speaker, I have desired this honour to make my just acknowledgment for the great favours I have received from this House, and doubt not but to find the effects of it in His Majesty's grace and favour. I also would take my leave of this honourable House, being now going to Ireland, where I shall freely expose my life in the king's service and yours."

The Speaker (Mr Henry Powell, Member for Windsor) replied, "My lord, the services that have been done by your Grace to their Majesties and this kingdom are so great, that they can never be forgotten. I am therefore commanded by this House to acquaint you that they

are extremely satisfied that their Majesties' army has been committed to Your Grace's conduct. This House doth likewise assure Your Grace that, at what distance soever you are, they will have a particular regard (as much as in them lies) of whatever may concern Your Grace or the army under your command."

The Duke, from the first, found his greatest enemy in the English Commissariat. The Stewart dynasty had left all the public offices in a state of demoralization, the officials plundering to enrich themselves, and sacrificing the power and honour of their country. He arrived at Chester on the 20th of July. "He was very uneasy," says Oldmixon, a contemporary chronicler, "at the dilatory proceedings of the managers of both shipping and provisions, and proposed that the forces should march overland to Scotland, and embark at Port-Patrick, from whence it was a short passage over to Ireland, and it would have saved two or three months' time.* This was opposed, as was every other measure that tended to the suppression of King James's party, by those who had deserted him in his distress, and pretended a great zeal for King William's interest and honour." At length the Duke sailed from Highlake near Chester, accompanied by transports conveying 10,000 troops. Luttrell notes the day and the hour, the 12th of August at four in the morning. And with this the memoranda of a member of the expedition agree, the Rev. George Story, Chaplain to Sir Thomas Gower's Regiment. Mr Story published his papers under the title, "An Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland from the time that Duke Schonberg landed with an army in that kingdom to the 23d of March 1691-2, when their Majesties' Proclamation was published declaring the War to be ended." What remains to be recorded concerning the great Captain-General I shall compile from that publication, borrowing also some of Lord Macaulay's observations, and not refusing contributions from other sources.

The expedition anchored in Belfast Lough, and the troops landed at Groomsport near Bangor in the County of Down. "They lay upon their arms," says Story, "all night, having frequent alarms of the enemy's approach, but nothing extraordinary happened. Next day, being Wednesday the 14th, the Duke continued still encamped, and the garrison of Carrickfergus, apprehending a siege, burnt their suburbs." On Thursday the Duke sent a party of about two hundred and fifty men, commanded by Sir Charles Fielding, to see what posture the enemy was in about Belfast; they returned with information that Belfast was abandoned, and Colonel's Wharton's regiment was sent to take possession of it. On Friday, Lieut.-Colonel Caulfield and three hundred men of the Earl of Drogheda's Regiment were despatched to Antrim, and found that town also deserted by the enemy. On Saturday Schomberg took the army to Belfast. On Tuesday and Wednesday following twelve regiments of foot were sent to begin the siege of Carrickfergus, where the Irish garrison was commanded by Major-General Mackarty Moore.

The garrison held out gallantly till Tuesday the 27th August at six in the morning, when they capitulated, the terms being "to march out with their arms and some baggage, and to be conducted with a guard to the next Irish garrison," namely, the Duke of Berwick's head-quarters at Newry. At the very time that the parly terminated, Colonel Wharton finding the breach in the wall immensely increased, was preparing to enter the town. "The Duke," says Story, "sent to command his men to forbear firing, which with some difficulty they agreed to, for they had a great mind to enter by force. When firing ceased on both sides several of our officers went into the town and were treated by the Irish with wine and other things in the castle. The articles were scarce agreed to, till Mackarty Moore was in the Duke's kitchen in the camp, which the Duke smiled at and did not invite him to dinner, saying, If he had staid like a soldier with his men, he would have sent to him; but if he would go and eat with servants in a kitchen, let him be doing."

The French and Irish Jacobite garrisons had been so cruel to the Ulster Protestants, that Schomberg had great difficulty in carrying out the terms of the capitulation. Ulster men, who

* The Shareholders of the Port-Patrick Railway Company should reward my insertion of this sentence by extensive purchases of my book.

had themselves been sufferers, and who feared for their families at home if such ruffians were to be at large with arms in their hands, assaulted some of the outed garrison, but were restrained from committing murder. So infuriated were the peasants of the Presbyterian persecuted religion, that the Duke of Schomberg "was forced to ride in among them with his pistol in his hand" to prevent the Carrickfergus garrison from being murdered.

Being without horses to draw his artillery, Schomberg, who had rendezvoused his troops at Belfast on the 28th inst., marched without it and ordered it to be sent by sea. His route was Lisburn, Hillsborough, Dromore, and Loughbrickland. At the latter place the Enniskillen Horse and Dragoons joined him, and formed his van, till the army came within sight of Newry. This town was observed to be in flames, the Duke of Berwick having set it on fire before retreating from it, as he had done to other places. Schomberg sent a trumpeter to Berwick with the threat that no quarter would be given, if this barbarous burning was continued. Berwick consequently, on retiring from Dundalk, left it uninjured. On the 7th September Schomberg halted there to wait for his artillery, which was to be landed at Carlingford. It had not arrived on Saturday, the 14th of September; and in the meantime King James' generals and his royal Bourbon ally had assembled a force of 28,000, which encamped at Ardee. Schomberg, with greatly inferior numbers, would not risk a battle. He knew the deficiencies of his own army, and had no reason to doubt that his Franco-Hibernian opponents would be better able to do their duty in a field of battle.

"On this (Saturday) evening," says Story, "it was given out in orders that none that went foraging should pass the Horse out-guards; and that the Horse might cut wood for their stables, and also the Foot, for their conveniency; so that this was the first public appearance of our staying here. . . . In two or three days most of the wood about the town, as also most of the fruit-trees in my Lord Bedloe's orchard, were cut down."

In choosing his camp, the Duke of Schomberg may be liable to criticism for not discovering that the situation was unhealthy. It was selected for the purposes of defence, on low ground, having the sea to the South, hills and bogs to the North, mountains to the East, and Dundalk and its river on the West. Part of the unhealthiness arose from the unforeseen circumstance of an unusually rainy autumn. As to the advantages of the situation, a hint is to be found in the Duke's despatch, dated 20th September, "Having gone this morning to find my son, Count Schomberg, who was pretty near the videttes of the enemy, we saw a body of cavalry advance which did not march in squadron, and which appeared to be King James or several general officers. From thence they could see our camp; but I believe the sight which most displeased them was the arrival of eleven vessels in the road of Dundalk, from which they might judge that they could not starve us here, as they hoped to have done."*

The soldiers were impatient at inaction, in the midst of privation and disease. But the majority were fighting men, only in name. In Schomberg's opinion, his French regiments were the best. "Others can inform your Majesty," he wrote on the 12th October, 1689, "that the three regiments of French infantry, and their regiment of cavalry do their duty better than the others." The Enniskilleners had learned to fight though they preferred to plunder. The Dutch knew how to keep their tents dry and clean, and if the English soldiers had condescended to copy them, they need not have sickened and died in such numbers. But the numerous English and Irish recruits had to learn how to fire a gun; to learn to take an aim required more time. Officers, as well as privates, had to be drilled and instructed; and many of them were very unwilling to give regular attendance. So that Schomberg, when such men clamoured to be led into action, good-humouredly said, "We English have stomach enough for fighting. It is a pity that we are not as fond of some other parts of a soldier's business." This anecdote is from Macaulay. The same anecdote, or a similar one, is told by Mr Story thus: "The General said one day when he came to the camp and found that the soldiers had not huddled according to orders, *We Englishmen will fight, but we do not love to work*; (for he used to call himself an Englishman, for all he loved the French so well)."

* Despatch, No. 4.

The defensive warfare of this campaign is well pictured in Story's book. "Monday, Sept. 16th, Six Hundred men were ordered to work at the trenches, which the Duke saw then convenient to draw round his camp, since he had an enemy that was too strong for him very near, and therefore he must put it out of their power to force him to fight; for woe be to that army which by an enemy is made to fight against its will! And this is the advantage of an entrenched camp that none can compel you to give battle but when you please."

"Saturday, Sept. 21st., about nine in the morning (it being a very fine clear day) our camp was alarmed. The enemy displayed their Standard-Royal (for the late king was at the head of his army, having come to the camp some days before), and all drew out, both horse and foot, bringing along a very handsome field train. . . . The Duke went out to observe them, and sent for Colonel Beaumont's regiment, into the trenches beyond the town, and about an hour after for Colonel Earl's. It was reported that several great officers were for fighting, and wished the Duke to send for the horse, who were most of them gone foraging as far as Carlingford; but his answer was, *Let them alone, we will see what they will do.* He received several fresh accounts that the enemy advanced, and always bid, *Let them alone.* . . . Our gunners sent from the works to see if they might fire amongst the enemy, who by this time were within cannon-shot; but the Duke would not suffer it, except they came within musket-shot of our trenches. He observed the enemy's motions and postures, and said, he saw no sign of their designing to fight; only once they drew their army into two lines as if they would fight, and then he sent Lieutenant-General Douglas to order all the foot to stand to their arms; and he sent to the horse, that upon the firing of three pieces of cannon they should return to the camp, but till then to go on with their foraging. Meantime the Duke, as if there was no fear of danger (for he used to say that it was not in their power to make him fight but when he pleased) alighted from his horse, and sat him down upon a little hill, where he seemed to sleep for some time. . . . About two o'clock, when the enemy began to draw off, the Duke sent orders for the soldiers to return to their tents."

"The orders were that night, that none should forage, nor stir out of the camp next day; and that the brigades, that did not mount the guards, should be exercised at firing at a mark when it was fair weather (as it was very seldom), for the Duke knew that most of his men had never been in service, and therefore he would have them taught as much as could be."

Next day the Jacobite camp was shifted nearer to Drogheda. On Monday all the French Papists in disguise, amounting to about two hundred foot soldiers enrolled in the Huguenot regiments, having been detected were shipped off, except six ring-leaders who were hanged on Thursday the 26th. If the Duke had given battle on the 21st., they would have then gone over to the enemy.

"The weather for two or three days proved pretty fair and the soldiers were exercised with firing at marks, but it was observable that a great many of the new men, who had match-locks, had so little skill in placing of their matches true, that scarce one of them in four could fire their pieces off; and those that did, thought they had done a feat if the gun fired, never minding what they shot at." (page 24).

The two following extracts from Schomberg's Despatches * justify his management of the campaign:—"Dundalk, 6th October. It appears to me that your Majesty is of opinion that we should push the enemy, before this army perishes by diseases, or the succours arrive which the enemy expect from France. I should desire much to do the things which your Majesty is so eager for. I would have willingly marched to-morrow. But your Majesty will see by the opinion of the General Officers that all the army is without shoes, that it could not march two days without one half being barefooted, and that thus it is necessary to wait till shoes come from England, where Mr Harbord has sent for them. . . . The provision waggons are

* Sir John Dalrymple in an Appendix of his "Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland," gives extracts from these Despatches. These (in the original French, the spelling only being modernized) I shall transcribe into the Appendix of this volume. Each Despatch shall be numbered for the purpose of comparison with the translations quoted in the text.

all arrived, and their horses are in a very bad state. Shales says that he was obliged to make use of them at Chester, because he could not find any to hire. I have already said that he did not even take care to embark one hundred and twenty artillery horses which are still left there.* “Dundalk 8th October. I am uneasy to venture your army against one which is (as all the world here knows) at least double the number of ours, of which a part is disciplined and pretty well armed, and hitherto better nourished with bread, meat, and beer than ours. But what is still more annoying is, that the colonels who have lately raised their regiments, and particularly the Irish lords, thought of nothing but to enrol boys at a cheap rate. I clearly foresaw this when their commissions were given them, and I spoke of it to your Majesty at the meeting of the committee for Irish affairs; but Lord Halifax’s advice was followed rather than mine. . . . Without enhancing my services, or taking any account of the chagrins which I have suffered, it is not without difficulty that I have come here and kept my ground, almost without bread.”† Burnet says:—“Schomberg had not the supplies from England that were promised him. Much treachery or ravenousness appeared in many who were employed. And he, finding his numbers so unequal to the Irish, resolved to lie on the defensive. . . . If he had pushed matters and had met with a misfortune, his whole army and consequently all Ireland would have been lost; for he could not have made a regular retreat. The sure game was to preserve his army; and that would save Ulster, and keep matters entire for another year. This was censured by some. Better judges thought the managing this campaign as he did was one of the greatest parts of his life.” “He obliged the enemy,” says Harris, “to quit the province of Ulster. The North of Ireland was thus secured for winter quarters.” “By skilful temporizing,” says Professor Weiss, “he contrived in some sort to create an Orange territory, and so to prepare the great victory of the following year.” Whatever praise is due as to this campaign, Schomberg earned it all. The officers of the army had been demoralized under the Stewart’s unpatriotic rule, and so had the officials of the commissariat. Peculation and embezzlement were the business and object of their lives, which some of the officers but partially atoned for by flashes of bellicose impetuosity and English pluck. Soldiers and ammunition were sacrificed to the thoughtlessness and laziness of officers who did not look after them; and those who ought to have been the Duke of Schomberg’s co-adjutors were practically spies and enemies in his camp. Abundance of criticism as the slow growth of after-thought was often forthcoming at his side, or behind his back, but he was favoured with no suggestive counsel as the ripe fruit of experienced forethought and military education. “Hitherto,” he says in his despatch from Carrickfergus, 27th Aug. 1689,‡ “I have been obliged to take upon myself all the burden of the provisions, the vessels, the artillery, the cavalry, all the payments, and all the detail of the siege.” And although he found officers to accept rank and pay, the work was done as before. Mr Story testifies, “He had the whole shock of affairs upon himself, which was the occasion that he scarce ever went to bed till it was very late, and then had his candle, with book and pencil, by him. This would have confounded any other man.”

The ringleader of intestine traitors was Mr Henry Shales, the Purveyor-General. When his villainies came to light, intelligent Englishmen ceased to find fault with Schomberg. The House of Commons was roused. “Mr Walker, Colonel and Minister in Londonderry,” writes Oldmixon, “gave information that the miscarriages were owing chiefly to the neglect of Mr Shales, Purveyor-General to the army, by whose default Duke Schomberg had waited for artillery, horses, and carriages, above a month, that the soldiers had all along been almost without bread, the horses without shoes and provender, and the surgeons without proper medicines for the sick. Upon which the Parliament addressed the king, that the said Shales be forthwith taken into custody, and all his accounts, papers and stores secured.” The king replied on the 20th November that, having been previously informed of “Captain Shales’s misdemeanours,” he had anticipated the request of the House, having already written to the Duke of Schomberg to put him under arrest. This was done, and Shales was arrested and disgraced.

The misconduct in all departments of the commissariat had also defrauded Schomberg of

* Despatch, No. 8.

† Despatch, No. 9.

‡ Despatch, No. 3

the necessary time for doing anything considerable before winter. A Pamphlet, entitled "The Last Year's Transactions Vindicated," which goes over William's first year under English skies, from 5th November 1688 to 5th November 1689, lucidly sets forth how impossible it was to do much for Ireland in that first year of transition. "Their Majesties," says the writer, "were proclaimed on the 13th February (1689), and the first Money-Bill was not passed in parliament till the 21st March; nor did it amount to the half of the arrears due to the Army and Navy, and other necessary debts. The next supply was that of the Poll Bill, passed the 1st of May, which for some months thereafter was not all got into the Exchequer, and fell far short of the Parliament's estimation of it. Now, notwithstanding all this slowness in coming in of money, his Majesty shewed his earnestness to relieve Ireland to that height as to order ammunition and provision to be sent to Londonderry even before he was proclaimed king (which supply came in good time); and thereafter within two weeks after his accession, he ordered another supply of forces to be sent (which miscarried and unhappily returned). His Majesty applied himself in the meantime to send over a greater force under Major-General Kirk, which were shipped for Ireland in May. . . . While these forces were on their way for relief of Londonderry, his Majesty was incessantly giving orders to his army to march from all places of England to Chester and Liverpool, in order to their transportation under the command of the Duke of Schomberg. In spite of a thousand discouragements not to be here named, the General took journey for Chester on the 17th of July, and after having taken time to review and give necessary orders for his army, he set sail on the 12th of August, and landed at Bangor the next day, having some days before despatched four other ships with provisions for Londonderry. Here we are come to the latter end of August in an account of the affairs of Ireland, and pray what more could have been done all this time, considering the circumstances we lay under? After the landing of the army, the first action Duke Schomberg fell upon was the making himself master of Carrickfergus and of the country about, which he accordingly effected. As to the rest of his conduct there, we have all the reason in the world to believe that so great a General knows well on what grounds he has gone; and the event will prove how much it will conduce to the happy determination of the affairs of Ireland, that the General delayed to enter into any further action the last summer, and that he has put his army in winter-quarters."

Schomberg also discharged the duties of a chief Governor of Ireland. He found under the nominal monarchy and real martial law of James the Second that desolation reigned, towns and villages were crumbling to ruin, trade and traders were paralyzed. But the historian, surveying the state of the northern province at the date of the army going into winter-quarters, could report a welcome change. "Ulster now enjoyed comparative tranquillity. Since the arrival of Schomberg the inhabitants had begun to return to their homes, security and good order were generally restored, and the usual occupations were resumed in the towns and throughout the country."* The Protestant clergy, the majority of whom were Presbyterians, returned from their retirement or from exile. With regard to the latter ministers of Ulster, the king gave to their deputies, the Rev. Patrick Adair, the Rev. John Abernethy, and Colonel Arthur Upton, the following royal letter to be delivered to the Duke:—

"To our Right Trusty and Right Entirely Beloved Cousin and Councillor, Frederick, Duke of Schomberg, General of our Land Forces.

"Right Trusty and Right Entirely Beloved Cousin and Councillor, we greet you well. Whereas some ministers of the Presbyterian persuasion have humbly besought us in behalf of themselves, their brethren, and their congregations in the province of Ulster in our kingdom of Ireland, that We would take them under our gracious protection, and as an assurance thereof that We would please to recommend them to you or other our Chief Governor or Chief Governors of our kingdom for the time being—and We being entirely satisfied of the loyalty and fidelity of our said subjects, and commiserating the sufferings and calamities they have of late lain under, which We are desirous to put an end to as far as We can contribute towards it, We have thought

* Reid's History of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, Vol. II., p. 375.

fit to grant their request, and accordingly We do hereby recommend to you in a particular manner the said ministers and their congregations, requiring you to give them that protection and support that their affection to our service does deserve, and to shew them all fitting countenance that they may live in tranquillity and unmolested under our government, And so we bid you very heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 9th day of November 1689, in the first year of our reign.

“This is a true copy of the Letter written to the Duke of Schomberg.

SHREWSBURY.”*

The Jacobite army was the first to go into winter quarters. Schomberg followed their example, sending the sick by sea, and taking the body of his army by land to Lisburn as headquarters, and to the surrounding towns and villages. He had still to defend himself against unfavourable criticism. He wrote to his sovereign from Lisburn, 27th Dec. 1689, “I have made many reflections on what your Majesty had the goodness to write to me on the 20th, and without tiring you with the state of my indisposition, I can assure you that my desire to go to England arises only from that cause, and the physicians’ opinion that the air and the hot waters will cure me of the ailment which my son informed you of. There are people in England who believe that I make use of this ailment as a pretence; that is not true. I confess, Sir, that, without the profound submission which I have for your Majesty’s will, I would prefer the honour of being permitted to be near your person to the command of an army in Ireland, composed as that of last campaign was. If I had risked a battle, I might have lost all that you have in this kingdom, not to speak of the consequences which would have followed in Scotland, and even in England. . . . What most repels me from the service here is that I see by the past it would be difficult for the future to content the parliament and the people, who are prepossessed with the notion that any English soldier, even a boy recruit [qu’un soldat bouy que nouvellement levé], can beat above six of the enemy.”†

Not only as a soldier and a tactician, but as a disinterested man, old Schomberg was pre-eminent. He could say to the king, from Lisburn, 30th Dec., “I have saved you since I came here, £3000 on the artillery, and the same sum on the contingent money, as the accounts indicate. As I do not love to pillage, I do what I can to prevent others, who think of nothing else.” He also did a great act of self-denial. The troops were in want of their pay, and he at once offered his grant of £100,000 ‡ for the purpose, thus sacrificing his hopes of retiring to a snug mansion and plentiful estate. He wrote to the king from Lisburn, 7th March 1690, “At this distant quarter I ought not to enter into the question, whence arises this want of money. I am astonished that in London, among those who have so much, none should be found to offer to lend it to your Majesty. I would not presume to act ostentatiously, but if I had in my hands the hundred thousand pounds your Majesty has done me the grace to bestow upon me, I would deliver them to the person you might appoint for the payment of the army.” § The loan was accepted, and the interest was fixed at four per cent; and £100,000 was paid to the troops. It appears from documents connected with this business, that Schomberg had the rank of Captain-General in the English army.

Lord Macaulay concurs with those who believe that “not even in the full tide of success had Schomberg so well deserved the admiration of mankind,” as in the campaign of 1689. “It may be doubted,” the historian observes, whether there ever existed a human being whose mind was quite as finely toned at 80 as at 40. But that Schomberg’s intellectual powers had been little impaired by years is sufficiently proved by his Despatches, which are still extant, (see Appendix) and which are models of official writing, terse, perspicuous, full of important facts

* An Historical Essay upon the Loyalty of the Presbyterians, printed in the year 1713, page 396.

† Despatch, No. 13.

‡ It appears that the Parliament voted him £20,000 in acknowledgment of his devotion in coming over with the Prince of Orange, and this was probably paid to him. The king further promised him £100,000 to be invested by trustees in the purchase of land in England.

§ Despatch, No. 20.

and weighty reasons, compressed into the smallest possible number of words." Sir John Dalrymple says, "They clear Schomberg of the imputation of inactivity which has been unjustly charged upon him, and do honour to the talents of a man who wrote with the elegant simplicity of Cæsar, and to whose reputation and conduct, next to those of King William, the English nation owes the Revolution."

"The Protestant Nobility, Clergy, and Commonalty" of the Province of Ulster expressed their gratitude to the Duke through a deputation, consisting of Lord Blayney, Sir John Magill, the Dean of Down (Dr John MacNeal), the Dean of Clogher (Dr John Wilkins), Francis Hill, Esq., John Hawkins, Esq., Charles Stewart, Esq., Robert Donnelson, Esq., James Hamilton of Tullymor, Esq., Daniel MacNeal, Esq., and Randal Brice, Esq. These memorialists presented a Petition, shewing "That your Petitioners, with all imaginable gratitude, are highly sensible of, and truly thankful for, your Grace's indefatigable labour, hazard, toil, and trouble in restoring, securing, and protecting the Protestant interest of this Province." Their petition was, that as the community was "ready to contribute their utmost advice and assistance," they might hold meetings to consult and consider fitting expedients to be offered to the Duke. Schomberg accepted the petition, and replied to it in writing:—"His Grace readily consents to what is desired by the Petitioners, and is willing to receive any advice they shall be pleased to offer for the security of this Province, and the farther successful management of the war against the common enemy.—Signed by order, ROBERT GORGE, *Secretary*."

The campaign of 1690 began with the taking of Charlemont, the last fortress in Jacobite hands in Ulster. The carrying of war into the south was delayed till June, when William himself came over to take the chief command. There is extant (and now printed in the "Ulster Journal," vol. i., p. 59) an order from the Duke of Schomberg, dated at Lisburn 8th January 1689* (*i.e.* 1690, new style) directing Godfrey Richards, Purveyor, to buy in England "a quantity of good, clean, dry, wholesome oats" for their Majesties' artillery.

I have the original of another order of Schomberg's of this period. In case it has not been printed, I copy it here:—

"Whereas we have rec^d information that a Parcell of Hay bought by Godfry Richards, Purveyor to the Trayne of Artillery, from Mr Whiteside of Mylone and others is detained and refused to be delivered by some officer or others of the army quartered there, These are to direct and require the said officers or others quartered there or any two of them forthwith to repaire to our head-quarters to shew their reasons for their detaining the said Hay, or forthwith to deliver it to the said Godfry Richards or his order as they will answer to the contrary at their peril. Given at Lisburne the 18th of Nov^r. 1689. SCHONBERG.

"P.S.—Notwithstanding the said Hay be delivered, they or any two of them are to repair to our head-quarters to give an acco^t. by what authority they are there quartered."

The king landed at Carrickfergus, on Saturday June 14th. He immediately drove off to Belfast in the Duke of Schomberg's carriage, which was sent for him. He was joined by the old Captain-General at a solitary white house, on the shore, by the estuary of the Laggan. According to the loyal veteran's arrangements, guns were fired from post to post on the road, as the carriage came in sight, until the Castle of Belfast in its turn fired a royal salute, and His Majesty arrived in the town. There on Sunday the 15th, the King's chaplain, Dr Royse, preached before the Court and staff on the text, "Who through faith subdued kingdoms," (Hebrews xi. 33). Schomberg introduced Dr. Walker, Minister and One of the Governors of Derry, at the head of a Protestant Deputation.

The army was assembled at Loughbrickland. On the 24th of June, the march southward commenced. The king, who by letter had twice pressed Schomberg to fight the enemy during the last campaign, was determined to give battle without delay, and in a way that should astound the natives, and create a sensation among all the newsmongers of the three kingdoms.

* A not uncommon (but provoking) blunder was founded upon this by a writer in the "Ulster Journal," namely, that King William was in Ireland *in the summer of 1689*!!

But it must be remembered that His Majesty was at the head of a finer army, superior both in numbers and discipline, a large portion of whom had been entirely trained by the Duke of Schomberg and kept together by that Duke's money.

When on the 30th June they came in sight of the valley of the Boyne, the army halted. The enemy were on the opposite side of the stream. William resolved to make Oldbridge, on the banks of the river, his centre, and to charge straight forward through the water upon the enemy, and to do so the very next day. At first the Duke of Schomberg, at a council held at nine o'clock at night, opposed such precipitation; but, submitting to the king's wishes, he made this suggestion: "Send part of the army, both horse and foot, this very night towards Slane Bridge, and so get between the enemy and the Pass of Duleek." The suggestion was favourably received, but was rejected by a majority of votes, whereupon the Duke retired to his tent. The order of battle was sent to him soon afterwards, and, with some tokens of vexation, he remarked: "This is the first time an order of battle was sent to me." The next morning, however, he entered upon his command, as second to the king, with great vivacity, and conspicuously displaying his blue ribbon of the Order of the Garter. It might, however, have been guessed, that if he could only see his master victorious, he would choose to die in the battle, suspecting, as he did, that some of his comrades were bent on destroying his influence with his prince.

Schomberg gave the word of command. The cavalry plunged into the water. To the left the Marquis de Ruvigny's younger son, Lord de la Caillelotte, led on the Huguenot infantry. It was some time before the enemy could face the English and Dutch cavalry. When at last the Irish cavalry charged, they made their strongest effort against the Huguenot line, which had not been provided with defensive weapons of sufficient length. The gallant Le Caillelotte was carried off mortally wounded, and, at the same time, encouraging his men who were wading through water that reached to their breasts. And now (to borrow Lord Macaulay's description) "Schomberg who had remained on the northern bank, and who had watched the progress of his troops with the eye of a general, thought that the emergency required from him the personal exertion of a soldier. Those who stood about him besought him in vain to put on his cuirass. Without defensive armour he rode through the river, and rallied the refugees whom the fall of Caillelotte had dismayed. 'Come on,' he said in French pointing to the Popish squadrons; 'come on, gentlemen, there are your persecutors.'" [Allons, messieurs, voila vos persecuteurs.] These were his last words. As he spoke, a band of Irish horse rushed upon him, and encircled him for a moment. When they retired he was on the ground. His friends raised him, but he was already a corpse. Two sabre wounds were on his head, and a bullet from a carbine was lodged in his neck."

The body of Schomberg was embalmed and put in a leaden coffin. The preparations for embalming were equivalent to a *post mortem* examination, and they proved him to be in perfect health and soundness, like a man in his bodily prime. It was announced that he would be buried in Westminster Abbey; but after the victory of the Boyne, Dublin, having been evacuated by James and receiving William peaceably and loyally, had the honour of enshrining the hero's ashes. He was buried beneath the altar in St Patrick's Cathedral.

That the Irish Romanists regarded him as an object of aversion is not to be wondered at. When La Caillelotte summoned the garrison of Charlemont to surrender to the Duke of Schomberg, Governor Teague O'Regan replied: "The Duke is an old knave, and, by St Patrick, he sha'n't have the town at all." A ridiculous attempt was made to brand him as a fiery zealot. A friar was brought to the Jacobite court at Dublin, pretending to be dumb. The story was that Duke Schomberg had caused his tongue to be cut out, to put an end to his propagating a false religion, and had declared that he would serve all the Popish clergy, regular and secular, in the same way. The fraud was exposed by King James himself, who had been asked to repeat the process upon Protestant ministers.

Pastor Du Bosc's biographer thus expresses the tribute which was universally paid to the great Schomberg:—"That hero could not better crown such a glorious life than by dying in

the arms of victory, fighting in the causé of the best prince in the world, in whose court he had been brought up. Yet the pastor could not help shedding tears at the loss of so great a man, who deserved to live for ever." Professor Weiss happily represents the same sentiments. He says: "Everywhere he justified the confidence he inspired by the most irreproachable loyalty, by the rare constancy of his opinions, by his courage and military skill, and by all those chivalrous qualities which our modern civilization daily effaces, and has not yet replaced." It has been said that on hearing of Schomberg's death, the king took the chief command and shouted, "Let the King of kings be king, and I will be general." We more than hesitate to accept this tradition, because the king from the day of his joining the army in Ireland had assumed the chief command. But there can be no doubt that the king was impressed with the calamity, and fully concurred in Luzancy's reflection upon it, "Heroes seem to have a title to life, and though they have run a long course of years, their death is always surprising and untimely. Misson says, "The Duke of Schomberg, who was one of the first that passed the river, and who was very far engaged among the enemy, was miserably murdered by a party of Horse that happened to know him. Thus died one of the most illustrious Generals and most excellent men of these times, at a very advanced age, to the great sorrow of the king."

Mr Story, having spoken of the losses on our side and on the enemy's, proceeds thus:—"All this was nothing in respect of Duke Schomberg, who was more considerable than all who were lost on both sides; whom his very enemies always called a brave man and a great General. I have heard several reasons given for the Duke's passing the river at that juncture; but doubtless his chief design was to encourage the French whom he had always loved, and to rectify some mistakes that he might see at a distance. However 'twas, this I am certain of, that we never knew the value of him till we really lost him, which often falls out in such cases. And since it was in our quarrel that he lost his life, we cannot too much honour his memory, which will make a conspicuous figure in history whilst the world lasts. He was certainly a man of the best education in the world, and knew men and things beyond most of his time, being courteous and civil to everybody, and yet had something always that looked so great in him, that he commanded respect from men of all qualities and stations."

At Belfast the Duke had listened to Dr. Roys's sermon. The preacher had endeavoured to animate both officers and soldiers to place their confidence in God, by using the scriptural language, "when you pass through the waters He shall be with you, and through the rivers they shall not overflow you." Although, according to the sound of the words, the promise might seem to have failed the heroic warrior and confessor in his last battle, yet that in its true meaning it was realised by him we cannot doubt. He was in the 82d year of his age, and for at least sixty years he had thought deeply over his open Bible.

The first Duke of Schomberg had five sons:—

1. FREDERICK, a refugee in Germany, born in 1637 or 1638 "a resolute and understanding gentleman," says D' Ablancourt. He survived all his brothers (according to Haag). [He did not die in Dec. 1700 as had been erroneously reported to Luttrell.] He visited England in 1668 at the head of the British Auxiliaries returned from Portugal, and duly reported his and their arrival to his Britannic Majesty.

2. MAINHARDT (see a separate biography.)

3. OTHO } who were killed in the French service, as has been

4. HENRY } already recorded.

5. CHARLES (see a separate biography.)

In the confusion of those times, no monument to the first Duke was erected. His descendants justly thought that the nation should erect it, and therefore silently bore Dean Swift's upbraiding for a neglect which did not seem to be theirs. The Dean at last took the duty and privilege upon himself and upon the Chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral, who provided funds for a monument, the Dean contributing the inscription:—

"Hic infra situm est corpus Frederici, Ducis de Schomberg, ad Bubindam occisi, A.D. 1690.

Decanus et Capitulum maximopere, etiam atque etiam, petierunt ut hæredes Ducis monumentum in memoriam parentis erigendum curarent. Sed postquam per epistolas, per amicos, diu ac sæpe orando, nil profecere, hunc demum lapidum statuerunt ;—saltem ut scias, hospes, ubinam terrarum Schombergenses cineres delitescunt. Plus potuit fama virtutis apud alienos, quam sanguinis proximitas apud suos. A.D. 1731.*

This epitaph is milder than the first draft of it which is printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April 1731, and which declares that what was suggested to the Duke's heirs was "monumentum quantumvis exile,"—that the Dean and Chapter "hunc lapidem indignabundi posuerunt,"—and that the visitor now knows "quantilla in cellulâ tanti Ductoris cineres, in opprobrium hæredum, delitescunt."

II. CHARLES, SECOND DUKE OF SCHOMBERG.

"Who hath also been slaine in our service."—KING WILLIAM III.

Count Charles de Schomberg, youngest son of the Marshal, was born about 1645. Having entered the army, he is found serving with his father in Portugal. After the victory of Montesclaros, the Confederates made an irruption into Spain, and the Fort de la Garda was besieged. On the sixth day of the siege the covered way was attacked, when the Marquis of Ruvigny and Count Charles de Schomberg were the first that entered, being accompanied by a Portuguese sergeant who was immediately killed. Miners were then set to work, and the town surrendered on the 22d November 1665.

In 1663 a regiment, nominally in Portuguese pay, had been formed of "Germans of the old Imperial forces," who as Spanish auxiliaries had become Schomberg's prisoners at Evora. It was called Cleran's Regiment, after a French Colonel to whom Schomberg gave it. At the peace in 1668 Charles de Schomberg was Lieutenant-Colonel of *Cleran's*, and, like the rest of the officers and men, was incorporated with the regiment of Alsace in the army of France. During the next sixteen years he must have earned considerable advancement in the service ; and at the date of his arriving in Prussia as a refugee, his eminent qualities and reputation may be inferred from the facts that the Elector made him a major-general in his army, and gave him the governorship of Magdeburg.

Count Charles accompanied the Prince of Orange in his descent upon England. He was the first of his father's descendants to become a British subject. Accordingly, when the Marshal was enrolled in the peerage of England in acknowledgment of the "hazardous attempt to redeem this kingdom from Popery and arbitrary power," we find Charles his third surviving son declared to be his heir.

Having been enrolled in the English army, probably as a Major-General, Charles was sent to Ireland to assist in the relief of Londonderry. Rosen in his despatch to King James, dated 5th July 1689, speaks of Kirke as "waiting the arrival of three regiments of cavalry and two of infantry which are to join him under the command of Count Charles Schomberg." He threw himself into the city, and by his genius and vigour gave great assistance to the citizens. When no longer required there, he joined his father at Dundalk. He was a witness to a proof of the assertion of the General "that the Irish regiments will always throw themselves upon the first plunder." Mr Harbord took his fowling-piece one night and went on a party with Count Schomberg. Harbord fell from his horse. Five or six Enniskillen troopers began to strip and rob him, though he cried that he was the paymaster, and would give them money to carry him to the camp. A French officer, who happened to pass, recognised him, and on his testimony the troopers carried Harbord back.†

In December, Charles Schomberg went to England to give a report to the king of the state of the army. He seems now to have been lent to the Elector of Brandenburg. He is said to have commanded the Prussians at the battle of Fleurus. Professor Weiss says, "The Prussians, commanded by Charles de Schomberg, prevented Marshal Luxemburg from profiting by the bloody victory of Fleurus." This was on the 30th of June 1690.

* Graham's History (1689 to 1691). p. 368.

† Schomberg's Despatches, No. 14.

On the very next day, his noble father fell at the Battle of the Boyne. Charles thus became Duke of Schomberg; he also got the first instalment of the annuity of £4000 a-year from the English Treasury. He was in England this winter, according to Dumont de Bostaquet, who drove with him to court in the Marquis De Ruvigny's carriage.

In February 1691 our King William paid his first royal visit to his native country and dominions. The Dutch gave him a most magnificent welcome. All the splendour and honours of fêtes, firing of cannon by day and fireworks by night, triumphal arches, court-dresses, equipages and processions have been kept in memory by fifteen large engravings in the goodly folio volume published at the time by Arnout Leers of the Hague, entitled:—"Relation du Voyage de Sa Majesté Britannique en Hollande et de la Reception qui lui a été faite." In the lists of distinguished courtiers are included Dukes and Earls of England, one of whom is Le Duc Charles De Schomberg (page 87).

The grand living justification of the war with France was the ancient church of the Vaudois, or Waldenses. Louis XIV. considered it his mission to exterminate these primitive Christians. His persecution of his Huguenot subjects was held up as an example to the ruler of Piedmont, the Duke of Savoy, whose subjects the Waldenses were. The House of Savoy was not only exhorted but also compelled to persecute. Being one of the lesser powers, it could not withstand the tremendous dictation of France. The young Duke Victor Amedeo II. had succeeded his father in 1675 when he was only nine years of age. His mother, on whom the regency devolved, was a French lady of the blood royal, Francoise, daughter of Gaston, Duke of Orleans, the king's uncle. The Vaudois, cruelly banished from their valleys, succeeded in fighting their way back to them. They were aided by the money and sympathy of the Elector of Brandenburg and the Prince of Orange. The Emperor of Germany having sided with the confederacy, the Duke of Savoy had to decide whether he would have that Emperor, or the *Grand Monarque* as his enemy. France had no time to meditate any active projects against the poor Waldenses, who had long foreseen that such a war was the only real peace for them. Victor Amedeo sided with the Emperor. The allied powers succoured him. Having a genius for military affairs, he was supplied with reinforcements.

But the French, under Marshal Catinat, were on the spot to punish his defection, before the arrival of his succours from abroad. Some of the Piedmontese troops were successful against the French at Carignan and Lucerne. The enemy had difficulty in subsisting their troops, and might have had to decamp, if defensive measures had been relied on. The young Duke, however, would fight the battle of Salusses (18th Aug. 1690), in which the French gained a complete victory. Loss after loss followed, Suza being the last and most serious; that fortress surrendered to the French in November.

While the armies were in winter-quarters, President de la Tour obtained King William's substantial aid for the unhappy Duke, namely, a pecuniary subsidy of £100,000 a-year, the joint contribution of England and Holland. And in December, Charles, Duke of Schomberg, was ordered to prepare to go to Savoy in spring, at the head of a contingent of 12,000 men, to be accompanied by several Protestant chaplains, such as Arnaud, Dubourdieu, and others. He was also to raise recruits in Holland. His rank in our army at this date was Lieutenant-General.

The subjects of the Duke of Savoy were alarmingly dispirited. On the 26th of March 1691, Nice surrendered to Marshal Catinat, the citizens having taken the French side, from the very first, against their own garrison. The French took Carmagnola on the 8th June. Schomberg arrived at Turin on the 18th, and found the whole country in the greatest consternation and despondency. French money, which was always in circulation to introduce treacherous counsels and foul play, was now used to increase the fears of the faint-hearted. It was now the cry that His Royal Highness was abandoned by his continental allies, who had never anything better than fair words to give him, and that the King of England, who was his last resource, had sent him the Duke of Schomberg, with a magnificent retinue; but what was that without an effective army? The suggestion was evident that if Victor Amedeo did not

wish to be extinguished, he should throw himself at the feet of His Most Christian Majesty, the King of France.

Schomberg began his duties by studying the country, and the habits and manners of the court, where everything was new to him. When he had collected his thoughts, his first advice was that His Royal Highness's army should show no symptoms of despondency, and that the troops should be encouraged to display some animation, and to move about. The Duke of Savoy was doing nothing; watching the enemy from the hill of Montcallier, and looking on, while towns were surrendering, and his palace of Rivoli was being destroyed. Turin having been threatened, he had removed the court from that city, and left the citizens in dismay. By Schomberg's advice, the infantry descended to the foot of the hill, the cavalry were extended to the right, and parties were sent hither and thither. The French, in open defiance, had been in the habit of foraging in the view of the Duke's grand guard. "You should advance and insult them the very next time," said Schomberg. Accordingly on the 22nd of June, His Royal Highness, with the general officers, and about 3000 horse, advanced towards the enemy's forage, and the French precipitately retired, Catinat being unwilling to sustain his foragers, and to bring on a general engagement. An anecdote is told as to that very day. The Duke of Savoy overheard Schomberg speaking in German, and said, "I tried once to learn that language, but was discouraged by its difficulty." Schomberg offered to teach him. "No my Lord," replied His Royal Highness, "it is the trade of war that I intend to learn from you."

In the meantime the garrison of Coni continued to hold out against the French. The French Protestant Refugees got the credit of the vigorous defence. At head-quarters a council of war was held as to the most effectual and striking manner of raising the siege. The French were both at Coni prosecuting the siege, and also in the valley of Aosta, where an army of observation, commanded by La Hoguette, lay within sight of the confederate army. A third French force under Catinat was near Carignan. Schomberg's advice was to march against Catinat and force him to fight, while La Hoguette, supposing that they had gone to relieve Coni, would leave the country. The Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene approved of the plan. But the Spanish generals pressed the relieving of Coni, which was agreed to. The army moved and La Hoguette decamped. On the 27th of July, the enemy made an assault upon Coni, and were repulsed with great loss. The allies under Prince Eugene came up next day, and the French besiegers moved off. But Catinat, being untouched, threw reinforcements into Casale, a step which Schomberg's counsel might have prevented. It was so far well that Coni was relieved. The Duke of Savoy presented the French Protestant Colonel Julien with a diamond ring in admiration of his successful defence of the place.

The many disappointments in the confederate warfare, in the reigns both of William and Anne, arose partly from the jealous rivalry among generals of different nations, which produced suicidal divisions and deliberate mismanagement—partly also from the enmity of Roman Catholics against their Protestant comrades. These evils began to be felt in the Piedmontese campaigns. The Duke of Schomberg found that King William's money, intended principally for Vaudois and Huguenot regiments, had been often withheld from them and grossly misapplied. This he set to work to rectify. He also applied himself to improve the discipline of the troops under his special command. Matters at last improved. Although the duchy of Savoy was entirely lost at the end of this year's campaign, yet much of the Piedmontese territory was recovered. This arose from the arrival on the 19th August of 18,000 Germans commanded by the Elector of Bavaria. Marshal Catinat, in the midst of some disappointments, relieved his chagrin by sending 3,000 men to lay waste the Waldensian Valleys. He missed his revenge; for his detachment was routed by the Vaudois, assisted by the French refugees. The Duke of Schomberg undertook to relieve Montmelian, which was the last place in Savoy that fell into the hands of the French. But the Imperialists (says Burnet) and even the Court of Turin, "seemed to be more afraid of the strength of heresy than of the power of France, and chose to let that important place fall into the enemy's hands rather than suffer it to be relieved by those they did not like." Schomberg's services were acknowledged by his own sovereign

in a gratifying manner; he obtained the colonelcy of the first Foot Guards on the 27th December 1691.

In the year 1692, the French seem to have begun to meditate their scheme of detaching the Duke of Savoy from his allies by bribery. They had intended to make him feel their resentment. The necessity of approaching him with a different tone shewed that his affairs were in a reputable posture. And this he owed mainly to Britain. With but slight deductions we may adopt Burnet's statement:—"The Imperialists and the Spaniards made him great promises, in which they are never wanting when their affairs require it; yet they failed so totally in the performance, that if the king and the Dutch, who had promised him nothing, had not performed everything effectually, he must have become at once a prey to the French." It is uncertain whether definite overtures were made by the French government this year; but forbearance was shown, and Catinat was left with a force sufficient only for the defence of former acquisitions. Luttrell informs us that in July the Confederates declined the siege of Pignerol, and their army was divided into three parts, the major portion accompanying Schomberg in an irruption into Dauphiny.

This was, in fact, the main army, which was accompanied by the Duke of Savoy. The object was to carry the war into France itself, and to cause a rising of the French Protestants, who, though they were called New Converts or New Catholics in public documents, were still Protestant at heart. On the 29th of August 1692, the Duke of Schomberg issued a manifesto to this effect:—"His Britannic Majesty, in causing his troops to enter France, has no other aim but to restore the nobility and gentry to their ancient splendour, the parliaments to their pristine authority, and the people to their just privileges, the Established Clergy being also protected. The Kings of England being guarantees of the Edict of Nantes by the peace of Montpellier, and by several other treaties, the King, my master, thinks himself obliged to maintain the guaranty, and cause that edict to be revived."

All such irruptions must, according to ordinary probability, be failures. The people, however well affected to the invaders, cannot join the invading army until its success ensures protection to revolters from the existing government; and, at the same time, the people's neutrality prevents the desired success. The mere withholding of friendship, on the part of the natives, is real opposition; and the visitors, whose friendship is visibly unappreciated, have to act very much like enemies. As to this invasion of France, there were many instances of success, and some government money and stores were taken. But an attack of small-pox upon the Duke of Savoy, which made his army bring him home, barely saved the exit from an appearance of defeat or disappointment, which the barren results of the entrance seemed to indicate. The best feature in the case was, that 200 French Protestants left France under the shelter of this army, because they had been convinced that it was wrong to conform to Romish worship, and that it was better "to expose themselves to beggary and contempt in foreign nations than to live in plenty and honour in their native land" on such terms.

On the army going into winter quarters, the Duke of Schomberg paid his last visit to his adopted country, and took his seat as a hereditary legislator in the House of Lords.

The campaign of 1693 was for a long time favourable to the Duke of Savoy. But unhappily he allowed himself to be drawn into a battle in the plains of Marsiglia, in October. This was contrary to the advice of the generals. The French by re-inforcements had become superior in numbers, and it was their interest to fight in the plain. The Allies were progressing in the recapture of the fortresses of the kingdom. But in a pitched battle Duke Victor Amedeo was completely beaten. The only apparent apology was his love for fighting at the head of a large army. It has been supposed that he hoped, by a victory, to extort a better bargain from France in a secret treaty.

The Duke of Schomberg's share in the narrative is a mournful one. Disapproving of the resolution for a battle, and also being passed over in the distribution of the chief posts of command, he resolved to fight simply as the Colonel of a regiment. The British forces, which were in the centre, particularly distinguished themselves, but were at last left exposed, their supports being routed. The Count de las Torres rode up to their leader, the Duke of

Schomberg, and asked him to take command of the retreat. But Schomberg, who had been offended that the Count had been put over him in command, replied, "I must have His Royal Highness's orders, and until I receive them I will bear the enemy's fire. My opinion is, things have gone so far that we must either vanquish or die." The brave remnant of the centre stood their ground with extraordinary resolution, but at last had to abandon the field. Schomberg was severely wounded in the thigh, and was carried by his comrades to Turin.

Believing his wound to be mortal, he dictated his Will on the 14th of October, being "sound (through the grace of God) of his senses, sight, memory, and understanding, nevertheless seized with infirmity by reason of his wounds received in the army." There were present as witnesses, Cornelius Count de Nassau d'Overquerque, Mr. John Du Bordieu, Minister of the said Lord Duke de Schonberg, Abraham Beneset Du Teron, Secretary of the same Lord, Philip Loyd, Physician, Paul Artaud and Paul Sancerre, Chirurgeons, David Castres, chief of the kitchen to the said lord, and Paul Faubert.

The whole Will is in the narrative style, and the testator is spoken of in the third person. His military appointments are enumerated thus:—"Lieutenant-General of His Majesty of Great Britain, Colonel of the first regiment of the English Guards, and Chief General of his troops in Piedmont." He names as his heir universal Ménéard de Schonberg, Duke of Leinster, Grandee of Portingall and General of the Forces in England and Scotland. He wills to Frederick Count de Schonberg one thousand crowns, "and that in consideration of that sum he shall not nor may not pretend or demand any other thing upon his goods and estate by him left." Being solicited he leaves ten crowns to the poor of the Hospital of the Lord's Knights of St Maurice and Lazarus, and ten crowns to the poor orphan maidens of the city of Turin. Of his own accord he leaves five hundred livres (French money) to the poor of the Reformed Religion in the city of Turin, and the like sum to the poor of the said religion of the city of London.

Having lingered for sixteen days altogether, he died on the 16th October, aged about 48. Defoe, lamenting the degeneracy of some inheritors of old English titles, characterizes them as

"Such Peers as History must blush to name,
When future records to the world relate
Marsaglia's field and gallant Schomberg's fate."

Without speculating whether or not the gifted writer foresaw this record of Duke Charles's last battle, I conclude it with a comprehensive quotation from Oldmixon's History:—"The Duke of Schomberg, having fought with unparalleled valour, received a mortal wound in the thigh, of which he died not many days after, to the great regret of all good and gallant men, for he was of that number in an eminent degree."

* * Luttrell notes, on the 3rd October, 1696, "Monsieur Du Bourdieu, Minister of the French Church in the Savoy, having brought the late Duke Schomberg's heart from Piedmont, has interred it in the Savoy Church, with a monument over it.

III. MAINHARDT, DUKE OF SCHOMBERG AND LEINSTER,

(Being the first Duke of Leinster and third Duke of Schomberg.)

Count Mainhardt de Schomberg, second son of the Marshal, was born in 1639. We find him in the Portuguese service under his father. In 1665 he was a Major in the army and Captain of a company in old Schomberg's regiment of cavalry. At that time the eruption into Spain was going forward, and San Lucar de Guadiana was taken. At the head of his company he met Rougemont's Regiment of Cavalry near that town, drove them before him two leagues and upwards, and upon their making a stand, defeated them. He was afterwards a Colonel of Cavalry in the French army.

In 1686, on taking refuge in Prussia, he was made a General of Cavalry in the regiment of the Elector of Brandenburg, and Colonel of a corps of Dragoons. He remained in these posts, when his father and Count Charles joined the Prince of Orange in 1688. As already stated,

it was for this reason that Charles was named first in the destination of the Marshal's Dukedom of Schomberg in the peerage of England. Charles was unmarried, and ready for such an adventurous expedition as the Prince of Orange had planned. Mainhardt had married, on the 4th of January 1683, Caroline Elizabeth, Countess Rangraff Palatin, daughter of the Elector Charles Louis. On the 15th December of that year, his son, Charles, came into the world. Subsequently two daughters were born, named Frederica and Mary. Count Mainhardt was not prepared to remove with his infantile family to an island of the sea. He had not learned the Englishman's axiom, that every sensible man should live in England if he can. So that when English ducal rank was bestowed on his father, it was not known that Mainhardt would ever solicit naturalization among the English people.

The following entry was made by Luttrell in his Historical Relation,—“London, 12 August 1689, Count Ménard de Schomberg, General of the Brandenburg Horse, is coming over.” His German name, Mainhardt, was translated by the French into Ménard and Mesart, and by the English into Maynard; and the various modes of spelling were further varied according to the writer's guess. The French refugees spoke highly of him as a cavalry officer. One declares, “Count Ménard de Schomberg is exceedingly experienced and skilful in the art of war—in charges, combats, and pitched battles—possessing courage, activity, and admirable energy—capable of successfully commanding not only a corps, but a great army.” He was enrolled in the English army as a General of Horse, and received the Colonelcy of the 4th Horse on the 10th April 1690.

Mainhardt earned much praise at the Battle of the Boyne in July 1690. He carried out the part assigned to him successfully. Aably supported by Douglas and the Earl of Portland, he crossed the Boyne at the Fords of Slane to engage the enemy's cavalry, and to facilitate the movements of the centre. Incensed at the death of his father, he pursued the enemy for several miles “with all the fury that a noble and just resentment could inspire,” until Lord Portland communicated the king's command to return to the camp. The Duke of Berwick wrote that Count Mainhardt in thus fiercely revenging the death of the old Duke of Schomberg, was a better General than King William, who suffered the Irish to retreat without molestation. The king's object, however, was to avoid bloodshed, especially in consideration of his father-in-law's person.

At the time of the festivities in Holland in February 1691 in honour of King William III., the king held consultations with Foreign Ambassadors as well as with his ministers and general officers concerning the war with France. Among the Generals in attendance at court, Count Mainhardt de Schomberg is mentioned. On the 25th of April he received letters-patent of naturalization for himself and his son, “Mainhardt Comte de Schonburg et Carolo filio suo.” In order to commemorate his share in the conquest of Ireland, and to put him more on a footing with his younger brother, their Majesties created him Duke of Leinster, 3d March 1692. It appears from the Irish Patent Rolls, that the King's Letter was dated at Breda, 18th March 1691, giving him the titles of Baron of Mullingar in the County of Westmeath, Earl of Bangor, and Duke of Leinster. On the official receipt of the King's Letter, he was Duke of Leinster by courtesy. The Patent, which followed nearly a year afterwards, bore that William and Mary granted to Mainhardt Comte de Schomberg, on account of his very many and distinguished services to them, for many years past, rendered in this kingdom and in parts beyond the sea, the state, grade, dignity, title, and honour of Baron of Taragh in the county of Meath, Earl of Bangor in the county of Down, and Duke of Leinster in the kingdom of Ireland.*

The king, not venturing to place his sole reliance on native officers in the midst of Jacobite schemes and schemers, resolved that the chief command of the regiments on duty at home should be given to Ruvigny Viscount Galway in Ireland, and in England to Schomberg Duke of Leinster. The Duke was appointed on the 23d April 1692 “lieutenant-general of their

* Dumont de Bostaquet phonographically styles the Dukedom “L'Instre” and “L'Inster.”—(See the printed copy of his MS. Memoirs, pp. 316, 317.)

Majesties' Forces of England, Wales, and Berwick-on-Tweed." His portrait (engraved by Smith, after Kneller) styles him "Maynard, Duke of Leinster, Count of Schonberg and Mertola, Grandee of Portugal, General of their Majesties' Forces of Great Britain," &c. There must have been a new commission issued soon after the first, adding "Scotland" to his command (of which his brother's Will also furnishes evidence). On the 2d May he was ordered to "mark out a camp near Southampton."

We have already glanced at the irruption of Charles, Duke of Schomberg, into the south of France. Simultaneously, a descent upon the northern provinces of that kingdom, commanded by the Duke of Leinster, was to be made. A large force embarked at St. Helen's, and on the 28th July all the generals went on board the "Breda." For the same reasons as those which accounted for the failure in the south, this descent effected nothing, except a slight diversion in the neighbourhood of Dunkirk. The Duke of Leinster returned to England on the 25th of October.

As a soldier of fortune, he emulated the ingenuity of the other refugees, in speculation for eking out his income, as we may gather from the following statement by Luttrell:—"1692, 8th Sept., Yesterday, the Duke of Leinster's engine for working of wrecks was experimented on in the Thames, where one Bradley, a waterman, walked at bottom under water till he came to Somerset House, and discoursed by the way out of a leather pipe; a boat went before him to blow air to him; he had a tin case fastened about his neck, with two leather pipes." In 1693, (10th March) their Majesties, by royal letters-patent, granted to the enterprising Duke, "all wrecks, jetsam, flotsam, lagan, goods derelict, riches, bullion, plate, gold, silver coyne, bars or piggs of silver, ingots of gold, merchandizes, and other goods and chattells whatsoever, which heretofore have been or hereafter shall be left, cast away, wrecked, or lost in or upon the rocks, shelves, shoales, seas, rivers, or banks in America, between the latitudes of 12° S. and 40° N., by him to be recovered at any time within 20 years after the date hereof (Bermudas and Cartagena, and Jamaica in America excepted)—one full tenth reserved for the King and Queen."

Luttrell said as to this range upon our globe's surface, "it includes many wrecks the patentees know where to find; they will fish this summer upon them." Probably some delay took place, for under dated 19th December 1699, Secretary Vernon wrote—"The 'Dolphin,' Captain Hunter commander, is to look for the wreck granted to the Duke of Schomberg,"

To the English dukedom he succeeded on the death of the second duke, his brother, in Piedmont; he took his seat in the House of Peers on the 4th, and proved his brother's will on the 19th of November 1693. His son, and apparent heir, Charles, Earl of Bangor, who was in his 10th year, thus became by courtesy the Marquis of Harwich. The family seem to have been in favour at court. The Duchess of Schomberg and Leinster was deservedly esteemed. On Wednesday, 19th December 1693, she is registered as a sponsor at the baptism of William, son of Messire Jean Rabault, a chevalier, His Majesty being godfather, and the proud father signing himself "Jean Rabault de la Courdrière Bouchetière." On another occasion she was the godmother of a converted Mahometan, baptized in London.*

The Duke of Schomberg was made a Privy Councillor on the 9th of May 1695. His time seems to have been well occupied with various court-martials and tours of inspection of military quarters. The even current of his affairs was sadly changed, in 1696, by his wife's declining health. He arranged to spend the summer at Bath, and there the Duchess died in the month of June. †

He had succeeded to his brother's dukedom, with the annuity of £4000, and the claim for the capital grant from the treasury. With exemplary prudence, he solicited from the king a formal gift, engrossed upon the Patent Rolls. This he obtained on the 22d December 1696; and as it is a document settling some biographical questions, I shall transcribe the larger portion of it in modernised spelling.

* Burn's History.

† Luttrell.

“William the third, &c. To the Commissioners of our Treasury, &c. Whereas, by our letters of privy seal, bearing date 15th February, in the 5th year of our reign, in consideration of the great, faithful, and acceptable services to us performed by Frederick, Duke of Schonberg, late Master-General of our Ordnance, and Captain-General of our land forces, deceased, and more especially reflecting upon his most prudent conduct under us, not only in the hazardous attempt which we had made into this kingdom for redeeming the same from Popery and arbitrary power, but also in his continued endeavours to serve us in order to the completing a prosperous, happy, and settled condition of affairs, and considering the great losses he had sustained, on account of professing the Protestant religion, by the confiscation of his lands and possessions, and loss of his places and employments in France, and by the destruction of his castles, lands, and territories in the county Palatine of the Rhine, in Germany, and for other great and weighty considerations, being disposed to confer upon the late Duke and his posterity a reward for his merits, which might create a lasting remembrance of the gracious sense we had of his service before mentioned,—

“We did fully resolve and determine to bestow upon the said late Duke, or trustees by his nomination, the full sum of £100,000 of lawful English money, to be paid out of the treasure which was, or should be, in the receipt of our Exchequer, by certain portions and at certain days and times now past, which sum was to be laid out in purchasing Lands of Inheritance that were to be settled on Trustees and their heirs, as that the profits thereof might be enjoyed by the said Frederick late Duke of Schonberg during his life, and after his decease by Charles then the third son of the said Duke, who hath since been Charles Duke of Schonberg and is deceased, and by heirs male of the body of the said Charles, and for default of such issue then by our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin and councillor Maynard now Duke of Schonberg and Leinster, and the heirs male of the body of the said Maynard lawfully begotten or to be begotten, and for default of such issue then by the heirs male of the body of the said late Duke Frederick lawfully begotten or to be begotten, and for default of such issue then by the right heirs of the said late Duke Frederick for ever.

* * * * *

“But the Grant which was intended by us as aforesaid, not passing under our Great Seal, by reason of the sudden departure of the said Duke Frederick for the kingdom of Ireland, where he was slain in our service at the memorable Battle of the Boyne, and by reason that the necessity of our affairs would not admit the speedy payment of so considerable a sum of money, we were graciously pleased to allow to the said Charles, late Duke of Schonberg, the yearly sum of £4000, being after the rate of £4 per cent. per annum, for the interest or forbearance of the said sum of £100,000, and the said yearly sum hath been satisfied and paid by us until 31st December 1692—since which time the said Duke Charles (who hath also been slain in our service, to wit, at the Battle of Marsaglia in Piedmont) is deceased without heirs male or female of his body begotten, so that the said Maynard, now Duke of Schonberg and Leinster, is the person who, by the limitations, trusts or appointments in the said intended grant (in case the same had passed under seal and had been duly complied with) would at this time have taken benefit thereby to him and the heirs-male of his body, with power to make provisions for any wife, daughters, or younger sons, as aforesaid.

“We did direct, authorise and command that, out of the rents issues profits and revenues from time to time arising and accruing in or by the General Letter Office or Post Office, or Office of Postmaster General, payment should be made unto the said Maynard, Duke of Schonberg and Leinster (who is also Marquis of Harwich, Earl of Brentford, of the Holy Empire, and Mertola, Baron of Teys, Grandee of Portugal, General of our Horse, and Commander-in-Chief of our Forces) and the heirs male of his body, the yearly sum of £4000.

* * * * *

“And whereas the said Maynard, Duke of Schonberg and Leinster, hath humbly besought us, in regard our affairs will not yet admit the payment of so considerable a sum as the said £100,000, that we would be graciously pleased by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of

England to confirm unto him and the heirs male of his body the yearly sum of £4000 in the same manner as the same was granted to him and them by our said Letters of Privy Seal, to which we being graciously pleased to condescend,

“Know ye therefore that We &c. &c. &c. &c.
do grant unto the said, &c., one clear annual or yearly payment or sum of £4000 of lawful English money, to commence from such time as the same hath been paid and satisfied said before the date of these presents.

* * * * *

“And we do hereby, for us our heirs and successors, promise and declare, that as soon as the condition of our affairs will admit, we, our heirs and successors will pay and satisfy the principal sum of £100,000.

* * * * *

At Westminster the twenty-second day of December (8th Wm. III.)”

In the arrangements that followed the peace of Ryswick, Schomberg's employments continued as before. In November 1698 Luttrell writes, “Portland House in the Pall Mall is rebuilt, and will be richly furnished for the Duke of Schonberg, General of the Forces in England.” On the 31st December, the Duke gave “a splendid entertainment to the French Ambassador, the Duke of Ormond, and other persons of quality.”

This was the mansion that was thereafter called Schomberg House; we digress for a moment to trace its history. It was after the Duke's death inhabited by his sons-in-law the Earls of Holderness and Fitzwalter. One of the arrangements made on the accession of George III. has been recorded thus:—“The Duke of Cumberland took Schomberg House (late Lord Fitzwalter's) in Pall Mall.” Mr Baynes (*Life of Brousson*, p. 368) says in a note:—“On the south side of Pall Mall being now (1853) Nos. 81 and 82, there is an interesting specimen of a ducal residence of the time of William and Mary. . . . Schomberg House. It was afterwards the residence of William Duke of Cumberland, the hero of Culloden. Subsequently the middle part of the mansion was occupied by Dodsley, the eminent bookseller, and recently by Messrs Payne and Foss. Gainsborough for some time lived in the western wing of the mansion, and here executed some of his best pictures.” In 1868 I found that one-half of this ancient fabric had been pulled down.

We find the Duke's name honourably mixed up in a deplorable affair, namely, the dying scene of poor Conway Seymer, who had been mortally wounded in a duel. “20th June 1699, the Duke of Schomberg introduced Capt. Kirk to ask pardon of Conway Seymer Esq., who told him he forgave him with all his heart, and died next morning.”

Through negotiations based upon the Peace of Ryswick, the French king restored to the family Marshal Schomberg's French estate. But when Duke Mainhardt thought he had secured it, his eldest brother, Count Frederic, stepped in as a competitor. Our Ambassador, the Earl of Manchester, wrote officially to Secretary the Earl of Jersey, from Paris, August 29, 1699. “I believe the Duke of Schomberg will apply to your Lordship in relation to his affairs. I have done what was proper, having recommended it to the minister. But now the dispute lies between the eldest brother in Germany and himself, who has obtained to have two thirds, according to the custom of France. They do intend to appeal from this sentence; but as this is a matter between two brothers, I shall be glad to know whether the king does only concern himself for the Duke of Schomberg.”

The following is a letter which Schomberg addressed to the Ambassador:—

“London, Nov. 4-14, 1699.

“My Lord,—I no sooner received the favour of your Lordship's letter, but according to your desire I spoke to my Lord Jersey who has since told me he had signified His Majesty's pleasure to your Lordship thereupon. And that your Lordship may be thoroughly instructed in the matter, I must further acquaint you that the matter in debate is only between my brother and myself. For, by the treaty of Peace, the estate is to return to the family,

and, as your Lordship has been already informed, the King of France has put me in possession, which being disputed by my brother, was the occasion of my suing for the King of France's protection, that by His Majesty's authority I might freely enjoy the possession thereof, without being put to the charge of so many lawsuits by my brother, who is now actually at law with me, and endeavours to dispossess me of my undeniable right. Wherefore, my request to your Lordship is, that you would recommend my particular interest to the King of France, and that His Majesty will please to give orders that I may be continued in quiet possession of the estate which is my undeniable right. But were that disputable, my services both here and in France ought to give me the preference. My Lord, I have given your Lordship as short an account as the subject would permit, and do not at all doubt of success therein, if your Lordship does heartily espouse my interest, which will lay a perpetual obligation upon, &c., &c.

SCHONBURG and LEINSTER.*

Lord Manchester announced the Duke's success in a letter dated from Paris, 23d June, 1700:—"The Duke of Schomberg has carried his cause in the Parliament against his brother in Germany, who pretended to have a right to two-thirds; but the whole is adjudged to the former.*"

At the funeral of King William, on the 12th of April 1702, Schomberg was one of the six dukes who supported the pall. In Queen Anne's reign, he was still in favour at the palace. He presented her consort, the Prince of Denmark, Generalissimo of the Forces, with a war-horse valued at 300 guineas; this was in June, 1702. He still pressed his claims as his father's heir, on the English nation. A second grant in his favour, dated 6th May, 1703, appears on the Patent Rolls. In it the Queen narrates how the Duke of Schomberg had represented to her that King William, by a warrant dated 14th October, 1701, had again asserted that his affairs could not yet admit of the payment of £100,000, and that "our said late royall brother" did "therefore and for other good causes and considerations" grant another £1000 of annuity, making a total of £5000 per annum to commence from Midsummer, 1701. "The demise of our said royal brother happened before the said intended grant actually passed under the Great Seal of England;" therefore, we the Queen grant the additional £1000, to be paid annually, during pleasure.

In 1703, the Schomberg estates in France must have been forfeited again. This was the year of the Methven Treaty with Portugal, which was signed on the 16th of May and ratified on the 14th of July. Great Britain and Portugal then joined the Emperor of Germany and the Duke of Savoy in the Grand Alliance against France, and began to take part in the War of the Spanish Succession. The Emperor Joseph's younger son, Archduke Charles of Austria, was proclaimed King of Spain, and Britain's great practical aim was to establish him at Madrid upon the Spanish throne. Some compilers of history say, that the Confederates, in setting up Charles, were attempting to dethrone a native king. But the Bourbon Philip V. (who was Duke of Anjou in France, and a grandson of Louis XIV.) was not a native sovereign. Like Philip's, Charles's relationship to the extinct royal family of Spain was constituted by that family's intermarriages with foreigners. The latter, on the ground of compacts by which the Bourbon family could not reign over Spain, was the true heir, and was styled by the Allies, King Charles III. A British fleet conveyed him to Lisbon. The Duke of Schomberg was designated Captain-General of the troops in British pay, which were to act in concert with the Portuguese to put him in possession of his kingdom.

The English Government ordered the Duke to raise twenty companies of dragoons to form a regiment, its officers to be French Protestant refugees. He selected officers "whose valour and conduct he had been eye-witness of;" but a counter-order came out recalling the commissions. He complained of this disappointment, and was consoled by being elected a Knight of the Garter (11th Aug. 1703). On the 2d of September he was installed at Windsor with the usual solemnities.

* Cole's State Papers.

The employment of the third Duke of Schomberg in the forefront of this war was the occasion of the translation and publication in England of D'Ablancourt's *Memoirs of the Campaigns of the first Duke in Portugal*. "Nothing," said the English publisher, "can so much justify the fitness of Her Majesty's choice of his Grace the Duke of Schomberg to command Her Majesty's Forces and those of her allies in that kingdom, as the knowledge of the glorious actions performed by his father in his presence, and by His Grace himself after so brave a pattern, which will inspire the officers and soldiers who shall have the honour to follow him to the war with such an entire confidence and assurance in their General that nothing will be difficult that he commands. His Grace will be received there as their second saviour and deliverer, with the loudest acclamations of the joyful multitude impatient to be led on by him to victory and glory. It is to be presumed that his sword will be as fatal to the Spaniards as the accents of his name are pleasant to the Portuguese, who hold it to this day in a degree of veneration very little inferior to idolatry."

These glowing predictions were not fulfilled. On his arrival at Lisbon in the spring of 1704 he found that the old routine of giving the chief command of the army to the Portuguese governors of provinces was still rigidly followed. The king, although the same Pedro who owed his crown to the late Marshal, showed none of the expected gratitude, but rather humoured the reckless jealousy of the Portuguese officers. Marlborough had written on the 8th of August 1703,—“I take for granted that the Dutch troops are to be commanded by the Duke of Schomberg;” but the Dutch General would submit to no such agreement. When Schomberg thought that he had obtained from the king the rank equivalent to Marshal, and implying supreme command, he found that the same rank had been given to Fagel, the Dutch General. He, however, lost no time in issuing the following manifesto:—

“Pursuant to Her Majesty's warrant, dated 14th March, 1703-4, authorising and empowering me to publish in the most effectual manner Her Majesty's most gracious intention of pardoning all such of her subjects of the kingdom of Ireland and of other parts of Her Majesty's dominions, who, being now in the service of her enemies, will quit the same to come over to Charles III. King of Spain, or any other of Her Majesty's Allies,—I do hereby in Her Majesty's name proclaim and declare, that all such Her Majesty's subjects, both officers and soldiers, who are at present in the service of the French King or of the Duke of Anjou, and will return to their duty and come over to the King of Spain or any other of Her Majesty's Allies, shall have Her Majesty's most gracious pardon for all crimes and offences committed by them in adhering to or serving under her enemies, or for any crime and offence relating thereunto; and that such of them as are qualified to serve in Her Majesty's Forces shall be received and entertained in the same quality that they enjoyed in the service they leave; and that such as by reason of their religion cannot serve in Her Majesty's Forces shall be received and entertained in the service of the King of Spain or of such other of Her Majesty's Allies where they shall best like, in the same quality and with the same pay as they enjoyed under Her Majesty's enemies. And to the end, that Her Majesty's most gracious intentions may be the more effectual, care is taken that the Governors of the frontier garrisons and that the Generals of the Forces will receive and subsist them immediately upon their coming in, and give them all further encouragement.

“Given at Lisbon, 25th April, 1704, the third year of Her Majesty's reign,
SCHONBURG and LEINSTER.”

A faint-heartedness came over King Pedro's counsels. He seemed to think more of preventing Philip from crossing his frontier than of taking Charles to look the Spaniards in the face. Philip sent the Duke of Berwick to beat up the Portuguese quarters; and, as Burnet has concisely said, some of the English and Dutch battalions which were posted where they could not be relieved, in places which were not tenable, fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and were made prisoners of war. Schomberg was quite paralysed by the thorough infatuation of the government of Lisbon.

King Pedro wrote to England declaring himself dissatisfied with Schomberg, though

unable to vindicate the Portuguese officers. Secretary Sir Charles Hedges wrote to our Ambassador in Piedmont, the Right Hon. Richard Hill, from London, 23d June :—"The King of Portugal seeming dissatisfied with the Duke of Schomberg, Her Majesty is inclined to recal him, if there be not a better understanding between them, that the service may not suffer; and we hope that King will show his resentment against some of his officers who have been to blame, which he is now sensible of, and promises to do all things that may be for the benefit of the common cause." And on the 30th, Sir Charles states :—"Upon the representation of the King of Portugal and the consideration of the misfortunes of the army there, Her Majesty has thought fit to recal Duke Schomberg. Contemporary journals, however, state with great probability that before those dates he wrote home and requested to be recalled, and his request was granted.

There were some who criticised his retirement rather severely. Burnet says :—"The Duke of Schomberg was a better officer in the field than in the cabinet; he did not know enough how to prepare for a campaign; he was both too inactive and too haughty."* Other writers do not blame him. One writes :—"The enemy's successes gave no small uneasiness in England, and the Duke of Schomberg, finding his advice had not that weight it deserved with the Portuguese, was desirous to quit a losing game." So another :—"Duke Schomberg being sick of his command in Portugal, where he found neither horses for mounting the confederate cavalry, nor anything else they had engaged to provide in order to enable the allies to enter upon action, and the Portuguese generals insisting on the command of the English and the Dutch, as well as their own troops, he desired to be recalled." Marlborough wrote to him from the Camp of Weissenberg, 29th Sept. 1704 :—"I must pray leave to assure you none can be more sensibly concerned than I am at the misrepresentations that have been made of your Grace from the Court of Portugal, whose slowness and ill-conduct hitherto do sufficiently justify the complaints you were obliged to make. I shall long to kiss your Grace's hands in London."

The Duke might well be discontented with the Portuguese, but why with the English Government? His experience convinced the latter that a general bigotted to precedents, etiquette, and routine, was not the man for the anxious emergency. Accordingly, the Earl of Portmore, Schomberg's second in command, was allowed to come home too: and a different style of general was sent to Portugal, a man of diplomacy combined with military spirit, patience, and self-denial, Henri De Ruvigny, Earl of Galway. Lord Portmore considered it was a breach of faith to pass him over. Thus, both in the army and in general society a malcontent party was formed, to which Schomberg's sullenness gave too much encouragement.

The occasions in which he is reported to have voted in the House of Lords were all connected with ecclesiastical subjects. In 1703 a Bill against Occasional Conformity was brought in (but did not pass), intended to exclude Dissenters from all Government employments. It was thought that Schomberg would have opposed such a bill. He allowed his proxy to be used in its favour, probably out of deference to his generalissimo, Prince George, who had a seat in the House of Lords, and who, although himself a Lutheran, and only an occasional conformist, found that circumstances compelled him to support the bill.

He also, in 1710, voted that the clerical Jacobite incendiary, Dr. Sacheverell, was "guilty" of misdemeanour, on account of two discourses preached, not in his ordinary ministrations, but on public occasions, in which, among other things, he virulently maintained, 1st, That the necessary means used to bring about the Revolution of 1688 were odious and unjustifiable; and 2dly, That the Toleration granted by law is unreasonable and unwarrantable—that he is a

* In the "Characters of the Court of Great Britain," drawn up for the Electress Sophia by John Macky, Esq. (attributed to Bishop Burnet), it is said, "When the present Queen concluded her treaty with Portugal, the Duke was chosen to command the forces there, and had the Garter; but not knowing how to keep measures with the Kings of Spain and Portugal, was recalled. He is one of the hottest fiery men in England, which was the reason King William would never give him any command where there was action. He is brave but capricious, of fair complexion, &c."

false brother with regard to God, religion, and the Church, who defends toleration and liberty of conscience, and that it is the duty of superior pastors to thunder out their ecclesiastical anathemas against persons entitled to the benefit of the said Toleration.

In 1714 he protested against the Schism Bill whose object was to suppress Dissenting Schools and Academies, on the ground that the children of churchmen attended them in alarming numbers. The bill passed the Lords by the slender majority of 77 to 72. The Protest proceeds upon the fact, that "it is not pretended that this Bill is designed as a punishment of any crime which the Protestant Dissenters have been guilty of against the civil government, or that they are disaffected to the Protestant succession as by law established, for in this their zeal is very conspicuous." "If, nevertheless, the Dissenters were dangerous, severity is not so proper and effectual a method to reduce them to the Church, as a charitable indulgence, as is manifest by experience, there having been more Dissenters reconciled to the Church since the Act of Toleration, than in all the time from the Act of Uniformity to the time of the said Act of Toleration; and there is scarce one considerable family in England in communion with the Dissenters. Severity may make men hypocrites but not converts." "In all the instances of making laws, or of a rigid execution of the laws, against Dissenters, the design was to weaken the Church, and to drive the Dissenters into one common interest with the Papists. We cannot think that the arts and contrivances of Papists to subvert our church are proper means to preserve it, especially at a time when we are more in danger of Popery than ever by the designs of the Pretender, supported by the mighty power of the French king, and by great numbers in this kingdom who are professedly in his interest."

It was in January 1711 that the new ministry obtained the unjust censure of Lords Galway and Tyrawley, and of General Stanhope. There was a great displacement of military governors and colonels of regiments, as was usual on a change of ministry. Schomberg was expected, it being known that he would not help his brother generals, but would stay at home. Feeling uneasy under the new régime, he obtained leave to retire in favour of his son Charles, Marquis of Harwich, who was thus gazetted as Colonel of the 4th Horse, when he was only 27 years of age.

The Duke may now be regarded as a neutral in politics. In 1711 he was a pall-bearer at the Earl of Rochester's funeral, and in 1712 at Earl Godolphin's. The 4th Horse was quartered in Dublin, and there the Marquis of Harwich died in 1713. The Duke was in his 74th year, when this severe blow fell upon him. Except in his signature to the Protest already described, he does not again appear in public proceedings, though in the next reign he had to apply for a Private Act of Parliament regarding the destination of his hereditary pension.

If an English landed estate had been actually bestowed upon Marshal Schomberg, then on the death of Duke Mainhardt's only son, the heir-apparent would have been the Duke's eldest daughter. But the phraseology of the Patent for the Annuity was such, that the Duke was haunted by alarming visions of a male heir from Germany. In these circumstances, and when Queen Anne was dead, he seems to have renounced his claim upon her Majesty's grant of £5,000 a-year, which at once relieved the revenue of £1,000 annually. Besides, affection for the memory of William of Orange revived at the accession of George I.; reminiscences of regard from the more than Semi-Jacobite Queen Anne could do nothing but harm to a public man; while any proof of reciprocal attachment between King William and him was a testimonial ensuring honour and favour. Accordingly, Schomberg called the attention of the new government to the grant of King William to his father and to his English heirs, and how the affectionate and grateful intentions of the illustrious monarch were in danger of miscarrying, owing to unintentional inaccuracy in writing. A bill was therefore introduced into Parliament to enable King George to revoke the Letters Patent of William III., and to substitute a new grant by which a female heir might inherit; this Bill received the Royal assent, and is the Act of the 1st year of George I., No. 78.

The troublous year 1715 kept the Government busy with more public and pressing affairs; but after the re-establishment of tranquillity the Grant was drawn up and was enrolled on the

29th June, 1716 (2d Geo. I). It professes to proceed upon "an Act lately passed in our Parliament entitled, An Act to enable His Majesty to grant letters-patent to supply the defect in the Grant made by His Majesty King William the Third, unto Maynard, Duke of Schonburg and Leinster, of the annual sum of £4,000 out of the Revenues of the Post Office until the sum of £100,000 be paid. After reciting the services which the old Patent acknowledged, the new Patent adds what follows:—"Whereas the said Grant of the said £4,000 per annum for the Interest of the said £100,000 being limited and restrained to the said now Duke, and the heirs male of his body only, contrary to the said late Majesty's intentions expressed in the said letters-patent, which was that the Interest of the said £100,000 should be continued to be paid until the said principal sum should be paid for the benefit of the persons who would have been entitled to the lands to have been purchased with the said principal sum according to the limitations aforesaid,—FOR SUPPLYING WHICH DEFECT it is by the said Act enacted that it should and might be lawful for us by letters-patent under the great seal of Great Britain to give and grant for us, our heirs and successors, unto the said Maynard, Duke of Schonburg and Leinster, and the heirs male of his body, and for want of such issue to the heirs of the body of the said Maynard, Duke of Schonburg and Leinster, and in default of such issue to the right heirs of the said Maynard, Duke of Schonburg and Leinster, until the said sum of £100,000 should be paid as aforesaid, one annuity or yearly payment of £4,000 of lawful money of Great Britain, &c., &c., &c., &c."*

The Duke continued to live at his country house, Hillingthorpe, near London, till 1719, where he died suddenly on Sunday, July 5th, aged 80.

Both his daughters survived him. Lady Mary married Nicholas, Count de Degenfeldt, of the German Empire, who was naturalized in England on the 13th January, 1720 (6th Geo. I). [The title sometimes appears in print as *Degenfeld* and as *Dagenfeldt*.]

The elder daughter, Lady Frederica, lived till 1751; she was twice married; and from her the British representatives of the old Schombergs descend. Her first husband was Robert, third Earl of Holderness, who died in 1722; and her second husband was Benjamin Mildmay, Earl Fitzwalter; to the latter she had an only child, Robert Schomberg, who died in infancy.

Her children to her first husband were—

- 1st. Mainhardt Frederick, who died young.
- 2d. Robert, fourth Earl of Holderness.
- 3d. Caroline.

The last Earl of Holderness dying in 1778, left a daughter, Lady Amelia Conyers D'Arcy, who inherited from him the Barony of Conyers, which she transmitted to her son, George William Frederick, Duke of Leeds.

CAROLINE, daughter of the third Earl of Holderness, by Countess Frederica, married William Henry, Earl of Ancrum, afterwards fourth Marquis of Lothian, whose lineal descendants are William Schomberg Robert, Marquis of Lothian, and his brother, Lord Schomberg Kerr.

* As to the subsequent history of the pension, the *Gentleman's Magazine* notes the death, on the 7th August 1751, of the Countess of Fitzwalter (formerly Dowager Countess of Holderness), eldest daughter of the late Duke of Schomberg, and adds that the £4,000 a-year out of the Post Office settled on her father and his heirs comes to the Earl of Holderness. But I must inform my readers that after deducting land tax, exchequer fees, &c., the pension was only £2,900. By private sale several individuals have come to share the pension with the heir. One-fourth lately belonged to C. Eyre, Esq., and in March 1856 the Government redeemed his share by a payment of £19,399 8s. It was announced that the other recipients' shares might be bought up on the same terms, namely, reckoning each annual £1,000 as about £720, being the net payment after the above-mentioned deductions. The other recipients at that date were (according to the House of Commons' printed papers for 1856, No. 250), the Duke of Leeds, £1,080, P. Powys, £360, R. Gosling, £360, Colonel Macleod, £288, Henry Macleod, £72. An Act of Parliament of 21st July 1856 transferred Hereditary Pensions to the Consolidated Fund; in Schedule A this entry occurs:—"The Three Fourth Parts of an Annuity granted by King George the First to Maynard, Duke of Schomberg, and his heirs, and charged upon the Post Office Revenue, the net annual amount payable in respect of which three-fourth parts is £2,160."

Chapter III.

THE FIRST MARQUIS DE RUVIGNY AND HIS ENGLISH RELATIONS.

The Marquis De Ruvigny was "a nobleman of accomplishment and ability and a Protestant from sincere conviction."—ANDERSON'S LIFE OF LADY RUSSELL, among "MEMORABLE WOMEN."

THE first member of the House of Ruvigny known to English society was Rachel, daughter of Daniel de Massue, Seigneur de Ruvigny (in Champagné), and grand-daughter of Nicolas de Massue, Seigneur de Renneval (in Picardy).^{*} She was born in Paris in 1603, and was presented for baptism at Charenton by the Duchesse de Sully and her son. In 1634, being the widow of a gentleman of La Perche, Elysée de Beaujeu, Sieur de la Maisonfort, she won the heart and hand of an English nobleman, Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, whose landed property was in the County of Southampton, now called Hampshire. In the Parish register of Titchfield the following entry was made:—"August, 1634, Married, the right honorable the Earle of Southton, in France, ye 18th day of this month." The young countess was a zealous believer in the Protestant religion, and a lady of great personal attractions and moral excellence. The Earl had sown his wild oats on *the turf*. A letter dated March 20 (1634), reports, "The Earl of Southampton (they say) has lost a great deal of money lately at the horse race at Newmarket; he has license to travel for three years, and has gone in all haste to France." His exemplary life after this catastrophe was, in all probability, largely due to the influence of the good countess. We may say that if he had not married *la belle et vertueuse Huguenotte* (as Rachel de Ruvigny was called), he himself would not have been immortalized in history as "the wise and virtuous Earl of Southampton." In Evans' Catalogue of Engraved Portraits, the following picture is included:—"Rachel Frances de Ruvigny, Countess of Southampton, whole length, in the clouds, leaning on a sphere, skull under her feet, folio, *fine*, painted by Vandyke, engraved by Ardell."

The Countess died in 1637, leaving two daughters. Elizabeth became the first wife of Edward Noel, afterwards Earl of Gainsborough. The younger daughter, Rachel, married *first* Francis, Lord Vaughan, and *secondly*, The Honourable William Russell. The latter couple were styled Lady Vaughan and Mrs Russell—until, through the death of an elder brother, William became Lord Russell and heir-apparent of the Earl of Bedford. Every one has heard of Rachel, Lady Russell, widow of the patriot and martyr, William Lord Russell.

As Lord Southampton was married a second and a third time, it might have been thought that his intimacy with the Ruvigny family cooled down to the intercourse of mere acquaintanceship. But such was not the case. The children of his first wife were his heiresses—their only surviving half-sister being, in right of her mother, rich and independent. A great man with Elizabeth and Rachel was their mother's brother, Henri, Marquis de Ruvigny. He is the person whom Lady Russell, in her celebrated letters, calls "my Uncle Ruvigny," and whom she characterizes as having been "as kind a relation, and as zealous tender a friend as ever any body had."

This Henri de Massue, Seigneur de Ruvigny, was the Countess of Southampton's only brother. The registry of his birth has not been found. As he lived to have a son who was styled Le Sieur de La Caillemotte, it is conjectured that he was the child of his father's second

^{*} The wife of Seigneur Nicolas de Massue de Renneval was Helène, daughter of Antoine d'Ailly, Le Sieur de La Mairie et de Pierrepont, by Charlotte Famechon, his wife.

wife, and that he must have been born in 1610. However, his niece, Rachel, believed his age in 1685 to be "several years past fourscore;" and when he died in 1689 it was said of him by Pastor Du Bosc, that he had passed far beyond the boundary of human life which the Ninetieth Psalm assigns to the most vigorous. He was an active public man to the last, so that it was not any symptom of dotage that occasioned the mistake regarding his age, if it was a mistake. And it is quite possible that La Dame de La Caillemotte, though only his step-mother, settled upon him the estate, to which her own honorary title belonged. My opinion is that the old Seigneur's first wife, whose maiden name was Madelaine Pinot, was the mother of both Rachel and Henri, Henri being the eldest child and born about 1600.

The Messieurs Haag state that the old Seigneur Daniel de Massue de Ruvigny was Governor of the Bastile. But as the Duc de Sully was Governor, I suppose that the Seigneur De Ruvigny was Lieutenant-Governor; at least Sully must have been a friend and patron, for (as already stated), the Duchesse and her son were the baptismal sponsors of his daughter Rachel. The old Siegneur married 1st Madelaine Pinot—and 2dly, Madelaine de Fontaine, Dame de La Caillemotte; he died in 1611. His widow survived till 1636. To her Henri owed the superintendence of his education, and probably Sully, who had been a successful soldier in his youth, took an interest in him. At all events Henri Siegneur De Ruvigny became a soldier, and he first appears to public view as an officer of the French Guards at the siege of La Rochelle in 1627. He was one of those Huguenots who served in the Royal Armies and whose case I have discussed in the Historical Introduction, (Section I.) Though a very strong Protestant in religion, he differed from the Huguenots of La Rochelle in politics, but practically agreed with the majority of his co-religionists, who for several years had declined to take up arms against Louis XIII. Ruvigny's principle was that the king as his master should be obeyed, and should as a man be conciliated; and while service against the Huguenot confederates is a part of his recorded services, it is but a small part. [See Haag's "La France Protestante."]

When the English Auxiliaries under the Duke of Buckingham disembarked on the Isle of Rhé, they immediately invested the fortress of St. Martin, and its fall seemed to be probable. At length a brave officer in the garrison, who proved to be the Seigneur De Ruvigny, at the peril of his life, conveyed a message to the king, representing the extremity to which they were reduced. The consequence was, that (by order of Cardinal Richelieu, who acted both as prime minister and as commander-in-chief) reinforcements were thrown into the fortress, and Buckingham and his forces sailed back to England on November 16th. La Rochelle now had only itself to rely on. The garrison bravely held out till the 28th October 1628, and the king and the cardinal made a triumphant entry into the city on the 1st of November. Ruvigny was in active service during the whole siege on the side of royal authority.

The Duchy of Mantua having become vacant by the death of Duke Vincenzo, the Duc de Nevers, whom the King of France put forward, assumed the title of Duke of Mantua, and took possession of the territory. Ferdinand II., Emperor of Germany, in combination with Philip IV. of Spain, espoused the claims of the Duke of Guastalla, and besieged Casale. The Duke of Savoy joined these confederates, and opposed the march through his dominions of the French army that set out to raise the siege. Ruvigny was in this expedition, which was commanded by the King of France himself. The great event was the forcing of the Pass of Suza on the 6th of March 1629. Three barricades were carried by storm, there being at the head of the attack above a hundred princes, lords, and gentlemen volunteers, who followed the forlorn hope. The success was complete, and the Duke of Savoy agreed to the Treaty of Suza.

Whether Ruvigny returned with Louis on April 28th, or with another detachment under Richelieu soon after, does not appear. At any rate it was again his painful duty to be in arms at home against his co-religionists. Privas was taken, and burnt to the ground. Alais capitulated, and was dismantled. Peace between the King and the Protestants was established on the 27th June, along with the re-establishment of liberty of conscience and freedom of

worship, and a pardon for the Huguenot commanders, the two brothers, Henri, Duc de Rohan, and Benjamin Rohan, Baron de Soubise.

In the following year, the Duke of Savoy having proved faithless, Ruvigny took part in the conquest of Savoy. He is next mentioned in 1633 among the officers of the French army which reduced Lorraine and expelled the contumacious Duke Charles from his dominions.

His public employments for the next ten years are not recorded. As to his private life, his heart was drawn towards England in 1634 by his sister's marriage to the Earl of Southampton, and many influential friendships resulted during the next half-century. Another private friendship also moulded his career. The brilliant Viscount Turenne, who at the beginning of the new reign was made a Marshal, esteemed him as an officer, and delighted in his society. It was no ordinary acquaintanceship. The intimacy was noted, and ultimately handed down to posterity, by the classical St. Evremont, as a model of friendship, a confidence of forty years' duration.*

The date of Louis XIV.'s accession was May 14, 1643. Cardinal Mazarin was appointed prime minister. In 1644 Ruvigny raised a regiment of infantry, at the head of which he served in the Italian campaign of that year.† I cannot find any historical mention of such a campaign, but the Count of Harcourt had successes in Italy in 1645, in which year Ruvigny was promoted to the rank of *maréchal-de-camp* and colonel-general (probably equivalent to the British rank of major-general). During this year his name occurs for the first time in English history. Mazarin amused the English ambassador with hopes that a French contingent would be sent to assist Charles I. against the parliamentary forces. The ambassador, Lord Jermyn, accordingly wrote to the English Court that a body of 5000 men, said to be actually raised under the command of Ruvigny, would be embarked for Pendennis. Lord Clarendon, having mentioned that several letters were received in England regarding the day of their probable landing, adds:—"After all this, it is as true that there was never a man at this time levied or designed for that expedition. Only the name of Ruvigny (because he was of the religion and known to be a good officer) had been mentioned in some loose discourse by the cardinal, as one who would be very fit to command any troops which might be sent into England for the relief of the king."‡

In 1647 the Baron of Ruvigny married Marie, daughter of Pierre Tallemant and Marie de Rambouillet, a lady who, like himself, was in later life a welcome member of English society. His feelings were further gratified this year by the gift of a cavalry regiment which bore his name, and with which he served in Flanders. He was again in the field in 1648 under the command of the great Prince of Condé, and was present at the taking of Ypres, and at the famous victory of Lens. He also served in September under the Marshal De Rantzau at the recapture of Furnes.

As if to show the ignorance of those who impute all the civil wars in France to the Huguenots, the feuds in the royal family now came to a height. Several Bourbon princes were in the front of the revolt, and Turenne was, for a brief period, seduced to lead their troops. This was in 1649. Ruvigny's service this year was in Flanders, under the Count of Harcourt. He shared in the check which the French suffered before Cambray, and in the compensating success at Condé, which was carried in two days. The Prince of Condé, though the natural head of the insurgents, had obeyed the importunate request of the Queen Regent to defend her authority. This he did with success, but with outspoken contempt for the duty; and being evidently a ringleader of disaffection, he was imprisoned in the castle of Vincennes in 1651. His hatred of the prime minister, already sufficiently intense, was of course confirmed, and although Mazarin in person set him at liberty the next year,

* Je fais plus de cas de la liaison de Monsieur le Maréchal d'Estrées et de Monsieur de Senecterre, qui ont vécu cinquante ans à la Cour dans une confiance toujours égale; je fais plus de cas de la confiance que Monsieur de Turenne a eüe en Monsieur de Ruvigny quarante ans durant: que de ces Amitiés toujours citées et jamais mises en usage parmi les hommes.—*Saint-Evremont* Œuvres, Tome II., page 282. (Lond. 1705.)

† Haag.

‡ Clarendon's History, Book x.

the prince was not conciliated. For the sake of harmony, at the approaching majority of Louis XIV. (at the age of fourteen), Mazarin retired to Cologne. But Condé, believing him to be still consulted as prime minister, was so far from being reconciled to the court that he revived the civil war. Accordingly the cardinal, escorted by the Marshal d'Hocquincourt with 6000 men, joined the king in spite of the rebels. Turenne had returned to loyalty, and was installed in the chief command of the royal army. It was the glory of Condé that he nearly made Louis, Mazarin, and the whole court his prisoners in April 1652. But Turenne coming to the relief of Hocquincourt, the prince's squadrons were defeated at Blesneau. Ruvigny fought under Turenne in this spirited and skilful action, and in the engagements that rapidly ensued. Condé retired towards Paris, and his troops were again defeated by Turenne's army at the battle of Etampes. At a gate of Paris, the Porte St. Antoine, Turenne was unsuccessful; but the capital soon received the court back to itself by capitulation. The Huguenots were on the royal side in this quarrel. Ever after the pacification concluded between Louis XIII. and the great and gallant Protestant, Le Duc de Rohan, the Huguenots were all royalists. Ruvigny who had already shown great talents for business and for negotiation was the Protestant political chief, on the side of the government, in this *Civil War of the Fronde*. He had for some years enjoyed the good opinion of the Prime Minister.

Here we may introduce the brief history of Tancred de Rohan.* The great Duc de Rohan had fallen at the Battle of Rhinfeldt in 1638. His daughter Marguerite thus became the greatest heiress in France, and it was hoped that she would marry a Protestant of noble family. The young lady was forward to declare that she would give her hand to no suitor but a prince of royal blood and of a reigning family. She, nevertheless, was surrounded with admirers. In the midst of her pride, her mother announced to her that she was not the heiress. The Dowager's disclosure was that having observed how her husband was always exposed to Popish plots, she had concealed from him, as well as from the public, the fact of the birth of a son and heir. This concealment, she said, had prevented the abduction of the infant by the Roman Catholics. The mother's story had this confirmation, that she had handed over an infant boy, whom she called her son and named Tancred, to be educated by Monsieur La Metairie at his remote chateau. When Marguerite heard this story, she at once resolved to take into her counsel some man of sense and dexterity. Among her admirers was one, whom Benoist describes as "a gentleman of a very handsome person, full of wit, courage, and business-talent, a very considerable person at court, and with every prospect of making a large fortune for himself through the good-will of Cardinal Mazarin." This was Henry, Lord of Ruvigny. He entered into the lady's views (though, it is said, he had some trouble in dissuading her from the rough remedy of assassination) and the alleged brother was removed unknown to the Dowager, to the care of a burgher of Leyden to be brought up as a man of rank. It is said that Ruvigny believed himself to be the accepted suitor of Marguerite. But though the fair one forgot her vow as to royal lineage, she unexpectedly announced that she was affianced to the Marquis De Chabot. The court at once seconded her in her sudden resolution, as the new favourite was a Roman Catholic. The young lady was unmoved by the dissuasive expostulation of her mother and her pastors. Ruvigny took up the tone of one who had been accepted and discarded, but could make no impression. He then formally threatened to transfer Tancred to her mother's charge. Marguerite told Chabot, whose agent forthwith ran a race to Leyden with the Duchess's messengers. The latter arrived first, and consigned Tancred to the care of a magistrate. The youth was, with proper precautions, conveyed to Paris, and the Duchess endeavoured to introduce him to society. At the same time, she laid proofs of his paternity and legitimacy before the Parliament of Paris. While the case was pending, the Protestant

* This account of the *cause célèbre* is an abridgement of the story as told by Benoist in his History of the Edict of Nantes. The greater part of it, of course, belongs to earlier dates than those of Ruvigny's marriage and his subsequent public life.

community was ready to believe Tancred to be the ducal heir, while all the Roman Catholics sided with the heiress. It clearly appeared that the late Duke considered his daughter to be an only child, and had never been aware of the existence of a son : and the Duchess's apology for her alleged concealment of his birth being considered frivolous and unreal, the parliament decided in favour of the daughter. This conclusion was spoken of by the Duchess as being the mere consequence of dictation from the ruling powers. In the hope, therefore, of getting the decree reconsidered and reversed, she persuaded Tancred to fight on the side of the parliament in the civil war. The young man was wounded in a sortie, and was carried to Vincennes, where he died. The mother and daughter were reconciled after the lapse of some years, but neither of them again breathed the name of Tancred de Rohan.

Although Mazarin, not to hinder the pacification, again retired, and was formally excluded from the king's councils, yet that prime minister, without either negotiation or opposition, came back in February 1653, and coolly resuming the reins of government, held them without molestation till his death. On the 10th of the preceding July, Ruvigny had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general. The Prince of Condé joined the enemies of his country, and served in Flanders in 1653 as generalissimo of the Spaniards. Ruvigny served there under Turenne and Le Ferté. He is mentioned in connection with three sieges, Vincennes (in Picardy) and Rhétel (both of which were recovered from the enemy), and Mouzon, which capitulated after a blockade of fourteen days. His last campaign was in 1654, also in Flanders.

Abundance of occupation at home had been provided for the Lord of Ruvigny. It was far from his own wish to retire from military service. But Mazarin had represented to him that as a Protestant he could not hope for any higher promotion, and therefore urged him to accept an office which would give him a residence at the court of Louis XIV., amid general deference due to his rank and character, and with occasional opportunities of shewing his capacity as a politician. He was also elevated to the rank of a Marquis.

One of the Lords constantly resident at the Court of Louis XIV. was called the Deputy-General of the Reformed Churches, or Agent for the Huguenots. He was the representative of the Protestants. All their requests and complaints were presented to the King by his hands, unless at his request he was permitted to introduce an occasional deputation. A salary of 1000 pistoles per annum (£458, 6s. 8d. sterling)* was attached to this office. In the summer of 1653 it became vacant by the death of the Marquis d'Arzilliers, who had discharged its duties for nine years with much dignity and efficiency.

Like the present French House of Commons or Chamber of Deputies, Protestant assemblies in France, being representative institutions, necessarily consisted of deputies, or members (as we would call them). But the office of deputy-general was a novelty ordered by the king in 1601, when Henry IV., considering that a "political assembly" had sat too long, commanded them to separate. In intimating that command to the national or "spiritual" synod which met in May of that year at Gergeau, he softened his peremptoriness by adding, "he however would permit them one or two deputies near his royal person, who should upon all occasions tender him their complaints and requests, and in order that they might nominate and appoint them, another political assembly in this current year would be permitted."* A

* John Locke has noted the value of French money at this time :—

1 pistole ...	(Louis d'or) ...	11 livres.
1 ecu ...	(Crown) ...	3 livres.
1 livre ...	(Pound) ...	20 sous.

1 pistole was therefore equal to 220 sous, or 110 pence (9s. 2d. sterling.) Before the reign of Louis XIV. there were two Deputies-General, for whom the annual sum of 13,500 livres was set aside from the Protestant endowments. The endowments were obtained through a composition or commutation entered into between the Protestants and the King with reference to tithes. See also "Danby's Letters," page 5.

† A similar office had been introduced at the Court of Navarre, by the same prince. At the National Synod held at Vitré in Brittany, in the Chateau of the Right Hon. Guy, Comte De Laval, 16 May 1583, "The

canon was framed forthwith, enacting and declaring that a National Synod should be called every three years by express warrant from the king, and that a political assembly should be convened in anticipation of each of those triennial spiritual courts, at which assembly the business should be to collect and arrange appeals and complaints concerning the churches' temporalities, and to elect two Lords Deputies General to be residents at court.* By this regulation, the Reformed Churches had a perpetual representation established near the king, and hence the name "Deputy-General" (*Deputé-General*, abbreviated into D. G.)

We must pass on to 1653, when the office was offered to the Marquis De Ruvigny. Louis XIII. had abolished the political assemblies, and during the latter years of his reign the National Synods elected the Deputies-General. Louis XIV., introducing more alterations, had taken the nomination into his own hands. In his reign there were no longer two, but only one lord at court, called "The Deputy-General of the Reformed Churches," (or "*Agent pour les Huguenots.*")

The first synod summoned by Louis XIV. was in December 1644, about eighteen months after his accession. It is well known that Cardinal Mazarin was wonderfully tolerant, and any such disposition was practically strengthened by his value for the alliance with England under Oliver Cromwell. But though the reverse of a persecutor, the Cardinal did not foster Protestant synodical action. The year 1653 came and no second National Synod was yet thought of. In that year the Lord Deputy General (the Marquis d'Arzilliers) whom the king had appointed in 1644 (as Louis had bluntly acquainted the synod then sitting at Charenton), after holding the office (without the form of re-election) for three times, the regular term of three years, departed this life. His majesty was again advised to assume the power of nomination, and the following patent was drawn up [see Quick's Synodicon] :—

"This third day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and fifty-three, the King residing then in Paris, and being to provide a Deputy-General for his subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion—that office being lately vacant through the death of the Lord Marquis d'Arzilliers ;—After that his Majesty had cast his eyes upon many of his subjects, he judged that he could not better fill it up than with the person of the Marquis De Ruvigny, Lieutenant-General of his armies, who is a professor of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, and endowed with many good and laudable qualities, and who has given signal testimonies of his fidelity and affection on divers occasions, and of his abilities and capacity for his Majesty's service ; And his Majesty condescending to the humble petition of his said subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, he has chosen and appointed the said Lord De Ruvigny to be the Deputy-General of those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, and is well pleased that he reside near his person, and follow his court in the said quality, and to present to his Majesty their petitions, narrations, and most humble complaints, that he may take such course therein as he shall judge convenient for the benefit of his service and for the relief and satisfaction of his said subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion. In testimony whereof his said Majesty has commanded me to expedite this present writ to the said Lord De Ruvigny, which he was pleased to sign with his own hands, and caused to be countersigned by me his Councillor and Secretary of State, and of his commandments.

“(Signed) LOUIS.

“(Countersigned) PHELYPEAUX.”†

Lord Du Plessis presented himself in the name of the king of Navarre to this Assembly, proposing from his Majesty that there might be sent unto him, being now on the other side of the Loire, certain Deputies, *persons of quality and understanding who might be near his Majesty*, to acquaint him with the true state of our Churches ; and that he might also reciprocally communicate unto the Churches all matters of importance tending to their welfare and preservation. This assembly is of opinion that all the Churches be exhorted effectually to comply with his Majesty's demands, and in order thereunto, to name one or two deputies to be despatched unto him in the name of the Churches, and this to be done out of hand ; and the Province of the Isle of France is to see it done without delay.

* Quick's Synodicon.

† *Pheypeaux* was the surname and signature of the Marquis de la Vrillière, who was the Secretary of State for

The Protestants, during the enforced suspension of National Synods, could not be informed of this appointment ; a royal announcement, however, was sent to the Consistory of Charenton. Ruvigny himself sent a copy of his Commission to the Provincial Synod of Burgundy, sitting at Lyons,—to whom he also addressed the following letter :—*

“*Gentlemen*,—The king, having honoured me with the General Deputation of the Reformed Churches of his kingdom, has thought good to inform you thereof in his letter which I send you. It will show you his intentions ; and by what I now write you will be informed of my own sentiments, of which time will give you more ample knowledge. His Majesty has chosen me in order to give me an employment which has respect both to his service and to yours. I believe that I shall not find it difficult to acquit myself well in this double duty, to which I feel myself obliged by my conscience. I know by experience both the king’s good-will towards you, and your fidelity in his service. I shall use every endeavour to provide that you receive the effects of his affection, and that he may be persuaded that you are incapable of any failure in the obedience which you owe to him. Upon that I shall base all my administrations assuring you that I will devote all my time to ensure the success of your righteous resolution, and that I shall reckon myself well employed if I am able to make you aware that I am, Gentlemen, your very humble and very affectionate servant,

RUVIGNY.”

Paris, 22d August, 1653.

One of Ruvigny’s first actions as Deputy-General was to obtain the restoration of liberty of worship to the Protestants of Vals. He was sent to Vals for this purpose with full powers from the government. The Proprietor had interdicted their worship, and the inhabitants had appealed to the Intendant, who, taking an opportunity of inflicting private revenge on the lord of the soil, had told the people to retake by force what had been taken from them by force. Whereupon the Protestants had flown to arms, and a battle was imminent, when the court interposed. But for the almost unprecedented circumstance of the Intendant taking the side of the Protestants, their own Deputy-General would not have been the envoy. Ruvigny ordered both sides to be disbanded, which was done. He then issued and registered a deed of amnesty ; and thereafter the question as to the Protestant right of worship in Vals being submitted to arbitration, the right was confirmed.

In 1658 the Provincial Synods, by correspondence with one another, concocted a Memorial and sent a deputation to the king. It was Ruvigny’s business to obtain an audience, and with great difficulty he succeeded. On the 18th February, the Marquis de la Forêt (of the province of Poitou), as the head of the Deputation was permitted to address His Majesty, and to put into his hand the *Cahier* or portfolio of grievances. The Cardinal, who gave a separate audience, would receive only two deputies of whom the spokesman was Pastor De L’Angle of Rouen ; but his reception of them was flattering. He reminded them of his past appreciation of the loyalty and integrity of the Protestants by giving them many offices under government, and he assured them of continued good-will.

On the 10th November 1659, by the king’s warrant, a National Synod assembled once more. Its place of meeting was Loudun in Anjou. The Royal Commissioner, the aged Lord de Magdelaine, was however ordered to announce that this was the last National Synod. Accordingly, though the Synod, at its dissolution, 10th January 1660, left matters in the usual train for the calling of another triennial synod, the Rev. John Quick, the English compiler of the “*Synodicon in Galliâ Reformatâ*,” ends his list of twenty-nine synods thus :—“The next National Synod was appointed to be held in the city of Nismes, but when that will be, Pelsoni Palmoni, the wonderful numberer, can only and most certainly inform us.”

The appointment of Ruvigny was largely dwelt upon in the Commissioner’s speech. Lord the dealings of the king with his subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion. The nobles of the most ancient races signed with their family names rather than with their titles. This Secretary continued in office until his death in 1681, being the brother and successor of the eminent Secretary Paul Phelypeaux Comte de Pont-Chartrain, and ancestor of a line of Secretaries of State, ending with Le Duc de La Vrillière in 1775.

* Bulletin, Vol. X., page 119.

de Magdelaine said :—" His Majesty commanded me to tell you that immediately upon the death of the Lord D'Arzilliers, who exercised the office of Deputy-General, he appointed the Lord De Ruvigny to succeed him, and to take care of your concerns at court. Yet His Majesty would not constrain you by mere necessity to have recourse to him only, if for some other medium of communication you have arguments of sufficient strength. Although His Majesty has good grounds to believe that you are well content with the nomination of the Lord Ruvigny, because of those good offices he has already done you, as His Majesty is with all his other employments until now, yet I am ordered to declare to you that you are left at liberty to deliberate about the confirmation of him in this office of Deputy-General, that so after your debate upon it, His Majesty may provide as he shall think good. If you admit him and desire his confirmation in this office, His Majesty will be very much pleased, hoping that he will continue to acquit himself worthily in it, that so being approved by you he may owe his establishment purely to your consent. In the last National Synod, His Majesty declared it to be his will that no Deputy-General should assist in it. Yet His Majesty, out of mere respect to the Lord De Ruvigny, allows him the use of the privilege to come to the Synod and vote in it at his pleasure, a privilege which has been ever enjoyed by his predecessors in this office."

The Moderator, the illustrious Dailé, replied—" If our churches were to choose for themselves, as the custom was, they could never make a more advantageous election. And we have cause enough to be thankful to His Majesty for granting us the liberty of deliberating about his confirmation in this office, without imposing upon us in this juncture any force or necessity."

According to De Magdelaine's official report, Ruvigny laid his commission (of 1653) on the table, stating at the same time that he had been nominated by the king without any solicitation on his part, and that he left himself in the hands of the Synod as to the question of his retaining the appointment any longer. Having also produced the correspondence which showed that his importunity had led the king and Cardinal Mazarin to summon this Synod, he withdrew. The Synod, having deliberated, resolved that no better nomination could have been made. He was called in and took his seat; and the resolution was intimated to him by the Moderator.

Then (to resume Quick's narrative) the Synod formally appointed him to exercise the office of Deputy-General near His Majesty, administered the usual oath to him, granted him both a deliberative and a decisive vote like his predecessors, and returned to him the King's writ. They also declared their satisfaction with the Deputy-General in letters to the King and to Cardinal Mazarin. To the latter they said that the Lord Marquis de Ruvigny's commendable qualities and services obliged them to confirm him in his office. What the Marquis said and did in the Synod is not recorded; we only find him as a Teller in a Division. Perhaps he wrote the theological portion of the Synod's letter to the king; it must have been a layman who referred his Majesty to the Proverbs of Solomon for a precept taken from the first epistle of Saint Peter :—"Sire, The wisest of kings, to his command of fearing God, joined that of honouring the king. These are two duties inseparably linked together. For kings in this world do in some sense hold the very place of God, and are his most lively portraitures on earth, and the steps and degrees of their throne do not raise them above the generality of mankind, but to draw them nearer heaven. These, Sire, are the fundamental maxims of our creed, which we learned in our infancy, and endeavour to practise during our whole life, and to devolve as an inheritance to our flocks."

It is to this period that St. Evremond's panegyric probably belongs :—(the French editor at vol. 1., page 450, informs us that the reference is to "Feu Monsieur le Marquis de Ruvigny, père du Comte de Galway"), "If a prime minister or a favourite were looking for a companion at court in whom he could trust thoroughly confide, and were to ask my advice, I would say that he could not select one more worthy than Monsieur De Ruvigny. You may discover in some other men more brilliant talents, or may be told of some actions of

greater eclat than his. But taking everything into account, and judging of men by their entire career, I know no man who claims greater esteem, and with whom one could for a longer time keep up a confidence without suspicion, and a friendship without weariness. Whatever complaints may be made of the corruption of the present day, things are not so bad but that one may yet meet with faithful friends. But the most of these people of honour have such an indescribable rigidity about them, that really one would prefer the wiles of an impostor to such austere fidelity. I observe in these men, whom we in France call *solid* and *essential*, either a gravity which teases you, or a heaviness which fatigues you. Their good sense, however valued, because it may on occasion be useful to you in business, comes forth day by day to mar your pleasure. Yet you must manage people who embarrass you, because you see that you may require them. They will not fail you when you confide anything to them, and so they establish a claim to incommode you when you have nothing to confide. Monsieur De Ruvigny's probity, while quite as strict as theirs for matters of confidence, has nothing in its train but what is unassuming and good-natured in society. He is a trusty and agreeable friend, whose alliance is firm, whose intimacy is refreshing, whose conversation is uniformly sensible and satisfactory."

England having latterly been regarded as a first-rate Protestant power, and Charles having been viewed with suspicion as half a Romanist, the French government resolved to send a Protestant envoy to compliment the King on his restoration. The Marquis De Ruvigny was selected as a most eligible individual and brother-in-law of the Lord High Treasurer, the Earl of Southampton. Secretary Sir William Nicholas writes, 24th August 1660,—“Monsieur De Ruvigny is coming as envoy from France.” Robert Covin, master of the ship *Alliance*, of Dieppe, petitions “for an order for exemption from tonnage—is employed for transport of the horses, baggage, &c., of Monsieur De Ruvigny, a person of state lately come from France, and hath brought no other goods; such vessels are usually exempt from duty.” Secretary Nicholas again writes on September 6,—“Monsieur De Ruvigny, French Envoy, has had several audiences.”

About this time he seems to have been made a Privy Councillor, for in 1661 Daillé's Exposition of 1st Timothy was published, dedicated to Monsieur De Ruvigny, as “Conseiller du Roi en ses conseils, Lieutenant General de ses armées, et Député-General des Eglises Reformées de France auprès de sa Majesté.” In the year 1663, Charles II. presented him with £330 as “the King's free gift to buy him a jewel.”

As Deputy-General he had the good opinion of his own pastor, the great Protestant divine, Jean Daillé of Charenton, who, in the Dedicatory Epistle just alluded to, assured him that he had earned the unanimous approbation of all their churches by his discharge of his office, in which it was required of him to be the mouthpiece of all their assemblies and people dispersed through France, and to lay before the King all their necessities and requests, and to be constantly soliciting the exercise of either the justice or the clemency of the monarch, and all this amid the frowning elements of malice and misapprehension.

Some insight into his duties as Deputy-General may be obtained by dipping into the Life of Pierre Du Bosc, Pastor of Caen in Normandy. This talented man and distinguished preacher was accused to the king in 1664 of haranguing indecently against the Romish confessional. Mazarin had then been dead for three years, and Louis being his own premier, by a *lettre de cachét* (or sealed order), dated 2d April 1664, banished the Pastor to Châlons. For his deliverance Du Bosc had to apply to the Marquis De la Vrilliere and to the Lord Deputy-General. The reverend exile received the following letters from the Marquis De Ruvigny:—

I. SIR,—What I have done may have been reported to you, but no report can represent the affection that prompts me to serve you. I am extremely concerned that it has not produced the effect which your conduct deserved, and which we hoped to obtain from the king's goodness. I say, “we;” for you have had good friends at court, who have warmly espoused your interests, and who are more favourably heard than I. Yet with all these endeavours, you are at Chalons still. It is true that your return may be hoped for, because

the king is convinced of your innocence. I assure you, Sir, that when I am at court, I will do all that you justly expect from a person who esteems you to the last degree, and who passionately desires the special comfort both of yourself and of your flock.—I am, &c.

II. SIR,—I received your last letter, while I was at Fontainebleau for the purpose of petitioning for your return, which I thought quite certain, as I was witness to the Duc de Montausier doing justice to your case before the king, I delayed my answer that I might have good news to tell you. But the king, who now knows your innocence regarding the things of which they accuse you, has postponed the marks of his favour for a month. I will then restate your case. Mr Secretary Cognard has shewn very great zeal for your interests, and will give you details. I pray God to help you with his benediction, and to send you soon what you merit. Nevertheless, be assured that I shall lose no time to make you experience that I am, with all my heart, &c.

III. SIR,—As I love not to give bad news, especially to people whom I esteem, I did not write to you the king's answer in your case. He said to me, drily enough, it was not yet time to speak to him about your case. I fear exceedingly that your merit is your crime, and that consequently your punishment will not end very soon. I pray God, who has given you strength to bear so vexatious a banishment, to bless our measures to his glory and your repose. I will see the Marquis De Louvoy, and I pray you to be persuaded that in everything that concerns you I will bestir myself with all the passion and all the care which can characterise one who esteems you to the last degree, &c.

IV. 15th October 1664.—SIR,—The letter which you wrote to the Marquis de la Vrillière, and which he read to the king, has effected your return. You owe everything to your letter, and to his lordship who made such good use of it, and to his Majesty. When you come, you will hear the details of your business. I wish you all prosperity, and I am, &c.

The celebrated Duc de St. Simon, whose published manuscripts are so precious to historians, being in age no older than a grandson to Ruvigny's cotemporaries, could write of him only by hearsay. As to his personal appearance he may have been mistaken, but his information as to his public life and great reputation may be relied on. He says:—"Ruvigny was a good but plain gentleman, full of sense, wisdom, humour, and probity, a strong Huguenot, but of eminent administrative powers, and great dexterity. These qualities, which had gained him great reputation among those of his religion, had procured him many important friends and much consideration in the world. The ministers and the principal nobles reckoned him as a friend, and were not indifferent to the circumstance being known that he reckoned them as his friends, and the most influential magistrates were eager to be so also. Under a very plain exterior, he was a man who knew how to ally straightforwardness with *finesse*, in his designs and arrangements. Yet his fidelity was so well known that he had secrets and deposits confided to him by the most distinguished persons. For a great number of years he was the deputy at court of his religion; and the king often availed himself of the connections his religious creed gave him in Holland, Switzerland, England, and Germany for secret negotiations, where he served him very usefully."

St. Simon does not mention Portugal. But in 1666, Ruvigny went to that court as Ambassador from France to be present at King Alphonso's marriage, and also (according to one account) as General of the Naval Forces which conveyed the bride, the Princess of Nemours, to Lisbon. The probable reasons for such an honour being conferred on the Huguenot Marquis were that his appointment would be acceptable to Schomberg, and that he could bring back to the French court a lucid account of the extent of the king's imbecility and of the chances of his being superseded by his brother, Pedro, who ultimately did secure both his crown and his wife.

The year 1667 must be noted as the date of the death of Lord Southampton, the last Earl of the old Wriothsley family. By his death Lady Elizabeth Noel became heiress of Titchfield, where Rachel, Lady Vaughan, now a widow, lived as the guest of the Noels, though her inheritance was Stratton, in Hampshire, and Southampton House, London. The funeral of

the Lord Treasurer was followed by great political changes in England. On the 23d May there was concluded a treaty of commerce with Spain, and on the 24th of August, peace with Holland. On the 31st of August, the Earl of Clarendon was dismissed. All these changes alarmed France so much, that on the 11th of September, Ruvigny sought an audience with King Charles, having come over with instructions "to sound the disposition of the English court, and to know whether upon Clarendon's being turned out, the king had not been prevailed on to quit the friendship of France and enter into a closer alliance with Spain."* The Marquis continued to hold communications with the English court during this and the following year. In 1668, Claud Roux, Sieur de Marcilli, went to the Protestant courts of Europe, detailing all the injustice done to the Protestants of France, and declaring that Louis XIV. had vowed the ruin of the Huguenots. Unfortunately for himself, and for Ruvigny also, his visit to Charles II. was during the Marquis's embassy in England. Marcilli made a great impression on Charles and on many Members of Parliament, and was allowed to leave England without molestation. Ruvigny obtained all these particulars in England, as well as information that Marcilli had gone to Switzerland. As an accredited servant of France, he sent home this intelligence, which led to the unfortunate man's apprehension and execution in 1667. What can be said in Ruvigny's defence amounts to this, (1st) that he did not believe that Louis had made any sanguinary vow; he afterwards told Burnet, "I was long deceived as to his feelings towards the Protestants, knowing he was not of a sanguinary disposition naturally, and knowing well how grossly ignorant he was on religious questions." (2dly) Technically Marcilli was guilty of treachery; "*ce scelerat*," Ruvigny called him. (Despatch, dated 29th May 1668). In that age, unauthorised communications with foreign potentates were regarded as more lawless and dangerous than they are now. I may add in connection with the first of these excuses, that Ruvigny at this date did not despair of the French Protestants obtaining the lasting protection of Louis XIV. He was in the habit of warning the king that the furious and blind zeal of his confessor and of the provincial magistrates would drive out of him the generosity and equity which were natural to him. The odium of frequent oppressions and persecutions was always imputed to priests and bigoted advisers, and not to the king, who was believed to be tolerant and humane. Religion was not a subject of which the gay monarch had any accurate knowledge, or for which he had any enthusiastic predilection; and the feuds of the Jesuits and Jansenists within the pale of the Roman Catholic Church were fitted to weaken his attachment to that body, and also to contradict the theory that there would be peace and unanimity if there were no Huguenot party in the kingdom. Personally the Protestant people commended themselves to the king by their honesty, industry, and talents.

Though Ruvigny's head-quarters were in London, he occasionally paid visits to Paris when the interests of the Huguenots required them; for instance, in the winter of 1667, when "the most Christian king" was planning the suppression of the Mixed Chambers. These were courts of law presided over by a bench, including some Protestant judges. As they had been established for the Protestant population by the Edict of Nantes, they were named Chambers of the Edict. On hearing of the ordinance for their abolition, all the provincial deputies of the churches rushed to Paris to the residence of the Lord-Deputy-General, who procured the king's permission for their attendance at the Palace of the Tuileries. Accordingly, on the 27th of November 1667, Pastor Du Bosc was admitted to the royal closet to plead. The king listened very graciously, and persevering in dissimulation, replied to the following effect:—"Ruvigny has already spoken to me of the affair which you have now represented to me, and has touched on some of the reasons which you have alleged. On your general interests I say nothing; I wait for the Commissioners' Report thereupon. As to the ordinance for the suppression of the chambers, it was a reform, not intended to prejudice those of your religion, but inaugurating a remodelled system, breathing within a new framework the same impartiality

* Cooke's Life of Shaftesbury, vol. I, p. 331.

towards those of that religion." Du Bosc, being permitted to reply, said—"The question was not so much as to the fair proportion of judges as concerning the upholding of the Edict of Nantes. The abolition of the guaranteed chambers destroyed the integrity of the edict, and abandoned the professors of their religion to dismal forebodings." The king agreed to suspend the execution of the ordinance, and to allow time for contriving some compromise. The deputies of the churches declined to be parties to tampering with the edict. After a protracted show of deliberation, the chambers were suppressed.*

In 1669 William Russell, afterwards styled Lord Russell, married Lady Vaughan, née Lady Rachel Wriothlesley, Ruvigny's niece. In 1670 we have an indication of the Deputy-General's zeal in a letter from Madame de Maintenon to her brother, D'Aubigné, Governor of Amersfort, in which she reproaches him for persecuting Protestants, a class of people "more wretched than culpable," engulfed in "errors in which we ourselves were, and from which persecution would not have dragged us;" she concludes thus:—"I repeat, dear brother, let not Monsieur de Ruvigny have occasion to complain of you any more." Re-union between Catholics and Protestants was the plausible shape, which, at this date, the hostile designs against Huguenots adopted. The scheme was to beguile Protestants into making concessions approximating to Romanism, and capable of illustrating the unreasonableness of any separation from the Church of Rome. The court knew that there were lukewarm Protestants who could be formed into a considerable party, and might break up the Reformed Church with internal controversy concerning essentials and non-essentials. The Marquis de Ruvigny won great praise by exposing this conspiracy, and warning the reformed leaders against it. There were two vacancies in the pastorate of the Temple of Charenton, and the court had been anxious to fill them with latitudinarian divines. Ruvigny, a member of the congregation (for that was the only temple allowed to Parisian Protestants), made great efforts to obtain the appointment of Pastor Du Bosc, and his advocacy met with much sympathy at court. The reason of its failure was very flattering to Du Bosc, namely, that the Archbishop of Paris took the trouble of seeking an audience from the king, whom he prevailed upon to veto such a formidable nomination. At length, through the good offices of Monsieur Caillard, the celebrated legal practitioner, the Consistory of Charenton received the protection of government in making a free election, and Pastors Allix and Ménard were elected accordingly. In 1671 it is stated that the desolation of Protestant temples would have been even worse than it was, had it not been for Ruvigny's frequent interpositions, in which all his own popularity at court, and all the influence of English fraternal sentiments towards the Huguenots were urged by him in pleading for justice and clemency towards Protestant worshippers. This year he presented a new representation and petition regarding the Edict of Nantes, being the second *requête-générale*. The Privy Council required that the usual conclusion of all public petitions, summing up the various items of wrong and remedy, should in this case be struck out, and that an indefinite prayer, for Royal protection, clemency, and charity, should be substituted.

The Pasteur Du Bosc, in the eloquence of whose pleadings the king delighted, was frequently in Paris taking a leading part in drawing up petitions and remonstrances, which he could not always prevail on Ruvigny to present to the wayward monarch. Again that pastor, for sermons preached in the Temple at Charenton, seemed doomed to banishment. But the Deputy-General represented that the sermons were in perfect good taste, and Louis replied, "I believe you thoroughly." Then Ruvigny ventured to ask, if there was no sealed order to be issued. The king replied, "No; there is none, and there shall be none. Tell Du Bosc to put his mind at rest."

In the service of their churches the importunity of the Protestant Deputies drove Lord De la Vrillière out of all temper and patience. He declared that the Pastor of Caen was not a Lord Deputy-General, and yet that he was the real author of the petitions concerning griev-

* 1669.—His Majesty begins to suppress the Chambers of the Edict, which had been extorted from his predecessors by the Huguenots. The Chamber of the Parliament of Paris was suppressed the first.—Father Daniel, "History of France."

ances. He said further, that such a number of ecclesiastical deputies crowding into Paris was like a Synod—a political assembly met without license ; and that the king wished no residents from their number near his court, except the Lord Deputy-General. Ruvigny hinted that his shoulders could not bear the whole burden. Du Bosc, who sometimes thought that the Marquis ought to speak better out, replied more strongly, and insisted that they were not transgressing the regular bounds—that they were bound to supply the Deputy-General with information about current events and cases, and that they now, as before, dutifully kept the rule of making the Deputy-General the medium of their communications with the king.

Thus a Deputy-General in the court of Louis XIV. was exposed to his royal master's ill humour for being too busy, and to his co-religionists' grumbling for not bestirring himself more. For a long time there was a monster petition, or Requête-General, lying on the council-table unanswered. Ruvigny had not signed it until much pressed to do so. At last it had been presented. Weary of delay, the deputies resolved to print it, and Ruvigny did not object. For the offence of printing, two deputies were imprisoned. Ruvigny had to supplicate for their release. Then Du Bosc tried to get a new hearing by dressing up the requête-general in different words. This document was deposited with Ruvigny for presentation. He did present it, but waited long for a convenient time. This desultory work was interrupted by the Marquis being again sent to England. This brings us to the year 1674.

England had been led by France into unnatural warfare with Holland, war having been declared on the 17th March, 1672. But it was inglorious from a military point of view, besides being originally and unchangeably unpopular with the House of Commons and the nation. In 1674 Parliament determined to stop the supplies. Ruvigny was sent to London to see if the inevitable peace between England and Holland could yet be prevented. Burnet says, that he was "a man of great practice in business and in all intrigues; he was still a firm Protestant, but in all other respects a very dexterous courtier, and one of the greatest statesmen in Europe. He had the appointment of an Ambassador, but would not take the character, that he might not have a chapel, or mass said in it." It is much to be deplored that the excellent Marquis was mixed up with the dirty work of bribery. But in those days most persons expected to be paid for everything they did; as Ralph Montague said to him, "In this world nobody does anything for nothing." Money with other persons was the price of their abstaining from doing mischief; and this view suggests a more plausible defence of the corrupt system, which may have been Ruvigny's defence. It was his great boast that he saved the French king's money, and that a less dexterous ambassador would have spent three times more.

The Marquis, on his arrival in England, finding that the minds of Members of Parliament were made up, spent most of his time at court. One evening king Charles called him aside, and told him, with the strongest expressions of regret, that he had just signed a peace with the Dutch. "Sire," replied Ruvigny, "what is done cannot be helped. But now I will show how faithfully I will serve your Majesty. My Master will submit all his pretensions to you, for I doubt not that he will make you the arbiter and mediator of peace between him and Holland." This plan gave "great joy" to Charles, and the French accepted his proffered mediation. Ruvigny also pressed him to give his parliament all satisfaction in points of religion, but the king gave to him, as formerly to Schomberg, an evasive answer, laying all the blame on *la sottise de mon frère*, the folly of his brother, James, Duke of York. The peace, which King Charles had signed, being in the interest of Spain, the Duke of York's party took up the French interest strongly, according to Coleman's Letters. Father Ferrier wrote from Paris to the Duke, that as to propositions which had regard to the Catholic religion, he must not treat with Monsieur Ruvigny. And Coleman writing to Father La Chaise, characterizes the old Marquis as "a very able man in his master's service in things where religion is not concerned."

We may suppose that Ruvigny often saw his relatives, the Russells; but the published letters of his niece mention him only once:—"1675, My Uncle told Sir Harry Vernon yester-

day he was *un des incurables*." In 1676 he reported to Louis the following disagreeable truths :—"The king of England is in a manner abandoned by his ministers, even the most confidential. The Duke of York is entirely in your Majesty's interest. All England is against your interests; and there is only the King and the Duke of York who embraced them with affection." In May of that year a new French Ambassador was sent. Burnet says, "Ruvigny stayed but two years in England. For though he served his master's interests but too well, yet the Popish party could not bear the want of a chapel in the Ambassador's house, so he was recalled." His place of worship was the French Church in the Savoy, and his powers of negotiation were successfully employed in accommodating a difference between Richard Du Maresq, one of the ministers, and the Bishop of London (Dr. Compton), both being anxious for the mediation of their mutual friend.

He had been much missed by his co-religionists at home. Remarking on his absence, Benoist notes that French ministers of State were really accessible to Ruvigny only; for if Protestant deputations were admitted to occasional audiences, all that Parisians could obtain was an unfavourable reply, while deputies from the country received rebuffs and threats. On his return to France, their religious grievances were not publicly discussed, partly because the politicians were occupied with the Anglo-French negotiations with Holland, and partly on account of Ruvigny's bad health.

During Ruvigny's residence in England, Lord Sunderland asked him to recommend a French Protestant tutor. This gave him an opportunity of serving an eminent scholar, Jean Rou, whose Memoirs are celebrated in Huguenot literature. Rou had compiled a series of accurate and interesting Chronological Tables on a large scale. Some of the plain facts thus chronicled being disagreeable to the Romanists, not only was it forbidden that Rou's work should be printed, but Rou himself was arrested and imprisoned in the Bastille. In a short time he was set at liberty, to give him an opportunity of making alterations, which the government called corrections, in his work, before again bringing it to light. To a conscientious author this amounted to a total prohibition of the publication, and Rou was therefore advised to go abroad as a tutor. On Ruvigny's recommendation he was installed at Althorpe in the spring of 1678 as tutor to Lord Spencer and his sister, while the parents, the Earl and Countess of Sunderland, stately resided in London. A few months afterwards the Earl's residence was at Paris, he having been appointed Ambassador. The father, thinking only of learning and accomplishments, was highly satisfied with Rou. But the mother, unwilling to hear any complaints against her son, and being chiefly anxious as to his bodily safety in play-hours, seemed to wish Rou to act as a nurse more than as a tutor; and taking advantage of the Earl's absence from England, she wrote to Rou, enquiring if he disliked the boy, and concluding with a hint that he might resign his situation. He took the hint at once, and waited upon her ladyship at Whitehall to intimate his resignation, at the same time writing to Ruvigny to prepare him for seeing him in Paris. In reply, letters came both from Lord Sunderland and from Ruvigny urging him to retain his tutorship. The former, however, was intercepted by her ladyship, so that he had to guess at its contents from allusions contained in the latter, which was as follows :—

Paris, 27 August, 1678.

Your letter, Sir, has truly surprised me, as containing news which I never could have anticipated. I saw Mademoiselle Rou yesterday, who can bear witness to the surprise which your letter gave me. This morning I have seen the Earl of Sunderland, and what has been done in your case is directly contrary to his wishes. He has expressed to me much esteem for your person, and he wishes you with all his heart to return to his son. As to this he himself writes to you, and I believe in a style which will render your refusal impossible. He has told me her ladyship's reason for writing to you, which was that when her son's lesson-hours were finished, you were not enough with him; otherwise you gave her great satisfaction. It is true that she loves her son more than herself, and that she often imagines that fatal accidents

are sure to befall him when no one is near him. Such fancies are the affections of a mother, which sometimes go too far, yet there is a qualified and lenient judgment concerning them to which judicious people can bring themselves,—such people as both Lord Sunderland and yourself eminently are; and thus everything may be adjusted. Your honour is safe, your merit being known and appreciated. The imposed condition is only a little more assiduity, such as you already give, but which has not been as well known in the past as it will be in the future. If nothing better suggests itself, consent to this accommodation of the matter, as the Earl of Sunderland requests it of you. I am glad to hear that you have been detained in London by such a good resolution as that of calling on the Bishop of London. This highly becoming duty will allow time for your receiving our letters and for making everything up. Whatever be the issue, be assured, sir, that I esteem you to the utmost and that you may justly expect from me all the services that I am capable of rendering. I am with truth and feeling, Sir, Your very humble and very affectionate servant,

RUVIGNY."

No letter from Lord Sunderland having been delivered to him, Rou quitted England, and paid his respects to Ruvigny at Fontainebleau in the beginning of September.

We have not yet spoken of the domestic circle of the old Marquis and Marquise de Ruvigny. The children born to them were three sons and two daughters; but the daughters and the youngest son died in infancy or childhood. Two sons grew up, both of them soldiers, Henri, the young Marquis De Ruvigny, and Pierre, the Sieur de La Caillemotte. When these sons had to quit the parental roof, the Marquise adopted an orphan niece, Mademoiselle de Ciré. Rou gave much valued assistance in directing the more advanced portion of this young lady's education.

Ralph Montague describes old Ruvigny as severely shaken by illness and the infirmities of age in 1678, and also disappointed at his diplomatic services not being rewarded by his son's (the young Marquis's) promotion, which had in the meantime been refused. However, in that year, or in 1679, young Henri was appointed Deputy-General at Court, his father being authorized to act also. The Peace of Nimeguen being concluded, there was time for church matters, and in 1680 the Romish priesthood renewed the war.

An Assembly of the Established clergy was held at Paris. These Divines, not content with the disabilities and deprivations already heaped on the Protestants, drew up a series of demands for the more complete suppression of Protestant liberties. The pastors had recourse to *le vieux Député-General*, whose state of health did not permit him to leave his house; and yet the king refused to hear any other deputation. The noble veteran accordingly wrote a manly and pathetic letter to Chancellor Le Tellier, which is a fair sample of his style of pleading:—

Paris, 1st July, 1680.

My Lord, I would not presume to trouble you with a letter, if my infirmities did not detain me within doors. I shall during all my life bear to you the respect which I know to be your due, and in which none can be conscious of surpassing me. I hope, my lord, you will not take it ill that I employ this sheet of paper to convey a very humble petition, which I would have the honour of communicating in person were it not for my indisposition. I believed until now that the Established clergy were highly satisfied with all the proceedings hitherto taken against the subjects of the king who make profession of my religion, and that they could not find anything to do in the matter, except to return their thanks to His Majesty. But I learn that in their Assembly they have concocted a budget which contains several articles contrary to fidelity, to the Edicts, to Christian charity and to public tranquillity. I am, therefore, my Lord, under the necessity of requesting very humbly that you would make a representation to the effect, that it may please His Majesty to have no regard to such demands, and to give no judgment, before hearing our Deputies who are in waiting. These matters touch us so nearly, and to me they appear so important, that it seems to me that His Majesty's sense of justice will not refuse us that favour. On such grounds, my Lord, I adjure you in the name of a numerous population, who desire nothing but life, and liberty to pray to God and to serve their master. These are very innocent

desires ; and you will clearly see that a people, who have their all at stake, ought to be studied more than they have hitherto been, and at least ought not to be driven to the extremity of desperation. Such will indubitably be the result if the king abandons them to the rigour and violence of enemies who are literally pitiless, and resemble the grave which is always receiving and never says, *It is enough*. I hope much better things from the equity and clemency of His Majesty ; but if such hopes are disappointed, I shall be extremely pained, because it seems to me that the king's service will receive much prejudice, and his subjects of my religion will believe themselves to be out of the pale of his royal protection. I pray God to give you a long and happy life. I am, with all imaginable respect, &c.

RUVIGNY.

The resolute old Marquis had already foreseen that he might die in exile. He had received Letters Patent of Naturalization in England, whether as a testimony of regard offered by King Charles or solicited by himself as a provision for refuge from persecution, does not clearly appear. At any rate he discovered that his patent might be substantially serviceable and not merely complimentary. A letter to his favourite niece has been preserved, consigning the valuable document to secure custody. He writes :—" Je vous envoie aussi nos lettres de naturalité qui seront mieux entre vos mains qu'entre les miennes. Je vous prie, et Madame votre sœur aussi (Lady Elizabeth Noel), de les conserver. Elles peuvent servir, puisque il n'y est rien de plus incertain que les évènements." The date of that letter was January 1680. He probably was not surprised that his letter, sent to the Chancellor in July, resulted in nothing.

All pleading was in vain. The following year (1681) was the first year of the dragonnades. Madame de Maintenon, to secure her ascendancy over the king, was the counsellor that Protestantism should be extinguished, and that by this holy work Louis the zealot should atone for the evil deeds of Louis the profligate. The Marquis de Louvois (Chancellor Le Tellier's son), planned the mission of the dragoons into Poitou. Ruvigny seems to have hoped that the cruelties of these men might have disgusted Madame de Maintenon with Popery, she having been during a few girlish years a professed Protestant. He made his appeal to her ; but her course had been already resolved upon. She wrote to the Comtesse de St. Geran (24th August 1681),—" Monsieur De Ruvigny wishes me to be Calvinist again in the depths of my heart ; his head is as much turned by his religion as any minister's (*il est aussi entêté de sa religion qu'un ministre*)." Ruvigny consequently tried to sap her influence with the king. She herself writes as to this :—" Ruvigny is intractable. He has informed the king that I was born a Calvinist and continued such until my coming to court. This compels me to approve things that are exceedingly repugnant to my feelings." It is said that the king was startled by Ruvigny's information. When Madame expressed some disapproval of the cruelties of the soldiery, his Majesty insinuated that in pleading for Huguenots she might be pleading for herself. She remonstrated no more. And whether she felt pity may be doubted by any one who reads her letter to her brother, telling him that the Protestants' estates in Poitou would certainly be sold cheap, and advising him to buy largely.

One of the landed proprietors there, Charles Gourjault, Marquis de Venours, officially brought the outrages of the military before Ruvigny by letter. Primed with such facts, the writer's son had been sent to Paris with a deputation, who instantly were ordered by the Jesuit-ridden court to go home as liars. Yet instructions had at the same time been sent to Poitou, desiring the infamous Marillac to be less impetuous. Marillac, full of insolence and resentment, immediately quartered twenty-five troopers upon the Marquis de Venours ; on the day following, he sent a whole company to plunder and devastate ; and then gangs of common thieves were allowed to glean. All the Protestants were similarly treated. And so old Venours wrote to the Deputy-General to intercede with the king. But the king backed his officers, and intercession failed. It may be asked why the king did not abolish the office of Deputy-General. The reason was that one refinement of Popish cruelty is so to contrive

that it may seem that their victims are not sentenced without being heard in their own defence.

Many of the representations to the king were made by the young deputy-general. Some accounts speak of him as the person who told the king of Madame de Maintenon's variations of creed. But as she says, "Ruvigny," and not "young Ruvigny," or "Monsieur Ruvigny le fils," she must mean the old Marquis.

In the same eventful 1681, a special deputation to the king, including the famous Pastor Claude, were on the road to Versailles. A messenger from the palace met them, and intimated that only the deputy-general would be received. The old Marquis accordingly waited on his Majesty, and the celebrated interview took place, which has been recorded by Burnet.* The audience lasted several hours. He told the king how happy France had been for fifty years, as contrasted with former times, the toleration of the Protestants producing this internal tranquillity. Such relations with native Protestants prevented the Court of Rome from tyrannizing over France. The Protestants were a large part of the population, wealthy, industrious, and always ready to contribute to the revenue. His Majesty had been misinformed, if he expected them to change their religion at the royal bidding. On the contrary, multitudes would go out of the kingdom, and carry their wealth and industry to other countries. One result would be the shedding of much blood. Many would suffer, and others would be precipitated into desperate courses. Thus the most glorious of all reigns would be disfigured and defaced, and become a scene of blood and horror. The Marquis's speech was chiefly occupied with minute statistical details, and numerous calculations and illustrations.

The king listened in silence all the time without making any remarks, or putting any questions; and then ended the audience by speaking to the following effect:—"I take your freedom in good part, as it flows from your zeal for my service. I believe all you tell me about the prejudice to my affairs that may be incurred. I think, however, that there will not be bloodshed. But I consider myself so indispensably bound to attempt the conversion of all my subjects, and the extirpation of heresy, that if the doing of it require that with one hand I must cut off the other, I shall not draw back." Ruvigny went and told his friends they might now dread the worst; but he would not raise a civil war, which would have been a losing game, owing to the apathy of Britain and Holland. Burnet says, "He was much censured for this by some hot men among them, as having betrayed them to the court, but he was very unjustly blamed, as appeared by both his own conduct and by his son's."

The date of the audience is fixed by Benoist's History. He informs us that it was the occasion when the king said that he would part with an arm for the privilege of converting all his subjects to the Romish Church—a phrase of which the clergy made good use in the Pastoral Letter, issued in the year following.

That Letter was drawn up by the Romish Clergy in 1682, and it was called *L' Avertissement Pastoral*. The court wished to enforce the opening of the Protestant pulpits to the prelates, to read and comment upon this *Avertissement*, which extolled Catholic unity, and denounced schismatical heresy. Against this indignity Ruvigny made strong representations, and the concession was granted that a full meeting of Consistory should receive the prelatial visitation on a Sabbath. It was managed by the pastors that public worship was not interrupted. The meeting of each consistory resolved itself into an episcopal visitation for delivering printed copies of the *Avertissement*, which were received with a polite protest against the intrusion, followed by some mild controversial conversation.

With regard to Ruvigny's English relatives, we note that in 1678 his favourite niece took the title of Lady Russell, her noble husband having succeeded to the courtesy title of Lord Russell on the death of a brother. In March 1680, Lady Elizabeth Noel died, leaving one son and four daughters under the guardianship of Lord Russell. In the beginning of 1681 (the year in which Mr. Noel became Lord Noel of Titchfield), Ruvigny paid a visit to England.

* Burnet's Own Time, *folio*, Vol. I., pp. 656, 657.

Lady Russell wrote under date, London, March, 1681, "My uncle Ruvigny has been indisposed with his phthisic; he has not supped here yet; what he will to-night I know not." We have already seen how he was employed in Paris during the two following years. In the summer of 1683 he received a letter from Rachel, Lady Russell, imploring him to come over to England. Her patriotic husband was sentenced to be beheaded; king Charles was inexorable. There remained only the possibility that he might yield to her uncle's importunity in a personal interview. Her letter found him most willing. This was his reply:—

Paris, 14th July, 1683.

"I am extremely impatient, my dear niece, to be beside you. The king arrived three days ago; he has graciously consented to my journey. If I could travel with the post I would soon be in London. I am buying horses, and I will make every exertion which my age will allow. May God console you and fortify you."

RUVIGNY.

The Marquis's journey did not take place. Barillon, the French Ambassador in England, undertook the duty of requesting for him an audience with the English king. The reply of Charles was first printed by Sir John Dalrymple, and it has been verified by Guizot,*—"I do not wish to prevent Monsieur De Ruvigny from coming here, but my Lord Russell's head will be off before he arrives."

Dr. Burnet, having attended Lord Russell to the last, and being in uneasy relations with the court, at once set out on a visit to France. He chronicles his obligations to the old marquis, for introducing him to desirable French society, and particularly to Marshal Schomberg and the Duc de Montausier. To the credit of the latter, he records how far he was from flattering Louis, "*as all the rest did most abjectly.*"

The death of Charles II. in February, 1685, turned all eyes to England. Ruvigny congratulated King James on his accession, and received a very kind answer to his letter. He thought that a hopeful opportunity presented itself for obtaining the reversal of the attainder which lay on Wriothsley Russell, the only son of Lord Russell and his widowed niece. He wrote to her that he was coming over for that purpose. The politicians took alarm that some Bourbon diplomacy was on foot. Burnet being asked to take measures for preventing the Marquis's visit to England, consulted with Lady Russell, and then wrote to him that his niece had indeed begged that journey of him when she hoped it might have saved her husband's life, but she would not venture to request the journey on any other consideration, considering his great age, "some years past four score," and her son being but a child. But nothing would deter the fond uncle. He came over and waited several times on the king, who treated him with great affability, but would give no promise as to young Russell. As to this business, Lady Russell left the following memorandum:—"The Lord Treasurer (Hyde, Earl of Rochester) told me that my uncle had seemed to have set the effecting it much on his heart, and with the greatest kindness to me imaginable. I told my lord I believed it, and indeed the friendship was so surprising, his lordship knew very well the world imputed his coming over to England to some other cause, or at least thought he had been earnestly invited to it. For the last, I positively affirmed he had not been; but as to the first, it was too deep for me to judge of."

Ruvigny was accompanied in this visit by his wife and Mademoiselle de Ciré. The latter, during their stay at Southampton House, died of small-pox. Dr. Tillotson thus condoled with Lady Russell: "It was a great trouble to me to hear of the sad loss your dear friend sustained during his short stay in England. But, in some circumstances, to die is to live. And that voice from heaven runs much in my mind, which St. John heard in his vision of the last (as I

* "Je ne veux pas empêcher que M. de Ruvigny me vienne ici, mais my lord Russel aura le cou coupé, avant qu'il arrive."—Letter from Barillon reporting to Louis XIV. his interview with Charles II. on 18th July, 1683. This letter is in Paris in the "Archives des affaires étrangères de France," and was copied by M. Guizot for his article in the "Revue des Deux-Mondes,"—which was afterwards published as a book under the title, "L'Amour dans le Mariage," 6th edition, Paris, 1858.

think) and most extreme persecution which should befall the faithful servants of God before the final downfall of Babylon, 'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord from henceforth,' meaning that they were happy who were taken away before that terrible and utmost trial of the faith and patience of the saints." In a letter to Dr. Fitzwilliam, Lady Russell gives some details:—"A young lady my uncle Ruvigny brought with him falling ill of the small-pox, I first removed my children to Bedford House, then followed myself, for the quieting of my good uncle's mind, who would have it so. From thence I brought my little tribe down to Woburn. And when I heard how fatal the end was of the young lady's distemper, I returned myself to Bedford House to take my last leave (for so I take it to be) of as kind a relation and as zealous tender a friend as ever anybody had. To my uncle and aunt their niece was an inexpressible loss; but to herself death was the contrary. As most do, she died as she lived. As her body grew weak her faith and hope grew strong, comforting her comforters, and edifying all about her: even magnifying the goodness of God that she died in a country where she could in peace give up her soul to Him that made it. What a glorious thing, doctor, 'tis to live and die as sure as she did! I heard my uncle and aunt say, that in seven years she had been with them they could never tax her with a failure in her piety or worldly prudence, yet she had been roughly attacked, as the French Gazettes will tell you."

The young lady's death, of a disorder so fearfully contagious, precluded the Marquis from soliciting a farewell audience at court, but he wrote a letter in the French language to the king. The date of his return to France is preserved in Lady Russell's endorsement of a copy of it, "My Uncle Ruvigny's Letter to the King just before he left England, about September 28, 1685." From this letter I quote only two sentences:—"SIRE,—As owing to a mournful event I may not present myself before your Majesty, I hope his Majesty will have the kindness to pardon me if I take the liberty of writing to him. . . . Sire, what I have asked rests solely on the esteem which you have for the memory of a great knight and Grand Treasurer of the late king, your brother. I have asked it again, being persuaded that an act of your clemency in favour of a lady, and a child four years of age, could produce in the feeling of the world, effects, &c., &c."

As to the Protestant churches of France, the remainder of the time between 1682 and the Revocation seems to have been spent in helpless dismay, except one or two despairing struggles, which Ruvigny could not support, foreseeing that many Protestant lives would be lost, and nothing gained. The temples of the Huguenots were being fast demolished, and the King's information was, that conversions to the Romish persuasion had previously dispersed their congregations. That he might be better informed, many congregations met for public worship upon the ruins of their temples. And a long apologetic letter was written to His Majesty (dated July 1683) beginning thus:—"Sire, Your most humble subjects of the Protestant religion, not having power to resist their consciences, are constrained to assemble together, to call upon the holy name of God and sing His praises, and by this religious service to expose themselves to all the violence and rigours which a too fierce zeal can infuse into the breasts of your officers." These conventicles were proclaimed to be rebellious, and were visited with military vengeance. In Vivarais and Dauphiny the savage troopers met with armed resistance; and by a lying truce they secured many hapless prisoners, including the Pasteur Isaac Homel (aged 72), who was broken on the wheel on the 16th October 1673. Another delusion in the royal mind was that, though there might be great heat and clamour in the means used by his missionaries, there was little personal cruelty. It is said, that in 1684 a final representation was presented to the king as to the numberless and unparalleled cruelties inflicted by the dragoons and their abettors. This statement refers either to the old Marquis or to his son:—"The last petition presented to the king himself by the Lord Marquis De Ruvigny, the Deputy-General, in March, 1684, was couched in the most submissive terms, that would have moved and melted into pity the hardest heart (thousands having seen and read it, for it was afterwards printed), yet they got nothing by it but the hastening of their ruin and destruction."

Wodrow joins the name of Marshal Schomberg with the Marquis De Ruvigny in alluding to the presentation of this memorial.*

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (October 1685), falsified Lady Russell's belief that she had taken her last leave of her uncle in September. She writes, 15th January 1686, "My uncle and his wife are permitted to come out of France." Their safe arrival is inferred from her letter of 23d March. "I was at Greenwich yesterday to see my old uncle Ruvigny." He was probably in his 86th year. At Greenwich for more than three years *Le Marquis* and *La Marquise* enjoyed the happiest kind of celebrity as benefactors of their refugee countrymen who continually flocked into England.

Ruvigny's worldly circumstances were such that there was no opportunity for his receiving any panegyric in the English parliament. His panegyric came from his old master. Louis XIV. did not confiscate any portion of his great property. He offered liberty of worship to him and his household, and assured him of continued favour as a great nobleman at the court of Versailles. But the warm-hearted old man could not bear to be an eye-witness of the ruin of his brethren—a feeling at which Louis did not take offence. He was therefore allowed to retire to England with his family, and to retain his wealth, taking with him whatever he pleased, and leaving investments, deposits, and stewards in France, *ad libitum*. The absence of speeches in our Parliamentary history is compensated by the eulogium of Lord Macaulay, who from St. Simon, Dumont de Bostaquet and other authorities, has collected facts and framed a conscientious verdict. The historian represents Ruvigny as quitting a splendid court for a modest dwelling at Greenwich. "That dwelling," says Macaulay, "was the resort of all that was most distinguished among his fellow exiles. His abilities, his experience, and his munificent kindness, made him the undoubted chief of the refugees."

His English relations and other admirers were also frequent visitors. His neighbour, the accomplished John Evelyn, became an intimate friend. Evelyn's Diary contains the following entries:—"1686, August 8. I went to visit the Marquess Ruvigny, now my neighbour at Greenwich, retired from the persecution in France. He was the Deputy of all the Protestants in that kingdom [to the French king], and several times ambassador at this and other courts—a person of great learning and experience." "1687, 24th April. At Greenwich at the close of the Church Service there was a French Sermon preached, after the use of the English liturgy translated into French, to a congregation of about a hundred French refugees, of whom Monsieur Ruvigny was chief, and had obtained the use of the church after the parish service was ended." The Diarist gives us also a glimpse of the fine old gentleman's bearing in general society, in a letter to Pepys, dated 4th October, 1689, "The late Earl of St. Albans took extraordinary care at Paris that his nephew should learn by heart all the forms of encounter and court addresses, as upon occasion of giving or taking the wall, sitting down, entering in, or going out of the door, taking leave at parting, l'entretien de la ruelle, à la cavalière among the ladies, &c.—in all which never was person more adroit than my late neighbour, the Marquis de Ruvigny."

Bishop Burnet was an old friend; and probably at this date they had some of the conversations of which Burnet has made use in the History of His own Time. As to Charles II., Ruvigny said, "I often observed how anxious he was to raise the greatness of France, especially at sea. He desired that all the plans of the French government for the increase and conduct of their naval force might be sent to him. He pointed out errors, and suggested corrections, as if he had been a Vice-Roy of France."

Dumont de Bostaquet, a French officer who came with King William, gives us some idea of the last months of the veteran refugee, who seems to have been always shewing hospitality, hastening on errands of mercy, and scattering his wealth among the other refugees. He was admitted to the presence of a king, on whom he might lavish his instinctive devotion to monarchy. If not a regular Privy Councillor, he was nevertheless taken into King William's intimate counsels. War in Europe and also in Ireland being inevitable, though he was too old

* Wodrow's History, folio, Vol. II., p. 333, and Appendix Nos. 92, 93.

to receive a general's commission, he took the chief responsibility of enrolling the refugees in regiments. "Four regiments," says Macaulay, "one of cavalry and three of infantry were formed out of the French refugees, many of whom had borne arms with credit. No person did more to promote the raising of these regiments than the Marquis of Ruvigny."

He lived till July, 1689. On the last day of his life he was apparently in excellent health; but at midnight he was attacked by a violent fit of colic which proved fatal in four hours. Dumont de Bostaquet mentions his funeral which was attended by the chief mourners, by Messieurs Le Coq and De Romainac, and by Dumont himself. This sorrowful company was conveyed by the river to the French Church of the Savoy in the Strand, and there the precious remains were deposited. The interment, however, is registered at Greenwich:—

BURIALS IN JULY, 1689.

28 |

MARQUIS OF RUVIGNIE.

The above is a true Extract from the Register of BURIALS belonging to the Parish Church of Greenwich, in the County of Kent, taken this 20th day of July, 1863,

By me,

F. E. LLOYD JONES, Curate.

Here I may introduce Benoit's summing up of the character and reputation of the deceased; (it barely does him justice):—

"The most ardent and zealous decided that he temporised too much, that he was too much disposed to take his time and make his footing sure, that he proposed nothing [to the king] until by prudent measures he had done away with any appearance of being disagreeably importunate,—in one word, that the fear of damaging his own fortune deprived him of courage to speak firmly in matters involving the interests of the Church. The provinces more adjacent to Paris looked with more favour on his behaviour and his counsels. They did not blame him for dexterous management in a conjuncture when he might well fear that their all might be ruined by uncourteous language and unfortunate coincidences. They did not believe that the complaisance which he had for the Ministers of State was incompatible with zeal for religion, or that because he was a smart courtier he was less at heart a good man. In fact they sometimes received from him advices, both very useful and very opportune, on the secret designs of the court and clergy, into which he probably would not have possessed the means of penetrating, if he had had less management and address. This diversity of opinions was never cleared up, and during the whole of his deputation he was exposed to these opposite judgments. Nevertheless, fairness requires that two things should be said in his favour:—*first*, that his deputation fell to him in times so vexatious, that it was impossible for him to acquit himself to the taste of every one; and that any other man, gifted with the same power of being agreeable to the court, would probably have been more unhappy in the discharge of the office—and, *secondly*, that the end of his life has proved to conviction that he loved his religion, since he chose to quit the kingdom with all his family to continue in the profession of the Reformed faith to which he had adhered all his life, rather than to advance his fortune several degrees higher by remaining in France and becoming a Roman Catholic."

Very similar feelings are attributed to Pasteur Du Bosc by his biographer, who says: "The news of the death of the Marquis De Ruvigny did not affect him otherwise than most sensibly,

even though that nobleman had, in years, passed the bounds which Moses assigned to the most vigorous. Du Bosc had received kind offices from him, and he did him the justice to believe that if he had not at all times done all that the Churches of France expected from a Deputy-General, the reason was that he knew the spirit of his master, and that he could never have obtained access to him, if he had not studied him with very careful observation. He was edified by the attachment to the truth of which all his family had given proof, and by the indefatigable assiduity with which his sons have promoted the relief of the poor refugees. He could not but place himself in their circumstances, and sympathise in their loss of so good a head."

ROYAL COMMISSIONERS AT NATIONAL SYNODS.

<p>At the <i>Synod of Charenton</i> there appeared in the year 1623 as a Royal Commissioner—[“it being his Majesty’s pleasure that always, in all colloquies and synods for the future, there shall be present an officer of the king, professing the P. Reformed Religion, to represent his person, and see that nothing be treated or debated contrary to his Majesty’s service, or prejudicial to the public peace ; and that no other thing be proposed or debated than what concerns the order and discipline of the said P. Reformed Religion.”] The Lords Deputies-General had remonstrated with his Majesty without success.</p>	<p>} Auguste, Lord Galland, a Privy Councillor and Attorney-General for Navarre.</p>
<p>At the Synod of Castres,</p>	
<p>At the Second Synod of Charenton,</p>	
<p>At the Synod of Alencon,</p>	
<p>At the Third Synod of Charenton,</p>	
<p>At the Synod of Loudun,</p>	<p>1626 The same. 1631 The same. 1637 Lord de Saint-Marc. 1644-5 Du Cumont Lord de Boisgrollier. 1659 Lord de Magdelaine.</p>

NOTE.—Royal Commissioners (being Protestants) continued to sit in the provincial church courts after the abolition of National Synods. The King threatened to send Roman Catholic commissioners in their stead, on the pretext, “que l’on accusoit les Synodes de cacher une partie des resolutions, que la Cour avoit le plus d’interet de savoir.” The Messieurs Ruvigny suggested a compromise, namely, that there should still be the Protestant Commissioner, but that a Roman Catholic should be associated with him, which was first acted upon at the Synod of Rouen in 1682 (where the Protestant Commissioner was the Marquis de Heucourt). See the Life of Du Bosc, 119.

LIST OF LORDS DEPUTIES-GENERAL OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF FRANCE, WHO HAVE RESIDED AT THE COURTS OF HENRI IV., LOUIS XIII., AND LOUIS XIV.

<i>Reign of Henri IV.</i>	
NAMES.	REMARKS.
1. Lord de St. Germain.	} Elected in 1601, at Sainte-Foy, by a political assembly.
2. Josias Mercier, Lord des Bordes.		} They were re-elected in 1603, by the National Synod of Gap.
1. Odet La Noue, Lord de La Noue.	} Probably elected in 1605, at Chatellerault, by a political assembly.
2. Lord Du Crois.	
1. Jean de Jaucourt, Lord de Villarnoul.	} Nominated by the 18th National Synod (called the third Synod of La Rochelle), in 1607, the king having declared his resolution to refuse his royal licence to a political assembly.
2. Jean Bontemps, Lord de Mirande.	

Reign of Louis XIII.

1. Jacques de Jaucourt, Lord de Rouvray.	} Elected in 1611, at Saumur, by a political assembly.
2. Etienne Chesneverd, Lord de la Miletière.	
1. Lord de Bertreville.	} Elected in 1614, at Grenoble, by a political assembly.
2. Lord de Maniald.	

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 1. Lord de Maniald. | } | In office in 1620, having been elected by a political assembly at Loudun. |
| 2. Jean, Lord de Chalas. | | |
| 1. Lord de Maniald. | } | In office in 1623; these Deputies-General are named in the diplomatic papers concerning La Rochelle, and were probably elected by the political assembly that met in that city in 1621. |
| 2. Esaïe Du Mas, Lord de Montmartyn. [On the death of the former, in 1626, Lord Hardy, one of his Majesty's Secretaries, was nominated by the king.] | | |
| 1. Henri de Clermont d'Amboise, Marquis de Gal-lerande, commonly called the Marquis de Clermont. | } | The Synod of Castres, in 1626, yielded to the royal demand, that six names should be sent, from which the king might select two Deputies-General. The other names were—(III.) Claude, Baron de Gabrias et de Beaufort, (IV.) Louis de Champagne, Comte de Suze, (V.) and (VI.) were from the tiers-etat. This Synod, by the king's command, ordered that only laymen should sit in political assemblies. |
| 2. Lord Bazin. | | |
| 1. Marquis de Clermont. | } | These names, by the king's desire, were deliberately proposed by the Second Synod of Charenton, in 1631, and accepted by his Majesty. The message was, "That it was his Majesty's pleasure, that this assembly should agree with him in the choice of two persons acceptable to his Majesty, who might exercise the office of Deputies-General near his person, and attend the court at its progresses and removals." |
| 2. Lieutenant-General, Lord Galland, eldest son of the Lord Commissioner. | | |
| 1. Marquis de Clermont. | } | Elected in 1697, by the Synod of Alencon. |
| 2. Lord Marbaud. | | |

Reign of Louis XIV.

DEPUTIES-GENERAL APPOINTED BY THE KING HIMSELF.

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| 1644. Marquis d'Arzilliers. | } | The office was vacant by the resignation of De Clermont. On the death of d'Arzilliers. |
| 1653. Marquis De Ruvigny. | | |
| 1679. Henri De Ruvigny, eldest son of the above. | } | The father had leave either to act alone, or to co-operate with his son, <i>ad libitum</i> . |
| | | |

Chapter III.

HENRI DE RUVIGNY, EARL OF GALWAY.

§ 1. HIS CAREER AS A FRENCHMAN.

HENRI DE MASSUE DE RUVIGNY, eldest son of the 1st Marquis De Ruvigny, was born at Paris on the 9th of April 1648. According to French custom he, from his birth, was also styled Le Marquis de Ruvigny. He entered the army, and first served under Schomberg in Portugal. It seems certain that he was at the Battle of Montesclaros; for he is mentioned in the subsequent irruption into Spain, along with Count Charles de Schomberg, as taking a valiant and prominent part in the siege of the Fort de la Garda. He was then only seventeen years of age; but he thus early earned, and long maintained, the reputation, expressed in the phrase, "bon officier." In 1675 he attained the rank of Colonel. It was in this year that

Marshal Turenne, while reconnoitring, was killed by a random cannon ball. It is recorded, as the general belief, that the army in Germany would have perished after the death of Turenne, through the jealousy of the chiefs who aspired to the command, if the good sense and tact of young Ruvigny had not effected an amicable arrangement. The Prince of Condé, who arrived soon afterwards, to command in chief, admitted the young Marquis to his friendship. An anecdote, which young Ruvigny repeated to Burnet, is a memento of this campaign. Condé, laughing heartily, told him how he had pleased Louis XIV. by disparaging the glory of great commanders, a glory which the king coveted, yet, through political prudence, and the instinct of self-preservation, had always missed. Condé's nephew, the Prince of Conti, was once advised by the king not to demean his royal blood by fighting a duel with a mere nobleman, and Condé's example in a similar case was quoted. Conti replied, "My uncle might safely decline to be called out, after he had won two battles; but I, who have as yet done nothing, have no such distinction as a shelter." The king, nettled at what seemed to hit himself, mentioned this answer to Condé. So to restore his complacency Condé said, "My nephew speaks like a young man. The winning of a battle is no great matter. The commander gets the glory, but the subalterns do the deed."

On the return of the troops to France, old Ruvigny claimed for his son the rank of Brigadier, and the reversion of his own office of Deputy-General of the Reformed Churches. There was some hesitation as to granting the former request, as there always was in the case of a Protestant, it being understood that conversion to Romanism was the royal road to promotion. The good services of the father were, however, recognised as contributing to the son's claim, which (at least the ecclesiastical portion) was granted in 1678. He thus retired from military life, probably with the rank of Brigadier, and with a pension of 4000 livres, and an official salary of a thousand pistoles. His career was exactly the same as his father's. He was sent on diplomatic errands, the king having unbounded confidence in him.

In extenuation of his zeal in a service quite unworthy of him, we only refer to what we have hinted by way of apology for the old Marquis, with whom the son is sometimes confounded. For instance, the conversation (said to have been with young Ruvigny) in which Montague, our ambassador at Paris, assumed it as an axiom mutually admitted, that *dans ce monde on ne fait rien pour rien*, was in reality with the old Marquis, as Lord Danby's correspondence proves.

In 1678, being in his thirty-first year, and Barrillon being the accredited ambassador, Henri came over on a secret mission, or rather on two errands, both aimed against the Earl of Danby. This nobleman, to whom all generations owe much for his promotion of the marriage of the Prince of Orange to the Princess Mary, was known in France to be against the French government, while he was suspected in England to be its tool—a charge which he could not refute consistently with the reserve which official life imposed upon him. As we have not young Ruvigny's own story, it would be unfair to him to adopt Montague's and Danby's letters as history by weaving them into a narrative. I therefore give the extracts which concern him without comment.

Mr Montague wrote to the Earl of Danby from Paris, January 11, 1678.—"I give you the best light I can into the reason of Monsieur Ruvigny's son's journey into England, who will be there perhaps as soon as this letter. If his father's age would have permitted it, I believe they would have sent him; for they have chosen the son, who is to make use of lights his father will give him. And by the nearer relation he has to my Lady Vaughan, who is his cousin-german, and the particular friendship which father and son have with Mr William Russell, he is to be introduced into a great commerce with the mal-contented members of Parliament, and insinuate what they shall think fit to cross your measures at court, if they shall prove disagreeable to them here; whilst Monsieur Barillon goes on in his smooth, civil way."

Montague wrote again on January 18, 1678.—"His [young Ruvigny's] chief errand is to let the king know that the King of France did hope he was so firm to him as not to be led away by the Grand Treasurer [Danby] who was an ambitious man, and, to keep himself with

the people, would gratify their inclinations by leading his master into an unreasonable war against France—that as for money, if he wanted that, he should have what he would from hence. His instructions are (if this does not take) by the means of William Russell and other discontented people, to give a great deal of money, and cross all your measures at court. Old Ruvigny, who values himself for knowing of England, has given it them for a maxim, that they must diminish your credit before they can do any good. . . . If the king is for a war, you know what to do. If he hearkens to their money, be pleased to let me know what they offer, and I dare answer to get our master as much again; for Barillon's orders are to make the market as low as he can."

Our last extract is from Lord Danby's Letter to Montague dated London, 17th January 1678.—"My son Dunblane arrived here on Monday last, who delivered me your letters, and acknowledges your very great kindnesses to him, as I must do both for him and myself, who you have obliged by so many ways. Your intelligence concerning Monsieur Ruvigny has not been the least of your favours; and hitherto his son's steps have been very suitable to your information. For yesterday he came to me with Monsieur Barillon (having given me his father's letters the day before), and discoursed much of the confidence his king hath of the firmness of ours to him, of the good opinion his master hath of me, and of his king's resolution to condescend to anything that is not infamous to him, for the satisfaction of our king—how certainly our king may depend upon all sorts of assistances and supplies from his master in case the friendship be preserved—and in short, went so far as to seem desirous to have me understand (although he could not directly say it) that his master might be brought to part with Valenciennes and Condé, but never with Tournay. And the main of their drift was to engage me to prevail with the King to prevail with the Prince of Orange as to that town, and pressed the matter upon me, as a thing wherein they thought I had an interest with the Prince of Orange, sufficient to persuade him to put an end to the war by that means. I answered them (as is most true) that there is nothing I am so desirous of as the peace, but I thought things were gone so far as it was only in their master's power to prevent the war, and that I could not contribute to any possible expedient to that end; but that they must apply to the king himself, and when it came to my part, I should be found to contradict nothing which might be equal for preservation of the friendship betwixt the two kings. From me they went immediately to the king, who tells me their discourse was the same they had held with me. And at last he desired that whatever expedient they had to propose to him might be put in writing for him to consider; and thus it stands at this time."

As to Henri's errand to the patriotic party in Parliament, nothing was known until about a century thereafter, when Sir John Dalrymple had searched the French archives. Dalrymple and others have founded upon these papers some accusations, which I must very briefly notice. The first accusation is, "Russell held confidential communications with a French agent." True; but it was with his faithful friend Henri De Ruvigny, his wife's first cousin. The second accusation is, "Russell took into consideration a project of bribery." I answer, Ruvigny told Russell that Barillon was ready to distribute money among the country party. Russell protested that he would not act along with members who would take bribes. He did say that he would speak to Lord Shaftesbury (who was also a relative), but only as to the pleasing fact, that even the French king did not wish Charles to be absolutely despotic, and to subjugate the patriotic members. The third accusation is, "Algernon Sidney took a bribe and Russell connived at it." The charge against Sidney is founded upon a list of public men who had taken French money, in Barillon's hand-writing. Barillon's accounts may have been incorrect, like those of other unjust stewards. Or money might have been offered and accepted as a donation to some charitable object. On either supposition Sydney took no bribe, and there was nothing for Russell to connive at. If France had possessed any damaging secret against our patriots, the secret would not have slumbered for many years.

So far I have spoken for Russell. But as for Ruvigny,—in the first place, the list has been erroneously called Ruvigny's. It professes to be Barillon's list. And secondly, any moral

charge may be safely denied on the ground of the continued affection and admiration of the Russells for Ruvigny as a man and a Christian. It is incomprehensible how Lord Macaulay could believe the accusations, and could conclude by extolling modern statesmen as having a more elevated standard than even Sidney and Russell, and as soaring above Ralph Montague's creed, that "in this world nobody does anything for nothing."

Young Ruvigny was also employed in some of the other negotiations, which ended in 1678 in the Treaty of Nimeguen, between France and Holland, under the nominal mediation of England. France, however, dictated the peace, and so irritated Charles that he seemed for a short time determined to go to war. Young Ruvigny,* at his request, asked Louis to state positively what his ultimatum was; but the French king, having satisfied Holland, paid little attention to Charles. Henri came back without any definite answer. Charles had to yield with as good a grace as possible. Bishop Burnet shall tell the finale:†—"A general peace quickly followed. And there was no more occasion for our troops beyond sea. The French were so apprehensive of them, that Ruvigny (now Earl of Galway) was sent over to negotiate matters. That which France insisted most on was the disbanding of the army. And the force of money was so strong, that he had orders to offer six millions of their money in case the army should be disbanded in August. Ruvigny had such an ill opinion of the designs of our court if the army were kept up, that he insisted on fixing the day for disbanding it, at which the Duke of York was very uneasy. And matters were so managed that the army was not disbanded by the day prefixed for it. So the King of France saved his money. And for this piece of good management Ruvigny was much commended."

Early in the year 1679 Henri was appointed Lord Deputy-General of the Reformed Churches of France. Louis XIV. having abolished national synods, there was no organized court to dispute his elective fiat. Local church courts, each under the eye of a Protestant royal commissioner, still sat. The provincial synod of the Isle of France met at Charenton in April 1679. A vote of thanks to the retiring Deputy-General and a complimentary address to his successor were agreed upon. The substance of these is probably preserved in the letters which pastor Du Bosc had sent on the preceding February to the two lords. To the son he wrote in full appreciation of his talents and good qualities, and as one who would walk in the steps of his able father—concluding in the name of the Protestants with strong professions of loyalty and affection for the king, and assurances of their prayers that the new Deputy-General might continue and grow in the grand monarch's favour. He concluded, "We should be treacherous to ourselves were we in our prayers to forget you. If God hears those prayers, you will rejoice and we shall live in peace; you will enjoy the king's favour and we the repose and liberty which his edicts give us. Our welfare is united to your person. We are, &c." To the old marquis he wrote, "Sir,—We praise God to see your charge in the hands of your son, and yet not out of yours. That fortunate appointment cannot fail to give us great happiness, since instead of one Deputy General we now have two. And that which, above all, delights us is, that he who seconds you is your other self, and that we see you wholly reproduced in him. His lordship is doubly your son, both by birth and also by his good qualities, which are the native image of your own virtues. That wisdom so consummately matured in yourself, sir, already manifests itself in him; the world recognizes him as possessing that very qualification; and no one doubts that he will perfectly represent you in the office which the king has just given him. His majesty could confer on us no greater obligation than in making a selection which we ourselves would have made had the matter depended on us. We shall hope at the hands of the son for what we were expecting from his father. And if we become better people, we shall not obstruct the success of his negotiations, as hitherto by our sins we have obstructed yours. We shall always have the same fidelity and obedience towards the king; and if we have more love to God we may see our affairs taking a better turn. At all events,

* [Temple's] "Memoirs of what passed in Christendom from the war begun in 1672 to the peace concluded 1679." (Lond. 1692), page 321.

† "Burnet's Own Time," vol. i., page 423.

sir, we shall always be infinitely obliged for the good offices which you have rendered to our churches, and for the zeal with which you have succoured them in difficult times. We shall reckon it as an important boon that you have given to the churches your son in your place. May God render the rest of your life happy, and load all your house with his best blessings. We are, &c."

During the war, young Ruvigny had become acquainted with the "handsome Englishman," Colonel Churchill. On the accession of James II. the same officer, Lord Churchill, came as an Envoy to France, and renewed his acquaintance with Henri de Ruvigny. It was to him that Churchill then made his celebrated declaration as to King James, "If the king is ever prevailed on to alter our religion, I will serve him no longer but will withdraw from him."* [Churchill rose to be the great Duke of Marlborough.]

In Benoit's invaluable History there is a bird's-eye view of young Ruvigny's French life, and its transition into the life of a refugee, "The Deputy-General demitted his office, and through his interest with the king, his eldest son was appointed in his place. He was a young Lord whose fine qualities were known to all the world. He was handsome in person, and mentally he was affable, sagacious and intelligent, brave without temerity, prudent without meanness, agreeable to the king, beloved by all the court, and on excellent terms with the ministers. He had so thoroughly prepossessed all the court in his favour, that his merits procured him neither enemies nor detractors. At first the churches were uneasy on account of his youth. They thought that in the confusion of their affairs, a Deputy of more weight and experience was wanted. But the father promised not only to aid his son with his advice, and to interest himself in all the business put into his hands, but also to continue publicly to discharge the functions of the office, when the service of the church required this. For the latter, the churches had not only his own word, but also the king's permission which he had taken care to obtain. However, as soon as they had had some experience of the capacity of the young lord, they found that the churches had lost nothing by the change. They found him to be always accessible, always prepared for action, full of expedients and overtures, finding his greatest pleasure in his duties, and though residing at a court where a thousand agreeable amusements might enervate a young man, giving to the diversions of persons of his years only the time which remained after the hours of business. Even those who had not done entire justice to his father's reputation, because it seemed to them that his prudence and circumspection savoured of timidity, found in his son no occasion for complaint. And his diligence, in obliging all those who sought interviews with him, always prevented the apprehension that he would let his work get into arrear. Hardly one instance of procrastination could be alleged against him. It was in the exercise of that office, during the most rough and vexatious period, that his mind was matured in the qualities of a great man, and that he acquired those merits which give him in the present day so large a share of the confidence and friendship of one of the greatest kings that ever wore a crown, (King William III.)"

Except on a few occasions young Ruvigny was the acting Deputy-General from 1678 to the extinction of the office in 1685. "It was," he said to Burnet, "a melancholy post." He daily saw new injustices done, and was suffered to inform against the wrong-doers, only for form's sake and with no hope of success.

By the special favour of the king, he was allowed to leave France on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, without forfeiting his property or his rights as his father's heir. To the last moment he shewed his zeal for Protestantism, braving the wrath of the king, by allowing the Consistory of Charenton to meet in his house, for the distribution of their charitable funds among the poor of their flock.

* Burnet, Vol. I., page 765.

SEC. 2.—HIS REFUGEE LIFE BEFORE ENROLMENT IN OUR ARMY.

He had been selected for embassies to England, partly on account of the great friendship that subsisted between him and the Russells. During her long widowhood, Rachel Lady Russell looked upon her cousin Ruvigny as her best friend. It is in her letters that we find the first mention of him in his refugee life, and that in connection with an act of characteristic generosity. "Some French Protestants were taken going into Holland, and were made slaves in Algiers. They are now redeemed, four ministers or five, and the rest *proposants*. My cousin Ruvigny has paid the money, and I am to gather to reimburse him the greatest part if I can, 26th Jan. 1689." At this date she was 52 years of age, and Ruvigny was in his 40th year. In the following July, when his father's sudden illness and death took place, he himself was at Tunbridge on a visit to Lady Russell. He was overwhelmed with grief on receiving the tidings from Messieurs Chardin and Le Coq, and returned to the house of mourning.

He continued to reside in Greenwich as the head of his family, dispensing hospitality and bounty. By unanimous advice he did not join the British army, but lived as a private gentleman, being continued in the enjoyment of his French property. But at the Battle of the Boyne, his only surviving brother was killed, and also Marshal Schomberg. The ardour of the Marquis De Ruvigny could no longer be kept down. Burnet says he offered his service to the king, "who unwillingly accepted of it; because he knew that an estate which his father had in France, and of which he had still the income, would be immediately confiscated." He was enrolled in our army as a Major-General, and with universal approval was made Colonel of the Huguenot cavalry regiment, late Schomberg's. Dumont de Bostaquet says that "the appointment was considered a most excellent one, but it occasioned great surprise that he should return to active service—he, who had chosen private life, and whose engrossing occupation was to show kindness to the refugees, and, indeed, to perform acts of generosity to mankind in general. As he was in high estimation at court, and had not taken up arms in William's cause, he was in full possession of his immense estates in France. It was thought that with unquestionable propriety, he would be satisfied to continue in this kind of life."

SEC. 3.—THE IRISH CAMPAIGN OF 1691.

After anxious deliberation as to the Irish campaign of 1691, the chief command was given to one who had come over with William from Holland, at his "descent upon England," and who had served in England and in the late campaign in Ireland. This was Lieutenant-General Godart, Baron De Ghinkel, now promoted to the rank of General. He had remained with the army in their winter quarters, and assumed the chief command at the camp at Mullingar on the 18th of May. Here the general officers rendezvoused. Ruvigny came from England, and appeared on the 24th; Major-General Hugh Mackay from Scotland on the 28th; Major-General Talmash arrived about the same time. These four officers, Ghinkel, Ruvigny, Mackay, and Talmash, most conspicuously distinguished themselves throughout the campaign, and the intimate friends of each have claimed the greatest honour for each of them. But the gallant individuals themselves do not seem to have been disturbed or trammelled by any unpatriotic and reckless jealousies. Mackay's biographer says—"In councils of war, the general officers had occasional differences of opinion, which they supported sometimes even with warmth; but (to their honour be it recorded) these never interrupted the public service, nor disturbed the harmony of their private meetings."

The first operation was the capture of Ballymore, in county Westmeath. Here Ruvigny is not mentioned: the Major-Generals commanded each for one day in regular rotation, and so the honour of conducting great operations fell to one or the other in a kind of lottery. On May 31st, Ruvigny, with a detachment of cavalry, was sent to possess himself of a Pass between

Ballymore and Athlone, a frontier town situated in the provinces of Leinster and Connaught, and the counties of Westmeath and Roscommon.

The first great event of the campaign was the taking of Athlone. It was Mackay's lot to conduct the fording of the Shannon, which he did most gallantly and successfully, though he had argued against the project in the council of war. The pleas urged in favour of it were highly characteristic of Ruvigny—"That no brave action could be performed without hazard, and the attempt would very likely be successful." Mackay, on the other hand, urged, "We are sure to fail unless the enemy, through their own misconduct, are the victims of a surprise." Success prevented adverse criticisms. The war had again assumed the aspect of a war of religions. The commander of the enemy was a conspicuous leader of the dragonnades against the Huguenots, Monsieur St Ruth. The impression in the English army was that no quarter would be given to the French heretics, as the refugee soldiers were styled by the Popish Marshal.

Ghinkel proceeded to fortify Athlone. St Ruth withdrew his army of 25,000 to a strong post, with great natural advantages, near the old castle of Aughrim, in county Galway. William's army numbered 18,000 only, but eagerly accepted the challenge given by the retreating enemy on Sunday, July 12. The result of the battle during the day was doubtful, but by the evening it was favourable to the British, through the execution done by their artillery. It was almost resolved to desist till next morning; but Ghinkel, fearing that the enemy would retreat during the night, gave orders to renew the engagement. All the British and Foreign officers of the allies eminently distinguished themselves. The greatest military genius was Mackay, and the main ideas and grand theory of the action were his suggestion. The enemy were almost impregnable on the left of the castle; but the plan was by skirmishing and manœuvring to draw off towards the right so much of their force, that they might be driven from the left by assaults which should be successful, because quite unexpected, as well as most impetuous. Ruvigny's Regiment of Horse were among the first that got at the enemy's left, and "did very good service" (says Mr Story). Ruvigny himself was not in command of his own regiment, but was at the head of a brigade of cavalry. St Ruth was full of admiration of their daring, as they advanced over ground that seemed impassable; the first party of horse that made their way two a-breast through a pass, and secured a good position on the left, were under the command of Lieutenant-General Schravemor and Major-General Talmash. Our centre at that time was repulsed, and Marshal St Ruth took the resolution to come forward with his reserves, saying that he would drive our army back to the gates of Dublin. Talmash, however, came to the succour of our centre, and rallied the troops. Mackay charged the left of the enemy with another good body of cavalry, and (says Story), "Major-General Ruvigny went along the side of the bog with another party of Horse, who did extraordinary service, bearing down all before them." The turning of the enemy's flank by the brigade under Ruvigny is reckoned by the majority of historians to have been the crisis of success. Smollett, a historian who carefully studied military details, says:—"Major-General Ruvigny, who had behaved with great gallantry during the whole action, advanced with five regiments of cavalry to support the centre, when St Ruth, perceiving his design, resolved to fall upon him in a dangerous hollow way which he was obliged to pass. For this purpose he began to descend Kilcommodan Hill with his whole reserve of Horse, but in his way was killed by a cannon ball. His troops immediately halted, and his guards retreated with his corpse. His fate dispirited the troops. . . . Ruvigny, having passed the hollow way without opposition, charged the enemy's flank, and bore down all before him with surprising impetuosity. The centre redoubled their efforts, and pushed the Irish to the top of the hill; and then the enemy's whole line gave way from right to left, and threw down their arms." "Victory was scarcely doubtful," says Macfarlane in the Pictorial History of England, "when St Ruth was killed." And the Duke of Berwick admits that St Ruth's death was not the cause of the defeat of the Jacobites. "After the battle," says Dumont, "Ghinkel embraced Ruvigny and declared how much he was satisfied with his bravery and conduct." In his despatches he ascribed the victory principally to the Marquis De Ruvigny, to Ruvigny's regiment of Horse, and the Earl of Oxford's regiment of Horse.

In the onward march to the town of Galway, Ruvigny was on the 19th July left at Athenry with Lieutenant-General Schravemor and 3000 horse, as a corps of observation, and to maintain a close communication with Athlone. Galway capitulated on the 21st, and on the 28th the whole army rendezvoused at Athenry and marched to Nenagh. On the 15th August, Ruvigny, with 1500 horse, and the Prince of Hesse, with 1000 foot and six field-pieces, were ordered to Limerick, the Commander-in-Chief and his staff accompanying them. The weather was unfavourable for the siege of Limerick for the next week. But on the 25th August the whole forces commenced operations in earnest. The contest was vigorously conducted on both sides till September 22d, when, the garrison being hard pressed and also out-manœuvred, Colonel Wachup sang out for a parley with Lieutenant-General Schravemor, and for a similar conference between Colonel Sarsfield (the gallant Jacobite Irishman who, by patent from King James, was Earl of Lucan) and Major-General Ruvigny, with a view to the surrender of the town.

Macaulay says ;—"On the evening of the day which followed the fight at the Thomond gate the drums of Limerick beat a parley; and Wauchop from one of the towers hailed the besiegers, and requested Ruvigny to grant Sarsfield an interview. The brave Frenchman who was an exile on account of his attachment to one religion, and the brave Irishman who was about to become an exile on account of his attachment to another, met and conferred, doubtless with mutual sympathy and respect. Ghinkel, to whom Ruvigny reported what had passed, willingly consented to an armistice."

This negotiation led to the Treaty of Limerick and the submission of all Ireland. The conspicuous part taken by the Marquis De Ruvigny in this campaign justifies the character which has been accorded to him by a modern French historian, Professor Weiss, "Alternately a military leader and a diplomatic negotiator, he evinced a rare capacity for business, and a valour which nothing could daunt."

SEC. 4.—HIS SERVICES AS MAJOR-GENERAL, THE VISCOUNT GALWAY.

The commander-in-chief and his generals were received with all honours at Dublin on the 3d November and were entertained at a splendid banquet by the magistrates on the 21st of that month, Sir Michael Mitchell being Lord Mayor, and re-elected thereafter for another year. Luttrell says, at London, about 14th November, "The Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, Monsieur Ruvigny, and several other general officers, are arrived here from Ireland." On the 4th January 1692, General Ghinkel was waited upon at his lodgings in London by a deputation of seven members of Parliament, headed by Viscount Castleton and Sir Henry Goodrick, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, bearing the thanks of the House of Commons to him and his officers. They were next honoured by a public dinner from the city of London, which took place in February in Merchant Taylors' Hall, the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Stampe, presiding.

Henry, Viscount Sydney (afterwards the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland) was in the beginning of 1692 the acting Lord Justice and Chief Governor. On the 27th February, says Luttrell, "Monsieur Ruvigny was made Lieutenant-General of all the forces in Ireland, independent of the Lord Sidney." His military rank, however, was still Major-General, while Mackay was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General; and it was not King William's fault that Mackay was not raised to a Scottish title of nobility.

The commander-in-chief, Baron de Ghinkel, was enrolled in the peerage of Ireland as Earl of Athlone. Ruvigny had in his person all the claims of his father and of the Huguenot soldiery for a similar royal recognition; he also was named by De Ghinkel as the most eminent of the gallant winners of the field of Aughrim. The king also designed him to serve him in Ireland, and to take the superintendance of a scheme of Protestant colonisation in that kingdom. He therefore was created Viscount Galway and Baron of Portarlinton; the barony was the name of the landed estate which the king designed for him. The date of the king's letter was the 3d of March 1692, "taking into our princely consideration the many good and accept-

able services performed unto us by Henry de Massue de Ruvigny." Henceforth his countrymen, with great pride and gratification, styled him Milord Gallway (or Galloway).

An Irish nobleman who bore that title had fallen at the Battle of Aughrim, fighting in the Jacobite army. He commanded an infantry regiment, and is described as "a nobleman of true courage and endowed with many good qualities." The title of Viscount Galway was one of several honours, both English and Irish, heaped upon Richard Bourk or De Burgh, fourth Earl of Clanricarde. It expired with the fifth earl, along with a marquise of Clanricarde given to him by Charles I. Richard and William, the cousins of the marquis, becoming successively sixth and seventh Earls of Clanricarde, Ulrick Bourk, a younger son of the latter, was created Viscount Galway in 1687. In Colonel O'Kelly's enigmatical history of this war, entitled "Macarice Excidium," he is called Ulysses, Lord of Cithera. This lord having fallen in battle, the Marquis De Ruvigny was free to choose the title of Viscount Galway, the county of Galway (in which Aughrim was situated) being referred to, and not the town.

As soon as the king had set out for Holland in March 1692, Lord Galway left London *en route* for Dublin to take the command of the forces in Ireland. His aide-de-camp and staff, whom he had sent on before him, he overtook at Coventry, and delighted with the sight of £4000 entrusted to him for satisfying arrears of pay. They again met at Chester, he being received with a salute of cannon, the garrison turning out to present arms and the city flag flying. He and his suite sailed in a yacht from Neston, and on arriving at the mouth of the Liffey, a gun was fired and boats came off, which safely deposited the Commander of the Forces within the metropolis of Ireland. Lord Galway was lodged (says Dumont de Bostaquet) on the quay of Dublin, near Essex Bridge, and was there waited upon by the Lords Justices, the Lord Chancellor, the Mayor, and the Aldermen. Soon he was immersed in the business of his office, crowds of officers having to be received and to be satisfied as to the arrears of pay. In about a fortnight Lord Galway set out on a tour of visitation to the military quarters, both maritime and inland. At Athlone he was entertained by Lieut.-Colonel de Montault, who was in command of Cambon's regiment. The heart of Ruvigny was touched with the poverty of the inhabitants, many being in a state of starvation, and they received liberal relief from his ever open purse. At Galway, the Viscount of Galway received regal honours; thence touching at Limerick, he proceeded to Cork. Dumont and the rest of his staff expected him to return to Dublin; but the alarms of England made Lord Galway hasten the despatching of the troops, and he wrote to his staff to meet him at Cork; and, according to subsequent instructions, they went on to Waterford to await his arrival there. Lord Galway was there almost as soon as they were; his coming was announced by a military salute; he received all the civilities of the city, and the best accommodation. The next day he embarked *Foulkes'* regiment, and thereafter each regiment as it arrived at Waterford according to his orders. The next in order that appeared was *La Melonniere's*, then *Mede's*, and the last of the infantry, *Belcastel's*. Then the artillery horses were put on board ship, and various cavalry officers, and at length Lord Galway's own equipage. Thus the fleet being prepared to sail, and his work being done, Lord Galway accepted the invitation of one of the captains, by whom he was entertained on board of a man-of-war most sumptuously with viands, wines, and a band of music, and then his lordship spent the night in his own yacht. Next morning the fleet dropped down to Duncannon, and at two in the afternoon a fair wind sprang up; the next day they were in Bristol Channel. That night at supper they drank their Majesties' health and success to their arms, with the accompaniment of a roar of artillery. The citizens, having been haunted with apprehensions of invasion, feared that it was a French fleet, and a boat was sent from the shore in the morning to reconnoitre. Their report being of course favourable, several citizens, including the French Pasteur of Bristol, were not long in paying their respects to Lord Galway, who accepted the Mayor's hospitality during his two days' stay. At an hotel half-way from London, an express met him, requiring him to join a distinguished deputation to Portsmouth to congratulate the British fleet on their great victory at La Hogue, of which the news had arrived on the 28th May. This congratulation was of a substantial kind, according to Luttrell, who

informs us that the Earls of Rochester and Portland, and Viscounts Sydney and Galway went to Portsmouth to congratulate Admiral Russell; and that they took with them £50,000 to be distributed in the fleet, it being intended that every man should receive a gratuity to the amount of a month's pay.

Lord Galway remained at Portsmouth to take part in the descent upon the North of France under the command of the Duke of Leinster. The expedition was not advised by him, nor in his private opinion was it advisable. But with devotion to his Prince, he contributed his best aid to the enterprise, as Luttrell's Relation testifies. An entry, under Thursday June 2, mentions two councils of war at Portsmouth, where the Duke of Leinster and the Marquis De Ruvigny assisted, "the whole fleet to put to sea (weather permitting) Monday next." This is the expedition of which Lord Macaulay speaks, consisting of an army of 14,000 commanded by the Duke of Leinster, that sailed from St Hellens.* The historian's statement amounts to this, that the enterprise, whatever may have been its plan, was not persevered in, and the troops returned home. King William's biographer says, that they had landed at Ostend and "kept the French in perpetual alarms." So that probably they executed their commission by detaching from the main body of the enemy a considerable corps of continuous observation. However uninteresting to the nation, the cruise was not uneventful to Lord Galway. We quote from Luttrell, "Saturday, 11th June. Letters say . . . at Havre-de-Grace the seamen's wives and relations of those killed in the fight, raised a tumult there, and Monsieur Ruvigny and an officer of the marine affairs had like to have been torn in pieces."

On the 19th July Luttrell tells us that Lord Galway was again in Portsmouth. About this time he and other officers were appointed to report upon an invention, by "one Wilson, of a vestment, not heavy or costly, to defend any soldier from a halbert, pike, sword, or baggonet." During the remainder of 1692 he was employed in peaceful work. The refugees still looked upon him as their "Deputé-General" and as now having access to a truly Christian and Protestant Monarch with a view to good offices in behalf of French Protestants. When he went to Ireland in the beginning of the year, it had been decided that the half-pay French officers should be placed in the Irish Establishment; and that the veterans and their families, who chose to be colonists there, should be assisted to find a settlement. Drogheda was recommended; and during his lordship's brief stay in Dublin some officers were sent to report as to the eligibility of the town and neighbourhood, but their report was unfavourable. His sudden return to England interrupted this business. And after his campaign with the Duke of Leinster, another branch of the subject demanded his first attention.

Refugees had fled to Switzerland in such crowds, that the circumscribed territory could not feed and keep them, except temporarily. Other Protestant nations therefore undertook to receive detachments of their expatriated brethren; and in supporting this hospitable resolve, our king William was prominent. Some of the refugees, whose thoughts inclined to Britain, were members of the families of the soldiers mentioned by Professor Weiss—men who had personally contributed to the Victories of the Boyne and of Aughrim. "A great number of soldiers," says Weiss, "were sent to Ireland by the care of the Baron d'Avejan and of the Marquis d'Arzilliers, sometimes four or five hundred left Geneva in one week. A great many, scattered along the shores of the lake, were drilled daily under the Orange flag." Lord Galway engaged in much labour and correspondence for the settlement of these families, and one of his letters has been preserved. †

LONDON, 20-30 January 1693.

"Sir,—I have received two of your letters. In reply I inform you that since Monsieur de Mirmand's ‡ arrival we have made a little more progress than formerly. The king named

* At this time there was published, "A Sermon preached before the General and Officers in the King's Chappel at Portsmouth, on Sunday, July 24, 1692. Being the day before they embark'd for the descent upon France. By William Gallaway, A.M., Chaplain to their Majesties' Sea-Train of Artillery."

† Bulletin Vol. X, p. 68

‡ Not the same person as the Marquis De Miremont.

a Committee to examine the matter ; and that it decides that we may make a beginning by settling a certain number of families, before resolving to invite all those who might desire to come to Ireland. In a great crowd they would be a hindrance and a nuisance to each other. Considering that the case of the refugees in Switzerland is the most pressing, we have agreed to contemplate the immediate establishment of six hundred of their families. By the help of the Swiss population we hope to provide for their reaching Frankfort. The King will recommend their case to the Protestant Princes and to the States-General for subsistence until they come to the sea-coast, where his Majesty will provide for their embarkation for Ireland. Also in order that these families may not arrive there, and find no preparations made for lodging them, the king will send an order to Lord Sydney to organize an Irish Committee, to consist of the most wealthy lords of the soil and those who have lands suitable for such settlements, that all things may be arranged ; I myself shall be on the spot, as I set out for that country in a few days. We shall also name two or three of the most capable of our refugees to assist the lords in their deliberations and to arrange with them all that is necessary for the settlement of these families. The king is so affected by the misery which menaces these families, and understands so well the utility of such a colonization for his kingdom of Ireland, that he is resolved to spend as much money as shall be judged necessary. We shall lose no time, and I hope that by next April, or May at the latest, these families will be on the road. In this affair Monsieur Mirmand is absolutely necessary. Without him we should not be so far on ; without him there will yet be a standstill. I have never seen a man of greater sense, or more zealous for the public good. I could wish there were more persons among the refugees a little more like him. Monsieur de Saily is gone before me into Ireland ; and (as I have already said) our plan is to receive, in preference to all others, the six hundred families who must quit Switzerland. It will be for Switzerland to make the necessary collection for their journey, and then to manage their departure systematically. This I believe to be the most difficult and important department of the work. I will endeavour to have Monsieur de Virasel along with Monsieur de Saily in Ireland to manage what requires attention there. I am &c. GALLWAY."

Ireland was Lord Galway's official place of residence, and he liked the country. St Evremond says that in his letters My Lord Gallway expatiated on the attractions of Dublin, the plentiful crops and the excellence of the fish. But far from having leisure to superintend the settlement of colonists, he himself was hardly a settler, such was the value set upon his services by the king. Thoughtless writers have called him one of King William's favourites, so as to create an impression upon posterity that he was perhaps a flatterer and a minister to courtly vices. But William's favourites were good and faithful public servants, "men of sense," (says Sir John Dalrymple) "who would and could do the business they were put to." Another writer says of Lord Galway, "He was a man of skill, courage, and activity, which qualities ensured him the favour of King William"—and another, "his frankness and spirit endeared him to William, who employed his varied talents as well in negotiation as in action." *

Luttrel under date 19th January 1693 announces that Lord Galway "goes in a few days to Ireland to command in chief there." The few days proved to be nearly a month. "Thursday, 16th February, yesterday the Lord Galway, General of the Forces in Ireland, with other officers, set out for that kingdom."

While the confederates drew away the forces of Louis XIV. from home in all directions, a descent upon France was a frequent plan. Lord Galway went to the king in spring to take counsel regarding a project of that kind. "London, 25th April 1693.—The Lord Galway General of the Forces in Ireland, is arrived here from thence, and is going to the king in Flanders." "Deal, 4th May.—Lord Galway is arrived here, and goes on board the *Greenwich* frigate for Holland." "May 11th.—The Lord Galway is gone to his Majesty for instructions about the descent, on whose return that matter depends."

But once in the field, he remained there, and was conspicuous at the battle of Landen on

* Dalrymple's Memoirs (Edit. 1778, 4to.) Vol. III., p. 174, note. Ryan's Life of William III. Coxe's Memoirs of Duke of Shrewsbury.

the 19th July. Voltaire relates that William had only the hours of the previous night to prepare for action: "They attack him at break of day. They find him at the head of Ruvigny's regiment, entirely composed of French gentlemen, whom the fatal revocation of the edict of Nantes and the dragonnades had compelled both to quit and to hate their native country. Upon that country they revenged the intrigues of the Jesuit La Chaise, and the cruelties of Louvois. William, followed by troops thus animated, overthrew at the first the opposing squadrons, till his horse was shot under him, and he was overthrown himself. He got up, and continued the combat with the most obstinate efforts." Later in the day, according to Smollett, "The Hanoverian and Dutch Horse being broken, the king in person brought the English cavalry to their assistance. They fought with great gallantry, and for some time retarded the fate of the day. The infantry were rallied and stood firm until their ammunition was expended." King William's biographer says, as to the brave though unsuccessful attempt to relieve our right wing: "The king himself charged at the head of my Lord Galway's regiment, which distinguished itself very much on this occasion." Macaulay mentions the traditions of old soldiers concerning this regiment at Landen, how King William sometimes led them in person to the charge, dismounting at times to animate the infantry.

According to King William's biographer, "The king, seeing the battle lost, ordered the infantry to retreat to Dormal, upon the brook of Beck; and finding that the enemies were surrounding him on all sides, his Majesty ordered the regiments of Wyndham, Lumley, and Galway to cover his retreat over the bridge of Neerhespen, which he gained with great difficulty." It was now that Lord Galway greatly signalized himself, being left in command at this point. Professor Weiss, while recording this, gives a singular anecdote, on the authority of the Duc de St. Simon, who fought in the French army, and either witnessed the exciting incident or heard of it at the time: "At the battle of Nerwinden, Ruvigny kept at bay, almost unsupported, the entire force of the French cavalry. He was made prisoner for a moment; but the French officers let him go, their chief affecting not to perceive it, and he continued to cover the retreat of the English, fighting like a hero." There is reason to believe that he was wounded in this action. For not only was there a report that he was killed, but we are informed that he came from Namur to the king's camp on August 13th, while other officers remained at Namur, not being recovered of their wounds.

Every one will concur in Macaulay's tribute to the noble generosity of the French officers who set Lord Galway at liberty; but we must differ from the historian as far as he endorses Voltaire's imputation of "a true refugee hatred of the country that had driven him out" to the truly noble lord. In fighting with such intense valour he was animated by love for William of Orange, and for the Protestants of Europe. Besides, he was always in earnest in a battle-field, and evidently was a splendid cavalry officer. As for his views of France, they were statesman-like, and not diseased. French domination was to be checked, that the extinction of the Protestantism of Europe might be prevented, and that liberty might extend its reign. As to personal matters, Lord Galway habitually maintained a dignified and unaffected self-command.

SEC. 5. HIS SERVICES AS LIEUTENANT-GENERAL AND AMBASSADOR IN PIEDMONT.

Lord Galway was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General and sent to Piedmont. Luttrell says: "1st November 1693.—Lord Galway goes to Savoy, to command his Majesty's troops there, in the room of Duke Schomberg, deceased." And "1st December 1693:—The Lord Galway has received his credentials to go Ambassador to the Duke of Savoy, and next week he sets forward with a considerable sum of money for the Vaudois and the French refugees." He embarked from England for Holland, and thence travelled by land to Piedmont about the middle of December. It is well known that Victor Amedeo was already treacherous to his allies. He was ready to be bribed by Louis with honours and territory. During the greater part of this war his winters were spent in secret negotiations. The operations during the summer consisted of either postponements or the mere pageantry of engagements. If an

occasional battle was fought in earnest, it was only with the view of extorting more tempting offers to himself from the French king. When I say that this is well known, I mean that such is our present knowledge. From the confederates he concealed his duplicity with great cunning and address.

As to the year 1694, an anonymous biographer of Prince Eugene says:—"Everybody expected, and not without good grounds, to see a glorious campaign this year in Italy, and took it for granted that the Duke of Savoy would make ample amends for the loss at Marsiglia. Prince Eugene, during his residence at Vienna in the winter, had obtained a large reinforcement of troops with this very view. And the King of Great Britain had sent my Lord Galway to supply the place of the Duke of Schomberg, that nothing might be wanting on his part."

Besides this,—the British fleet was ready to co-operate in any enterprise on the coasts of Italy, Spain, or France. And the French forces were diminished by drafts to the Netherlands, and by troops required to protect Toulon, Marseilles, and other maritime ports. Victor Amedeo, however, negatived all the plans of councils of war. Nothing was done this summer except the taking of the fort of St. Giorgio, and a little skirmishing. The only important event is dated June 3d—"The Duke of Savoy, at the instance of England and Holland, issued a declaration allowing the Vaudois the free exercise of their religion." Concerning this Act, Burnet says that it was "a very full edict," "restoring their former liberties and privileges to them, which the Lord Galway took care to have put in the most emphatical words, and passed with all the formalities of law, to make it as effectual as laws and promises can be. Yet every step, that was made in that affair, went against the grain, and was extorted from the Duke by the intercession of the King and the States, and by Lord Galway's zeal." On one occasion he, by the Duke's permission, assembled a Protestant Synod at Vegliano, where his quarters were. Durant, chaplain of Aubussargues' regiment, was president; the members were the almoners of six refugee regiments, and twenty-four elders, of whom he himself was one. The business was the reformation of the morals of the soldiers. During a recruiting expedition in Switzerland, he met with a deputation from the Waldensian refugees in the Cantons, who wished to emigrate to a less circumscribed region. He promised to endeavour to find a home for them in Ireland.

The Duke of Savoy, having imposed on his army a melancholy inaction, we need not regret that no letter of Lord Galway is printed before June 1695. Here is the first, dated Camp before Casale (May 31), June 10, 1695.—Viscount Galway to the Duke of Shrewsbury:—"I am much obliged to you for the honour of your information that the affairs of this country are at present in your department [as one of the Secretaries of State]. I shall have great pleasure in sending you an account of what passes in this court, and in receiving your orders—for I hope you will have the goodness to give me occasional instructions.

"You know, my Lord, that the Duke of Savoy is a prince of great application to war and politics—very penetrating, and very difficult to be penetrated. This last peculiarity of his character would make me very bold, if I ventured to answer for his inclination not only to a separate but also to a general peace. But I judge of the sincerity of his words and actions by his own interests with which he is well acquainted; and I think I can assure you that all the princes of the league may rely certainly on his firmness. He is a prince who wishes to be master; and nothing pleases him like the command of a large army, and many troops at his disposal. He pays at present 27 battalions, 4 companies of his guards, 2 regiments of cavalry, and 3 of dragoons; and we may estimate his effective force at 15,000 foot and 2,500 horse. The Spanish have 8000 foot and 3000 horse; the Imperialists, 8000 foot and 4500 horse. Thus, we may reckon on 30,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, (of whom we must leave in the Milanese, in the quarters of the imperialists, and in the fortresses of Piedmont, at least 8000 infantry and 1000 horse); so that we may bring into the field about 30,000 men. Under the orders of Monsieur Catinat, in the provinces bordering on the Alps, there are 50,000 foot and 4000 or 5000 horse; without reckoning the 'Troupes de la marine,' who are in Provence, under the orders of Monsieur de Tourville, and will not leave the coasts.

“If our affairs were directed by a single and skilful head, we should at least be able to give some annoyance to the enemy. But though our chiefs are men of great merit, and perfectly well-intentioned, they cannot think alike, nor have they the same interests. And it were to be wished, that we had generals of greater experience.

“We are at present engaged in projects for the siege of Casale ; for it is true that if we do not undertake it, there is great appearance that we shall spend this campaign (as we did the other) without doing anything. But it is certain that if we finish our lines, and establish a *blockade* as we ought, we shall soon be masters of it without expense, without loss of men, and without risk. And if we persist in the design of *besieging** it, we shall encounter many difficulties, we shall lose many men and much time ; and the enemy in the interim will take Demont, which will give them a third entrance into Piedmont. It is even to be feared that in the later season they may still farther avail themselves of the weakness to which the siege will have previously reduced our infantry.

“However, since it has been determined to undertake the siege (though I was of a contrary opinion), I urge our generals as much as possible to adopt a decided part ; for in speaking perpetually of the siege, we forget the lines and take no measures as elsewhere. I much fear, indeed, that we shall not finish the lines, and shall pass the campaign in the vicinity of Casale. After that, if the enemy choose to attempt anything in Piedmont, we shall not find ourselves in a condition to oppose them, because we shall have adopted no measure for our subsistence in that quarter.

“Such, my Lord, is the present state of our affairs. I will do myself the honour of sending you a regular account. And I humbly beg you to impart your sentiments to me, that I may regulate my conduct for the service of the king and the advantage and prosperity of the nation.”

The desires and projects of the different leaders formed a strange medley. The Duke of Savoy's whole attention was directed to the fortresses of Casale and Pignerol. The Austrians and Spaniards concentrated their fondness on Italy. Lord Galway's programme was that the land forces should combine with the British fleet to assault Marseilles or Toulon, with a view to the destruction of the French navy and shipping. Being outvoted in a council of war, he next proposed the siege of Nice, but this proposal was also rejected. The operation which was sanctioned was contrary to the sense of the majority, namely, an assault upon Casale. Lord Galway disapproved of the scheme on the ground, that the progressing blockade would compel that fortress to surrender, without any sacrifice of men and means.

While the army were making creditable preparations for the assault, the fact was, that the French had agreed privately with the Duke of Savoy that the fortress, after being dismantled, should be evacuated by them and handed over to the Duke of Mantua. The form of taking the place by storm was however to be enacted. This does not detract from the valour and diligence of the officers and soldiers, for they doubted not that the Duke was in earnest. Lord Galway's letter was written in the midst of the preparations. After a fortnight's siege, on the 11th of July, the garrison capitulated.

The biographer of King William records the following incidents connected with the execution of the capitulation :—“In the execution of the capitulation, it plainly appeared that the Duke of Savoy began to lean on the French side. For he not only suffered them to work very slowly on the demolishing the fortifications of Casale, whereby the forces of the allies were hindered from entering upon some other considerable enterprise ; but also allowed them several things out of the public magazines, which of right belonged to the confederates. The Lord Galway, who commanded His Britannic Majesty's forces in Piedmont, was so disgusted at these proceedings that, having been left before Casale with several battalions to see the capitulation performed, he retired to Turin to make his complaints to the Duke ; nor could he be persuaded to go back, till he was assured by His Royal Highness, that no wrong should be done to the Emperor or any of his allies.”

* *i. e.*, storming it.

While Lord Galway's letters to the Duke of Shrewsbury have been collected and printed by Archdeacon Coxe, his more official correspondence with Mr Blathwait, secretary-at-war, has been dispersed by an auction sale. To it he alludes in his letter to the Duke, dated *Camp near Casale*, July 19-29 1695, "My Lord, I write twice-a-week to the king and to Mr Blathwait, from whose letters I receive His Majesty's orders. But I know it is also my duty to inform you of what passes here You will (I trust) have seen, my Lord, that I have done all in my power to engage the chiefs to use all their efforts towards the sea, to profit by the superiority of our fleet." The original of one of Lord Galway's letters to Mr Blathwait has come into my possession, and I give a translation of it here. It alludes to the demolition of Casale.

"CAMP near CASALE, 12-22 August 1695.

"SIR,—I have returned here. I do not know if the courier whom you sent to me has been despatched. I fear that the bad state of His Royal Highness' health has delayed his departure. I have been informed that his fits of ague continue. I have sent couriers to our consuls at Venice, Genoa, and Leghorn, to give them the good news of the taking of Namur. I have also written it to the admiral, who, according to the last advices, was at Barcelona on August 2nd (n.s.) I have also let him know that, according to all the advices from France, the enemy are under no apprehension of any expedition from his quarter; so that, if he thinks proper to revisit their coast, I believe he will give them a surprise. I am expecting news day after day of the king's next step, now that Namur is surrendered. The demolition of our fortress goes on slowly. All the native soldiers, and even the officers, fall sick. Only two in my own household have altogether escaped. You may well believe that I would greatly desire to be out of this country. I hope that the king does me the justice not to believe that I have any longing to go to England because of uneasy feelings. I prefer his service to my private affairs, which are all right as long as I have the happiness to be in his service, and to give him satisfaction. I am, with all my heart, Sir, &c. GALLWAY."

Casale having been given over to the Duke of Mantua, the Duke of Savoy's next proposal was the reduction of the town and fortress of Pignerol. Lord Galway considered the project unpracticable and unwise, and again pressed his overture for the siege of Nice. King William entirely concurred with Lord Galway; but while assuring him of this, he sent him orders to acquiesce in the Pignerol scheme, entirely out of deference to the Duke of Savoy. This was accordingly done, the king and his obedient servant hoping "that this compliance would ensure the fidelity of the Duke, and eventually win his concurrence to the prosecution of operations against the French coasts." The Duke, it now appears, hoped to obtain Pignerol from the French by diplomacy. He accordingly did nothing in the campaign but waste the season; and thus the year 1695 passed away. During the winter Lord Galway was in the cantons of Zurich and Berne, raising recruits: 3000 Swiss were thus obtained.*

The year 1696 found the confederates with increasing suspicions. A papal nuncio had publicly appeared at the ducal court to advise peace, out of pity for the miseries of his Highness's people and the misfortunes of Italy. The Duke's formal answer was what Lord Galway called "such as we could wish, being to the effect that peace could not be made without the unanimous consent of all the allies."

His Highness was nevertheless prepared to treat with France for his own covetous and ambitious ends. But he was perplexed how to contrive an opportunity for negotiation, "convinced that all his movements were watched by Lord Galway, and fearful of confiding even in his own ministers." So says Coxe; and the biographer of King William writes, that "the Duke was narrowly watched by the vigilant Lord Galway," and devised a plan "to avoid the prying sagacity of that minister."

* Luttrell, under dates 9th Nov., 30th Nov., and 28th Dec. 1695.

Lord Galway was not expected, and did not desire, to be present at Roman Catholic ceremonies. The Duke, therefore, told him that he would be absent for fifteen days on a religious pilgrimage at Loretto. Both Prince Eugene and Lord Galway sent spies to watch him; and it is said that the latter gained over some of the subordinate clerks and secretaries. But eluding all observation, the Duke carried on the negotiation. As a pilgrim, he must have monks for his companions. And some French agents (including, it is believed, the Comte de Tessé) were attired in monastic costume for the occasion. The bribes which the Duke then accepted from France were, for such a man, dazzling beyond conception, namely, the cession of Pignerol, the marriage of the Princess Maria Adelaide of Savoy to the Duke of Burgundy, and the honours due only to ambassadors from crowned heads for his ambassadors at the French court. Having thus sacrificed to and worshipped Mammon, he quietly returned home on March 15th, as if a religious ceremonial had been engrossing his mind.

Lord Galway wrote about this time to the Duke of Shrewsbury. The following is an extract from his letter, dated Turin (Feb. 29), March 10, 1696 :—"His Royal Highness sent me on the first of this month to Vercelli to reform one of the battalions in the service of the king. He departed the next day for Milan, and two days after set out for Loretto. He traversed Parma, Modena, and Bologna. He told me on passing through Vercelli that his journey would occupy fifteen days; so that I do not expect him here until the 15th of this month. However, the enemy have taken the necessary measures to pass the mountains and enter the plains; their gendarmerie and cavalry, who were in winter quarters in Franche Comté, are ordered to be in readiness to march on the commencement of this month. I hope his Highness, on his return to Milan, will send hither a detachment of the Imperial and Spanish troops, which will suffice, with his own, to prevent at this season the enterprises of the enemy.

"By this time the Toulon fleet must be at sea, according to the last advices from Marseilles. Letters from Lyons announce that the French have collected at Calais a large armament of fishing vessels and small craft to transport the troops for the invasion of England, and that King James has posted from Paris to Calais. It is long since I informed you that in Italy they affirmed that the main design of France this year was to invade England. I hope we shall be prepared to receive them."

The Duke of Savoy's bargain with France was still a secret, when a hitch occurred (on May 30th) which, though it irritated him, enabled him to secure the concealment of the whole plot by an apparent manifestation of habitual good faith towards the allies. The French diplomatists had prevailed on the Duke's agent to sign the treaty, with a new clause delaying the cession of Pignerol until the proclamation of a general peace. The grasping Victor Amedeo promptly repudiated the transaction. The French king in his turn waxed wroth, and ordered letters to be addressed to him, containing "threats of most exemplary vengeance," unless he accepted the French offers. The duke, with the air of one who let his allies read all his correspondence, showed these letters to Lord Galway and the other generals. He declared himself keen for fighting. And the confederates admired his ingenuousness, and sympathized with him as showing a bold front against both the honeyed baits and the savage menaces of France.

Coxe expresses surprise at "the blindness of Lord Galway." But his Lordship's vindication is as complete as was the great Duke of Wellington's in a similar case. The Czar Nicholas having made to Wellington certain statements which he from such authority had received as facts, Canning pointed out some written information received from St Petersburg undoubtedly authentic but totally incompatible with the imperial statement. Wellington read it attentively, and then said to Canning, "Yes, I see what you mean; but could I suppose that the fellow was a liar?" So Lord Macaulay vindicates our ambassador from the imputation of a strange blindness by simply mentioning that the Duke of Savoy solemnly assured Lord Galway that there was no ground for the suspicion that he was secretly treating with France.

The following document is the crowning act of his Highness's treachery :—

The Duke of Savoy to King William.

“*June 17, 1696.*—I doubt not that my Lord Galway, whom I have acquainted with what passes here, has sent a very accurate report to your Majesty. My duty and inclination, however, compel me to inform you of it myself by this letter, which encloses copies of one from Marshal Catinat, and of the answer I ordered to be returned, with his reply and mine. The sentiment of the allied chiefs here has been to gain time for keeping the enemy in suspense. This is my view also; and of what shall ensue I will render a faithful account to your Majesty, who will allow me to represent that (if your service would permit it) the return of your fleet to the Mediterranean would be very advantageous to your Majesty and to the good of the common cause, particularly to whatever related to the affairs of this country.

“I humbly entreat your Majesty to give the necessary orders that I may receive, as soon as possible, the subsidy which I enjoy from your royal generosity, assuring you that I never was under so pressing a necessity. It shall be applied solely for the service of your Majesty and of the common cause in this country. I solemnly promise that I will cherish the most ardent zeal for both. And my strongest desire will ever be to merit, on all public occasions, the continuation of your Majesty’s powerful protection, and the honour of declaring myself, with the highest respect and truth, &c., &c.”

“V. AMEDE.”*

The request for the pecuniary subsidy was the real object of this letter. “He had (says Smollett) “concealed the treaty until he should receive the remaining part of the subsidies due to him from the confederates. A considerable sum had been remitted from England to Genoa for his use; but Lord Galway no sooner received intimation of his new engagement than he put a stop to the payment of this money, which he employed in the Milanese for the subsistence of those troops that were in the British service.”

The Emperor Leopold of Austria, learning at last how matters stood, paid counter-addresses to his highness, and attempted as a rival courtier to outbid the Grand Monarque. But the imperial negotiations only gave the duke an opportunity of confessing that he had concluded a treaty with France. So Lord Galway wrote to the Duke of Shrewsbury from the Camp of Civasso, August (6) 16, 1696:—

“Since I wrote last, Count Mansfeld came hither with new proposals from the Emperor to his Royal Highness. But he found him too deeply engaged to be shaken in his resolutions; for he declared that at any price he must have Pignerol, and would treat only with those who would put it immediately into his possession. He asked him, ‘Will the allies without delay restore me that important place, for which I will admit no equivalent?’ adding, ‘Since you know they cannot, I am determined to accept the proposals of France, who can restore it by the treaty I shall conclude with that crown, the conditions of which are that the allies shall accept a neutrality for Italy, and withdraw their troops. Monsieur de Mansfeld represented that his orders from the emperor were to do nothing without the consent of all the allies, who were too distant to arrange an affair of such importance in so limited a time. His Royal Highness, apparently impressed by these just reasons, at once offered to procure a prolongation of the truce to the end of September, which the marshal refused. We were apprized of the course of this negotiation before the arrival of Count Mansfeld. The question is reduced to the acceptance of the neutrality before the 20th of September, or the renewal of the war.”

The next letter of Lord Galway’s, from which I shall quote, states his feelings as a soldier, and his conduct as an ambassador. Camp at Saluzze, Aug. (17) 27, 1696.—“If I judge rightly, we shall place all our infantry in the fortresses, and shall use our cavalry to incommode the enemy in their convoys and foraging parties. . . . His Royal Highness declared to me, two days ago, that he would sign his treaty. I deemed it my duty to tell him that, since he was resolved to do it, I thought a minister of the king could no longer remain with him,

* His domestic and military papers were written in Italian, and signed “V. AMEDEO.” His foreign correspondence was in French, and from the signature the final O was omitted.

unless his Majesty sent me other orders, which I should wait for at the army ; and I took my leave of him. I am sending to Milan the effects and equipage which I had at Turin."

He writes from the Camp of St Mazaro, Sept. (5) 15 1696—"I have described to you the manner in which I withdrew from the Duke of Savoy after the declaration he made to me that he would sign his treaty with France at the end of August, and denounce war against the allies on the 17th of September, if the neutrality were not accepted. It seemed to me that his Majesty could no longer have a minister in the court of that prince, after a treaty signed with the enemy, and a resolution taken to declare war against the allies, unless they accepted a neutrality to which his Majesty is adverse. Since I have quitted his states, his Royal Highness has sent me a present, which, not thinking proper to accept, I refused with much submission, desiring the master of the ceremonies to keep it until he should know whether the king would permit me to receive it." Luttrell states—"His lordship refused the Duke of Savoy's picture set with diamonds, offered him by that duke."

On September 16th, the Duke of Savoy, as generalissimo of the enemy, marched into the Milanese, and the siege of Valenza was commenced. We observe Lord Galway full of plans for harassing the invaders. We detect him looking out at the heavy rains, and rejoicing in them as obstructions to siege-works. We encounter him in his correspondence shocked at the idea of Austria making a separate treaty with France, and hoping that those imperialists are not going to desert next. The Duke was bent on taking Valenza ; but at the end of thirteen days he had lost 2,000 men, and had made no progress. The heavy rains would soon have compelled him to raise the siege, and to allow the allies winter quarters in Italy. However, both the siege and the vigorous resistance were terminated by the peace, known as the Convention of Vigevano, and dated October 7th.

The contracting parties were France, Savoy, Spain, and Austria. The French agreed to evacuate Italy, on condition that the same was done by the other allies, except the Spaniards, who were to remain in possession of the Milanese. England was not mentioned. When a sketch or draft had been prepared for circulation, it was said that the pacific document would have been suspected as spurious, if the name of such a fire-eating warrior as William of Orange had been inserted. The Duke directed his envoy, President De la Tour, to announce the ratification of the treaty to King William at the camp in Flanders. William received the message with contemptuous silence ; but wrote to Lord Galway to remonstrate with the Duke in such terms as his ingratitude and duplicity deserved.

In November 1696, Lord Galway, with his contingent, joined the army in the Netherlands ; but matters were now ripe for the negotiations which ended in the Peace of Ryswick, and he very soon returned to England, where he arrived 11th January 1697. The general conviction that peace would soon be proclaimed was the occasion of a heavy pecuniary loss to our hero.

The Duke de St Simon states, that although Lord Galway's estate was confiscated, there was a large sum of money for him in the custody of a friend of his father. The old Marquis, having been permitted to retain all his wealth, had left this sum in the hands of President Harlay, who evidently could take the deposit with unquestionable loyalty to his king. And after old Ruvigny's death, the President had honourably regarded the father as surviving in the person of the heir. For about twelve years, old Harlay had shown himself a true man. At length peace was to be proclaimed between France and England. Lord Galway's position as a naturalized British subject would be recognized by the French government, to whom he would no longer be amenable on the charge of treason. The money then could be openly paid over to him. But Harlay had looked on the precious treasure too long, to be able to endure the pangs of parting from it. So, believing that Louis would like to hear of an opportunity for taking revenge on Lord Galway, he waited on the Monarque, and said, "Of course your Majesty knows that old Ruvigny left some of his money as a deposit in my charge ; it ought to be handed over to your Majesty." The king replied, "I give it to you." And thus did Harlay appropriate his old friend's property, and overreach his friend's son. Although the transaction gratified the king's spite, it caused a burst of indignation and execration all

over France.* The king comforted his avaricious servant with marks of his favour, and by giving high office to his son; but all this was no real compensation for the continued public odium.

What Lord Galway's doom would have been, if Louis could have put all his revenge into execution, may be surmised from Luttrell's Memorandum, 16th Feb. 1697—"Wrote from Ghent that the cartel between England and France is broken by reason that some of the Lord Galway's domestics, taken by the Dunkirk privateers, have been sent to the galleys."

The Duke of Shrewsbury had written to Lord Galway in Piedmont, expressing most loyal sentiments as to the detected conspiracy of Sir John Fenwick and others. Sir John, however, mischievously insinuated that the duke was in secret correspondence with King James. King William eagerly assured the duke that the insinuation had not made any impression on him; but Shrewsbury insisted on retiring from office. The king, unable to shake this resolution, looked to Lord Galway to help him. This we learn from a letter from the Earl of Portland to the Duke of Shrewsbury, dated Kensington, Oct. (20) 30, 1696, "I will say nothing of the loss you will occasion to the king's service in retiring; Lord Galway will, as it appears, speak to you of it himself."

It is remarkable how at every stage in Lord Galway's course we hear his praises sounded. Misson's panegyric is of this date. Speaking of the French refugees, it says:—"The Earl of Galway, a brave and noble gentleman, if ever there was one in the world, is their head, their friend, their refuge, their advocate, their support, their protector. When he arrived from Turin some days ago, his house was so crowded every morning, that for a quarter of an hour after his rising it was scarce possible to get so much as to the bottom of the staircase."

Another memorial of Lord Galway is a ledger, still preserved† at Vevay, in Switzerland, which shows that he maintained in that town above eighty-four members of refugee Huguenot families. Their names, the houses in which they were boarded, and the sums spent on them for the months of August, September, and October 1696 were carefully entered in this book by the almoner, and were afterwards revised by his lordship himself. The money paid during the three months amounted to £33 sterling; and the recipients were 37 orphan children, 25 other children, 10 widows, 8 women, and 2 men, the funeral charges for one orphan being included in that expenditure.

SEC 6.—HIS APPOINTMENT AS ONE OF THE LORDS-JUSTICES OF IRELAND, AND HIS ELEVATION TO THE EARLDOM OF GALWAY.

THE government of Ireland, for about thirty years after 1688, was sometimes confided to a viceroy, called the Lord-Deputy or Lord-Lieutenant, and sometimes to Lords-Justices. During the term of a viceroy's office there were Lords-Justices also, but these were only deputies during his temporary absence from Ireland, like the Lords-Justices of England, appointed by William during his visits to Holland, or by the first two Georges for their short terms of absence in Hanover. The office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland was often dormant (the leading statesmen regarding it as a banishment), and a Vice-Regal Board held sway, the Lords-Justices composing it being not a viceroy's deputies, but the king's. It was as one of a vice-regal board that Lord Galway was gazetted on February 6th, 1697, when it was announced that "Lord Viscount Galway and John Methuen, Esq., Lord Chancellor of Ireland, were constituted Lords-Justices of that kingdom."

To Lord Galway Ireland was not a scene of banishment; in fact, it had since 1692 been his head-quarters, and the home towards which his eye had often wandered. Detained at first

* The Duke de St Simon stigmatizes the President for his conduct in this affair—"Cet hypocrite de justice, de vertu, de désintéressement, et de rigorisme n'eut pas honte de se l'approprier, et de fermer les yeux et les oreilles au bruit qu'excita cette perfidie." Professor Weiss has missed the point of this anecdote by not adverting to the Duke's opening sentence: "La Paix s'approchant, le Roi la prévint par un trait de vengeance contre mylord Galway, dont il n'aurait plus été temps bientôt après."

† Bulletin, vol. ix., page 459.

by the exigencies of the campaign of 1693, he by the casualties of war, had been suddenly required to go to Savoy, and to undertake the temporary work of an envoy-extraordinary. As there is no official record of his appointment to command the forces in Ireland in 1697, we conclude that the first commission had been kept in force, and that a deputy had been discharging his duties. The only difference in his military position was, that formerly he had the local rank of lieutenant-general, but now, being a lieutenant-general in the army, he had the local rank of general.

He was also a landed proprietor in Ireland. The forfeited lands were regarded by the king as suitable rewards to the supporters of his royal authority. Some public men, who maliciously studied to thwart him in everything, kept alive the sentiment that these lands should be sold, and that the national debt should be paid with their price. The king therefore led parliament to expect that the legislature would be consulted previously to any estates being given away. The confusion of the times often cut short the existence of parliaments, so that there was no time for going through all the stages of a bill, which otherwise might have been sure to pass both houses. In the parliament that began on 22d October 1691, a bill passed the House of Commons, and was in 1692 laid on the table of the House of Lords, "to vest the forfeited estates in Ireland in their Majesties, to be applied to the uses of the war," which bill "reserved to their Majesties one-third part of the forfeitures, to be disposed and given to such military officers and soldiers (as their Majesties should think fit) who actually served in the wars in Ireland in person there, and to no other person or persons whatsoever" (Parliament had nothing to do with the royal estates which King James had been in possession of). This being therefore the law that seemed certain to be passed in due time, King William took the management of the forfeitures, and gave grants of land *in custodiam*, that is, nominal leases, followed by annual releases from the payment of rent. In the course of years, on the ground that the House of Commons seemed to have no suggestions to offer, the king converted the *custodiam* grants into absolute grants. So Lord Galway received the Portarlington Estate, first *in custodiam* in 1693, and afterwards absolutely on the 26th June 1696, as appears from the Irish Patent Rolls, *Grants to Henry, Viscount Galway*. The proprietor who had forfeited the estate was Sir Patrick Trant of Brannockstoune, as he styled himself; the lands of Brannockstoune, in the county of Kildare, being probably favourite ones, originally the property of Sir John Eustace, who had mortgaged them to Sir Patrick. The Portarlington Estate had been so named by Lord Arlington. The original lands of the Trants were probably in county Kerry. The grant to Lord Galway calls the whole domain "the Lands of Ballybrittas and others."

This grant of land though large, cannot be called lavish. Luttrell states that it was worth £3000 a year. What had been the estate of a knight would not appear to be a prodigal settlement on a peer. The author of "Memoirs of Ireland" (page 185) states that John Trant, Sir Patrick's son, "by the encouragement of some Tories near King William, came to England to solicit for his estate, which had been granted to the Earl of Galway; but he was balked in his expectations, and his friends could do him no service. Upon which he went to the Earl of Galway and represented to him the want he was reduced to, being kept out of his estate by his lordship. The Earl, whose humanity gained him the love of all that knew him, said in answer, I owe the estate I hold to His Majesty's bounty, in consideration of my service in this kingdom. I had a much better estate in France which was taken from me. I doubt not your interest with the King of France, and you may very readily get out of that French estate an equivalent for this Irish one."

I give from the Irish Patent Rolls an abridged catalogue of the Estate. The different lots are described either as "lands" or "town and lands," (the word "town" meaning simply a house and farm-buildings). Where &c. is added, a number of other names are implied, for which the reader may search in the Patent Rolls of the Irish Public Record Office. The acres are Irish—and an Irish is to an English acre as 92 to 149. Throwing profitable and unprofitable acres into one sum, we find the total to be about 36,068 Irish, or 58,414 English acres. If we deduct the unprofitable, there remain 23,985 Irish, or 38,845 English acres.

I.—*The portion of Portarlington Estate in the Barony of Portneinch, Queen's County.*

Ballybrittas, &c.,	1128*	(242)
Ballintogher, &c.,	729	(139)
Cooletundery, <i>alias</i> Cullcuddery, <i>alias</i> Portarlington, &c.,	540	(53)
Tircogher, <i>alias</i> Tyrcoger, <i>alias</i> Forraigne, Brackloan, &c.,	370	(6)
Ballycoduffe, <i>alias</i> Ballyteigduffe, <i>alias</i> Jamestown,	354	(79)
Rathrousin, <i>alias</i> Rathacres,	725	(56)
Killesberaghmore, &c.,	307	(33)
Ballyfobole, <i>alias</i> Ballyfobyle, <i>alias</i> Ballyfoble, <i>alias</i> Ballypople, <i>alias</i> Cordustowne and Berretuben,	345	(186)
Kinnester magna, Kinnester parva, &c.,	567	(66)
Killnecort, &c.,	1156	
Ballymorish, <i>alias</i> Morristowne, &c.,	407	(9)
Rathleiss, <i>alias</i> Rathleissagh, <i>alias</i> Lowerland, &c.,	138	(26)

II.—*The other portion of Portarlington Estate situated in the Barony of Phillipstowne, King's County.*

Derryoglagh, <i>alias</i> Sherwood Marsh,	512	
Endagh, &c.	398	(149)
Rathfestan, &c., with the red bog,	869	(892)
Ballygowl, <i>alias</i> Ballyduff, &c.	298	
Gortinegapple, &c.,	227	
Knockean, <i>alias</i> Ballykean, <i>alias</i> Keansbury, <i>alias</i> Entertierny, and Ballywrine,	385	(158)
Killcowny, &c.,	275	(691)
Nourney, <i>alias</i> Purney, <i>alias</i> Leisbury,	253	(9)
Raghine, &c.,	556	
Ballymacrossan, &c.,	463	
Clonagownagh, <i>alias</i> Clonegowny, &c.,	867	(164)
Kilpagheshailagh, <i>alias</i> Ballynallownagh, <i>alias</i> Kilcappagh,	487	(626)
Innaghan, <i>alias</i> Shepard, &c.,	313	(397)
Disart, <i>alias</i> Discart, &c.,	1466	(2218)
Clonehome, <i>alias</i> Clonequin, <i>alias</i> Queensclone, &c.,	225	(478)
Gortineassey, <i>alias</i> Gortinefassey, <i>alias</i> Westland,	450	
Enarthmore, <i>alias</i> Rathmore, <i>alias</i> Firstsight,	133	
Graffin, <i>alias</i> Gregnafin, and timberwoods, called Killenane, <i>alias</i> Portarlington-Woods, belonging to the adjacent woods,	1322	
Cloonhorke, &c.,	678	(1150)
Loghill, <i>alias</i> Lockhill, <i>alias</i> Henryshin,	335	
Templeshenes, <i>alias</i> Templeshane, <i>alias</i> Templeshone,		

III.—*Brannockstoune Estate in the Barony of Naas, County Kildare.*

Brannockstoune,	397
Grangemore,	270
Yeagogstoune	126
Rochestoune	38

* The first number is the number of profitable acres, (unprofitable acres are numbered within the brackets.)

IV.—*Estate in County Kerry.**

Scartaghegleny, &c.,	. . . . .	1280	(4316) Mountain
Obreenane, &c ,	1380		(27)
Lemerchahall, &c.,	. . . . .	336	(10)
Ballymonteene, &c.,	. . . . .	272	
Ballynorrigh, &c.,	. . . . .	348	
[The above in the Barony of Trughanackmy.]			
Ballymore,	. . . . .	185	
[In the Barony of Corkaguiny.]			
Ballynorrigh,	. . . . .	230	
Killykill the east,	. . . . .	100	
Ardconnell,	. . . . .	106	
Killykill the west,	. . . . .	107	
Ballyinandrew,	. . . . .	106	
Tyreshannaghan,	. . . . .	75	
[The above in the Barony of Clanmorris.]			
Aghadoe and Raghernane,	. . . . .	870	
Knockernaght,	. . . . .	473	

The able Irish historian, Dr Reid,† says, with reference to the Lords-Justices of this period, that upon Lord Galway “the chief responsibility of the government rested.” It appears that Mr Methuen was specially sent to be a working member of the board. There was some difficult political work, which would expose any chief governor to unpopularity. Mr Methuen was therefore prevailed upon to serve, as an able barrister accustomed not to select his work, but to do it, and also as an Englishman who had no Irish friends to lose. He was recommended to the king by the Earl of Sunderland; and for the object in view, he was appointed not only the Irish Chancellor, but also a Lord-Justice. However, even Methuen shrank from facing a parliament, and it was thought better that he should remain as Lord Chancellor only. Lord Galway was for a short time the sole Lord-Justice. This was a kind of interregnum, during which he visited England. His visit is alluded to in a letter from Lady Russell.‡

Lord Galway was now promoted to the rank of Earl of Galway in the Peerage of Ireland. His patent is dated 12th May 1697, and styles him Comes de Galloway in regno nostro Hiberniæ. He also received a grant of supporters for his armorial bearings—namely, “two savages crowned and girt with laurel, each holding in his hand a club, and on the same arm as the club a shield with the arms of Ireland.” §

Lord Galway founded Portarlinton as a town. He built and endowed two churches and two schools. The liturgy in the French language was used in the French Church (or St Paul’s) until the beginning of the present century. The schools taught the purest pronunciation of French, and Portarlinton for more than a century was the most fashionable seat of education in Ireland. Originally the boys at Lord Galway’s schools had a costume resembling the dress still worn at Christ Church. In an old account-book they are called *ye bleu bois* (the blue boys).

* I find that the grant does not say that this estate belonged to Trant. But as it gives no other name, I leave my former statement as a conjecture; though it may be more probable that Sir Patrick was altogether the architect of his own fortune, and that there was no ancestral estate of the Trant family.

† See Reid’s “History of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland”—a first-rate work, which it is almost presumptuous in me to praise. I am indebted to it for many facts and references.

‡ Lady Russell to Rev. Mr Thornton, May 1697, “If I see Lord Galway, I will not fail to remember your orders, Sir, about Mr Davids.”

§ Burke’s Extinct Peerage (edition of 1866), page 360. The arms of Massue De Renneval were a huntsman’s gold horn on a blue shield. But the arms of Massue De Ruvigny were different, as engraved (with the supporters) in Rochblave’s Sermons at the head of the Epistle Dedicatory, and as described by Burke:—“Quarterly: 1st Arg., a fesse gu., in chief, three martlets, sa., on a canton, or, a battle-axe of the third. 2nd gu., a chaplet of laurel, or, a chief chequé, arg. and az. 3d, arg., three mallets, gu.”

English settlers were encouraged by the erection of the English Church (St. Michael's). This church contained a slab, on which were engraved Lord Galway's name as the founder, and the appropriate quotation from the Prayer-book Psalter, "The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance." The author of "Jus Regium" states that Lord Galway's tenants, "by the encouragement they had from the compassion and goodness of that lord, built about one hundred and thirty neat tenements." Lord Galway's leases were and are renewable for ever. The following is a specimen of the tenure by which lands in the Portarlington estate are held in the present day:—"Lease, dated 13th September 1699, from the Earl of Gallway to Colonel Daniel Le Grand Du Petit Bosc, for the term of three lives, renewable for ever, on payment of half a-year's rent as a renewal fine on the fall of each life—the last renewal whereof bears date the 28th February 1850, from the Earl of Portarlington and others, to Mrs Elenor Newton, for lives of Lessee, the King of the Belgians, and Prince Albert."

SEC. 7.—THE EARL OF GALWAY AND IRISH PRESBYTERIANS.

On May 25th, the Marquis of Winchester, eldest son of the Duke of Bolton, was gazetted as a Lord-Justice of Ireland, in conjunction with the Earl of Galway. A third name was added, but it was only a name, as Viscount Villiers never came to Ireland, being constantly employed as an envoy in Holland. A regular cavalcade attended the two Lords-Justices on their departure from London, en route for Chester. Luttrell says: "The Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Galway, and Lord Chancellor Methuen, were attended out of town by the Earl of Bridgewater, Lord Lucas, &c., with eight coaches and six horses."

After their arrival in Dublin, it was decided that the Parliament should meet in July. Such an event having become a rarity, the opening proceedings are recorded in stately language in the Journal of the House of Lords: "Tuesday, 27 July 1697. Charles, Lord Marquis of Winchester, and Henry, Earl of Galway, Lords-Justices and General Governors of Ireland, entered the House with the usual ceremonies of grandeur. The Lords-Justices, making their *congé* to the cloth of state, seated themselves in the chairs under the canopy, all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal standing in their places uncovered. The Lord Chancellor, as Speaker, kneeling, confers with the Lords-Justices, and then ordered the gentleman usher of the black rod to acquaint the Commons that it is the Lords-Justices' pleasure they should attend them in the House immediately. The Commons enter the House. The Lords-Justices made an excellent speech."

The union of civil and military administration, which was usually Lord Galway's lot, now characterized his Irish career. But before recording what he did, I shall occupy the remainder of the section with apologising for what he did not do. Dr Reid expresses just regret that the toleration of the Presbyterians was not embodied in a law at this time, and for a moment he leaves the reader to infer that Lord Galway was to blame, in words which on revisal might have been struck out, because inconsistent with all his other testimonies to the uniform integrity, impartiality, and independence of the Lords-Justices in Church matters.

As a viceroy, the Earl of Galway had to govern through the Parliament, before whom this measure had already been. And what had been the result? Notwithstanding King William's known desires, and the late Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Capel's, expressed wishes, the Irish House of Lords, under the influence and with the votes of the twenty-one bishops, had thrown out a bill for the legal toleration of Protestant Dissenters. Thereafter, Lord Galway being known as a friend of toleration, and it being expected that he and the Chancellor would summon a parliament early in 1697, the bishops had opened a fierce pamphleteering campaign, stirring up the people, and dealing out cruel insinuations against Presbyterians. Such leaders being in the Upper House, it could only have increased the irritation to suggest to the Commons to renew the lately defeated proposal.

While the legal position of the Presbyterians was unsatisfactory, Lord Galway found them

in the practical enjoyment of liberty. There was no sacramental test, as in England, to exclude them from government employments. And the English toleration seems to have been offered to them, upon the condition that the Anglican Test should by the same law be extended to Ireland. Such a change would have been worse than the existing circumstances. It is true that the want of a law enacting toleration placed Presbyterians in a sort of moral pillory; it exposed to penalties for the worship of God the multitude of brave Presbyterian soldiers, but for whom Ireland, that pearl of the sea, would have had no place in William's crown. But a toleration law along with a sacramental test would have banished them from the public service, and would have given them nothing but what they did actually possess. For how could the government sanction any prosecution on account of religious worship, which their *Regium Donum* avowedly paid for?

The Galway Case of 1698 illustrates most of what I have said. In consequence of some Presbyterian families having arrived in that town, and having discovered individual Presbyterians in the garrison, the Limerick Presbyterian minister, having received an invitation, preached in Galway. The mayor put him in prison according to law. He was liberated and sent back to Limerick on the Christian intercession of the Archbishop of Tuam. The Lords-Justices received at the same time, first, a memorial from the Dublin Presbyterian ministers in favour of their brother, the Rev. William Biggar; and secondly, a memorial from the mayor and corporation of Galway, praying that, as there had not been any meeting of dissenters there for the last twenty years, the Presbyterians should be prohibited from creating a division among the Protestants, to weaken that interest in the midst of so many Romanists. Dr Reid shall tell the rest: "The Lords-Justices sent for Mr Biggar, and found that he had confined himself strictly to the preaching of the Gospel, and that he had not given any unnecessary offence to the Episcopalians. They sent him back to Limerick, and directed that, for the present, no Presbyterian should preach in Galway. They immediately laid the whole case before the English government, to be submitted to the king, and prayed that his Majesty's pleasure might be conveyed to them for their future guidance. What directions were returned to them cannot now be ascertained. But it is probable that the prohibition against preaching in Galway was removed by order of the king; for, not more than two years after this period, there was not only a Presbyterian congregation regularly organized there, but a minister duly ordained to that charge." Dr Reid testifies to the uniform integrity, impartiality, and independence of these Lords-Justices, which encouraged Presbyterians to bring their complaints before them. He ascribes any incompleteness in the way of redress to the transference of the government to the Earl of Rochester, through the pressure of the opposition party, which compelled the king to dismiss his favourite ministers.

A similar testimony is borne in an answer, which in later times a Presbyterian was provoked to write, to a libellous tract called "A sample of True-Bleu Presbyterian Loyalty." The answer was published with the title, "A sample of Jet-Black Prelatic Calumny." I quote the introduction to its account of a case tried before Lord Galway and others (the case itself I need not narrate); "In the year 1698, a petition against the Presbyterians of Ulster, framed by the Bishop of Down and Connor, was sent to England to the Lords-Justices there (to whom the government was committed during King William's absence) complaining of several practices of the Presbyterians, by which the Established Church seemed to be in danger. This petition, not being proper for the cognizance of the Justices of England, was remitted to the Chief-Governors of Ireland, the Marquis of Winchester and the Earl of Galway, the proper judges of that matter, though by the Irish clergy suspected to favour the Dissenters too much, and therefore not fit to be trusted with a trial of that nature."

By combining this suspicion with a contrary verdict in another case, we may conclude that Lord Galway was impartial. In the French church of Cork, which did not use the liturgy, a feud arose in 1698. The ministerial status of their pastor, Monsieur de la Fontaine, having been called in question, the bishop recommended that he should be episcopally ordained, and the good pastor having objected with excessive heat, Bishop Wetenhall formally complained

to the Lords-Justices. Lord Galway, says the pastor in his journal, "was disposed to sacrifice me to please the Bishop of Cork." An unsatisfactory correspondence following, Fontaine resigned, with a reservation which he records thus: "I wrote to Lord Galway and told him that if any change should be made in the mode of worship I had adopted, by the appointment of an English clergyman, I should feel myself bound, in spite of my resignation, to officiate for that portion of the flock who preferred the French usage. I believe this threat was not without its effect in causing Lord Galway to recommend Mr Marcomb for my successor, which was most satisfactory to me."* The whole system in such cases is easily explained. The bishops predominated in the Irish privy council, so that when Lord Galway referred a case to the council, the episcopal party got their own way. In cases where this result might prove oppressive, Lord Galway kept the business in his own hands, and stood firm to his royal master's maxims of toleration.

Having been led out of the proper chronological order, I now return to the opening of Lord Galway's Irish administration. Colonel Arthur Upton of Templepatrick, and for many years M.P. for County Antrim, had long been the acknowledged chief of the Presbyterians. Like all the Presbyterians of influence, he had stood out against Oliver Cromwell; but he early appeared for King William, and raised a regiment from among his tenantry. His eldest surviving son, Captain Arthur Upton, fought at the Battle of Aughrim, but fell among the slain. Thereafter his heir-apparent was Colonel Clotworthy Upton, a brave officer, who in his father's old age worthily continued his public work. I conclude this section with an extract from a letter from the young Colonel to Mr Carstares, the well-known secretary of King William. "London, August 30, 1697. . . . As to our old affair, it stands just as it did, my Lord Galway not being willing, as I apprehend, to meddle with a thing of that nature on his first entrance on the government. His coldness in it, and delays, at last make me believe he never spoke to the king about it; or, if he did, that his Majesty was of opinion with his Lordship, but was unwilling to give a denial to so considerable a body of his faithful friends. Therefore we are put off with courtiers' promises, and in the meantime we lie under the lash of severe laws. . . . Our government in Ireland pleases all sorts of people extremely; and I doubt not but my Lord Galway's wisdom and prudence will continue it.— I remain, Reverend Sir, your faithful humble servant, "CLOT. UPTON."

SEC. 8.—THE EARL OF GALWAY'S GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND FROM 1697 to 1701.

The Peace with France was signed at King William's palace of Neuburg House, close to the village of Ryswick, on the 30th October 1667. In honour of it, the absentee Lord-Justice of Ireland, Viscount Villiers, was made Earl of Jersey, and sent envoy to the Hague.

The peace establishment had now to be settled. Lord Galway had submitted to the king a plan for counteracting the theoretical mania for an immense reduction of the army. To reduce the estimates, as the theorists must have desired, and at the same time to moderate their craving for a rash disbanding, his lordship proposed to diminish the full pay of officers in Ireland. He received the following letter, dated from the king's favourite residence in Holland:—

"Loo, October 18, 1697.

"The peace being now made and ratified, it must be considered what forces to keep on foot. I much approve the project you sent me of keeping in Ireland twenty battalions of infantry, four regiments of dragoons, and eighteen troops of horse, and reducing the pay of the officers. I have imparted this project to none but Lord Portland, whom I am going to send into England, and with whom you must correspond about this matter, and let me know what public orders will be necessary to be given for the execution of this affair. My design

* "Memoirs of a Huguenot Family," translated and compiled from the Autobiography of Fontaine. New York, 1853.

is to disband most of the regiments of foot and dragoons now in Ireland, and to send thither some of those that are in Flanders. I also intend to send thither your regiment of horse, and the three French regiments of foot, incorporating some officers, who have served in Piedmont, of the four regiments which are on the Rhine, and which I am going to reform, and to take all the French Protestant soldiers, and put them into the three above-mentioned regiments. Be always assured of the continuance of my friendship. WILLIAM R.

“P.S.—I think to reduce Wolsley’s regiment to three troops, and yours to six, to remove all jealousy in England.”

I now revert to the parliament which began in the end of July. From the “excellent speech” of the Lords-Justices I need extract one sentence only. “We think the present occasion so favourable for inviting and encouraging Protestant strangers to settle here, that we cannot omit to put you in mind of it, especially since that may contribute to the increase of the linen manufacture, which is the most beneficial trade that can be encouraged in Ireland.” One reason for this hint was, that the exportation of woollen manufactures from Ireland to England was viewed by the English with great alarm and indignation.

To shew the difficulties attendant on the proposed establishment, I insert an extract of a letter to John Locke, from William Molyneux, Esq., dated from Dublin, 26th Sept. 1696:—

“About the year 1692 (I think), one Monsieur Du Pin came to Dublin from England, and here, by the King and Queen’s letter and patents thereon, he set up a royal corporation for carrying on the linen manufacture in Ireland. Into this corporation many of the nobility and gentry were admitted, more for their countenance and favour to the project than for any great help could be expected, either from their purses or heads, to carry on the work. Du Pin himself was nominated Under-governor and a great bustle was made about the business: many meetings were held, and considerable sums advanced to forward the work, and the members promised themselves prodigious gains. And this expectation prevailed so far (by what artifices I cannot tell) as to raise the value of each share to £40 or £50, though but £5 was paid by each member at first for every share he had. At length artificers began to be set at work, and some parcels of cloth were made; when, on a sudden, there happened some controversy between the corporation here in Ireland, and such another corporation established in England by London undertakers, and in which Du Pin was also a chief member. Much time was spent in managing this dispute, and the work began in the meantime to flag, and the price of the shares to lower mightily. But some little time before this controversy, some private gentlemen and merchants, on their own stock, without the authority of an incorporating patent, set up a linen manufacture at Drogheda, which promised and thrived very well at first; and the corporation at Dublin perceiving this, began to quarrel with them also, and would never let them alone till they embodied with them. These quarrels and controversies (the particulars whereof I can give you no account of, for I was not engaged amongst them, and I can get no one that was who can give any tolerable account of them) grew so high, and Du Pin began to play such tricks, that all were discouraged, and withdrew as fast as they could; so that now all is blown up, and nothing of this kind is carried on, but by such as, out of their own private purses, set up looms and bleaching yards. We have many of these in many parts of Ireland; and, I believe, no country in the world is better adapted for it, especially the north. I have as good diaper made by some of my tenants nigh Armagh, as can come to a table, and all other cloths for household uses.

“As to the law for the encouraging the linen manufacture, ’tis this. In the 17th and 18th of Car. II. there was an Act of Parliament made, ‘obliging all landlords and tenants to sow such a certain proportion of their holdings with flax, under a great penalty on both, on failure; and empowering the Sheriffs to levy £20, in each of their respective counties, to be distributed at the quarter sessions, yearly, to the three persons who should bring in the three best webs of linen cloth of such a length and breadth, £10 to the first, £6 to the second, and £4 to the third.’ This, whilst it lasted, was a great encouragement to the country people, to strive to

outdo each other, and it produced excellent cloth all over the kingdom ; but then it was but temporary (only for twenty years from passing the Act), and is now expired. But that part of the act 'ordaining landlords and tenants to sow flax' is perpetual, and I can give no reason why 'tis not executed. Only this I can say, that the transgression is so universal, and the forfeiture thereon to the king so severe, that, if it were inquired into, I believe all the estates in Ireland would be forfeited to His Majesty ; so that now the multitude of sinners is their security. This statute you will find amongst the Irish Acts (17th and 18th Car. II., cap. 9).

"England most certainly will never let us thrive by the woollen trade ; it is their darling mistress, and they are jealous of any rival. But I see not that we interfere with them in the least by the linen trade ; so that that is yet left open to us to grow rich by, if it were well established and managed ; but by what means this should be, truly I dare not venture to give my thoughts."

In accordance with the Lords-Justices' speech, the Parliament passed two resolutions in favour of the commercial object recommended to their fostering care. The first was an Act to continue for ten years longer, and with additional privileges, the Act of 1692, for naturalizing Foreign Protestants, and for securing to them the free exercise of their religion, and liberty of meeting together for the worship of God, and of hearing Divine Service and performing other religious duties in their own several rites used in their own countries. The second was, a resolution (which was acted upon) praying the Lords-Justices that a Foreign Protestant minister might be appointed at a reasonable salary, in every parish where fifty of such Protestant strangers might be settled.

That Colonel Upton might not have occasion to say that Irish Presbyterians received nothing but courtiers' promises, a resolution was passed with regard to the penalties incurred by those who did not attend their parish churches. The House of Commons resolved that the penalties should not in future be enforced against any one who should subscribe the declaration required in the room of the Oath of Supremacy. This was also in 1697.

It was because the king knew that the French refugees and their regiments were unpopular in England, that he planned their establishment in Ireland under the wing of Lord Galway. It was politic to hint that as regimental keepers of the peace they might be dispensed with in course of time. Luttrell mentions, under date 2d Nov. 1697, that the French refugees living on charity in England were ordered to go to Ireland, where they would be encouraged to follow their several trades ; also, that the French refugee regiments were to be ordered there, perhaps to be gradually disbanded, and settled upon grants of land.

The parliamentary session ended on the 3d of December. Before the intelligence could reach England, the king had written to Lord Galway :—

"Kensington, (Nov. 26), Dec. 6, 1697.

"I refer you to what Lord Portland will write to you about the forces, by which you will learn my intentions. I assure you that I am very much troubled to find things here run so high against the poor refugees. This has struck me ; but you know these sorts of things pass here very easily. Be ever assured of my esteem.

WILLIAM R.

"P.S.—I hope you'll be able to put an end very soon to the parliament of Ireland."

The next Session was important as following in the wake of the parliament of England. There was a feeling among some parties in Ireland that England kept their country too much in subjection. And it found expression in a pamphlet presented to the Lords-Justices of Ireland by the author, Mr Molyneux, a gentleman 'of Dublin, styled William Molyneux, Esquire, and known to the admirers of Locke as one of his most intimate correspondents. The title of the tractate was, "The Case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England." Its doctrine was that an English Act was not in force in the sister country, unless re-enacted by the Irish Parliament. And the writer alleged a precedent of such a re-enactment both done and allowed, when an Irish Act contained alterations of its original, and additions,

professing to bind the English Courts of Justice and even the Great Seal itself. The English Commons in May 1698 examined and censured this pamphlet, and addressed the king praying that in a parliamentary way the dependance and subordination of Ireland to the imperial crown of England might be preserved and maintained—also, that his Majesty would take all necessary care that the laws, which direct and restrain the parliament of Ireland in their actings, be not evaded but strictly observed. The king promised the desired prevention and redress; but was anxious that nothing should be transferred into the journals of the Irish Parliament. Vengeance had been taken on the printed paper, but the author's death had already put him out of the reach of terrestrial courts. In consequence of an address from the English House of Lords, the king also desired that the Irish woollen trade should forthwith be interred with decent silence. He wrote accordingly to Lord Galway:—

Kensington, *July (16) 26, 1698.*

“Though I have fully explained to the Chancellor of Ireland my sentiments upon Irish affairs, I wish to write to you, to tell you that it never was of such importance as at present, to have a good session of parliament, not only with respect to my affairs in that kingdom, but still more with respect to my affairs here. The chief thing is to prevent the Irish parliament taking notice of what has passed in the English one; and that you make effectual laws for the linen manufacture, and to discourage, as far as possible, the woollen; these are two of the most material points you have to accomplish. And the third is the necessary supply for the maintenance of the army, of which you know the importance, and to try to get as much as you can, since after this session I should be very glad not to be obliged for a good while to have another parliament in Ireland. I have sent orders for embarking at Ostend the five French regiments, and instead of my own regiment of Eppinger's dragoons, I will send you two regiments of foot, which will be much the same as to expense. Blathwayte [Secretary-at-War] will write to you about the establishment and appointment of the pay of the forces.

“I must tell you I am well satisfied with the Chancellor of Ireland. At his first coming here to the parliament he committed a great oversight, which has got him many enemies, and all the ministry here are much incensed against him, as well as the Whig party. But in Ireland it is just the contrary, it is the Tories; so he will find it hard to behave in such a manner as not to be involved in difficulties. If bad success attends you in parliament, it is certain that here the blame will be laid upon him. I thought it necessary to inform you of this circumstance, that you may take your measures accordingly. Be ever assured of my esteem.

WILLIAM R.

“*P.S.*—I shall set out in two days for Holland. I send you back the Prince of Conti's letter, and approve much of your answer to him. I had not an opportunity to let you know before.”

The Prince of Conti, Francis Louis de Bourbon, was one of the most brilliant Lieutenant-Generals of France. As a hunter after vacant dominions, he had been disappointed of Poland in the preceding October. Probably his eye was at this time turned to the Principality of Neufchatel, possessed by the Duchess de Nemours. William himself was a prospective claimant, and prevailed on Louis XIV. to decide about a year after this, that France should be neutral until the Duchess's death. The Prince of Conti had thus to quit his hold of Neufchatel also, and to return uncrowned to Paris. In 1698 he may have sounded Lord Galway as to the likelihood of King William's claim being pressed. The Prince died in Paris in 1709, aged 45.

The Parliament of 1698 was very agreeable in the matters about which the king felt anxiety. The Lords-Justices in their speech said: “The linen and hempen manufactures will not only be encouraged, as consistent with the trade of England, but will render the trade of this kingdom both useful and necessary to England.” The English Parliament had already passed Acts to encourage both the Irish linen manufacture, and the importation into England

of unmanufactured wool from Ireland. The Irish Parliament now passed an Act for laying additional duty upon woollen manufactures exported out of Ireland. And the division of trade came into practical operation accordingly. Whatever material prosperity Ireland enjoys, may be said to be due to the refugee manufactures, and to the acts for their encouragement under Lord Galway's administration. The Linen Bill was planned and drawn up by James Hamilton, Esq. of Tullymore.

The House of Commons, otherwise so complying, enlivened the pacific monotony by one or two divisions. On or before the 15th September, a motion being made to go into a committee of supply, an amendment was proposed, That an Address be presented to the Lords-Justices to intercede with his Majesty that the five regiments of French Protestants should be disbanded. These were the Earl of Galway's regiment of Horse, and the Marquis de Miremont's regiment of dragoons, and the infantry regiments of the Comte de Marton, Monsieur La Melonière, and Monsieur Belcastel. The house divided, when there appeared for the amendment, 72 ; against it, 101. Another amendment for delay was rejected, there being, for delay, 55 ; against it, 105. On the 15th of September the supplies were granted according to the estimates. No division being expected, the opposition divided the house ; the numbers were, Yeas, 98 ; Noes, 64. (See Secretary Vernon's Letters.)

In July of this year, says Luttrell, the Marquis of Winchester and the Earl of Galway went to visit most of the maritime garrisons, and to furnish them with what necessaries they want, and to take a view of the camp at Clonmel.

During the next two years no meeting of parliament took place in Ireland. Certainly some of the bulls of the English parliament of that period were Irish enough, as I will now demonstrate. The majority of the House of Commons voted along with a few enthusiasts, that a standing army was dangerous to liberty. In order to deprive the king of an army, of which it was his pride to be the chief, the policy was to keep only a very few regiments in pay, and to rely mainly on the militia and the navy. Having reduced the army, they resolved, in the same rude spirit, that there should be no foreigners in it.

As all this is well known to readers of history, I shall give the facts (mingled with gossip and misinformation) from letters written by the French ambassador, Count Tallard, to Louis XIV. The count and his royal correspondent naturally felt special curiosity regarding the bearing of such events upon Lord Galway.

"London, 1st January 1699 [In the House of Commons], by a second resolution it was determined to admit none [into the English army] but natural born Englishmen ; the Scotch, and even the Irish, are excluded. Monsieur de Schomberg, though a Duke and Peer of England, can no longer have the command of the army, he who had been accustomed to command the troops during the king's absence. No French refugee, and no foreigner, can hold even a lieutenancy. In Ireland there can be no troops but Irish and Scotch. Lord Galway ceases therefore to command the army in that country, though he may remain regent."

"London, January 2d.—The Duke commanded the troops in this kingdom during the king's absence, as did Lord Galway in Ireland. Having so much confidence in them, he believed that he could safely leave the kingdom ; but could he venture at this time to go to Holland, when no one remains in this country upon whom he can depend?" "P.S.—Since writing my letter, I have learnt that the Bill for the reduction of the troops has been read a second time in the House of Commons, and that instead of the words 'subjects born in England,' the expression, 'subjects of England,' has been substituted, by which Irishmen are qualified to be among the troops."

"London, January 14.—What has passed to-day gives no reason for believing that there will be any change in favour of foreigners in the Bill, which has already been read twice. It is even thought that Lord Galway will be personally attacked. He thought fit to speak in rather a high tone in the Irish parliament, and in return the latter takes the affirmative. The whole nation declares against him, and people begin to believe, not only that he will no longer command the army in Ireland, but even that he will not continue Lord-Justice."

“London, January 15.—The Parliament made a considerable change yesterday in the Bill for the reduction of the army. Instead of ‘subjects of England,’ they agreed to insert, ‘subjects of the king, or naturalized.’”

“London, January 22.—It will also be considered whether Lord Galway shall be attacked or not, for I hear they will not have him remain in Ireland. As they have re-instated those who are naturalized, and he is of that number, he is safe on that score. Your Majesty will be perhaps glad to know that there are not more than thirty Frenchmen who are so.”

“London, January 24.—The king is preparing to disband the troops, even before the Bill has passed. Like a skilful man, he desires to do himself honour by what he has not been able to prevent. He has gained the naturalized foreigners; and this is much, for it preserves the command of the troops for the Duke of Schomberg and the Earl of Galway.”

Amid this turmoil Lord Galway ventured to address a letter to the king, to which he received the following gracious reply:—

“Kensington, (*Jan. 27*), *Feb. 6*, 1699.

“I received some days ago a letter from you without date, by which I see you are uneasy at the proceedings of the Parliament here against the foreigners. I think you have too much cause to be so; though, as yet, nothing has passed about you, and I have good reason to hope you will be left undisturbed. At least you may be assured I shall do my utmost that nothing be done to your prejudice, for I am satisfied with your conduct, and you are useful to my service. You may be sure that I will not recall you, unless I am forced to it, which I hope will not be the case. It is not to be conceived how much people here are set against the foreigners. You will easily judge on whom this reflects.

“I design very shortly to send into Ireland five regiments of foot and two of horse, and soon after, three more of foot—eight in all. I will send you in a few days orders to disband Wolsey’s regiment of horse and nine regiments of foot, intending to keep only Hanmer’s and Hamilton’s. I design also, when the parliament rises, to send you your regiment of horse, and the three French regiments, and perhaps Miremont’s dragoons; but that must be very secret, though I much fear my design is already suspected here. I am in doubt whether I shall send likewise into Ireland Eppinger’s regiment. All this together would amount to eighteen battalions of foot, three regiments of horse, and five of dragoons, reckoning Eppinger’s as two. This would in a manner be agreeable to your project, and, according to my calculation, the expense no greater; but if it should be, something must be retrenched, on which I should be glad to know your sentiments. You will easily perceive how necessary it is that all this be kept secret. I thought it requisite to give you early notice of my intention, that you might take your measures accordingly: mine must be regulated according as things go in parliament, of which there is no being sure till the session is over. There is a spirit of ignorance and malice reigning here beyond conception. Be always assured of my friendship.

WILLIAM R.”

In the above gracious letter the King says, “Nothing has passed about you.” Lord Galway was personally respected and much liked by all parties. The Jacobites, because he was not a Jacobite, called him a Whig; but he was an Orange Whig only, and had neither the tone nor temper of a partizan in the politics of his adopted country. The Duke of Ormond (the grandson of the Duke who had favoured the refugees) disliked Foreign Protestants in general and Lord Galway in particular; and he may have misinformed the French ambassador as to the feeling of the country towards his Excellency the acting Lord-Justice of Ireland.

The king’s bountiful intention towards the refugee regiments was soon knocked on the head. The Commons of England, on the 24th of February, voted £34,813, 5s., to clear the arrears due to Lord Galway’s Horse and the other French regiments, “which are to be disbanded.”*

* Some of these arrears were of old standing, as appears from the following extract:—“Saturday, 28 Nov. 1696, a petition of the troopers of the Rt. Hon. the Lord Galway’s regiment of Horse was presented to the House, and read, relating to their Irish arrears.”—Journals of the [English] House of Commons.

Being in the meantime unmolested, Lord Galway remained in Ireland. In the month of May, Count Tallard thought that an opportunity for removing him had arrived. The Marquis of Winchester, through the death of his father, was now Duke of Bolton, and had come over to England to arrange his family affairs. The speculation was that he would not go back to Dublin, and that Lord Galway would be superseded by a Lord-Lieutenant. Luttrell states, under date May 31, "The Duke of Bolton, having given his Majesty an account of the affairs of Ireland, was graciously received, and some talk of his being made Lord Chamberlain." All these guesses were wrong, as there was no intention of superseding Lord Galway. Mr Vernon wrote to the Duke of Shrewsbury on the 6th June—"I believe the Duke of Bolton does not think of going into Ireland till towards next spring. He intends his Duchess shall come over and meet him in Yorkshire, in August. I think he is in good humour, and willing to do right both to my Lord Galway and Mr Methuen."

The acting members of the Vice-regal Board were re-gazetted, the Earl of Berkeley being added to their number, as appears from the following most interesting letter from the king to the Earl of Galway:—

"Kensington (*June 1*) 11, 1699.

"I have not written to you all this winter, by reason of my vexation at what passed in parliament, and because of the uncertainty I was under to know what to send you. It is not possible to be more sensibly touched than I am at my not being able to do more for the poor refugee officers, who have served me with so much zeal and fidelity. I am afraid the good God will punish the ingratitude of this nation.

"I could hardly get the estimates of Ireland passed, as they will be sent to you. There are retrenchments which I was forced to make, though I like them not; and doubtless some of them must be changed. The Duke of Bolton seems pleased with you, but not with the chancellor (Methuen). I have this day despatched a new commission for the Lords-Justices of Ireland, by joining with the Duke of Bolton and you the Earl of Berkeley, who is an easy man, and will be agreeable to you.

"I am perfectly satisfied with your conduct; and I hope now you will be left undisturbed, since in the last parliament nothing was said of you, though you were much threatened. I fear the Commission given here by the Commons for the inspection of the forfeitures will give you a great deal of trouble, and me no less, next winter. Assuredly on all sides my patience is put to the test. I am going to breathe a little beyond sea, in order to come back as soon as possible. I think it for my service to change the commission of the treasury in Ireland, where I believe the revenue is not well managed, on which it is necessary that you let me know your sentiments immediately. The estimates of the next year must absolutely be reduced, that my ordinary revenue may serve to pay it; and a parliament in Ireland must not be thought of so soon. This you ought instantly to consider, and take your measures for the future. Be always assured of my friendship.

WILLIAM R."

Lord Galway had remained at his post, with the Archbishop of Dublin as a temporary coadjutor. In July Lord Berkeley arrived. He was the second Earl of his family; his wife was a daughter of Baptist, second Viscount Campden, and half-sister of the first Earl of Gainsborough; his son, James Berkeley, Viscount Dursley, was a distinguished admiral. The Irish privy council met forthwith, when the new commission, constituting the chief governors, was opened and read; and the two earls having been sworn in the usual manner, were complimented by the privy councillors and several other persons of quality. The Duke of Bolton remained for a time in England. Hackworth, his country seat, was only a few miles distant from Stratton Park, so that Lady Russell had an opportunity of hearing how Lord Galway stood his toil and trials. She wrote to Mr Thornton on the 16th July, "The Duke of Bolton came very kindly and dined with us; his duchess is coming over."

What is now interesting in the coming of Lord Berkeley to Ireland is, that he brought with him as his chaplain, the Rev. Jonathan Swift, afterwards the witty and furious Dean of St

Patrick's. Such a Williamite statesman, as Lord Galway, worked well during a long course of years for the wages of Swift's resentment, and to be immortalized as an opponent of that starving and reckless pamphleteer. The abusive epithets of such a writer tend to corroborate the many direct proofs that Lord Galway was vigorous in his government, select in his friendships, and steady in his opinions. The comic utterances of malignity are worth quoting. For instance, "I was pleased with the humour of a surgeon in Dublin, who, having in his apprehension received some great injustice from the Earl of Galway, and despairing of revenge as well as relief, declared to all his friends that he had set apart one hundred guineas to purchase the Earl's carcase from the sexton whenever it should die, to make a skeleton of the bones, stuff the hide, and show them for threepence, and thus get vengeance for the injuries he had suffered by its owner;" and again, "Ruvigny was a deceitful, hypocritical, factious knave—a damnable hypocrite of no religion."

The commission on forfeitures, to which the king alluded, proved to be a great blow to Lord Galway. It was appointed early in 1699. In a former session, a bill for its creation, which passed the Commons, was thrown out by the Lords. But during this spring the House of Commons "tacked" it to the land tax, and thus concussed the House of Peers into passing it. By this act of parliament a commission was given to seven persons named by the House of Commons, to inquire into and take an account of all estates within the kingdom of Ireland that have been forfeited for high treason during the late rebellion within that kingdom. Burnet says, "When I saw afterwards what the consequences of this act proved to be, I did firmly resolve never to consent again to any tack to a money-bill as long as I lived." The king again alluded to the commission in a letter to Lord Galway in autumn:—

"Loo, August 14, 1699.

"In reply to your inquiry about passing the three grants which I made before leaving England, namely to Scrabemoer, Larue, and Ash, it is necessary that you should get them passed as soon as you can, as they were given before the act of the English parliament which appointed that fine commission, which I doubt not will occasion me much vexation and mortification next winter, for it has no other object; and I see from the proceedings of the commissioners that they will carry out admirably the purpose for which they have been sent.

WILLIAM R."

Of the seven commissioners, only four would sign the report. As a financial stroke, the measure was a failure. The Commons had coveted the purchase-money to pay the debts of the nation; and they were tempted by a representation that the sum realized would be £2,037,287. It turned out, that leaving all incumbrances out of the question, the value was only £780,000, and deducting incumbrances, the entire balance was £400,000, English currency. The proprietors had been willing to pay £300,000 (English) into the exchequer for a parliamentary confirmation of their title-deeds. Three or four years after this date, the Irish parliament declared that the proceedings had been instigated by designing men, "to promote beneficial employment for themselves," (a circumlocution for the monosyllable "job," by which more modern critics would have characterised the business.)

The three dissentient commissioners were not heard; and on the 17th December 1699, it was resolved that a bill should be brought in to apply to the public service the Irish estates forfeited since 15th February 1688. Further, the House refused to receive petitions against the measure, but referred complainants to a body of trustees, who would hear their cases. On the 18th of January 1700, they censured those who had procured and passed those grants,—a resolution which they communicated to the king on the 21st of February. The king returned the following reply:—"Gentlemen, I was not led by inclination, but thought myself obliged in justice to reward those who had served well, and particularly in the reduction of Ireland, out of the estates forfeited to me by the rebellion there. The long war in which we were engaged did occasion great taxes, and has left the nation much in debt; and the taking just and

effectual ways for lessening that debt and supporting public credit, is what in my opinion will best contribute to the honour, interest, and safety of this kingdom.”

With the latter sentence we are not now concerned—indeed the king’s friends do not defend it. As to the first, let us hear Lord Macaulay: “To whatever criticism William’s answer might be open, he said one thing which well deserved the attention of the House. A small part of the forfeited property had been bestowed on men whose services to the state deserved a much larger recompence, and that part could not be resumed without gross injustice and ingratitude. An estate of very moderate value had been given with the title of Earl of Athlone to Ghinkel, whose skill and valour had brought the war in Ireland to a triumphant close. Another estate, with the title of Earl of Galway, had been given to Ruvigny, who in the crisis of the decisive battle, at the very moment when Saint Ruth was waving his hat and exclaiming that the English should be beaten back to Dublin, had at the head of a gallant body of horse struggled through the morass, turned the left wing of the Celtic army, and retrieved the day. But the predominant faction, drunk with insolence and animosity, made no distinction between courtiers who had been enriched by injudicious partiality, and warriors who had been sparingly rewarded for great exploits achieved in defence of the liberties and the religion of our country. Athlone was a Dutchman—Galway was a Frenchman—and it did not become a good Englishman to say a word in favour of either.”

The Resumption Bill passed the Commons on the 2d April “tacked” to the Land Tax. On the 4th the Upper House agreed to the second reading by a majority of seventy to twenty-three—only eight peers (including the Duke of Bolton) protesting against it. But on this occasion the lords made amendments in committee, and sent the amended bill to the Commons, who returned it without remark. Committees being appointed, the two Houses through them held conferences both on the 9th and on the 10th of April without result. On the latter evening, the Commons, being exasperated, locked their doors and proceeded to consider both the report on the Irish forfeitures and the list of privy councillors. The king, alarmed at the ferment, sent a message to the House of Lords to pass the original bill without the amendments. Their lordships then divided on the question of adhering to those amendments, when the votes were equal, forty-three against forty-three. Another question was then put, “to agree to the said bill without any amendment,” which was carried by thirty-nine against thirty-four, and intimation was sent to the Lower House that the bill was passed. Twenty-one peers formally protested, signing a copy of the reasons which had been so long insisted on in conference with the Commons’ committee.

The House of Commons, still violently excited, continued to examine the list of the members of the privy council. Though the leaders failed to pass an address, praying that Lord Somers might be removed from the king’s presence and councils for ever, they carried another address to his Majesty, “that no person who was not a native of his dominions, except His Royal Highness, Prince George of Denmark, be admitted to his Majesty’s councils in England and Ireland.” Contemporaries wondered why Ireland was added to the motion, as the addition could affect no one but Lord Galway, whose government of that kingdom gave satisfaction to both sides of the House. The conjecture, which they accepted as most probable, was that it was intended to please the Duke of Ormond. The English councillors, to whom the address applied, were Schomberg and Portland. To prevent such an address being presented, the king came down to the House of Lords next day (April 11), sent for the Commons, gave the royal assent to the bills that had passed both Houses and prorogued the parliament.

Although no address for Lord Galway’s removal was thus ever presented, the king thought it was necessary to yield to the tempest, and intimated this as tenderly as possible in a letter to the hero himself:—

“Hampton Court, May (2) 13, 1700.

“It is a good while since I writ to you last. The reason is that, being always uncertain of the issue of last session of Parliament, I was unwilling to answer any of your letters. You may judge what vexation all their extraordinary proceedings gave me, and I assure you your

being deprived of what I gave you with so much pleasure was not the least of my griefs. I hope, however, that I shall be in a condition to acknowledge the good services you have done me, and you may depend upon it I shall earnestly seek occasions to do so. It ought to be some satisfaction to you, in the just resentment of what concerns you, that nobody could blame your conduct; on the contrary, all appeared satisfied with it; and the vote, which passed in anger the last day, concerned you but indirectly. And I can assure you, that you were in no way the occasion of it. There have been so many intrigues in this last session, that, without having been on the spot and well informed of everything, it cannot be conceived. It will be impossible for me to continue the commission of the Lords Justices in Ireland as it is at present; so I have resolved to send thither the Duke of Shrewsbury as vice-roy, and that you command the army under him. Do not think this will be a degradation; nobody here will take it to be so, and I know that every one wishes it and believes it absolutely necessary for my service. I am fully persuaded, as I hope, that you will not refuse to accept of this command, nor relinquish my service. I assure you I never had more occasion, than at present, of persons of your capacity and fidelity. I hope I shall find opportunities to give you marks of my esteem and friendship; and I would not engage you in this, were I not assured that no hurt can happen to you from it; but I know it will meet with a general approbation, and doubt not your friends will say the same, and I am glad to tell you you have a great many, and among all parties.

WILLIAM R.

Lord Galway, whose loyalty nothing could shake, acquiesced in the king's resolution. His most excellent Majesty, being unable as King of England to reward him, put forth his generosity as Prince of Orange. Luttrell says, 27th June 1700, "The Earl of Galway is made General of the Dutch forces and Colonel of the blue regiment of foot-guards lately commanded by the Duke of Wirtemberg, now general of the Danish army." The king also wrote to him:—

"Hampton Court, July (2) 13, 1700.

"Of all the proofs you have given me of your attachment to my service, I do not reckon as the least the spirit of resignation you evince to me with respect to your office in Ireland. I assure you that you could not have done me a greater service at this juncture, and one which I shall regard as quite a particular favour. You will have doubtless heard that the Duke of Shrewsbury has excused himself from going to Ireland. I shall make no change in the government till after my return from Holland, whither I set out the day after to-morrow.

WILLIAM R."

"Loo, August 15, 1700.

It is some time since I received your letter of the 13th of July, in which you desire to know on whom I have cast my eyes for the government of Ireland; and as I am sure that what I write you will be secret, I scruple not to tell you that I intend to give it to Lord Rochester, and to declare it at my return to England; but he will not go to Ireland till the next spring. You will easily conceive the reasons of it. I shall expect your thoughts of a matter that concerns you, and you may always rely on my friendship."

"WILLIAM R."

Lord Galway, with the greatest urbanity and cordiality, did everything in his power to prepare the way for the Lord-Lieutenant and for his personal comfort in entering upon the government. Along with Lord Berkeley, he carried on the civil government until April 1701, and as long as it was necessary he did the duties of the Commander of the Forces. Lord Rochester having written to him in such terms as were no more than due to his signal ability and fidelity, Lord Galway replied in a letter,* dated from the "Chateau de Dublin," 23d January, 1701:—

* The Earl of Rochester being the brother of the second Earl of Clarendon, the papers relative to the Irish government of the former are printed along with the DIARY of the latter.

“My Lord,—I have received the two letters with which your Excellency has been pleased to honour me. I esteem myself happy that you are kind enough to approve of my conduct ; it is a mark of the friendship which you have accorded me for many years, and which I hope you will continue to me. I could justify my intentions during the whole time I have served the king, and particularly in this kingdom ; but I confess I have not the same opinion of my capacity, the defects, of which I have endeavoured to compensate by great application to business, and by willingly listening and attending to the advice of such as I thought capable of giving it. I was greatly assisted by the counsels of Major-General Erle while he was here. I am persuaded that the two brigadiers will take great care in all things, and that they will act with intelligence ; they are good officers, zealous for the king’s service. We shall together make provision, as we believe to be most proper, for maintaining the army in such order as may satisfy your Excellency when you arrive in this kingdom, whereof I will render you an account when I have the honour of seeing you.

“The order for issuing the new Commission has arrived, but my Lord Chancellor [Methuen] having taken his departure before the order for naming the Keeper of the Seals had come, the Commission cannot be sealed.

“We have received commands to leave the papers here that have passed through our hands while we have been in the government ; as to this, we reply to Mr Vernon to-day. I have always thought that it would be exceedingly useful for the service of the king and the welfare of Ireland, to establish an office where all such papers might remain for the use of those who should be, or might have been, in the government, and for private individuals for their interests. If the king should not be advised to establish this office, I believe, my lord, that you will approve our causing copies to be made to be placed at your disposal, and that we may keep the originals for our own justification. I hope that we shall have no need of them ; but it appears to me that there is some prudence in retaining possession of them. In this view we shall bring them to England, to do there whatever you think most proper. I am, with respect, &c.,
GALLWAY.”

Often in those old times, opposition to the statesmen in power was so furious, that on their removal from power impeachments for treason were threatened. The retiring ministers, therefore, carried off all the official papers, and thus the State Papers of the kingdom were scattered among the private mansions of noblemen and gentlemen. The first suggestion of a State Paper Office for Ireland was made by Lord Galway in the above letter. He left Ireland with a good conscience, and with an excellent reputation as a man, a statesman, and a Christian nobleman. The Societies for the Reformation of Manners acknowledged his countenance of their well-intentioned labours. Their “Account,” published at that period, stated that they had several societies in Dublin, which were spreading into several parts of the kingdom, and were encouraged by his Excellency the Earl of Galway. He was also a patron of rising talent. The ennobled descendants of Richard Malone, who was called to the Irish bar in 1700, sent the following information to *Playfair’s Family Antiquities* concerning their ancestor, “This very distinguished person, while he was yet a student at the Temple, was employed, by the interest of his early friend Ruvigny, Earl of Galway, as a negociator in Holland.” I conclude this section with an extract from Evelyn’s Diary (Evelyn’s son had been a commissioner of revenue in Ireland from 1692 to 1698): “1701, June 22, I went to congratulate the arrival of that worthy and excellent person, my Lord Galway, newly come out of Ireland, where he had behaved himself so honestly and to the exceeding satisfaction of the people ; but he was removed thence for being a Frenchman, though they had not a more worthy, valiant, discreet, and trusty person on whom they could have relied for conduct and fitness. He was one who had deeply suffered, as well as the Marquis his father, for being Protestants.”

SEC. 9.—THE EARL OF GALWAY'S SEMI-OFFICIAL LIFE, FROM THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES II. OF SPAIN TO THE DEATH OF OUR KING WILLIAM III.

It was on the 1st November 1700 that King Charles II. of Spain died. By his Will he left the sovereignty of the entire Spanish dominions to Philip, Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. The celebrated Partition Treaties, which had been previously entered into, were devices for the partition of the Spanish dominions upon the death of Charles II. Louis XIV., being bound by solemn compacts to renounce the throne of Spain for his family, had concurred in the first partition, getting a substantial slice of the foreign possessions, and acknowledging the Electoral Prince of Bavaria as heir-presumptive of Spain Proper. But the death of the Bavarian Prince had made new negotiations necessary; and at the death of Charles II. a second Partition Treaty had the signatures of some of the interested potentates, but not the signature of Emperor Leopold of Germany, to whose younger son, the Archduke Charles Francis Joseph, Spain was assigned.

Before the document could be ready for signature, a disturbing element had arisen in the irritation of the dying king at foreign monarchs disposing of his territories. He had, therefore, resolved to leave the undivided dominions to one heir. He hesitated between Archduke Charles and Duke Philip, and rather inclined to the former. But when he considered the power of Louis XIV., he thought that anarchy and bloodshed would be avoided by deciding for that tyrant's grandson. And Louis accepting the last Will and Testament, the young French candidate was proclaimed as Philip V., King of Spain. Williamite politics would have at once protested against this; but King William was in the hands of the opposition party. He had dismissed Lord Chancellor Somers, who felt deeply aggrieved at being thus prevented from presenting an unyielding front to his adversaries. The Earl of Rochester was supreme in England as well as in Ireland. This circumstance, coupled with the unfinished state of the last Partition Treaty, made William acknowledge King Philip's letter in a congratulatory reply.

The deaths of the Duke of Gloucester and of the King of Spain were the prominent topics of the king's speech to the new parliament on the 21st of February 1701. During this session, the acquittal of Lord Somers and the other "partition" councillors by the House of Lords, was gratifying to the Williamite statesmen, notwithstanding the rage and invectives of the Commons. The latter incivilities were passed over by the king in majestic silence; but they hastened the end of the session. On June 24th His Majesty went down for the prorogation; and he left England for Holland on the 1st July.

War with France was a dark cloud on the very point of bursting forth. The first French aggressions were in Holland. Louis broke the Ryswick Treaty with Holland, by introducing French troops into the several fortresses, and his Ambassador, le Comte d'Avaux, took his leave. Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria, father of the deceased heir-presumptive of Spain, had now sided with the French. Clement, Elector of Cologne, was Maximilian's brother.

At this point we have to return to the Earl of Galway. We last saw him in England on the 22d June. He accompanied the Earl of Marlborough to Holland, and arrived there before the 12th July. It was his duty and happiness to visit his Dutch Guards. And his presence was soon desired at the palace of Loo.

It was Lord Galway's lot to be sent on unpromising missions, and William despatched him to negotiate with the Elector of Cologne. This Prince was also the Bishop; and under him the Dean and Chapter of Cologne acted as a political administration. He had already accepted French money to raise troops in the Bourbon interest. The Chapter discovering the secret, and being adverse to France, obtained Prussian troops for their defence; and the Diet of Bonn, having been summoned by the Elector, had refused him supplies. The only hope that William could have cherished was, that the Elector, after such opposition, might be willing to listen to proposals more agreeable to the public men in his own dominions. The king's biographer

thus reports the ineffectual mission :—" To omit nothing that might tend to the security of the Dutch Republic, in case of a rupture (which, as things stood, seemed unavoidable), His Majesty endeavoured to bring over the Elector of Cologne to the interest of the Empire, England and Holland. The wise and sagacious Earl of Galway was employed in this important negotiation ; but though he was supported by the Chapter of Cologne, he was not able to shake that Elector from the engagement he was entered into with France, at the instigation of his brother, the Elector of Bavaria."

About this time Lord Galway, accompanied by Lord Albemarle, inspected the Dutch forces at a grand military review, at the Camp on the Moerdyke, near the frontier town of Nimeguen. Luttrell states that he had the rank of a full General in Holland.

On the 7th September, the Second Grand Alliance was concluded for keeping the French power in check. In a very few days an immense field for action was created by the arrogance of the French king. The abdicated King of England died at the Palace of St Germain on the 16th. Louis immediately caused the pretended Prince of Wales to be proclaimed as King James III. The French potentate thus broke the Ryswick Treaty with Great Britain ; though he disclaimed the treachery, declaring that by the mere publication of a title, he was not disturbing William in the possession of the British dominions. Such an apology overlooked the words, " directly or indirectly," which were in the bond.

William's fetters now fell off. Hitherto, although the Dutch had shrewdly appreciated the Alliance against France, the English had been disinclined towards it. But by taking upon himself to be a king-maker for our snug little island, Louis succeeded in arousing the feeling of the British people, not only against himself, but against all Jacobites and semi-Jacobites. William, though in feeble health, took the animated resolution of freeing himself from the counsels of the latter ministers. His desires were immediately directed towards Lord Somers and the Earl of Sunderland,

The Earl of Galway was the negotiator whom he employed, and who had the honour of presenting to Lord Somers the following note written in the French language, and dated at Loo, October 10, 1701 :—

" I have charged Lord Galway to speak to you from myself with much frankness. I hope you will accord an entire reliance to what he will say to you, and that you will be pleased to treat it with the same frankness, without any reserve, and to be persuaded of the continuance of my friendship.
WILLIAM R.*"

Lord Somers at once entered into the king's policy. While taking no office himself, he advised Lord Galway to urge upon Lord Sunderland to accede to the general wish, and to reconsider his determination to remain in private life. It appears, however, from a memorandum, docqueted " Lord Sunderland's Advice to Lord Somers," that Sunderland would consent to no more than that Lord Galway might say publicly that he was on a mission from his Majesty to desire Lords Somers and Sunderland to come to the king, but that Lord Sunderland would not change his mind. What his mind was he briefly expressed in a letter to Lord Somers, dated Dec. 17th. But the fullest explanation is given in the following paper, addressed to Lord Galway :—

" Lord Sunderland does earnestly request Lord Galway, Lord Somers, and all his friends not to think of him, but to act as if he was not in the world. If he were worth having, I would say that there is no way but to forget him, which was desired so often, as you know, at the beginning. But after all the clutter has been made, if he should just now engage in business, it would be pretending to miracles which he is very unfit for. Lord Godolphin has convinced Lord Sunderland that what was thought of being done by the House of Lords, cannot ; so

* See " The Hardwicke State Papers."

that it must fall as being vain. Every letter that Lord Sunderland receives, to persuade him that he is necessary, contributes to the fixing him here ; for he is in no way capable of answering those expectations of furthering what is fit, and hindering what is not. If there had been less bustle made about him, as was earnestly desired, he would have been ready to have complied by this time ; but while he was to be stared upon he cannot engage. The king has a plain way to follow, and cannot fail if he pleases ; and yet he will not do those things which his own judgment leads him to, and which Lord Galway said he had resolved. When the king has put his affairs into some order, Lord Sunderland may perhaps be of some use ; and as soon as that is, he will desire to be sent for as much as he now desires to be forgot. Lord Sunderland can say nothing but what he did to Lord Galway, only that he thinks no more of Lord Godolphin, nor of the House of Lords, yielding to those who are best judges."

The Earl of Galway had now the satisfaction of knowing that William was receiving the inestimable counsels of Lord Somers. His Majesty returned to England on the 4th November, and acting on the Ex-Chancellor's advice, he dissolved parliament on the 11th, having previously dismissed the French ambassador.

As to the election of a new parliament, Lord Macaulay has recorded, " Nothing did more harm to the Tory candidates than the story of Poussin's (the French Ambassador's) farewell supper, we learn from their own acrimonious invectives, that the unlucky discovery of the three members of Parliament at the *Blue Posts* cost thirty honest gentlemen their seats." Macaulay had said a little before, " This supper-party was during some weeks the chief topic of conversation. . . . *These then were the true English patriots, the men who could not endure a foreigner, the men who would not suffer His Majesty to bestow a moderate reward on the foreigners who had stormed Athlone, and turned the flank of the Celtic Army at Aughrim.* It now appeared that they could be on excellent terms with a foreigner, provided only that he was the emissary of a tyrant, hostile to the liberty, the independence, and the religion of their country." The king met his new parliament on December 31st. On that day he delivered his memorable " last speech," which was written for him by Lord Somers. But death brings this section to an abrupt termination. King William III. died on the 21st February 1702, aged 51.

SEC. 10. THE EARL OF GALWAY'S PRIVATE LIFE DURING THE BEGINNING OF QUEEN ANNE'S REIGN.

Lord Galway retired from the government of Ireland with a pension of £1000 a-year. This is mentioned in the Appendix to the Irish House of Commons' Journal of 1702, with the note, " He has no other place or pension from the Crown." His Irish estate had been sold by government Commissioners to the London Hollow Sword Blade Company ; and he had now to seek a home. To borrow the expressions of the pamphlet entitled " Jus Regium, or the King's right to grant forfeitures," it seemed that " neither the services of that noble person in Piedmont and Ireland, nor his piety towards his distressed countrymen, nor the greatness of his title and the smallness of the fortune he had to support it, were motives sufficient to restore to him his estate, which he was deprived of by the Resumption." Among English Counties, Hampshire alone had homelike attractions for him. There Lady Russell and an attached circle of relations and acquaintances had residences, where they often lived. He accordingly became the tenant* of the mansion-house of Rookley, in the parish of Crawley, near Winchester, and only a few miles from Stratton House. After a laborious and stormy manhood,

* From a phrase in Lady Russell's Letters, I concluded that he had bought the Rookley estate, until a correspondent obligingly informed me that the name of Lord Galway does not appear in any of the Deeds or law-papers in the possession of the present proprietor, which date back as far as 1670. I find that Thomas Hobbs, Doctor of Physic, made his will in 1697, appointing Lord Somers, Sir John Hawles and John Lilly of Clifford's Inn, gent., his executors, and offering his wife as a jointure-house either his town house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, or Rookeley in Hampshire. (Proved 20 Oct. 1698.)

he, at the age of 54, now settled in the country with great thankfulness, and soon became so enamoured with his study and his garden, that he hoped to be left in quiet for the remainder of his days.

War was declared by Queen Anne in alliance with the Emperor, the States-General, &c. (and as the successor of King William, of glorious memory), against France and Spain on 4th May 1702. Lord Godolphin (whose son was a son-in-law of Marlborough) was virtually prime-minister. Marlborough had charge of the war. "The greatest politician of the age," Robert, Earl of Sunderland, died on the 28th September following. His family name was Spencer, and he was grandson to Rachel de Ruvigny's brother-in-law, William, 2nd Lord Spencer, the husband of Lady Penelope Wriothoesley. He was thus distantly connected with Lady Russell and Lord Galway. He was succeeded by his only surviving son, Charles, 3rd Earl of Sunderland, aged 27, who was Marlborough's other son-in-law. Both he and the comparatively aged Godolphin felt great regard and veneration for Lord Galway. In a letter dated from the Camp at Robermont, 16th September 1703, the Duke of Marlborough thanks Lord Galway for his kind feelings towards the family at Althorp.

The political exile, his father's old friend, the Seigneur de St Evremond, died in London on the 9th September 1703. The last occupation of Lord Galway's private life was to act as his executor. Two of the bequests were £50 to refugees of any religion, and £50 to French Protestant Refugees. Another clause was, "I give to my Lord Galway £60 to buy a ring, desiring him to accept thereof, and that I should make him my testamentary executor." The will was proved by "Henry, Earl of Gallway," 17th September 1703.

He loved his retirement, and the politics of the Court might have been quite content that he should never leave it; yet, the demand for such services, as few but he could or would render to the Protestant cause, made it almost certain that his country would again employ him. Among the "characters" drawn up about this date for the information of the Electress Sophia, he is characterized thus:—"Lord Gallway, Lieutenant-General. He is the son of Monsieur Rouvigny, &c. He is one of the finest gentlemen in the army, with a head fitted for the cabinet as well as the camp, is very modest, vigilant and sincere, a man of honour and honesty, without pride or affectation, wears his own hair, is plain in his dress and manners."

SEC. II.—THE EARL OF GALWAY'S COMMAND IN PORTUGAL AND THE SUBSEQUENT ADVENT OF THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH INTO THE FIELD.

Upon the Duke of Schomberg's resignation of his command in Portugal, Mr Methuen, (Lord Galway's former colleague), our Ambassador at Lisbon, was convinced that no mere military officer could be successful in the difficult post. It is supposed that he pressed the ministry to send out Lord Galway. Queen Anne sent for "the wise and valiant Earl" to wait upon her at Windsor, and laid her royal commands upon him to accept the appointment. He requested leave to decline on account of infirm health; but his mental vigour, conciliatory manners and talents for negotiation were considered fully to counterbalance that objection. He then objected to supersede Schomberg, his ancient comrade and acquaintance, and (it is said) offered to serve as a Lieutenant-General under him; this was declared to be impossible. "Only the Queen's positive commands," said Lord Galway, "could have drawn me from my retirement." And Burnet says of him, as to the chief command in Portugal, that "he undertook it more in submission to the Queen's commands than out of any great prospects or hopes of success."

He was promoted to the rank of General on 25th June 1704. Luttrell says that the Queen gave him £10,000 for his outfit. He also pressed for, and received, a reinforcement of 4000 British troops, the States of Holland contributing a similar addition to the forces. A beautiful portrait* of him was published, the printer correctly styling him, "General Commander-in-

* "John Simon [engraver] was born in Normandy, and came over some years before the death of Smith, who disagreeing with Sir Godfrey Kneller, Simon was employed by him to copy his pictures in mezzotinto, which he did, and from other masters, with good success. He was not so free in his manner as Smith, but now and

Chief of all her Majesty's Forces that are to act in concert with the Portuguese in Spain." He sailed from Spithead on the noon of Saturday the 23d of July in H. M. S. Tartar, "with a fresh and fair gale of wind," and he arrived at Lisbon on the 30th. He there met the Duke of Schomberg, who resigned into his hands the command of the English forces. He lost no time in joining the two kings in the field; but inactivity until the spring of 1705 was the foregone resolution. King Pedro was quite charmed with the appearance and manners of the veteran warrior and courtier. Under the influence of those impressions he wrote a letter to Queen Anne, to be delivered by his ambassador in London, Dom Ludovico De Conha, who had express orders to repeat *viva voce* the written assurances of activity and constancy in the alliance, whatever vicissitudes might happen. Nevertheless Lord Galway could not be sanguine of success. Two influences were at work, which he well understood, namely, the Romish confessional and French money. The priests preached lukewarmness in a contest supported by English and Dutch heretics. Bribery won over many of the King of Portugal's ministers to recommend inaction, and to prevent combined operations. Then, as to the supplies both of men and material, both Portugal and Spain expected everything to be done for them, while they merely looked on. The Portuguese troops were irregularly paid, and consequently desertions were numerous and incessant. And though no ally but England could be depended on for punctuality in sending promised reinforcements, yet British commanders were kept down as much as possible. Besides this, the Portuguese armies not only retired into quarters in winter, but would not fight in the heat of summer. Then in the British army there was a party of malcontent officers, sympathizers with the Earl of Portmore who had expected to be Schomberg's successor. The Earl of Peterborough, who "prayed for no one but himself," was also prepared to contribute fault-finding to a literally unlimited extent. Notwithstanding many discouragements Lord Galway threw his whole mind and soul into his duty.

His old friend, Churchill, now the great Duke of Marlborough, had a uniform respect for his abilities and services, and had a responsible share in appointing him to his new command. Lord Galway received from him the following letter:—

"*Camp at Schonfeldt, 10 Aug. 1704.*—My Lord, I am very sensibly obliged to you for your kind letter of the 4th past, and do heartily rejoice at the honour Her Majesty has done your lordship in putting you at the head of her troops in Portugal. All that wish well to the public good, I am sure, join very sincerely with me; for, without the assistance of your good conduct and the succours Her Majesty is sending over, all our hopes on that side would soon vanish. I am very sensible the poor Duke of Schomberg has lain under great difficulties by the unaccountable ill-conduct and mismanagement of the Court of Portugal. But we flatter ourselves that your lordship's prudent care and foresight may soon put everything in a better posture.—I am, with much truth, &c., &c.

MARLBOROUGH."

It has been lightly alleged that having no relatives, Lord Galway adopted his refugee countrymen as "his children," and preferred them to British officers in the distribution of his patronage. It was only fair to the refugee officers, who, having been trained in the French service, were generally better officers than those of the English army of that time, that he should give them appointments for which they were qualified, as a conscientious and patriotic English general would have done in the case of his own sons. But the gallant exiles got no more than their fair share. Lord Galway was equally anxious to do justice to meritorious British officers. One of his first acts in Portugal was to give the adjutant-generalship, with the rank of colonel, to George Wade, an officer who, by his subsequent career, and by at length earning the rank of field-marshal, did justice to Lord Galway's exercise of patronage.

When the army was in winter quarters, information was received that Gibraltar was in danger of being retaken by the enemy, that the garrison under the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt was too small, and especially that there were too few officers. Lord Galway accordingly re-

then approached very near to that capital artist, as may be seen in his plate of Henry Ruvigny, Earl of Galway.

Simon died about the year 1755.—*Walpole's Catalogue of Engravers.*

solved to send reinforcements, in advance of whom he despatched three officers. Colonel Lundy and Lieut.-Colonels Rientore and Darcourt arrived at Gibraltar on the 24th December, having run a race with a French privateer that pursued their ship to the mouth of the Bay. In the spring he sent four foot regiments, and a large supply of ammunition and provisions. The siege was raised, and the enemy's infantry was entirely ruined. A letter to him from the Duke of Marlborough, dated St James's, 25th March 1705, ends thus :—" We hope the succours you have sent with Sir John Leake may come in time to the relief of Gibraltar, and are daily expecting some good news from thence. I heartily wish your lordship a successful campaign, &c."

Coxe in his *Life of Marlborough* relates that in Portugal, in 1705, " the campaign opened with more than usual activity, arising chiefly from Lord Galway, whose spirit seemed to infuse energy into the Portuguese." The chief command was taken by one general for a week at a time, and so by each of the confederate generals week after week in rotation. Much credit was given to Lord Galway for overruling the delays of the Portuguese, so that the troops took the field by the 24th of April near Estremos. On the 26th the investment of Valencia d'Alcantara was commenced, and it was successfully terminated on the 8th of May. The surrender of Albuquerque took place on the 20th May. The garrison spoke of surrendering the town only, and not the castle. Lord Galway rejected the proposal with scorn, and threatened to put them all to the sword. The besiegers prepared to second the threat with a roar of artillery ; but this was rendered unnecessary by the capitulation of the besieged. "The Annals of Queen Anne" say, "The garrison obtained a piece of cannon, which the Earl of Galway granted (as was expressly mentioned in the articles) as a mark of the esteem and value he had for the Spanish nation." He was formally complimented by the Spanish governor for his honourable observance of all the articles. It being now summer, the Portuguese sank into inaction ; and Lord Galway returned to Lisbon. Here he was met by the Earl of Peterborough (formerly known as Viscount Mordaunt and as Earl of Monmouth), whose mendacity has been used to assail Lord Galway's conduct and veracity.

Lord Peterborough was a brave officer. In him was revived the prowess of Blake and Prince Rupert, when generals were not confined to the land, but commanded at sea. He was well known to Lord Galway. During King William's campaign in Ireland in 1690, he was the torment of Queen Mary and her council, promoting every kind of alarm, with a view to his being quieted by obtaining command of the fleet. As a statesman he had failed ; Lord Godolphin, coming into the Treasury, by his superior abilities snuffed him out at once. His conduct regarding the prosecution of Sir John Fenwick was censured by the House of Lords as false and fraudulent. And it was only at the intercession of the Duchess of Marlborough that he was entrusted with the temporary command in Spain, which he trumpeted so long and loudly. All the books that made him the sole hero of the War of the Spanish Succession were written at his dictation. And it was he who put Lord Galway in the background of his autobiographical word-pictures, as an unknown upstart and adventurer.

The restoration of Lord Galway's reputation as a man of high position, intrepid courage, and acknowledged talents, we owe to Lord Macaulay. It is true that, in an Essay written in 1833, Macaulay says, "the sluggish Galway," instead of "the sluggish Portuguese;" but this was before he had paid any attention of his own to Lord Galway's career, and when he was giving only a summary of a History of this war by Lord Mahon, who had culled from the Peterborough fictions the glaring misstatement that Lord Galway hampered and restrained the Portuguese general.

The Peterborough squibs placed Peterborough first in the field, wishing us to believe that Galway was a new-comer, and ultimately a supplanter ; whereas Peterborough was the last comer, and latterly aimed at supplanting Galway. Under the Methuen treaty, Lord Galway had succeeded Schomberg as the British general ; but he was consulted as a statesman also. His policy was that Charles must hasten to Madrid, and lose no time in assuming the throne of Spain proper : this was the true anti-French policy of Britain. Austria and Savoy cared

nothing for Spain proper. The Emperor and the Duke were always in covetous imagination dividing the foreign dominions of Spain as their spoils. The former had delayed too long to send his son, Charles, to push for Madrid; so that of the two rival princes, Philip, in the eyes of Spaniards, had long been the one who really cared for Spain. Lord Peterborough, being no statesman, could easily be tempted by Austria and Savoy to throw the British policy overboard, and to ridicule the steady head of Lord Galway.

While Lord Galway was on foreign service, Lord Peterborough and others at home heard of the growing unpopularity of Philip in Spain, and rumours of readiness for revolution in Catalonia. Secretary Sir Charles Hedges wrote to the Right Hon. Richard Hill, our ambassador at Piedmont, on the 2d March 1705,* that Mr Mitford Crowe, who was to reside at Genoa, was to have a frigate placed at his disposal by Mr Hill, "the intention being chiefly for him to give an account from time to time to the Earl of Galway, the Prince of Hesse, or the fleet, how the Catalans are disposed, &c." In the following summer, Lord Peterborough was sent to Lisbon, as general of some troops, and as (with Sir Cloudesly Shovel) joint-admiral of a fleet, where he was met by Lord Galway. Here there was unanimity and a cordiality which, in after times, the "eccentric and unscrupulous" Peterborough chose to forget; but his word cannot be believed when contradicted by Lord Galway, to whom Lord Mahon justly attributes "high honour" as well as "great personal courage."

King Charles agreed to accompany Lord Peterborough on an expedition to Barcelona, the Catalan capital. The result of the consultations is given in that Earl's note to Admiral Sir George Rooke:—†

"20th July 1705.

"Upon the letter of my Lord Godolphin and the Secretary of State, the King of Spain, his ministers, my Lord Galway, and myself have concluded there was no other attempt to be made but upon Catalonia, where all advices agree that 6000 men and 1200 horse are ready expecting our arrival with a general good-will of all the people.

"The Portuguese have entirely refused to join in any design against Cadiz; and by a copy of my Lord Galway's letter, writ when under sail, you will find he is in an utter despair of their attempting anything this year; so that by our instructions it will appear that there is no other enterprise left for our choice.—I am, &c.
PETERBOROW."

The cordial co-operation of both Lord Galway and Mr Methuen in this project had better be given in Lord Peterborough's own account of it, addressed to Mr Hill:—

"28th Aug. 1705.—My Lord Galway, without orders, upon the King of Spain's embarking, and the intelligence received from you and Mr Crowe, ordered six regiments, two of dragoons and four of foot, with money for three months for their subsistence; and the Ambassador Methuen advanced £30,000, without any orders from home, upon so extraordinary an expedition." And returning to the subject, on the 28th October, he adds, "To get an old minister to draw bills without order, to get a general to part with troops from his own command, are things not easily obtained."‡

The royal flotilla having arrived at Gibraltar, the Prince of Hesse, and the infantry granted by Lord Galway, were taken on board. Lord Peterborough's brilliant successes at Barcelona are matters of history, and he might well be proud of them. But for want of a true policy, it was in spite of himself that the one glory of his life was earned. When they were all embarked off Gibraltar, deliberations were re-opened, and (to quote Lord Mahon) Lord Peterborough "considered it of greater (or at least of more immediate) importance to relieve the Duke of Savoy from the pressure of the French, and to postpone till afterwards any attempt on Spain. But the Prince of Hesse, as a German, soon obtained a great ascendancy over the mind of his countryman, the Archduke; and that young Prince so warmly espoused his idea of besieging

* Hill's Diplomatic Correspondence, p. 186.

† Warburton's Life of Peterborough.

‡ Hill, pp. 219 and 232.

Barcelona, that at length a reluctant consent was wrung from the English general, and the expedition set sail for this momentous enterprise."

SEC. 12.—FROM JULY 1705 TO LORD GALWAY'S MARCH TO MADRID IN 1706.

The Portuguese were damped by the departure of King Charles, as they required excitement and flattery to keep them up to the fighting pitch. It was October before they would begin the siege of Badajoz.

The Earl of Galway sent the following despatch to Lord Godolphin, dated from Lisbon, July 13, 1705 :—

"My Lord,—I ought to apprise you, that in the last conference they warmly maintained that it was not possible to take the field in this country, either this summer or autumn. This was openly the advice of the Duke of Cadaval ; the Count of Alvar spoke in the same manner. But, in general, Monsieur Fagel supported the opinion by finding difficulties in all the projects which could be proposed. The Marquis of Alagrete himself appeared uncertain. They have deferred examining any proposition till the Marquis das Minas and the Count Atalaya are here. They have been ordered to come. I see very well that they expressly delay entering on business in order that when it shall be time to take the field nothing shall be ready, and that the rains may serve as an excuse to prevent the troops from marching. However, I will lose no time ; I will press so much that I will force them to do something, or to declare that they will not do it. I send you a copy of the memorial, which I am resolved to send to-morrow to the king, if I cannot deliver it to him myself. The departure of the King of Spain disturbs them. The illness of the King of Portugal augments, and gives occasion to many intrigues. If this misfortune [that king's death] arrives, there is great appearance that the Duke of Cadaval will be master ; then nothing will keep the Portuguese in our interests but fear, and nothing terrifies them so much as our fleet. Besides the other reasons which I have taken the liberty to allege to you to have it winter here, at least the greater part, the last is not to be despised.—I am, &c.,

GALLWAY."

Notwithstanding all adverse counsels, we meet Lord Galway in the field on the 20th of September. The Marquis das Minas, who had taken Salvaterra in the spring, now joined the confederate generals, and Lord Galway managed to prevent the recurrence of those divisions which had happened about the niceties of command. On the 2d of October they marched to Badajoz. This was often spoken of as "Lord Galway's fine march"—in which the forces passed the rivers Caya, Xevera, and Guadiana, and invested that considerable town, all in one day. The siege of Badajoz was progressing most hopefully, when it was checked by a casualty, which a correspondent from the seat of war thus recorded: "On the 11th October, in the afternoon, a bomb from the enemy fell upon one of the batteries, and blew up the powder and also some of the gunners, whereupon the rest ran away. The Earl of Galway and the Baron Fagel repaired thither immediately, and found the platform spoiled and some other damage. And as they were upon that battery to encourage the soldiers, and had both their arms lifted up, so that they touched one another, a cannon-ball from the old castle came between them, took off the sleeve of Monsieur Fagel, and struck off the right hand of my Lord Galway, a little below the elbow. Notwithstanding which his Lordship continued nearly two hours at the same place, giving his orders with wonderful presence of mind, himself alone in all the army being unconcerned at his wound. His Lordship was at last obliged to be carried away."

The command now devolved on Baron Fagel, under whom the expected success was so much retarded, that there was time for a French force, marching from Talavera, under the command of Marshal Tessé, to accomplish the relief of the town.

The shattered arm had to be amputated a little below the elbow, and Lord Galway suffered much after the operation. One unfavourable circumstance was that he was subject to attacks of gout. Another is mentioned by Burnet, who after saying that "his life was in great danger," adds, "the miscarriage of the design [against Badajoz] heightened the fever that followed his wound, by the vexation that it gave him."

King Pedro wrote to him as follows :—

"My Lord Galway.—I the King, &c. The Marquis das Minas of our Council of State, and Governor of Arms of the province where you are, giving us an account in his letter of the 12th instant, that as you were advancing with great zeal for our service and the common cause, it happened that you were wounded with a cannon-ball of the enemies', which struck off your right hand. We think fit to let you know the great concern we had upon the notice of that accident, as well by reason of the particular esteem we have of your person, as of the great want there will be of you in the army during the time of your cure—assuring you that we shall ever have your great valour and conduct in our memory. And we order our envoy at the court at London, to represent to the Queen of Great Britain, our dear sister and cousin, the great satisfaction we have in your person.

"Given at Alcantares, the 14th of October, 1705."

His own sovereign gave instructions that Lord Galway should be informed of her sympathy, and of her entire satisfaction with his services. She also sent him what the Annalist calls "a donative towards his cure." Oldmixon assures us, that "it was said and believed that the Queen sent a letter to my Lord Galway, all of her own handwriting."

Lord Peterborough's successes in Catalonia and Valencia having been announced to the court at Lisbon, "all possible assurances (says Burnet) were given the Earl of Galway that things should be conducted hereafter fully to his content. So that by two of his despatches, which the Lord-Treasurer showed me, it appeared that he was then fully convinced of the sincerity of their intentions, of which he was in great doubt (or rather despairing) formerly." News came of the taking of Barcelona, and the concentration of the French forces towards it, with a view to taking it back again.

Accordingly, Lord Galway tells us, "I took a journey to Lisbon, even while my wound, upon the cutting off of my arm, was still open." His plan was to march to Madrid, and get the submission of the capital to King Charles. Philip V., being without French succour, had left that city; but his Queen was there, and the grandees, and the tribunals. He was unpopular; as yet he had no heir. And if the allied army had come up, the courts of law, and the leaders of fashionable society might have submitted to King Charles, and allowed everyday life to proceed under his sceptre, without any interregnum or confusion. A rapid march was possible, owing to the above-mentioned concentration of the enemy's forces in the maritime province of Catalonia.

After the month of August, 1707, when the Prince of the Asturias was born and welcomed by the Spaniards, an advance to Madrid was a chimerical plan; but at the date of Lord Galway's suggestion, the plan was feasible, and it was received at home with great approval. The Duke of Marlborough wrote to Secretary Sir Charles Hedges, from the Hague, 5th January, 1706, "I think nothing can tend more to defeat the designs of the French against King Charles, nor be of greater advantage to the public service in those parts, than the march my Lord Galway proposes; and if it be put in execution, we may soon expect to hear the good effects of it." And to Lord Galway, from *St James', 6th Feb., 1706*, the great Duke wrote—"My Lord, though I gave your lordship the trouble of a letter very lately, I could not let Mr Stanhope go away without repeating by him the assurance of my constant friendship and respect. He is so fully instructed of all matters that I need not give you any relation of what passes here, and shall only tell you the whole success of the war depends upon what shall be

done this campaign in Spain, and that we rely more particularly on the operations under your lordship's directions, which must give life to those in Catalonia and the neighbourhood. We are sure all that is possible will be attempted, and are in good hopes that before he arrives your army will be in motion. I am, with the greatest truth, &c.,
MARLBOROUGH."

With the utmost cordiality, King Pedro consented to the march to Madrid. On the 26th of March the allied army set out for Alcantara, under the command of the Portuguese General, the Marquis das Minas. The enemy, under the Duke of Berwick, having thrown ten regiments of foot into Badajoz, marched with 4000 cavalry, and 7 regiments of infantry, and with the latter reinforced the garrison of Alcantara. The allies met Berwick on his way back, beat his rear-guard, pursued him a considerable way, and took possession of the castle of Brocas. Alcantara surrendered to them in a very few days, with ten good battalions, who were made prisoners, sixty pieces of cannon, and great store of small arms and ammunition. Alcantara was besieged on the 10th, and it capitulated on the 14th of April. From this town Lord Galway issued a manifesto, of which the following is a translation:—

"Henry, Earl of Galway, Baron of Portarlington, General of the Forces of the most serene lady, the Queen of Great Britain.

"It being undeniably true that in the whole progress of this war the most serene Queen of Great Britain my mistress and her allies are so far from being enemies to Spain that they have sent their troops and fleets for no other purpose than to assist the good Spaniards to shake off the yoke and domination of France, and to place on the throne of Spain his most excellent majesty King Charles III. To the end, therefore, that the Spaniards themselves may have the glory to co-operate in so honourable an undertaking as is the establishing of the liberty and felicity of their native country, the said most serene Queen has been pleased to command me to declare anew her royal pleasure that I should in her name succour and support them. Accordingly, by these presents, I declare and publish that all the generals, commanders, officers, and soldiers of the Spaniards, of whatsoever degree they may be, that will leave the service of the Duke of Anjou, and give all due obedience to his Catholic Majesty King Charles the Third, on their repairing to me (the aforesaid Earl of Galway) shall be maintained in the service of his Catholic Majesty in the same posts, honours, and degrees which they had before, without exception of persons; and that from the same hour they shall be paid and maintained punctually, according to the pay they before enjoyed, out of the treasury which for these glorious ends the said most serene Queen has caused to be remitted to my order. It is to be hoped there will be no Spaniards of reputation that will not make use of so favourable an occasion of having the honour to free their country from a slavery truly ignominious, and of gaining the peculiar esteem of their lawful monarch, King Charles III.

"Dated at Alcantara, April 20, 1706."

Lord Galway, supported by the King of Portugal, determined to march to Madrid immediately. In this determination he had expected the Portuguese generals loyally to persevere. Their disastrous hesitation he had now to record, in a letter to Lord Godolphin, dated, Camp of Nuestra Senora de Oega, April 23, 1726:—

"The King of Portugal has sent his positive orders to Monsieur das Minas to march directly towards Madrid, so we have now a fair game to play, except those people will openly betray their king and the common cause. But at the same time Monsieur das Minas has so set his mind on the siege of Badajoz that he does not show the satisfaction one might expect upon such great successes as we've had in a few days. He daily makes new difficulties and doubts, and expresses much unwillingness to go on. I give my lord ambassador notice of it, that he may get the king's positive orders repeated to him, which I hope he may receive at Placentia, to which place I reckon I may persuade him to march, though not without difficulty."

The confederate army halted at Placentia on April 28th, a fortnight before the relief of Barcelona, and about a month before the intelligence arrived. Lord Galway still insisted on marching to Madrid. The next halting-place was the Bridge of Almaras. Lord Galway was in high spirits with the series of successes gained in so short a time. But the Marquis das Minas grew colder and colder; and at the Bridge of Almaras the Portuguese generals resolved unanimously to go home.

If Lord Galway had thought only of his own fame, he would have withdrawn from his command. Delay spoilt his plan. The Portuguese were afraid that Barcelona would be recaptured by the French, and allow the enemy to oppose them at Madrid. Lord Galway replied that at the worst there would be time for a safe retreat, after having won both glory and booty. The Portuguese having indicated that they might advance if good news came from Barcelona, Lord Galway remained with them. A party, who were for laying aside all thoughts of occupying Madrid, proposed to besiege Badajoz. A majority were willing to attack Ciudad-Rodrigo. That town being on the route to the capital, Lord Galway sided with the majority. The town was taken; the good news from Catalonia came; and then the Portuguese advanced. But, in the meantime, Philip had withdrawn the tribunals and the nobility; so that Madrid was not a capital when the allied army arrived on the 29th June. King Charles III. was publicly proclaimed; Madrid and Toledo tendered their allegiance, and were followed by the whole of Arragon; and all things were ready to give the King a royal welcome, every military precaution being attended to for keeping the road open.

Great hopes had been excited in England. The Duke of Marlborough wrote to Lieut-General Erle, 17th May, 1706, "We have had a very ill beginning of the campaign in Italy and the Upper Rhine; but if Lord Galway gets to Madrid, and our fleet relieves Barcelona, as we have reason to hope it has, it will make amends," and to Lord Galway from the *Camp at Helchin*, 16th July, 1706, "All the world is sensible of the difficulties you have undergone, and own that the Portuguese consenting to advance at last is purely the effect of your unwearied instances and good offices. I heartily congratulate your lordship on the good effect they have had, so much for the common good and your own glory, and persuade myself your endeavours will be no less effectual in accomplishing his Majesty's happy settlement on the throne, and the entire reduction of his kingdoms. This being almost the chief end of the present war, will, I hope, soon make way for a happy and lasting peace, which may give us the opportunity of enjoying in quiet some fruits of the toil and labours it has been our lot to undergo for the public. One of the greatest satisfactions I then propose to myself is that of your friendship and conversation. MARLBOROUGH."

At Barcelona his progress had been watched with interest. There the intelligence of the fall of Alcantara caused great joy. Prince Lichtenstein wrote to the Count de Goës: "We may conjecture from the enemies' motions that they look upon Spain as lost, especially since my Lord Galway has taken Alcantara, and obtained a great victory over them."

As to the entry into Madrid, on receiving information of it, Lord Peterborough left Barcelona by sea; Charles was to travel by land; and both were to rendezvous at the city of Valencia, whence they were to set out for Madrid. But at Valencia Peterborough waited for him for a month in vain. During this vexatious sojourn he wrote to the Duchess of Marlborough:—"July 1706, Your Grace has, before this can come to your hands, heard of my Lord Galway's being in Madrid, but will wonder when I tell you we cannot prevail with the King of Spain to go thither. And his wise ministers have thought fit to defer it, from the time it was possible, at least two months, if some accident do not prevent it for ever."

On arriving at Madrid, Lord Galway sent home his Aide-de-camp, Captain Montague, nephew of Lord Halifax, with despatches. His fame had now reached the highest point which the discordant elements of a confederate army would allow. Bishop Burnet's summary of his career up to this date is the following:—

"He heartily engaged in King William's service, and has been ever since employed in many eminent posts, in all which he has acquitted himself with that great reputation both for

capacity, integrity, courage, and application, as well as success in most of his undertakings, that he is justly reckoned among the great men of the age, and to crown all, he is a man of eminent virtues, great piety, and zeal for religion."

A large number of thanksgiving sermons were preached and printed in England; the longest and best was by the Rev. Robert Fleming, a distinguished man, celebrated as an author, and as a private friend and councillor of King William III. His discourse on this occasion was published with the title, *Sæculum Davidicum Redivivum*, David's "first three" among his generals being represented by Marlborough, Peterborough, and "the noble and brave Earl of Galway;" as to the latter he adds: "But that great general and statesman, the Earl of Galway, deserves a peculiar representation by himself, whilst contending with difficulties on all hands, and yet turning them about with such address and prudence, as still to force his way forward to the heart of Spain, whilst the Duke of Berwick is glad to retire before him, and the Spanish cities are as glad to have so fair an opportunity of being under his protection."

SEC. 13.—LORD GALWAY'S MISFORTUNES IN SPAIN.

Lord Galway got no more glory in Spain. It will be easy to show that his conduct was as meritorious as ever, and that he was the victim of mismanagement by other persons, over whom he had no control. Paul Methuen, the son of the Ex-Chancellor, informs us of the first seed of all the disappointments. Lord Peterborough, elated by success, treated Charles III. as a cypher, and exhibited before the populace his consciousness of his own superior genius and prowess. The young king was thus alienated from him. Methuen writes from Barcelona, 26 May 1706, to his father, "What vexes my Lord Peterborough most of all is the great probability of my Lord Galway getting to Madrid before him." After the raising of the siege of Barcelona, the king arranged that they should both go to Valencia city, he by land, and Lord Peterborough by sea, and that from that rendezvous they should advance to occupy Madrid. But when his juvenile Majesty had got away from his lordship, he said, "I shall be told next that I owe Madrid to Lord Peterborough—If I could not have health without accepting it from him, I would rather be without it." He accordingly strayed to Saragossa, allowing Peterborough to wait a month at Valencia. In the meantime Lord Galway was left unsupported.

Lord Peterborough, who had so many of Lord Galway's regiments lent to him, ought to have hastened to reciprocate the generous support which he had received. "Several officers," says Lord Galway, "who were despatched by me to the Earl, assured me that they had the honour to deliver him those letters which I wrote to his lordship." But neither King Charles (whom Lord Galway at last sent for from Saragossa) nor Lord Peterborough would, at the right time, show their faces. The people of Madrid soon exclaimed that Charles was not coming. Two priests declared he was dead. Lord Galway arrested one of them; but his lordship could not infallibly contradict the alleged intelligence, which was believed. Philip's forces daily increased. Charles' new friends, being panic-struck, and believing that they were deserted, joined the enemy, who re-entered Madrid on August 4th.

Marlborough believed that Peterborough had treated the young king with levity and petulance. The Duke wrote to Godolphin, "I believe the anger and aversion he has for Lord Peterborough is the greatest cause of his taking the resolution to go to Saragossa, which I am afraid will prove fatal:" and again, on August 5, "I send you back Lord Galway's letter. You will have seen by my former letter the fears that I have that the Duke of Anjou, being joined by Monsieur Legale, may be in a condition to oblige Lord Galway and the Portuguese to retire from Madrid, which will make it very difficult for King Charles or Lord Peterborough to join them. I do with all my heart wish Lord Galway with King Charles; for it is certain, since the relief of Barcelona, he has done everything as the French ought to have wished. For had he made use of the time, and marched to Madrid, everything must have gone well in that

country. The cabinet council are certainly right in advising the Queen to give the command to Lord Galway." It was on the 6th that King Charles and Lord Peterborough arrived, two days after the re-occupation of Madrid by the Bourbons. The Earl had been guilty of the further mismanagement of leaving almost all his troops behind him in garrisons. Accordingly King Charles was not in circumstances to offer battle; nothing remained to be accomplished except an orderly retreat from Guadalaxara into Valencia.

Lord Galway on first arriving at Madrid felt that his project had been realized only in appearance, and therefore sent home, along with his despatches, a request that he might retire from the service. The question which must arise on Spanish ground, whether to continue him as the British General, or to supersede him in favour of his junior, Lord Peterborough, was therefore anticipated by his waiting upon the latter Earl at Guadalaxara, and offering to serve under him until released himself. But Peterborough declined the offer, unless the Portuguese General also would consent to be under him, which was, of course, impossible. The British Government (as indicated in my last quotation from Marlborough's correspondence) were, from the first, determined that Lord Galway should not be superseded. Sir Charles Hedges had written to him on the 2d July: "It is a great happiness to the common cause that your Excellency will, in all probability, be with the King of Spain, since it may receive great advantage by your good advice in settling affairs with him, as it has done from your great care and prudent conduct, by which you surmounted difficulties with the Portuguese, which were thought impracticable." And the opinion, which Marlborough endorsed, is in Lord Godolphin's letter of July 30, "Upon the joining of our Portugal and Catalonian troops with the King of Spain at Madrid, it has been thought proper for preventing disputes to settle in whom the superior command of the Queen's troops should be lodged. The lords here have been unanimously of opinion that it ought to be in my Lord Galway, as having the elder commission from the Queen, and that the King of Spain's commission to my Lord Peterborough ought not to interfere in this case. I think this is right for the service." Lord Galway, with conscientiousness and magnanimity, adhered to his conviction that Lord Peterborough should be preferred for the command. Lord Peterborough, however, took his departure from Guadalaxara, "pretending [says Godolphin] that he had the Queen's orders to go to Italy." And besides this (as has already appeared), Charles who had in most ample terms acknowledged and extolled his former exploits by letters to Queen Anne, had now cast him off. And this king in course of time desired the Count de Gallas to lay before the British Queen a series of complaints relative to her erratic and rather presuming envoy (for Lord Peterborough had the credentials of an ambassador to the King of Spain). We may here mention (though too soon in point of date) that when Lord Peterborough returned home, the Queen refused to see him till the aforesaid charges were refuted. The House of Commons found the case so complicated, that they indefinitely adjourned it. Lord Peterborough's rage thirsted for revenge, and Lord Galway was the innocent sufferer.

The grand allegation of Lord Peterborough was that Lord Galway had halted forty days at Madrid. The Duke of Berwick, who wrote this, might believe it ignorantly; but Charles and Peterborough knew better. Each of them separately was to blame; and in daringly attempting to cast the blame of both upon another person, Peterborough was paving the way for his own reconciliation to King Charles, and for the concentration of his vindictive attacks upon Lord Galway alone.

For (as it has been well said) the imputation to Lord Galway of the fault of a forty days' halt at Madrid proves only that he had the misfortune of arriving at Madrid forty days before another General, who did not care to consolidate a supposed rival's success and fame. "The Portuguese," says Lord Galway, "staid no longer time at Madrid than was necessary to get the king proclaimed there, which did not exceed ten days—then advanced as far as Guadalaxara, and afterwards to Guadaraxa, about 60 miles beyond Madrid, where we obliged part of the Duke of Anjou's troops to repress the river, but were not willing to engage them, at a time when we had reason to expect we should have been joined in a few days by the forces

with the King of Spain and Earl of Peterborough, which was the only secure method left us to augment our troops. For it would have been very imprudent to have attempted to have formed corps of the Castilians, who were entirely devoted to the Duke of Anjou's interest. But all the officers of the army know, we were so far from wanting provisions ourselves, that we sent a convoy of 8000 loaves to meet the King and the Earl of Peterborough, which (by their delay in not advancing fast enough) grew mouldy, and was afterwards pillaged by the peasants. His lordship's information of our want of intelligence of the enemy's motions and of our disorder upon the retreat, are as great mistakes as the former. For the occasion of our advancing to Guadaraxa was purely to post ourselves in such a manner as to prevent the enemy from marching or sending detachments to intercept the King of Spain; and when we had reason to believe him out of danger, we returned to Guadalaxara, there to be joined by the King and the Earl of Peterborough. Nor was it possible for his lordship to have seen our disorder, if there had been any, because (as I have already observed) he came not to Guadalaxara himself, till some days after we had been encamped there.

"Notwithstanding the Earl of Peterborough is pleased to say, 'that we lost 5000 men in the retreat to Valencia without a blow, and entirely ruined our whole cavalry.' 'Tis certain our loss upon that occasion was very inconsiderable, if any, and the retreat made in so good order that the enemy (superior as they were in number) never durst venture to attack us after the warm reception twenty-two of their squadrons met with from two battalions under the command of Colonel Wade in the town of Villa Nova, notwithstanding we were obliged to cross plains and rivers in their view."

The contemporary "annals" describe this retreat as a masterly one. "On the 25th September, the Duke of Berwick being informed that the allies were to march through a plain to come to Yniesta and draw near to Xabriel, drew all his forces together, and advanced with so great diligence in the night, that his van appeared in the plain just as they began their march. Hereupon my Lord Galway, with wonderful presence of mind, made the necessary dispositions for a battle, causing all the cavalry of the first line, which made a column opposite the enemy, to advance, and giving the command of the foot to Sir Charles O'Hara, and ordering the second line to march in battalions behind the infantry of the first. This disposition was made, that which way soever the enemy should approach them, they should have a sufficient front to oppose them. And at the same time the allies marched on in such a manner, that the enemy never found an opportunity to come to a general engagement with advantage. On the contrary, all the squadrons that advanced towards them were very vigorously repulsed with loss. And the confederates had time to arrive at Yniesta, where they posted their right, and the army was drawn up in order of battle, having a little rivulet before their front. The king himself led the columns, and posted the troops on the other side of the rivulet, the Earl of Galway taking care to see them all pass in good order. The horse the enemy sent to disturb them was routed, and some Portuguese squadrons, that were very weak, defeated several of the enemy's that appeared much stronger. The Marquis das Minas continued all the while in the rear, and when the whole army was passed they expected the enemy in order of battle. But though all their infantry was come up, yet they found the allies in so good a posture that they never durst attempt to attack them. The baggage continued their march, and afterwards the whole army began to move in the day time, and in sight of the enemy, and passed the Xabriel without the least opposition."

Both Lord (now the Earl of) Godolphin and Queen Anne herself had written to King Charles, strongly advising him "to keep Lord Galway near him," as a sagacious and trusty counsellor. But a Dutch General had come into the camp, and had made himself more agreeable to the unreasoning king. In the room of Baron Fagel (who had retired after the disappointment at Badajoz) the States-General sent the Count De Noyelles. At what date this veteran general joined the army, it is difficult to ascertain. He bore a letter of introduction from Marlborough to Lord Galway, dated from London 12th Feb. 1706, but his first recorded appearance is after Lord Peterborough's departure. Probably on account of his

great age, he claimed to be commander-in-chief; but the Portuguese absolutely vetoed the proposal; and forthwith he proceeded to trifle away both time and resources. Trifling had been King Charles' fault, the fault also of the deceased Emperor (his father) and of the Emperor Joseph (Charles's brother). When he could have occupied the Spanish capital, Charles did not care; and still in his not too dignified retreat he laughed to scorn all observations savouring of regard or deference for Spain, Spaniards, and things Spanish. De Noyelles obtained permission to disperse the troops among garrisons; and he encouraged the king's prejudices, in the hope that delay might serve his own ambition. Lord Galway, despairing of gaining the king's heart, thought that now Lord Peterborough might be called in, so Godolphin wrote to Marlborough, November 12th:—"My poor Lord Galway continues so very pressing to retire and come home, that I really think it would be too great a barbarity to refuse it him. But what amazes me is that he recommends Lord Peterborough as the properest person to succeed him in the care of the whole."

Lord Peterborough's head was always running on Italian projects, therefore the British Government would not put the conduct of Spanish affairs into his hands. They believed that he would not carry out their instructions, however authoritative and absolute, for bending all his energies as a British General, to obtain possession of Spain proper. They, therefore, prepared matters for 1707, so that Lord Galway might either come home (if he was set upon it), or might command in Spain (as they wished). General the Earl of Rivers received a commission to make a descent upon France at the head of a considerable force; thereafter he was to go to Spain, to take the command there if Lord Galway should retire, and to re-inforce the British troops. Marlborough wrote to Galway from The Hague, 22 Nov. 1706:—"We have been under great concern for the many disappointments your lordship has met with in Spain, but we hope that the arrival of the fleet with a considerable re-inforcement of troops will soon put you in a posture to recover what you have lost. I design to embark in two days for England, where you may be sure I shall readily use my endeavours that nothing be wanting to put you in a condition to act offensively again.

MARLBOROUGH."

One grand object, which Lord Galway had in view, was to undo the effect upon Spaniards of King Charles's carelessness, by persuading the Emperor to make a decisive demonstration of earnestness to secure Spain for his brother. He was willing that both the English and the Dutch should play a secondary part; for one of the clever tricks of the enemy at Madrid, when Lord Galway was there, was to circulate a Medal bearing the name of King Charles, and styling him "King, by favour of the heretics." Prince Eugene of Savoy, if sent from Vienna as commander-in-chief in Spain, would, independently of his military genius and immense experience, be a living testimony that the orthodox brothers really cared for the throne of Spain. All Lord Galway's feelings and views were ably expressed in a letter to the Earl of Godolphin:—

"VALENCIA, December 15-26, 1706.

"I have had the honour to write twice to your Lordship concerning Prince Eugene's coming to command in Spain, which I think not only necessary to prevent the confusion that the jealousy of some generals will occasion here, but is the only means to establish the Spanish monarchy and prevent its ruin; for his Catholic Majesty is in such very ill hands, who possess his ear, that though we should have all the success we can desire, the conduct of the court will be such that the king will never remain six months quiet on his throne after the foreign forces are embarked. The Spaniards will never bear to be governed by a set of foreigners of neither worth nor rank, who think of nothing but plunder and rapine, and keep all persons from the king that are not of their own stamp. They will infallibly call the French in again, and carry themselves to the utmost extremities. All the Spaniards that are here are under a general disgust, and see what they are to expect when those now about the king get the power of all into their own hands.

"There is another point of no small consequence that I must inform your lordship fully of. Count Noyelles expected upon his coming over, to have had the chief command of

all, but finding it impracticable (as matters stand) with the Portuguese, has persuaded the king, who has no kindness for that nation, to form an army apart from them in Arragon. Count Noyelles has already sent some of the Dutch troops that way, notwithstanding the Marquis Das Minas's representation that they belong to the Portuguese army; and, if he is not prevented he will draw the rest of the troops from that body. But what I dread most is, that he will be able to prevail with my Lord Rivers to join his troops with the army the King intends to command in person, who is already much soured against the Portuguese. If this should be done, I look upon us as entirely destroyed. The enemy is as strong as both these armies together, and will not fail to beat us both, one after the other, especially (as your lordship may imagine) as there will be little harmony in our councils and operations.

"I hope your lordship will take this into your serious consideration, and that her Majesty's positive orders may prevent the dividing of her troops at this juncture; and in order to make my Lord Rivers the easier to serve with the Portuguese, I renew on this occasion my instances to her Majesty that I may have leave to retire, that my Lord Rivers may take upon him the command of the whole.

"I must again repeat to your lordship, that nothing can effectually save our affairs and even the Spanish monarchy, as the Emperor's sending Prince Eugene hither, whose rank and character will not only prevent all the confusion we are falling into, but he will be able to remove from the king those persons who now possess him so much, and establish the Spanish affairs upon a right foot. I hope this will come in time to your lordship's hands, not only to prevent the dividing the English troops but also the Dutch. The Portuguese are already much dissatisfied; and we may fear that more ill-treatment will induce them to accept of such advantageous terms, as the French will not fail to propose them on such an occasion. We have agreed with the Duke of Berwick to enter upon a treaty for the exchange of prisoners at Novelda. . . . I am, &c.,

GALLWAY.*"

"Since I have signed this letter, I have discoursed the King very fully upon his design of dividing the troops, and going himself into Arragon or Catalonia. I took the liberty to be very plain with his Majesty, and I hope I have put that design out of his head. But this will bring no alteration with the conduct of the Court, which is as I have represented to your lordship, which makes me always suspicious of alterations so that I can depend on nothing."

Secretary the Earl of Sunderland replied in December to Lord Galway's earnest entreaties to be recalled. The following is a portion of his letter:—"I am commanded by her Majesty to acquaint your Lordship how concerned she is at the uneasiness you are under in the service, which makes you desire so much to retire, which request her Majesty would not deny, but that she is of opinion that, besides what relates to the command of her own troops, and any influence that is necessary to be had upon the King of Spain, there is nobody but your Lordship that can possibly in any sort manage the Portuguese; so that, if you shall retire, that alliance will be quite useless, and, consequently, the whole affairs of Spain irretrievable. I am confident when you reflect upon this, you have her Majesty's service and the common cause so much at heart, that you will have patience, at least one campaign more; and your Lordship may depend upon it that there is nothing in the Queen's power to do, to make you as easy as possible, and to remove the difficulties you have hitherto struggled with, that will not be done. You will see by her Majesty's letter to the King of Spain how much she takes this to heart, and how strongly she insists upon his having an entire confidence in your counsels and advice.

"I will not say any more upon this subject; you will have it so much more strongly represented to you by my Lord Treasurer in his letter, and by Monsieur de Montandre when you see him. I must also acquaint you that the Queen has ordered my Lord Peterborough's commission of Ambassador to be recalled, which I hope will contribute to make all that matter more easy. Since her Majesty is willing to consent that the troops with the Lord Rivers should join the King of Spain and the troops in Valencia, it is expected that they should be kept together in one corps and under one general, that they may march straight to Madrid,

* The Marchmont Papers, vol. III., p. 457.

without dividing themselves or amusing themselves in taking inconsiderable places, and such little projects,—the doing of which before was one great reason that this last campaign you was not joined by any body of troops sufficient to keep you in possession of Madrid. This makes it yet more necessary for your Lordship to stay. I am sure nobody but yourself will have influence or credit enough to keep them together. And to enable you the better to do this, the most effectual measures will be taken to persuade the Portuguese to make the diversion they have promised by the way of Toledo; and in order to it, they will be assured that the troops from Ireland, that were to follow the Lord Rivers, shall be sent as soon as possible to join them and enter Spain that way. I must also acquaint you that such measures are now taking with the Duke of Savoy for the next campaign as will effectually prevent the French sending any considerable force more into Spain.”

In January 1707 the Earl of Rivers arrived. Councils of war were held in the presence of King Charles during this month and the next. Lord Peterborough appeared as an ambassador, and the king now liked him better. Another ambassador was Major-General Stanhope, a great friend and admirer of Lord Galway (unlike the noble historian, his direct descendant). Sir Charles O'Hara had been raised to the peerage as Lord Tyrawley, and was on the same side. Lord Peterborough argued for a defensive warfare in Spain. Lord Galway led on the other side. Stanhope vigorously supported Galway, and with great warmth spoke to the following effect:—“Her Majesty spends such vast sums, and sends such numbers of forces, not to garrison some towns in Catalonia and Valencia, but to make King Charles master of the Spanish monarchy; therefore if it is insisted upon to divide the forces, and to put ourselves on the defensive, I shall in her Majesty's name protest against such measures.” This decided the programme, and Peterborough left the country.

Lord Sunderland, in a letter to Stanhope, dated February 13, wrote, “that he sent him a letter for the Earl of Rivers, which he desired Mr Stanhope to deliver to him if he took upon him the command of the army by the Lord Galway's giving it up. Which, however, the Earl of Sunderland hoped he would not do. In which case Mr Stanhope was desired to burn that letter.”

Lord Rivers was disposed to take the command, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with King Charles. But the difficulties of the post soon became apparent to him, and basing his decision on the grounds that the British Government preferred Lord Galway, and that he himself could serve under no general but the Duke of Marlborough, he declared that he would retire. The following is the substance of the document which the two Earls signed:—“It was agreed upon by the Earls of Galway and Rivers, Mr Stanhope being present, that it would be better for her Majesty's service that there should be no more than one general. The Earl of Galway generously offered the command to Earl Rivers, which he refused in consideration of the Earl of Galway's greater experience, more especially in the affairs of Spain and Portugal.” Lord Rivers' men, greatly reduced by disease, then passed under Lord Galway's command.

Although he had no enjoyment of life in Spain, for (as he said himself) according to old Lord Bedford's view he had lost his best friend there, namely, his appetite,* yet Lord Galway could not but acknowledge the gratifying testimony to his conduct borne by the able statesmen who had written to him. I refer to his letter to the Earl of Godolphin (Valencia, Feb. 22, 1707), in which, after expressing his gratitude for the gracious orders of the Queen to continue in her service, and for the new commission appointing him commander-in-chief of all the British forces in Spain, he says:—“When I was so pressing for leave to retire, it was not so much on account of my own infirmities and the disquiet of the service, as of so many difficulties that made it impossible for me to serve the Queen as I ought; but seeing her Majesty, the ministry, and my friends believe I can still be serviceable, I submit to their better judgment. But they must answer to the public for the faults I may commit; though I'll do my

* In a letter from Spain, Lord Galway said to Lady Russell, “J'ai perdu entièrement l'appetit que Lord Bedford appeloit son meilleur ami.” (Quoted in a note to the Devonshire Collection of Russell Letters.)

utmost to save them from any reproach, if fidelity, application, and vigilance can do it ; but I cannot answer for my capacity in affairs so very difficult to manage.

“ I am extremely sensible of the encouragements her Majesty is pleased to give me. I wish her letter to the king, so much to my advantage, may produce a good effect. He has taken no notice yet of it to *me*. It would not be easy to represent to you that prince's character. He cannot but have so much respect for the Queen, that he will always outwardly show me a great regard. He always agrees with me when I represent anything to him, but never does what I advise him to do. He has now lately made a German Chamberlain of his household, which is one of the greatest offices in Spain, and has shown very little countenance to the Spaniards he is most obliged to. I have already had the honour to tell your Lordship how necessary it would be, that Prince Eugene came hither to prevent the disorders of the court, as well as those of the field. The king sends Don Pedro Moraes to him. I enclose the copy of the letter I sent him, believing his presence here of absolute necessity.—I am, &c., GALLWAY.”

The confederates adhered to their instructions, which were also their own sentiments, that the war should be actively carried on. To act on the offensive, they had to march towards Madrid. The defensive could not be maintained in Valencia, where they had eaten up all the provisions. The proposal to stand on the defensive implied that first they should retreat into Catalonia ; but it was not to swell a retreat that reinforcements had been sent out to them.

King Charles and his brother, the Emperor, marred all the design. The latter, in order to get rapid possession of Lombardy, did not wait to make prisoners of the French forces there, but by a capitulation, enabled them to flock into Spain. He also neglected the urgent request to send Prince Eugene or some highly qualified general to command in Valencia. King Charles, under the bitter influence of Noyelles, took the Spanish regiments into Catalonia, alledging some temporary exigency, and promising a speedy return. “ And,” says Lord Galway, “ it is notoriously known that the reasons for that journey were thought so insufficient, that not only all the foreign generals and ministers, but even the city and kingdom of Valencia, by their deputies, protested against it.”

It was soon evident that Charles would not come back. The Valencia troops were besieging the castle of Villena ; but they found it would hold out for a time, and they were informed that the Duke of Orleans was immediately expected by the enemy with a further reinforcement of 8,000 or 10,000 men. It seemed advisable to bring on a battle immediately with Marshal Duke of Berwick. To this proposal a council of war unanimously agreed. Accordingly the battle of Almanza was fought on the 25th April 1707. The Portuguese cavalry were on the right wing, and the British horse and dragoons on the left—the latter commanded by the gallant Lord Tyrawley. The infantry occupied the centre—except two brigades interlined with the cavalry. The whole issue depended on the bravery and ardour of the confederate soldiers, for the Duke of Berwick's army was fully double in numerical strength. The order of battle was that our left wing should charge the right wing of the French, and that when our centre was engaged with the enemy's, the Portuguese cavalry should charge forward. Lord Galway led off the battle at the head of the dragoons, and the charge was a spirited one. The English, Dutch, and Portuguese infantry carried all before them. But the Portuguese horsemen had witnessed a sight which confused and alarmed them. Lord Galway, the only bond of union between them and the uncourteous King Charles, was carried off the field wounded—what if the wound was mortal? and what could they gain for their own king by uselessly exasperating the French, who were not indisposed to a separate peace with Portugal? Accordingly the right wing did not charge. This was the first hope of the French ; they rode up to attack the stationary Portuguese cavalry, which fled precipitately. Lord Galway had been wounded in the eye, in fact, he had lost the sight of it. When he returned to the field he made every exertion to remedy the confusion which had arisen in his absence. The infantry continued to gain advantages. Their opponents, beaten in detail, would not return to the charge. But Berwick's vastly superior numbers enabled him to bring up fresh regiments to the fight. Thus the exhausted infantry, unsupported by cavalry, were overpowered.

Complete as was the defeat, and dreadful the slaughter, the great disaster was not the loss of the battle, but the surrender of our surviving infantry next day. The Annalist says, that the victory would have given the enemy comparatively little reason for boasting, "had the infantry that retired to the hills of Caudete marched off in the night, as they might securely have done. But Count Dhona and Major-General Shrimpton, upon a false report that the enemy were surrounding them, sent Majors Alexander and Petit to the enemy's camp, with a proposal to surrender themselves prisoners at discretion, which the Duke of Berwick readily accepted. Don Emanuel, brother to the Count de Atalaja would have no share in so dishonourable a capitulation, and (to show how easily it might have been avoided) retired with a few Portuguese Horse; as also did a Serjeant of Visonse's Regiment with about eighty men."

Lord Galway sent the following despatch to Lord Sunderland:—

"ALEGRE, *April 27.*—My Lord, your lordship will have heard by my letters, as well as by Mr Stanhope's, that in all the councils held at Valencia this winter, it was resolved we should march to clear this frontier, ruin the enemy's magazines, and destroy the country between them and us, in case they retired, thereby to secure this kingdom [Valencia] and our march into Arragon; but that if the enemy did assemble upon this frontier, we should fight them. Accordingly, our forces removed from their garrisons the 6th instant: we were all joined the 10th. We marched to Yecla, and from thence to Montealegre, the enemy's troops retiring before us. We consumed and destroyed their magazines in both these places. We afterwards marched to Villena; the enemy in the meantime joined all their force and marched to Almanza. All the generals were of opinion to attack them there, our army being then in a better condition than it would be any time during the campaign, for it daily weakened by sickness. So we marched the 25th, and fought the enemy close to Almanza.

"I am under deep concern to be obliged to tell your lordship we were entirely defeated. Both our wings were broke, and let in the enemy's horse, which surrounded our foot, so that none could get off. I received a cut in the forehead in the first charge. The enemy did not pursue their advantage, so that all the baggage got off. Major-General Shrimpton, Count Dhona, and some other officers got into the mountains with a body of English, Dutch, and Portuguese foot, where they surrendered the day after the battle, being, I suppose, surrounded by the enemy's horse. I have sent a trumpet to enquire after the prisoners.

"I cannot, my Lord, but look upon the affairs of Spain as lost by this bad disaster: our foot, which was our main strength, being gone, and the horse we have left being chiefly Portuguese, which is not good at all. Most of our English horse that got off were of the two new-raised regiments of dragoons, who did not do their duty. All the generals here are of opinion that we cannot continue in this kingdom (Valencia), so I have desired Sir George Byng to take on board again the recruits he had just landed at Alicante, and to call at Denia or Valencia (city) for our sick, wounded, and baggage, and have sent all to Tortosa, where we shall march with the remnant of our horse.—I am, &c.,
GALLWAY."

Major-General Stanhope, being at Barcelona with King Charles' court, wrote to Marlborough on the 3rd of May:—"My Lord,—It is with the greatest affliction imaginable that I am obliged to give your Grace an account of the melancholy state of our affairs here by the defeat of our army on the 25th of last month at Almanza. The enclosed paper is the copy of what my Lord Galway writes to me. By other advices more fresh, we hear that Count Dhona, with the body of men he had got together with Major-General Shrimpton, has been forced to surrender; so that I cannot learn that five hundred men are escaped out of the whole body of foot, which consisted of forty-three battalions, whereof I know not whether sixteen or seventeen were English, nineteen Portuguese, and the remainder Dutch. Of our horse about 3,500 are come off, but very few English and Dutch. . . . There was not at the army one horse or foot soldier of this king's [Charles III.] My Lord Galway was wounded with a sword over the eye, at the beginning of the action, charging with the horse. This accident contributed much to the confusion that followed. Our foot is by everybody said to have done wonders, which makes the loss of it so much the more sensible. . . . Count Noyelles is for dis-

persing up and down in holes the poor remainders we have left, where they must be lost as soon as the enemy think fit to show themselves."

As to Lord Galway's personal behaviour in the fight, it was (as usual) most brave and spirited. The flight of the Portuguese horse during his enforced absence had put everything in great confusion, and the Marquis das Minas very soon quitted the field. This Lord Galway was most earnestly averse to do; the battle under his command continued to be fought ardently and steadfastly, and he was almost surrounded by the enemy when a party of Guiscard's and Carpenter's dragoons insisted on his withdrawing along with them. Our hero has been blamed for fighting when the army of the enemy was in numbers at least double. But the ideas of that age rather favoured a daring attack in such circumstances. The *Observer* (an English paper), for August 26, 1704, expresses the English feeling:—"Don't tell me of numbers; they are cowards that tell noses. The Duke of Marlborough is none of those reckoning generals. Pray, had not the French twice the number at Donawart?—and did not the duke there thrash their jackets to their hearts' content?" Bishop Burnet, in his thanksgiving sermon on 27th June 1706, thus panegyricized British soldiers:—"They run to battles with so bold an intrepidity that we seem to be near the state promised that *one shall chase a thousand*. Our men go to action as assured of victory, being resolved to conquer or die." The general opinion as to Almanza was that if the Portuguese cavalry had not stood still, and then decamped, the day would have been ours; in which case Lord Galway's glory would have been uppermost, and have overborne military criticism.

King Charles and Noyelles at first exulted over Lord Galway's misfortune. The "great misfortune" (according to the British Government's opinion) included the cause of the defeat, namely, the dispersion of all the Spanish troops and some others in garrisons throughout Arragon and Catalonia, and the consequent weakening of the confederate army in Valencia. Once more the Emperor and his brother's waywardness and neglect had led them to disdain to fight for Spain.

Letters reached Marlborough with insinuations to the effect "that there is a general contempt and anger towards Lord Galway," "that he is neither an officer nor zealous"—"that he has also grown very proud and passionate, which (says the Duke to Godolphin) you know is very different from the temper he formerly had." None, however, felt this contempt and anger, but men who had nursed it before—his rivals and personal enemies,—men, whose consciences told them that they themselves were to blame, and whose tongues had a brief opportunity of rancorously speaking out, when silence best expressed the grief of true British and Christian patriots. But Stanhope and Tyrwley, and the majority of good officers felt towards him, as did their younger comrade, Captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) De Veil, who, though hearing those expressions of contempt, cherished and recorded the opinion that Lord Galway was "very brave in his person, and had all the abilities requisite to fill his employments."

The malcontent officers, some of whom (like the Earl of Peterborough) were interested rivals and opponents, others (like the Duke of Ormond) being Jacobites and sympathisers with the Duke of Berwick, toasted this fitz-regal duke as "the brave English general who had beaten the French [*i.e.*, Ruvigny]." They formed a party, in which were some young officers, strangers to Lord Galway, and unacquainted with the secrets of their commanders. As the youthful soldiers grew to be oracles among a still younger generation, a tradition arose that the Duke of Berwick obtained a ludicrously easy victory at Almanza. In confutation of this, I can say that I have read the Duke's narrative, and that that was not his opinion—(the narrative which ends with the statement, that "Milord Galloway, General des Anglois, y perdit un œil; il devoit meme etre pris, mais il trouva moyen de s'échapper.") He evidently considered it an immense effort both in plan and in execution. "According to Berwick's own account," says Macfarlane ["Pictorial History of England," vol. IV., p. 202], "his horse was repeatedly repulsed by those steady columns of foot, and even when the French and Spaniards seemed victorious on both wings, their centre was cut through and broken, and the main body of their infantry completely beaten." In the "Military Memoirs of the Marquis de Fouquiere, con-

taining Maxims of Warfare, illustrated by Instructive Examples, the "Bataille d'Almanza" is methodically described as a good, well-fought battle. Petavius in his "Rationarium Temporum," has chronicled the same opinion, and has immortalized Lord Galway by the name of "Gallovadius" in the classical tongue of Cæsar [p. 489], "Anno 1707, Infelicior hujus anni expeditio Federatis in Hispania fuit. Gallovidio enim, A.D., 7, Kalendas Maii ad Almanzam cum Gallis signa conferente, acerrime quidem pugnatum est, sed cessit ille tandem loco, et in Catalauniam se subduxit, amissa exercitus magna parte."

The fool's laugh of Noyelles was soon exchanged for stupid amazement; and Lord Galway, by his defence of Catalonia, and by recruiting the army—achievements which were left to his management,—showed who was the best officer and general. The Duke of Berwick's pursuit, instead of completing his victory, subtracted from it. Lord Galway had caused the Bridge of Tortosa to be so well fortified, and it was so well defended by the forces he left there for that purpose, that the Duke of Berwick's army was twice repulsed with considerable loss. Catalonia was thus saved. The "Annals" testify that "the preservation of that province was in a great measure due to the vigilance and activity of the Earl of Galway, who put the places most exposed in a good posture of defence." The same authority records Lord Galway's "indefatigable industry and application" in providing subsistence for the troops, and in forming regiments of Catalans. Lord Galway, being so fiercely criticised at every opportunity, could not help praising himself on this occasion. He says, "With great expedition I gathered the broken remains of the foot (out of which I formed five battalions) and raised four more of Catalans, with which we made a stand against a victorious enemy, and preserved the principality of Catalonia entire (except Lerida)." Stanhope wrote to Marlborough from Barcelona, 6th June 1707: "My Lord Galway is raising some Spanish regiments of foot, and does indeed use all application possible to prevent their [the French and Philip] reaping those advantages from the battle which they might have done had they followed their victory instead of amusing themselves as they have done. I wish I could do the same justice to the court."

The French were mainly employed at home in defending Toulon, and the Duke of Berwick's services were demanded there. In Catalonia the only French operation was to besiege Lerida, which was resolutely defended by the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, Lord Galway constantly harassing and alarming the besiegers. Philip of Anjou had given a grant of Lerida and its environs to Berwick, as a reward for the victory of Almanza, and the siege was conducted with more earnestness, when the ducal grantee returned from Toulon. The writer in the "Biographie Universelle" says, "Galway having recruited the remnants of his army applied himself to repair the disaster of Almanza with incredible activity. He proposed to the ministers of Charles III. to withdraw from the garrisons all the disposable troops to form an army capable of resisting the Duke of Orleans. His counsel was not followed. The loss of Lerida was the result of that error." Burnet says, "When the besieged saw how long they could hold out, they gave the Earl of Galway notice, upon which he intended to have raised the siege. And if the King of Spain would have consented to his drawing out of the other garrisons such a force as might have been spared, he undertook to raise it, which was believed might have been easily done; and if he had succeeded, it would have given a new turn to all our affairs in Spain. But Count Noyelles, who was well practised in the arts of flattery, and knew how much King Charles was alienated from the Earl of Galway for the honest freedom he had used with him in laying before him some errors in his conduct, set himself to oppose this, apprehending that success in it would have raised the Earl of Galway's reputation again, which had suffered a great diminution by the action of Almanza. He said this would expose the little army they had left them to too great a hazard; for if the design miscarried, it might occasion a revolt of the whole principality. Thus the humours of princes are often more regarded than their interest; the design of relieving Lerida was laid aside. The French army was diminished a fourth part, and the long siege had so fatigued them, that it was visible the raising it would be no difficult performance; but the thoughts of that being given over, Lerida capitulated in the beginning of November." Both armies then went into winter quarters.

During the past summer, and throughout this winter, the Courts of London and Vienna were occupied with plans for Spain, especially as to the command of the troops. Lord Peterborough visited both those capitals, and also Turin, pleading for Lord Galway's recall. Marlborough wrote to Comte Maffei (at Turin) on 19th May, warning him as to Peterborough, "You must express yourself to him with some precaution, for he has the gift of amplifying what one says, so as to give it quite a different turn from what one intended to say." Still, this too clever Earl managed to collect sufficient expressions of dissatisfaction to tempt Marlborough to sacrifice Galway. But Godolphin, who could appreciate administrative talent, and Sunderland, who could sympathize with honour and disinterestedness, both of them knowing his loyal motives in accepting and retaining his high command, stood by him with immovable constancy. "What you say of Lord Galway is certainly right," Lord Godolphin wrote to the Duke, "and considering the unjust impression of the King of Spain in his prejudice, he cannot be of use there. But who can? Everybody that is there desires to leave the service and come home." And Lord Sunderland wrote, "As for King Charles, it is plain that Lord Galway is very ill with him; but I am afraid that will be the case in a month's time, of anybody else that may be sent, if they do their duty."

Godolphin consulted with some of his leading political supporters, whether they now had any desire that Lord Rivers should be sent to Spain. He reported the result to the Duke, June 24, "I find Lord Halifax, Lord Somers, and their friends are pretty indifferent as to Lord Rivers, and unconcerned whether he is to return or not. But they are very uneasy to think of recalling Lord Galway, though sensible that he must be useless. For they carry that matter so much farther as to think all these misunderstandings are industriously fomented by Count De Noyelles, whom they take to be the principal occasion and contriver of Lord Galway's misfortunes; for which reason they seem to think, unless he be called home, either before or at the same time with Lord Galway, it will look as if he had been in the right in all he suggested to the King of Spain, and all the reflections which belong to the matter must light upon Lord Galway and England." Godolphin concurred in the opinion that De Noyelles was the prime cause of the Spanish disaster, as we find in his letter, dated Windsor, June 26, "One letter of last post from the Hague tells us the Count de Noyelles has written a letter to the States, in which he is pleased to take great liberties with my Lord Galway. We think it pretty hard here, at the same time, that he who has been the visible occasion of our misfortunes in Spain for two years successively, should have the confidence to lay the blame at the doors of others, who have suffered so much, and at so great an expense." Godolphin's plan, which he repeats in his letter of June 27, was as follows:—"As I have told you in my former letter, some of our friends here will be unwilling to bring home Lord Galway, while Count De Noyelles stays with the King of Spain; so the true way to make all things easy will be for the Emperor to send a good general with the troops from Italy." This, as my readers remember, was Lord Galway's own plan, urged before the opening of the campaign.

Marlborough, seeing the government so steady to our hero, wrote in a more satisfactory style to Sunderland, "Meldert, June 27, Nobody can have a better opinion than I have of Lord Galway, but when I consider the Court and King of Spain, I think it would be the most barbarous thing in the world to impose upon Lord Galway to stay, for I am very confident he had rather beg his bread. I am sure I would." And he wrote to the Duchess, July 4, "As to what Lord Sunderland says concerning the King of Spain, that nobody will please him that does their duty, I am of his mind, and I have also as good an opinion of Lord Galway as anybody can have; but that is no argument for Lord Galway's stay; for, as it is, it will be impossible for those two (Galway and Noyelles) to serve together."

The government accordingly took into consideration how they could give Lord Galway a change of command without any implied censure. Marlborough made a series of suggestions (which were adopted), namely, that the English contingent in Spain should be such as a Major-General should command, that officer taking the charge of British troops only; that the Catalan regiments raised by Lord Galway should cease to be in British pay, except indirectly by a

pecuniary subsidy ; and that Lord Galway should go to Portugal as Ambassador and General. Godolphin hesitated lest the exchange should not be agreeable to Galway ; the Duke replied Sept 15, " I am sorry to see that you are of opinion that Lord Galway will not care to go to Portugal ; for there he might do service ; and where he is, I think it is impossible." The loss of Lerida, as already narrated, which was permitted with the view of vexing Lord Galway, confirmed Marlborough's fears.

Lord Peterborough's visit to Vienna was neutralized by Lord Sunderland's correspondence (see Cole's State Papers). That Secretary of State at last succeeded in convincing Austria of the mistake of neglecting Spain Proper, and of allowing the Spaniards to detect the Imperial family's lukewarmness and contemptuousness. Austria agreed to send a Marshal to take the chief command in Spain, and this enabled Marlborough to make the suggestions already mentioned. On the English Lord Peterborough made little impression, though he tried to work on a popular prejudice and an insular delusion—the prejudice being against a foreigner (as he insisted on calling Lord Galway), and the delusion being that a British General had the command of the whole allied army in Spain, that he could do whatever he liked, and that want of success could arise only from his want of brains. John, Lord Haversham, speaking on Lord Peterborough's side, said, on the 21st Dec. 1707 (or on 29th January 1708), " It was no wonder our affairs in Spain went so ill, since the management of them had been entrusted to a foreigner." The Anti-government papers took up the cry, saying that English troops fight best under an English General. But Peterborough knew well that it was not for want of the greatest ardour in fighting on the part of the English that the Allies ever missed a victory. As to the delusion that an English commander in the Confederate War had always the ball at his foot, Peterborough knew also what it was to be thwarted by foreign generals and ministers, and that from such men's uncontrollable misconduct Galway's misfortunes had arisen. He had written, in 1705, after his visit to Lord Galway in Lisbon, " Either pride, ignorance, laziness, or disaffection make the Portuguese wholly useless ;" and in 1706, " I am almost expiring under the thoughts of German folly ;"* and yet now he spoke of Lord Galway as if neither he nor any other general could have anything but cordial co-operation from the Portuguese and Germans. Still (as I have said) Lord Peterborough made little impression on impartial Englishmen, as appears from some proceedings in Parliament, noted in Vernon's Letters, from which I am about to quote :—

" January 13, 1708. The Lords were again on the Spanish business on Friday last. The subject was an account given by the *Post-Boy* that the battle of Almanza was fought by positive orders. He was examined upon it, but could name no author. Some were inclined to suppose it, and grounded it upon the known prudence and wariness of my Lord Galway, who was loaded with commendations."—" 17th January. The preceding years ought to give them the best lights how they came to have no better success at Almanza, which was a misfortune owing to the neglect of the past year, when they lost Madrid after being in possession of it six weeks. Mr Walpole said, that the world was under a great mistake as to the great conduct of a certain lord [Peterborough] who had been mentioned in that House [of Commons] as if everything that had been well done in Spain was solely owing to him, and all misadventures were to lie at other people's doors."—" Feb. 24. Major-General Stanhope and Lieut.-General Erle had an opportunity to do the public good service by giving an account how matters stood in Spain, that by my Lord Galway's conduct the enemy was kept from making that progress there was reason to fear after so great a defeat, and, if he was supported, they might hope to see a happy turn there."

Count De Noyelles, in consequence of the arrangement with Austria, seems to have retired ; or he may have been disabled by illness, as he died in the summer of 1708. Stanhope's and Erle's above-quoted speeches imply a plan to continue Lord Galway in Spain, to serve with

* Hill's Diplomatic Correspondence, vol. i., p. 217 ; Duchess of Marlborough's Correspondence, vol. i., p. 62.

his wonted public spirit under an Austrian Field-Marshal. The policy, which was now agreed to, was Lord Galway's, and, as such, he could work it out heartily. But he knew Stanhope to be equally hearty as to the true British and Anti-Bourbon programme. And, besides, Austria was probably too late in its zeal to occupy Madrid; for not only had Philip's steadiness somewhat pleased the Spaniards, but an heir had been born to him; the people (all except the Catalans) had publicly hailed the infant as the Prince of the Asturias, and were not likely to turn again. Lord Galway had, therefore, no real opening for again attempting his original plan, the only good opportunity for which had been missed and lost by King Charles and Lord Peterborough. His personal wish was to return to England, as appears from the following letter:—

To the Earl of Manchester,

“Barcelona, Feb. 4, 1708.

“My Lord,—I am honoured with your Lordship's of the 29th of November, and I have delivered the Memorial enclosed to the king, having first engaged the Duke de Moles in the affair, which I hope will succeed to your lordship's satisfaction, for the Duke says he knows the gentleman; and since he had the good fortune to be recommended by your lordship, he could not fail of the little interest I have here. This not being the season for action, we have nothing of greater importance to acquaint your lordship with, than the arrival of part of those forces from Italy we have so long expected. But our fleet, wanting both stores and provisions, cannot return to fetch the rest, till they have been to Lisbon to victual and refit. I take the opportunity of this fleet to go for Lisbon with the Marquis das Minas, and from thence, I hope shortly after, for England. But wherever I am I shall always be proud to receive your lordship's commands,—Being, with great respect, &c.

“GALLWAY.”

Lord Peterborough was obliged to ride off from the field of controversy, saying that there must be vigorous action in Spain, and that he would serve in the army there, “even if it had the great misfortune of being commanded by the Earl of Galway.” His consolation for the general rejection of his own programme consisted in hearing a small chorus of voices exclaiming, “A very clever speech.”*

Mr J. Chetwynd wrote to Lord Manchester from Turin, 25th Feb. 1708:—“The Queen was desirous that the Earl of Galway should have staid in Catalonia, and I did send him letters to the purpose the other day, but they would come too late.” Galway and Das Minas had sailed, with some British and Portuguese officers, and 1,200 dismounted Portuguese. They arrived at Lisbon in the month of March, and found (as stated in the Gazette) that the Queen had appointed the Earl of Galway Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Lisbon, and Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in Portugal.

SEC.—14. THE EARL OF GALWAY'S LATER RESIDENCE IN PORTUGAL, AND HIS RETURN HOME (1708-1710).

Great changes had taken place in Lisbon society. Death had removed King Pedro, Katherine, Queen Dowager of England (his sister), and our Ambassador Methuen. King Juan V. was thus under the control of the French faction, headed by the Duke of Cadaval. The Government, awed by the British fleet, was outwardly true to the Grand Alliance; but little was in Lord Galway's power, either as ambassador or general. Luttrell has this note:—“London, 15th May 1708, Two rich coaches and forty liveries are making here for the Earl of Galway, Her Majesty's Ambassador to Portugal.” He made a magnificent entry into Lisbon, which gratified the Portuguese. He knew how to serve the common cause by means of

* Kemble's State Papers, p. 464.

attractive courtesy and dignified hospitality. A letter dated Lisbon, Aug. 8, says, "Everything is quiet on the frontiers. Three British men of war are going to meet the Brazil fleet. The news of the victory obtained at Oudenarde occasioned a great rejoicing at court, and public rejoicings were made for three days together, not only in this city, but likewise in all the other cities of Portugal. His Excellency, the Earl of Galway, gave a splendid entertainment to the grandees, attended with a fine concert of music, fireworks, &c."

His sense and ingenuity as an ambassador were well illustrated in an incident related by Sir Thomas de Veil thus:—"The King of Portugal, who began to draw greater advantages from the Brazils than any of his predecessors had done, was very uneasy at the sight of the gold vanishing as it came from thence almost as soon as it appeared; and being informed that the greatest part of it was sent to England, he consulted privately with his ministers about finding out ways and means for putting a stop to this, in order to keep the money at home. A project was formed for this purpose, which turned chiefly upon two points—one was setting up manufactures in his own country for supplying the people of Brazil with what they wanted; the other, putting the laws strictly in execution for preventing the exportation of gold. This scheme was kept very private, but as he had a great confidence in Lord Galway, and believed him to be, as he really was, a man of great honour and sincerity, he desired his opinion upon it. Lord Galway, therefore, humbly represented to the King that the situation of his dominions made it requisite for him to depend constantly on his allies for his security against neighbours who were inclined to do him all the mischief they could, and were powerful enough to do it if he was not assisted by his friends. While he lived upon good terms with the British nation, he was sure of receiving succours from them proportionable both to his wants and wishes, which he ought to consider to be a great alleviation of any alleged grievances. He told the King that as to the remedies proposed, he would not inquire whether they might or might not prove effectual; if the latter should be the case, he would not barely be disappointed, but would also lose the hearts of his allies by making the experiment. Even if, by his contrivances, the gold could be kept in Portugal, he would very soon find worse consequences to flow from thence. As things then stood, the English weavers, tailors, shoemakers, and other tradesmen, wrought for his subjects in Brazil; the English merchants were at the pains to send those goods to Lisbon, and a great many ships and some hundreds of seamen were annually employed; in this trade, which, suddenly taken away from them, would leave thousands of people destitute of subsistence. And as this proceeding would be a breach of the alliances subsisting between the two nations, numbers of the people so distressed might turn soldiers, and embarking on board the very ships turned out of the Portugal trade, might prove strong enough to attack and conquer the Brazils. Providence had made a wise and just distribution of wealth to the one and industry to the other, which proved a bond of harmony and a source of happiness to both; and if this was taken away, wars would certainly follow, and the power that was weakest at sea would certainly have the worst of it. The King and his ministers saw the strength and justice of his Lordship's observations, and immediately laid aside their design. This was a very important service rendered to the English nation."

As a soldier, all that the Court would allow him to do, was to exercise his usual vigilance, and to defend the coast and frontier. Though infirm in body, as well as crippled in the matter of supplies, his mind was busy, as is proved by two letters from Marlborough to Godolphin. "Terbank, June 14, By the letters of Lord Galway, as well as what you write me in yours of the 25th and 26th, I cannot but observe that his project that he now makes does no way agree with the project he sent by Mr Stanhope. That would have been expensive, but this is likely to be much more. There can be no doubt but Cadiz would be of great use. But I beg you to consider how impossible it will be to have success, unless it be done by surprise; and how impossible that will be, when the much greatest part of the troops are to march by land, and that you are to deceive the Portuguese as well as the French and Spaniards. But if it be practicable, it must be this year, and not the next; for when you shall the next winter put your troops into such quarters as may be proper for that expedition, you may be assured that they

will take such precaution as will put that place out of danger. You know that by the treaty England and Holland are obliged to give every year to the King of Portugal upwards of four thousand barrels of powder, which is more than is expended by France and all the allies in the armies; so that I beg you will be cautious of giving any encouragement of having an English train established in Portugal, for if the attempt at Cadiz goes on, the cannon and everything for that expedition must be furnished by the fleet. As for the refugee officers, I think he sets a much greater value on them than they deserve. If he can make any use of them, I should think they would be better there than in Ireland." "Peronne, Sept. 3,—I see Lord Galway presses very much for troops. It is certain if the court of Portugal will not come into the Queen's measures, whatever troops are sent will be useless to the common cause; for they will do nothing but defend their own frontier."

In winter we find a proof that he had not forgotten his Irish friends. He wrote to the Earl of Wharton* from Lisbon, Dec. 11, 1708:—"I assure your Excellency 'tis with great pleasure I have learned the news of your having kissed the Queen's hands for the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, which kingdom may reasonably promise itself many advantages from your lordship's active and zealous genius. I shall only beg leave to recommend all the poor refugees in general, but more particularly those at Portarlinton, to your lordship's protection, and to assure you that I shall always be, &c. &c." In Spain, his friend and admirer, Major-General Stanhope, commanded the British troops, and Count Staremberg, the German Marshal, was at the head of military affairs. It was a compliment to Lord Galway, that Marlborough, in congratulating Stanhope on the improved state of the confederate army, said, "Between ourselves, I fear, if Count Noyelles were living, matters would not go so easy."

The Parliamentary opposition continued to gain ground in England. They were determined to impute all the cowardice and inefficiency of the Portuguese to Lord Galway. In 1709, the battle on the banks of the Caya, which the Portuguese brought on in opposition to Lord Galway's remonstrances, and in which his part was to bring them out of the mess after their retreat—this battle was spoken of as another battle lost by Galway, and as a tremendous defeat. Marlborough's letter to Lord Galway gives the right view:—

Camp before Tournay, 4 July, 1709.

"I have received the honour of your Excellency's letter of the 8th May, giving an account of the misfortune the Portuguese have drawn upon themselves by their over-forwardness in engaging the Marquis de Bay near Badajoz. The French had made a great noise of it before your letters came to give us a true relation of the action, which I am glad to find was of no greater consequence, and that the enemy had not been able to reap any great advantage from it." "The Annals of Queen Anne" contain this observation:—"The action on the Caya gave the Portuguese a great idea of the capacity and courage of the Earl of Galway, against whose advice they entered on that unfortunate affair, and whose conduct prevented fatal consequences from the flight of their horse."

If the Portuguese were now willing to laud the gallant earl, he was not prepared to return the compliment. He wrote to Godolphin, Sept. 4, "By the accounts you have heard since my return to Lisbon, you are prepared to expect no good from this court. It is every day worse and worse. The king is pretty well, but enters no more into affairs than if he were in his infancy. Nobody will appear to govern, for certainly no government was ever so abandoned. There is not a penny in the treasury, and less credit, and no care taken to remedy it."

* It is remarkable that a small business during Wharton's vice-royalty afforded Dean Swift the opportunity of bringing his only tangible charge against Galway. The Earl of Kildare, finding that a deceased brother's bargain in giving up a £300 salary, payable only during the life of the Earl of Meath, and in accepting a £200 life pension, had in the course of events proved to be a bad one, declared as his brother's heir, that Meath was still alive, and he petitioned the Lord-Lieutenant for a return to the original bargain—which petition was granted. How could the Dean fabricate an accusation against Galway out of this? (the reader may ask). By interpolating a rhetorical clause, "My Lord Galway did, by threats, compel" George Fitzgerald to surrender the contingent salary!!!

In October, some reinforcements which had been long detained by adverse winds arrived from England, and Rear-Admiral Baker sent to Lord Galway for instructions as to the landing of the troops. Galway having destined them for Catalonia, persuaded the king that this was the best measure to save Portugal from invasion. With the king's consent, the fleet conveyed them to Barcelona, but they arrived too late for the design upon Cadiz. The king having at first been very desirous to retain them on Portuguese territory, his lordship took occasion to complain to his Majesty of the bad provision made for the subsistence and accommodation of the British troops in Portugal. He at the same time represented that Queen Anne would recruit her regiments, on condition that the king would order the levy of Portuguese cavalry which her Majesty had engaged to keep in pay. To give the Portuguese Horse a chance of gaining laurels, Lord Galway had obtained the permission of the British government to form them into six dragoon regiments to be paid by Queen Anne, and to be commanded by French Refugee and British officers. This was carried out, and it was his last piece of service in Portugal. In mentioning that Marlborough looked upon it as waste of money, on account of the hopeless pusillanimity of the natives, especially after so many defeats, Coxe takes the opportunity of testifying that Lord Galway, "with great military spirit and perseverance," suffered in reputation chiefly from the faults of others. It may here be noted that in August of this year, that malcontent officer, the Earl of Rivers (*alias*, Tyburn Dick), giving trouble in England, Godolphin proposed to Marlborough "to send him out of the way where Lord Galway is now, and has pressed this good while for his return, so that Lord Galway would like it. And Lord Rivers nor nobody else could ever get credit there." The proposal fell to the ground.

During 1710, the Portuguese, under the influence of the Duke of Cadaval, refused to allow any troops to cross the frontier. Lieutenant-General Stanhope had brilliant success in Spain. In the end of August, after the victory of Saragossa, letters from the Portuguese ambassador in Spain to his court, accompanied with letters from Stanhope to Galway, urged that the Portuguese troops must join the allies at Almaraz without the smallest delay. This the Portuguese government refused. Lord Galway was now a martyr to gout and general bodily indisposition.

All his requests to be recalled had been refused; but his self-denial could be taxed no longer, and he was now expecting that his successor would be sent out. He was quite unable to be present at any conference to counteract Cadaval. A last appeal for succour was made by Stanhope, in a letter dated in October, asking only for such forces in Portugal as were in the pay of the Queen of Great Britain. But neither would the Portuguese government part with those; and their infatuated conduct issued in Stanhope being taken prisoner, his army having been surrounded by the enemy. Before the latter correspondence, Lord Galway had sailed for England, oppressed with vexations, broken health, and advancing years. Luttrell gives the following details:—"News from Gibraltar, received on *Thursday, July 11th*. There has been a great tumult in that garrison, occasioned by the governor stopping their pay for bread, which was always allowed them. It grew to such a head that some officers and soldiers were killed. The Lord Galway, being informed thereof, sent to the governor not to do the like for the future, and a general pardon to all the mutineers, which quieted the commotion. *Thursday, 21st September*, a Lisbon mail of the 16th says, the Lord Galway had taken his audience of leave of the King of Portugal, and appointed Major-General Newton commander of the British forces in that country till the arrival of the Earl of Portmore. *Saturday, 21st October*, Lord Henry Powlett, second son of the Duke of Bolton, is landed at Falmouth with the Earl of Galway, who, it's said, has brought with him £200,000 in gold and silver, belonging to our merchants, as part of their effects on board the Portuguese Brazil fleet."

The winter of 1710 was in a twofold sense a cold and tempestuous time for Lord Galway to come home. The triumph of the anti-government party had been accelerated by the prosecution of the High Church divine, Dr Henry Sacheverell, for seditious language regarding the Revolution Settlement. Stanhope, who was member for Cokermonth, had, before the opening of the campaign, been one of the managers appointed by the Commons for the Doctor's trial at the bar of the House of Lords. On the 20th of March Sacheverell had been voted

guilty by a majority of 69 to 52, and had been sentenced to a three years' suspension from clerical functions. The appearance of persecution, the insignificance of the culprit, and the weakness of the sentence, had given a mortal wound to the government. Lord Sunderland had been dismissed from the Secretaryship of State on June 14th. The Lord High Treasurer Godolphin had been displaced on August 9th,* and a Treasury Board inaugurated with the Earl of Poulett at its head, and Harley Chancellor of the Exchequer.

"The Annals of Queen Anne" record that "on the 18th November 1710, the Queen came from Hampton Court to St James's Palace, when the same evening the Earl of Galway, who some days before arrived from Portugal, and whose waiting upon the Queen was excused till her Majesty should come to town, had the honour of kissing her Majesty's hand, and met with a more gracious reception than many expected, after the removal of the Lord Treasurer, his intimate friend." His friends say that he "met with a very gracious reception." Indeed, having not seen him for six years, observing his altered appearance and shattered frame, and remembering the loyalty which alone had reconciled him to foreign service, her Majesty must have looked upon the fine old general with grateful respect and womanly sympathy. But her new ministers were bent upon inflicting public censure and disgrace on Marlborough and all his friends, the Queen cordially encouraging them as far as Marlborough and his Duchess were concerned. The Duke, returning from Flanders on December 28th, was so well received by the populace, that though ministers withheld from him a vote of thanks, they did not venture to begin their measures by censuring him. His friends and admirers, General the Earl of Galway and Lieutenant-Generals Lord Tyrawley and James Stanhope, were therefore fixed upon as prefatory victims; and it was determined to revive Lord Peterborough's old stories.

SEC. 15. DEBATES AND VOTES OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS ON THE PROPOSAL TO CENSURE GALWAY, TYRAWLEY, AND STANHOPE.

On the 4th of January 1711, the House of Lords resolved to inquire into the management of the affairs in Spain. Lieutenant-General Stanhope, though in the next reign most deservedly ennobled as Viscount Mahon and Earl Stanhope, had then no seat in the house, and in fact he was detained abroad as a prisoner of war. The Earl of Galway and Lord Tyrawley, being Peers of Ireland, could only be present to be interrogated, and must then withdraw. Whatever might be said in their absence with regard to their conduct and reputation they had no right to know; and for any knowledge which they might glean they were dependent on hearsay, newspaper reports of parliamentary proceedings being illegal. At the same time their opponents, including many malcontent officers of the army, were Peers of Great Britain. The latter did not hesitate to take advantage of their brothers in the Queen's service by speaking and voting in what was practically their own case. Foremost among these was General the Earl of Peterborough, and of the same class were General the Earl of Rivers and Lieutenant-General the Duke of Argyle. Peterborough had also the advantage of having had all his documents printed and published since 1707, and therefore repeatedly read by his friends, who framed their questions so as to bring out his favourite points. These questions were five in number, which were put to, and answered by Lord Peterborough on Thursday, January 4th, in the absence of Lords Galway and Tyrawley.

The next day the persecuted lords appeared. Lord Galway having a chair appointed for him "by reason of his infirmities," sat outside the bar; and the House being in Committee (the Earl of Abingdon in the chair) he was desired by the chairman to give the lords an account of what he knew concerning the affairs of Spain. The Earl of Galway, having apolo-

* It was, however, by Godolphin that Galway was recalled, and that Portmore was sent to relieve him. Godolphin wrote to Marlborough, June 22, 1710, "Lord Galway pressed for leisure to come home, and it was allowed him. . . . If Lord Portmore be as capable of serving well as he believes himself, there needs no more."—Correspondence of the Duke, appended to the Duchess of M.'s Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 447.

gized for not being able to express himself in the English language as properly as he could wish, gave an ingenuous account of his whole conduct in Portugal and Spain. Their lordships appeared to be well satisfied. Smollett says, the defence was "clear and convincing." Lord Galway then requested permission to deliver his statement in writing on some future day, and his request was readily granted.

Lord Tyrawley, being interrogated, replied, "When I was with the army I kept no register, and carried neither pen nor ink about me, but only a sword, which I used as I best could upon occasion. All I know in general is, that we always acted according to the resolutions of the councils of war."

Both had then to withdraw. The Earls of Wharton and Godolphin and Lord Halifax made speeches in favour of Lord Galway. And the Duke of Marlborough, who spoke with great emotion and even with tears in his eyes, said, "It is somewhat strange, that generals, who have acted to the best of their understandings, and have lost their limbs in the service, should be examined, like offenders, about insignificant things."

On Tuesday, January 9th, the two lords being present, Lord Galway's statement was read, [see Appendix], and so were Lord Peterborough's five answers. The chairman asked Lord Galway if he had anything to add to his own paper—to which he replied, "My memory suggests nothing more to me at this time, but if the House is pleased to allow me a copy of the Earl of Peterborough's paper, I may make some remarks upon it." His request was granted.

The chairman then said to Lord Tyrawley, "Are you willing to communicate to the Lords what you know concerning the council held in Valencia, the 15th of January?"—Lord Tyrawley replied, "The reason why I was shy of speaking last Friday was that I thought myself accused; and as my doubt still continues, and nobody is obliged to accuse himself, I desire to know, Am I accused or not?—And if I am, I desire a copy of the accusation that I may put in my answer." This led to a discussion, in the midst of which the two heroes were called on to withdraw. And on being recalled, Lord Tyrawley, the question having been simply repeated, said, "Being apprehensive that I might be accused, I thought I ought to be on my guard, but as I hope this illustrious assembly will not take advantage of anything I may say, I will frankly acquaint them with all I know about that council of war. It is a hard matter to charge one's memory with things so far distant (1707), but I remember in general that several schemes were proposed for the ensuing campaign. An offensive war was resolved upon by a majority of voices. Besides the Lord Galway, Mr Stanhope and myself, all the Portuguese, namely, the Marquis das Minas, the Count d'Oropeza, the Condé de Corsana, and the Portuguese Ambassador, were of that opinion. The operations of the campaign were left to the determination of subsequent councils. As to the Battle of Almanza, it was unanimously resolved upon, not one general opposing it, and Monsieur Freishman, who commanded the Dutch, and was very jealous of anything that regarded the service of his masters, did not speak one word against it." The Earl of Nottingham rose to order, and said, "Lord Tyrawley was not questioned about the Battle of Almanza." The witness was therefore removed and the objection considered. Lord Peterborough agreed with Lord Nottingham. Lord Halifax differed. And the Duke of Marlborough said, "He has answered fully the question put to him." The Earl of Godolphin moved that Lord Tyrawley might proceed. And he was again called in, but answered, "I have no more to say." Lord Cowper asked him, Was a march to Madrid agreed upon in that council of war?—He replied, "It was resolved to march to Madrid, but the further operations of the campaign were reserved to the determination of subsequent councils after we had beaten the enemy." Lord Peterborough inquired, By whom were these resolutions taken?—Lord Tyrawley answered, "By the majority of several councils of war, which were held twice a week. And as far as I can remember, the king did not declare his opinion." The two Irish Peers withdrew.

The Earl of Ferrers moved "That the Earl of Peterborough has given a very faithful, just, and honourable account of the Councils of War in Valencia." The Bishop of Sarum (Burnet) proposed an amendment; he thought it premature to use the word "just," as the Earl of Gal-

way's promised remarks ought first to be heard, before they could deliberately use it. The Bishop added, "I readily agree to the word 'honourable.'" The common sense of this criticism is obvious. Let it be admitted that Lord Peterborough's intentions were honourable, yet all his reminiscences may not have been accurate. However, the Duke of Argyle (though he had long had a seat in the House as Earl of Greenwich) seems to have wished the English lords to feel that one advantage of the Union with Scotland was the importation of metaphysics. The Scottish Duke said, by way of reply, "All that is honourable must be just, and all that is just is honourable." The House then divided, when there appeared Contents 59, Not Content 45. [That Lord Galway could conclusively answer Lord Peterborough was shown in a paper which he handed in, promptly, but not soon enough for the feverish haste of his adversaries. *See Appendix.*] The Earl of Poulett gave notice of a motion to censure the generals at the bar.

The House of Lords returned to the charge on Thursday the 11th. An officer of the House, being sent to the door, reported that the Earl of Galway was not in attendance. The Earl of Poulett then made a long speech, in which he characterized the generals in Spain as mere political favourites, who had felt so secure that they enjoyed their posts as sinecures. He concluded by proposing that his motion be now read.

Lord Galway's estimable cousin, the young Duke of Bedford, then came forward and presented a petition from the Earl. The Clerk read it, and it was to the effect that the Petitioner, being informed that matters which very much concerned him were inserted in the Journals of the House, prayed their lordships to give him time to put in his answer before they came to a determination. A similar petition from Lord Tyrawley was presented by the Marquis of Dorchester. This reasonable request was objected to by Major-General Lord North and Grey, who said, "The Lords Galway and Tyrawley ought to have put in their answers to Lord Peterborough's paper, instead of petitioning for time, which looked like delay." But the reader sees that the Generals had had only one clear day, viz., Wednesday, to collect their references and compose their replies. The Duke of Devonshire said that the petitions should be granted, as a censure upon the two lords might follow upon the motion which had been tabled. The Earl of Rochester observing that the petitions were improper both as to matter and time, Lord Somers replied, that the petitions were neither improper nor given in at any improper time; that it would be too late for the petitioners to apply to the Lords after they were come to a resolution; and it was but natural justice that men in danger of being censured should have time to justify themselves. Lord Cowper concurred; he said that in things essential to justice, the ordinary forms of courts of judicature ought to be observed. On the same side was the Earl of Wharton, who remarked, A censure is a punishment; to punish men without giving them an opportunity to make their defence is equal to banishment; I hope the subjects of England are not yet reduced to that. The Duke of Buckingham held that proceedings might be stopped to hear a party in questions as to property but not as to reputation; yet as a concession, if the petitions were withdrawn, he would move that the two lords be called in and heard. The Earl of Poulett said, They have been heard already. The Earl of Godolphin answered, There is new matter, and an imputation. Lord Halifax said, "Sir George Rooke was heard for three days;* pray, my lords, proceed according to the rules of justice; out of affectation of avoiding delays and not going fast enough, we have been going too fast and must return to the point."

Such equitable and courteous views were overruled. The reader must perceive that the new government-lords required lessons in politeness. No importation of good manners, however, came from Scotland along with the metaphysics lately noticed. The Duke of Argyle said, I don't know what service it would do to the petitioning lords to have time, and to say

* 1703, Feb. 16.—The Lords, having examined into the expedition to Cadiz, resolved that Sir George Rooke had done his duty, pursuant to the councils of war, like a brave officer, to the honour of the English Nation.

to this House that they differed from the House. And the Earl of Mar exclaimed, "I do not wonder that some persons endeavour to shuffle and prolong the debate; but if we grant these petitions, we may be afterwards desired to postpone this enquiry till Mr Stanhope can be heard." The view which carried the day was expressed by the Earl of Nottingham, "The petitioners have already been heard and been allowed time to add anything to their former declarations. The lords are not now enquiring into facts, but forming their judgments upon them. The admitting of Lords Galway and Tyrawley to take notice of what passes in this House would be admitting them to a co-ordination with the Lords." The petitions were rejected by a majority of 57 to 46.

The Duke of Argyle said, "I take for granted that the petitioners are out of the way and not to be found;" this was ascertained by sending an officer to the door. Lord Poulett's motion was then taken up as the question before the house. It was as follows:—"That the Earl of Galway, Lord Tyrawley, and General Stanhope, insisting at a conference held at Valencia, sometime in January 1708, in the presence of the King of Spain, and the Queen's name being used in maintenance of their opinion, for an offensive war, contrary to the King of Spain's opinion and that of all the general officers and public ministers, except the Marquis das Minas; and the opinion of the Earl of Galway, Lord Tyrawley, and General Stanhope being pursued in the operations of the following campaign, was the unhappy occasion of the Battle of Almanza, and one cause of our misfortunes in Spain, and of the disappointment of the Duke of Savoy's expedition before Toulon concerted with her Majesty." Lord Peterborough took a leading part in the debate. His account of the councils having been adopted by the House on Tuesday, without waiting for Lord Galway's explanations, and the ministry being determined to hurry on to a division, the generals' friends did not take up the narrative portion of the motion, but confined the attention of the House to the query, whether the relief of Toulon by the French was a consequence of the victory at Almanza.

The Duke of Marlborough clearly proved that Lord Peterborough had been only a volunteer negociator with the rulers of Savoy, who had amused him with two delusions: first, that he was regarded as the spring of the movement against Toulon; and next, that his plan for employing troops from Spain was approved of. But the actual expedition against Toulon was an old secret, to which Lord Peterborough, like the army and the public at large, was not admitted, in pursuance of the Duke of Savoy's earnest request that the design should be kept very secret. The Duke of Marlborough having been a party to the real negotiation, could inform the house that to take troops from Spain was no part of the plan. "And," said the Duke, in conclusion, "the attempt upon Toulon did not miscarry for want of men (since there were nearly 17,000 left behind in Italy) but for want of time and other accidents." This was sufficient to upset the motion. However, the government, having a majority, forced on the censure of the generals, which was carried by 64 to 43. Here we may quote from a printed paper Lord Galway's own remarks on the Toulon question. "The Earl of Peterborough is pleased to add as a reason for his opinion, 'That the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene had declared their sentiments for a defensive war at that time in Spain, and had communicated their thoughts to Charles III. upon that subject, to the certain knowledge of the Earl of Peterborough, as he can make appear by authentic papers from the King of Spain.' I shall not take upon me to deny a matter of fact which his Lordship so positively affirms, but I have been credibly informed that the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Godolphin did both of them assure this most honourable house, that the true project against Toulon was not concerted by the Earl of Peterborough, Prince Eugene, and the Duke of Savoy, but first set on foot in Flanders by the Duke of Marlborough with Count Maffei, and was finished in England with the Counts Maffei and Briançon [agents of the Duke of Savoy], but did not require that any troops should be sent from Spain, nor was ever communicated to the Earl of Peterborough—which indeed his Lordship seems to be aware of, when he says, not long after, that the project against Toulon, as settled by him, had been so altered, that the Duke of Savoy publicly declared his dislike of engaging in it. And yet it is most certain that His Royal

Highness did engage in an attempt against Toulon, pursuant to the project concerted in England. Though that attempt did not prove entirely successful, it had a very good effect, for thereby a great body of the enemy's troops were diverted from acting elsewhere; and a considerable damage was done to the fleet and magazines of France."

Against the decisions to refuse the general's petition for more time, and to censure them for their opinion given in a council of war, thirty-six lords protested, namely:—

- Charles Montague, Lord (afterwards Earl of) Halifax.
- John Ashburnham, 3d Lord Ashburnham (afterwards Earl).
- Lieut.-General Charles Mohun, 3d and last Lord Mohun.
- William Wake, Bishop of Lincoln (afterwards Abp. of Canterbury).
- 5. Charles Trimmell, Bishop of Norwich (afterwards of Winchester).
- Sidney Godolphin, 1st Earl of Godolphin, K.G.
- Lieut.-General Richard Lumley, 1st Earl of Scarborough.
- Henry de Grey, Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Kent, K.G.
- Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Sarum.
- 10. Richard Cumberland, Bishop of Peterborough.
- Wriothesley Russell, 2d Duke of Bedford, K.G.
- Admiral James Berkeley, 3d Earl of Berkeley.
- William Cavendish, 2d Duke of Devonshire, K.G.
- Thomas Wharton, Earl (afterwards Marquis) of Wharton.
- 15. Admiral Edward Russell, 1st Earl of Orford.
- John Moore, Bishop of Ely.
- John Tyler, Bishop of Llandaff.
- Thomas Watson Wentworth, 2d Earl of Rockingham.
- John Hervey, Lord Hervey (afterwards Earl of Bristol).
- 20. Lionel Sackville, 7th Earl of Dorset (afterwards Duke).
- John Hough, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (afterwards of Worcester).
- Scroop Egerton, 3d Earl of Bridgewater (afterwards Duke).
- Henry Clinton, 7th Earl of Lincoln.
- Henry Herbert, 6th Lord Herbert of Chisbury.
- 25. John Sidney, 6th Earl of Leicester.
- Thomas Grey, 2d Earl of Stamford.
- Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Bart., Bishop of Winchester.
- William Nicholson, Bishop of Carlisle (afterwards of Derry).
- William Fleetwood, Bishop of St. Asaph (afterwards of Ely).
- 30. Captain-General John Churchill, 1st Duke of Marlborough, K.G.
- Colonel Maurice Thompson, 2d and last Baron Haversham.
- Charles Spencer, 3d Earl of Sunderland.
- John Evans, Bishop of Bangor (afterwards of Meath).
- John Somers, Lord Somers and Ex-Chancellor.
- Evelyn Pierrepont, Marquis of Dorchester (afterwards Duke of Kingston-upon-Hull).
- 36. William Cowper, Lord Cowper and Ex-Chancellor (afterwards Earl).

The motion to censure the late ministry, proposed by the Earl of Scarsdale, was carried next day by 68 to 48. During the debate the abused statesmen not only defended themselves, but took occasion to justify Lord Galway and his comrades, in spite of last night's vote. The Earl of Sunderland said, "It was the general opinion and desire of the nation that the Earl of Galway should march again to Madrid, and all the ministry then were unanimous in their opinion for an offensive war. Many inconveniences might have attended the dividing of the army." The Duke of Marlborough, after repeating that troops from Spain formed no item of the projected armament against Toulon, said, "As for the war in Spain, it was the general opinion of England that it should be offensive. And as to my lord Peterborough's projects, I can assure your lordships that one of the greatest instances that Holland and Savoy made was, that the Emperor and we should not insist upon an expedition to Naples which might hinder the other design. My lords, my intentions were always honest and sincere to contribute all that lay in my power to bring this heavy and expensive war to an end. God Almighty has blessed my endeavours with success. But if men are to be censured when they give their opinions to the best of their understandings, I must expect to be found fault with as well as the rest. My Lord Galway and everybody in Spain have done their duty. And though I must own that Lord has been unhappy, and that he had no positive orders for a battle, yet I

must do him the justice to say, that the whole council of war were of his opinion, to fight the enemy before the coming up of the Duke of Orleans with a reinforcement of ten or twelve thousand men. On the other hand, I must confess I do not understand how the separating of the army would have favoured the siege of Toulon."

The speaker was interrupted by the Earl of Peterborough, who said, "There was a necessity for dividing the troops to go to Madrid."

The Duke of Marlborough continued, "I will not contradict that Lord as to the situation of the country. But this separation of the army could not be in order to a defensive but to an offensive war—which, in my opinion, was the best way to make a diversion, and thereby hinder the French from relieving Toulon. But, after all, that unhappy battle had no other effect but to put us upon the defensive. For the French troops that were detached from Spain never came before Toulon."

The Duke of Shrewsbury admitted that the Lord Galway had a good reason to fight, because he could not help it. But that there was no reason for the ministers here to give that opinion, because nothing forced them to it.

The Duke of Devonshire urged, that since the allies could not subsist without fighting, it was unreasonable to censure the generals who gave their opinions for a battle. And Lord Somers said, that the ill success of the battle of Almanza was no good argument against the counsel for an offensive war, for if they judged of opinions by subsequent events, no man would be safe. The proceedings ended on this 12th day of January by the censure of the ex-ministers, as already stated.

As to Lord Galway, the votes amounted to no real censure, opinions given in a council of war being privileged. The Harley-Bolingbroke ministry, therefore, were anxious to carry some other vote, which the outer world might believe to be a censure. The reader will remember that the Portuguese formed the right wing at the battle of Almanza; this post of honour they occupied during the whole war, both in their own country and in Spain. It seemed to the semi-Jacobite lords, on Wednesday the 17th, that a vote to blacken Lord Galway might be got out of this, and they sent him a summons to appear at their bar on Monday the 22d. The cotemporary papers inform us:—"My Lord Galway being indisposed with rheumatism and the gout, and therefore unable to obey that order, the Lords sent him a question in writing, namely, Why, whilst he commanded the British forces in Spain, he gave the right to the Portuguese? To this the Earl of Galway sent an answer, importing that by the treaty with Portugal, the troops of that crown were to have the right in their own country; and that in order to engage them to march to Madrid, he was obliged to allow them the same honour; for otherwise they would never have stirred out of Portugal." This motion was therefore concocted, and solemnly proposed, "That the Earl of Galway, in yielding the post of her Majesty's troops to the Portuguese in Spain, acted contrary to the honour of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain." On a division, there voted 64 for it, and 44 against it. The minority were either so indignant at the tyranny of the majority, or so sarcastic as to *John Bull's* notion that all other nations are beneath the English, that some expressions were found in their protest which enabled the majority to order that protest to be expunged.

Alluding to this persecution, Mr Withers, of Exeter, printed the following sentiments:—"My Lord Galway—an aged general, maimed and covered with honourable wounds, is by birth a foreigner, by sentiments and inclinations an honest Englishman, a gentleman of rare and eminent qualities, that equally render him proper for the cabinet or field. After having given the most shining proofs of an extraordinary conduct and valour upon a thousand occasions, he had the misfortune to lose the battle of Almanza, if a man can be said to lose a battle who purchases an immortal stock of honour to himself and troops under his command. The Duke of Berwick, though with triple numbers, with great difficulty obtained the advantage. And if the Portuguese horse had that day done their duty, and not run away at the

* Secret History of the Late Ministry (London 1715), p. 233.

first charge, and so left their confederate troops naked and exposed in flank to the insult of the enemy, they (with all the disadvantage and disparity of numbers) would have gained a battle little inferior to any of our former, if we judge from what they had performed when they were covered." Wodrow notes, in his *Analecta*, January 1711—"By a letter dated the close of this month, from London, I find that the House of Lords carry everything before them against the old ministry. Galway is challenged for giving the post of honour to the Portuguese, though he had it in commission that they should command; and this they carry by twenty votes, whereof eighteen are our Scots lords. So the Whigs in England come to see their great mistake in the Union. For it's plain the crown may manage our Scots elections as they please; £20,000 or £30,000 will make them every way as they will."

SEC. 16—THE EARL OF GALWAY AGAIN IN RETIREMENT.

A pamphlet was published in defence of "The Earl of Galway's conduct in Portugal and Spain," but it was not by himself. It was a reprint of facts, as published in the periodical "Annals of Queen Anne," and may have been edited by the annalist, Abel Boyer. Officers had probably corresponded with him during the war, and now assisted him in editing and pre-facing his compilation. The preface represents Lord Galway as justifying his silence on the occasion by quoting a sentence from St Evremond:—"Those in whose power it is to do all they please are not so severe upon us as otherwise they might be, when they see us patiently submit to their decisions; opposition only inflames their resentment without lessening their power; but upon a change either of interest or of humour, a man is extolled to the skies for that very thing which occasioned his disgrace."

Lord Galway again settled at Rookley. He now resigned his Colonelcy of the Dutch Guards. In March of this year, Louis XIV. gave the Ruvigny estate in France to Cardinal Polignac, but our hero had freely and finally surrendered it long ago.

His return to live among his affectionate relations was soon clouded by a severe bereavement. The Duke of Bedford, only son of Lady Russell, died on the 26th May (1711) in his 31st year. The fatal disease being small-pox, she had insisted upon being the only relative in attendance. As soon as possible she wrote to her cousin:—

"Alas! my dear Lord Galway, my thoughts are yet all disorder, confusion, and amazement; and I think I am very incapable of saying or doing what I should. I did not know the greatness of my love to his person, till I could see it no more. When nature, who will be mistress, has in some measure, with time, relieved herself, then, and not till then, I trust the Goodness which hath no bounds, and whose power is irresistible, will assist me by His grace to rest contented with what His unerring providence has appointed and permitted. And I shall feel ease in this contemplation, that there was nothing uncomfortable in his death, but the losing him. His God was, I verily believe, ever in his thoughts. Towards his last hours he called upon Him, and complained he could not pray his prayers. To what I answered he said he wished for more time to make up his accounts with God. Then with remembrance to his sisters, and telling me how good and kind his wife had been to him, and that he should have been glad to have expressed himself to her, said something to me of my double kindness to his wife, and so died away.

"There seemed no reluctance to leave this world, patient and easy the whole time, and, I believe, knew his danger; but loath to grieve those by him, delayed what he might have said. But why all this? The decree is past. I do not ask your prayers; I know you offer them with sincerity to our Almighty God for Your afflicted kinswoman,

"June, 1711.

R. RUSSELL."

The poor mother was, on the 31st October of the same year, bereaved of her daughter

Catherine, Duchess of Rutland.* The Duke having in the ensuing summer made an offer of marriage to the lady who became his second wife, Lady Russell felt some natural emotion, and confided it to her kinsman. From her letter dated 5th August 1712, I need extract only the preface,—“My Lord, I have been for some weeks often resolved, and as soon unresolved, if I would or would not engage upon a subject I cannot speak to without some emotion, but I cannot suffer your being a stranger to any that very near concerns me.” A long business letter follows, dated August 16, to the Earl of Galway,—

“The change of your secretary is much to the advantage of, the reader. It would be so to you, I conclude, if I did not choose to be my own; but when I write as I do to you, the amusement is more agreeable to myself, and I assure myself you will make it so to you, if you can find what I mean to say. . . . As to the point of education, I am sorry we are not of one mind; but there is no help where there is no remedy. There is an over-ruling Providence, and I try to hope her children shall be blessed. . . . Their father’s indulgence may hurt in their best part, but as to the worldly part, if he is honestly dealt with in the drawing up of writings, he puts it out of his power to prevent any attempt for it. Let that be as it will, these accidents in families have been, and no doubt will be while the world lasts. And if we are so happy as to secure our next and lasting stake, it matters little how this passes; yet flesh and blood shrinks at pain and want of ease in body or mind; and it is natural to do so. Who can do otherwise, but by an affected force? And in that is no virtue; but I leave this. You want no admonitions, I want the practice, though my years are many. Now, my Lord, I come to *my neighbour* Withers, as you call him.”

This rural piece of business would not be interesting to my readers. As to public affairs, Lord Galway wrote to congratulate the Duke of Marlborough in the autumn of 1711 on the surrender of Bouchain, and received the following answer, dated 5th Oct., 1711;—“My Lord, I have received fresh satisfaction from our success here, since it has afforded me an opportunity of knowing that your lordship is in health, and that I am in your remembrance: the continuance of both is what I shall always earnestly desire. I have received a paper from our old friend, St. Victor, which was brought me by a servant of his two days ago, but being unwilling to venture it by post, I shall keep it till we meet, which I hope may be by the end of the next month. I am, with great truth, my Lord, &c.

“MARLBOROUGH.”

Lord Godolphin died 5th Sept., 1712.

During the remainder of Queen Anne’s reign, we meet with Lord Galway chiefly in Lady Russell’s letters. In 1712 she wrote to him in these terms:

“I can thankfully reflect I have felt many (I may say, many) years of pure and (I trust) innocent content, and happy enjoyments as this world can afford, particularly that biggest blessing of loving and being loved by those I loved and respected: on earth no enjoyment certainly to be put in balance with it. All other are like wine, intoxicates for a time, but the end is bitterness, at least not profitable. Mr Waller (whose picture you look upon) has, I long remember, these words:—

All we know they do above,
Is that they sing and that they love.

The best news I have heard is, you have two good companions with you, which, I trust, will contribute to divert you this sharp season, when after so sore a fit as I apprehend you have felt, the air even of your improving pleasant garden cannot be enjoyed without hazard.”

Lord Galway having, as our readers well know, lost his right hand at Badajoz, employed a secretary to write to his dictation. He had formed the habit of writing his private memoranda with his left hand. And in sportive mood he executed an autograph letter to his venerable

* Lady Elizabeth Manners, one of the daughters of this Duchess became Viscountess Galway in 1727, her husband, John Monckton, Esq., being then made a Peer with the title of Viscount Galway—from whom have descended a line of Viscounts, Peers of Ireland and Members of the British House of Commons.

female cousin. This memento of his hardships and sufferings drew tears from the dear lady as well as smiles, and also the following note :—

“ Having scribbled a great deal but last post, there is reason I should be quiet this ; but the letter I have read under your own hand affects me so much, I cannot forbear to say your right hand was not more easy to be read. However, the chief errand of this is to require of you not to make a custom of it to me ; for if you will but take care, in case you are not well, that I hear by any hand how you are, in a line or two, I shall be best content ; and when I do not hear, believe your health pretty good at least. But your Lordship is so puffed up with the honours you receive from our sex, you must brag ! The more serious of your papers I shall say no more to than that, as it is written in a fair character, so I do with much ease read the words ; but, as you rightly observe, the difficulty lies in the practice. Yet neither you nor myself have the smiles of fortune too lavishly bestowed on us or to abide by us, as to draw our hearts or minds, as to choose and be fond of what the world at present affords us. But if, with the length of our days here, we can feel our desires and wills docible, willing to submit as to improve our best thoughts and performances, then our lives are granted as a blessing, as we may assure ourselves.

* * * * *
 “ Lord Galway’s truly affectionate cousin,
 “ & humble servant,

R. RUSSELL.”

As to Lord Galway’s handwriting, collectors of autographs can observe that after 1705 his signature is legible but feeble.

I shall, in another part of this work, speak of the release from the French galleys of Protestant martyrs, on the intercession of Queen Anne. A letter from Lord Galway to Reverend Monsieur De la Mothe (which is in my possession), dated “ Stratton, 13 July [1713],” proves that some of them were then on their way from Marseilles to Geneva, and the rest were expected to get their liberty soon. For the comfort in Geneva of those exiles, whom he calls “ nos confesseurs,” “ nos pauvres frères,” and “ ces pauvres confesseurs,” Lord Galway gave a donation of £100.

Early in October 1714, Lieut.-General Stanhope (who had been made a principal Secretary of State on September 27th) introduced the Earl of Galway to King George I., as the bearer of an address from the French Protestant Refugees of London. His lordship having presented it, His Majesty was pleased to return the following answer :—“ I thank you for the zeal which you have shown for the Protestant succession, and you may depend upon my protection.” At the same time the Earl of Galway presented to His Majesty a humble address of the Protestants released from the galleys of France, which His Majesty received very graciously.

SEC. 17.—THE EARL OF GALWAY AGAIN A LORD JUSTICE OF IRELAND, ALSO HIS FINAL RETIREMENT AND DEATH.

At the beginning of the new reign, Lord Galway’s name was re-united to Irish affairs in the following circumstances. The Irish Jacobite Chancellor, Sir Constantine Phipps, had endeavoured to pack several Parliaments by means of schemes for forcing disloyal magistrates upon the municipal corporations, and had issued orders for subverting the constitutions of the cities and towns. He was backed by a report, or legal opinion, in favour of his view, which was signed by eight judges, and was approved by the Lord Primate and himself, in their capacity of Lords Justices, also by many Privy Councillors. But Queen Anne dying, King George removed the aforesaid public men from office, and dissolved the Irish Privy Council. A new Council was gazetted, and among the fifty-six names we observe Henry, Earl of Galway. This was one of the first acts of the new government.

A letter of this period from Lady Russell gives a pleasing glimpse of his life in the country :—

“ There is no post day I do not find myself really disposed to take my pen and dispose of it as I now do ; but there is not one of those days I do not also approve to myself, how mean my ability is to entertain, as I desire, such a relation and friend as Lord Galway. Yet I put my mind at ease soon enough as to that trouble, being so certain and sure as I am how you will receive it.

* * * * * * *

“ Selwood* tells me your appearance is very comfortable, and if I get to Hampshire I trust I shall see it so. Sure, this season is a trial ; for although it is a customary thing to complain of seasons, yet in my opinion this is an extraordinary one. . . . From the first day of March to this, there hath not been twenty-four hours without much rain, snow, or hail. . . .

“ April 14, 1715.

R. RUSSELL.”

Four months after this, Lord Galway was surprised in his snugery at receiving an offer of active employment in Ireland. His acceptance of office was probably pressed upon him by his friends, to give public proof to friends† and enemies at home and abroad, that he was never disgraced indeed, but only in form. We may safely say that he was inclined to show some forwardness in exhibiting a strong adherence to the new dynasty. An ardent Williamite was, by necessity, like instinct, a zealous Hanoverian.

Immediately after the displacement of Phipps and his colleagues, the Earl of Sunderland had been appointed Viceroy. But Ireland appeared a penal settlement to him, and he never embarked for it, alleging bad health as his excuse. Yet, as Dr Killen testifies, “ the critical circumstances in which Ireland was now placed, rendered it necessary that the government should be committed to more experienced and energetic hands than those who now hold it under the Earl of Sunderland.” The Jacobite rebellion had broken out in Scotland, and a few of the Irish Peers were about to support it with volunteer troops. At last the Gazette announced, 23d August 1715, that Charles, Earl of Sunderland, having resigned the post of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the Duke of Grafton and the Earl of Galway were appointed Lord Justices of that kingdom. The “ Annals” say, “ Without entering into the times and particulars of their being nominated, their preparations, travelling to Chester, shipping off, &c., it is sufficient to say that they arrived at Dublin the 1st of November 1715, were received with the usual solemnities, and immediately applied themselves to the proper duties of that great office, and to set to rights the affairs of that great country, which they found in confusion enough.”

On the 12th, the House of Commons having chosen William Conolly, Esq., as their Speaker, the Lord Justices made a speech to both Houses ; the speech was delivered by the Duke of Grafton, the young and ornamental Lord Justice, but the really responsible statesman was Lord Galway. His ever-green spirit makes Dr Killen (who continued Dr Reid’s History with fully equal ability) unable to recognise him. We seem to hear the doctor say, “ This cannot be the Ruvigny of last century.” And so he is introduced as “ the Earl of Galway, a general in the army.” Nevertheless it was our old friend. Another old friend, Lord Tyrawley, was the Commander of the Forces in Ireland. The Vice-regal speech artfully made use of the rising in Scotland, as implying that the Jacobites regarded their cause to be hopeless in Ireland. Several regiments were sent to North Britain, and their place was supplied by militia, as “ a singular instance of the great confidence His Majesty places in the fidelity and good affection of his loyal subjects in Ireland.” The speech from the throne requested “ all reason-

* Thomas Sellwood (born 1682) was agent both to Lady Russell and to Lord Galway, and first editor of Lady Russell’s Letters.

† Apres la paix d’Utrecht, il recut, pour recompense de ses services, l’emploi d’haut Justicier d’Irlande.—“ Weiss,” Book III. Chap. II.

sonable despatch." The desired quickness of despatch was shown. On the 25th of the same month, the Lords Justices were enabled to pass several Acts of the Parliament, particularly one for recognising King George's title to the throne of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; and another Act for attainting the Duke of Ormond. The next business was the subjugation of the Phipps faction. On the 11th December, a military pension of £500 a-year was granted to Lord Galway, in addition to his civil pension of £1000. Thus an atonement was made to him for past wrongs.

Having earned and spent their Christmas holidays, the Members of Parliament resumed business in January 1716. Some ready writer had found time to compose and publish a review of their recent proceedings, under the title of "A Long History of a Short Sessions of a Certain Parliament of a Certain Kingdom." This account or fabrication was censured by the Commons. About the 30th instant, the Irish Parliament entered into an Association to defend King George's title against the Pretender and all his adherents. And in February, Trinity College, Dublin, chose George, Prince of Wales, to be their chancellor. The Princess of Wales had presented to the French Church of Portarlinton "rich and massive plate for the communion service, and a finely-toned church bell, which preserve to the present day the memory of that royal lady's generous piety." The inscription on the bell states that the giver is the Princess—"Promovente illustrissimo Comite Henrico de Galloway."

The Vice-regal speech strongly recommended unity among Protestants. In Ulster, however, the jealousy of some Episcopalians was constantly ready to boil over. On the ground that the house of one of their clergymen, who was generally suspected to be a Jacobite, had been searched, and also two houses where reverend gentlemen were visitors, the Archbishop of Armagh and the Bishop of Down and Connor complained to the Lords Justices that the clergy of the diocese of Connor were vexatiously visited by officers of justice, and that the Presbyterians were the main instigators and actors in this persecution. The memorial was referred to the Judges of Assize for the north-east circuit of Ulster on the 22d March, 1716 (new style), who placed it before the Grand Jury at Carrickfergus. The Grand Jury expressed their surprise "that matters of so public a nature should happen in this county without the knowledge of any of us;" nevertheless they went into the inquiry thoroughly. And the Judges reported to the Lords Justices that no clergyman's house had been searched before the 1st of February 1716—that all searches were with warrants and by authorised officers—that no Dissenting teacher was concerned in promoting or executing the warrants—that, as to the established clergy, only the Rev. Geoffrey Fanning's house was searched for arms—and as to the houses of the inhabitants of the County of Antrim, those baronies alone were searched which joined the sea-coast opposite to Scotland, and in or near to the estate of the Earl of Antrim, then a prisoner in the Castle of Dublin, and after the Pretender was landed in Scotland.

The Lords Justices and the Commons strained every nerve to obtain the legal toleration of the Presbyterians, whose loyalty and bravery were uniformly so conspicuous and serviceable. They were vigorously encouraged by Secretary Stanhope, but the Lords Spiritual of Ireland defeated them. I may here mention that at the end of the session the House of Commons passed two resolutions on this subject. The first was unanimous, and the second was agreed to without a division. First, that such of His Majesty's Protestant Dissenting subjects as have taken commissions in the militia, or acted in the commission of array, have done a seasonable service to His Majesty's person and government, and the Protestant interest in this kingdom. Secondly, that any person who shall commence a prosecution against any Dissenter, who has accepted or shall accept of a commission in the army or militia, is an enemy of King George and the Protestant interest, and a friend of the Pretender.

To return to the month of January, the House of Commons resolved that whatever forces His Majesty should think fit to raise, and whatever expenses His Majesty should think necessary for the defence of this kingdom, they would enable him to make good the same. By order of the Lords Justices, a camp was marked out at or near Athlone, where, besides some regular troops, a good body of the newly-regulated militia was ordered to encamp, being all

armed out of the King's stores. The "Annals" mention one item, 10,000 firelocks, with proportion of powder and ball.

The House of Commons having given the Lords Justices unlimited power to borrow money for His Majesty's service, their Lordships, on the 10th of May, reported that they had borrowed £50,000; and gave an account of their payments as a return for the confidence of the House. As to this the Parliament said, in an address to the King, dated June 4th, "Your faithful Commons, notwithstanding the poverty of this kingdom, entrusted your wise and excellent government with an unprecedented and unlimited vote of credit." After a session of "unusual length," the Lords Justices, on the 25th of June, prorogued the Parliament. Besides the Duke of Ormond and the Earl of Antrim, the disaffected Peers against whom they took effectual proceedings were the Earl of Westmeath, Viscounts Netterville and Dillon, and Lord Cahir. During this brief but eventful Viceroyalty, Ireland seemed to outdo England in loyalty, to the surprise of historians. Like Ruvigny's brigade at Aughrim, the Hanoverians bore down all before them, the same Ruvigny being at their head.

All Lord Galway's doings seem to have been sanctioned in London except one. At the request of several aged refugees, who expected soon to leave widows, he erased their own names from the pension-list, and substituted the names of their wives and unmarried daughters. The government struck out all those ladies' names, and thus the pensions were lost to the veteran heads of their families. Lord Galway had rejoiced to oblige among others the Rev. James de la Fontaine, who, for volunteer land and sea service, had been pensioned with 5s. a-day in 1705 by the Duke of Ormond. His wife at 1s., and his two daughters each at 2s. a-day, were among the new and rejected names; but as a singular favour Fontaine himself was reinstated.

A political crisis unexpectedly occurred in the English court. "Whatever was the cause, the fact was" (say the "Annals"), "that on the 12th December, in the morning, we were surprised in London with the news that the Lord Viscount Townshend was no more Secretary of State." Notwithstanding, "he seemed for some time to keep his interest in his Prince's favour, seeing it was immediately resolved to make him Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in the room of the Duke of Grafton and Lord Galway, who were about that time dismissed."

Though we are unable either to affirm or to deny that there was any grievance in the manner, there can have been nothing unpleasant to Lord Galway in the fact of his being relieved from public service. His spirited rule had been carried on amidst frequent bodily suffering, as may be inferred from a letter from Lady Russell which he received in Dublin, and from which I quote what follows:—

"The merciful providence of God it is our duty to pray for and trust in; then it shall be well in the end, in this world or a better. I beseech God to give the consolation of His Holy Spirit to enable you to struggle with bodily pains. Your resignation I have no doubt of; but nature will shrink when the weight is heavy, and presses hard. . . .

"I also pray to God to fortify your spirit under every trial, till eternity swallows all our troubles, all our sorrows, all our disappointments, and all our pains in this life. The longest, how short to eternity! All these ought to be my own care to improve my weak self, as the fortitude of your mind, experience, and knowledge does to you. . . .

"I am certain of this being a truth that I am faithfully and affectionately yours.

"May 28, 1716.

R. RUSSELL."

The statement that Lord Galway spent the last years of his life in Portarlington is a mistake. He left Ireland in 1716, and returned to Rookley. His name does not again appear in a public document, except in 1718, in the charter given by King George to the French Hospital in London. In Lady Russell's letters we meet with him as formerly. That kind cousin, to amuse the invalid statesman's mind, wrote a letter in French, which he duly received and praised. The following was the rejoinder:—

"As the fine season continues (for such I esteem a hot one) I slacken in my scribbling.

The pure air alone abundantly exceeds my tattle under the roof, though very well meant to you, whether sent in the French or English tongue. But although your Lordship spoke as well as you possibly could do of my French, if you did it to encourage my use of it, you will be under a small disappointment, for I intend to keep my credit and meddle no more (unless unthinking, as I really did then), and occasion no discord between us. Any partiality for that country you have discharged sufficiently long since, and the time is come to do the like to this we at present live in. That there is a more sure abiding one, is the believing Christian's comfort, and to attain that grace our daily endeavour. * * * *

"June 19 [1717]. "I am, my Lord, ever the same,

R. RUSSELL."

With similar fondness she writes during that winter :

When I scribble to Lord Galway, I consider very little what I put down, as I am secure by God's grace never to forfeit your love and esteem ; and till I lose that, have no fear that I shall lose them ; in that point my mind is at ease. I exceedingly desire your body were so ; but the providences permitted by Almighty God can never be hurtful to His faithful servants, though painful. Alas ! what are days, months, or years (to his elected) to a happy eternity ? In such a thought your soul and heart may rejoice I verily believe ; and so believe, as to desire I may find grace, as I believe you will do in the great day when the sentence shall be pronounced."

The last letter in her published correspondence is to Lord Galway and concludes thus :—
"To-morrow your health will not be omitted, daughter Devon and Mr Charlton being to dine here ; as I hope to do with yourself at Rookley, and also at old Stratton, where you will be kindly welcome, as I am entirely assured I shall be at your Rookley. God for the good that you do to mankind, grant you some easy years to do good upon earth, before you change for a happy eternity. So does desire and pray Lord Galway's truly affectionate cousin, and faithfully such, to gratifie to the utmost of her ability,

February 13, 1718 [new style.]

R. RUSSELL."

Threescore and ten of such years as Lord Galway had lived might seem to negative too plainly any such wish as the one expressed in the above letter ; but it must be remembered that Lady Russell was twelve years his senior.

It was when on a visit at Stratton House, that the "good Earl of Galway"* was summoned to his rest. He probably sank under the "bodily pains" to which he was so long subject—namely, gout and rheumatism. His mind was entire to the last. He died on the 3d September 1720, aged 72. He was the last of his family. Lady Russell was his nearest surviving relative, and became his heiress at the age of 84. The property of Stratton has passed out of Russell hands ; and Lord Galway's gravestone cannot now be recognised. There is the following entry in the East Stratton Register of Burials in Micheldever Churchyard, Hampshire :—

HENRY, EARL OF GALWAY

Died Sept. 3rd,

Was buried Sept. 6, 1720.

John Imber,

Curate of Stratton.

* I take this soubriquet from a letter to Lady Russell from Bishop Hough, who himself was long remembered as the good Bishop of Worcester. He concluded with a message of courtesy, "I beg leave to present my most humble service to good Lord Galway." He had protested against the Bill for the Irish Forfeitures' Commission, with the signature "Jo. Oxon'"—and against the censure of the generals as "Jo. Litch' & Cov'." He was translated to Worcester in 1717.

In anticipation of death he had made his will on the 30th of August. The Probate Court required a separate deposition from each of the four witnesses to the signature and execution of the will. The evidence of each was in almost the same words. Being of a biographical tenor, one of the depositions may be here inserted :—

“28th November, 1720.—Appeared personally John Imber of Stratton, in the county of Southampton, clerke, aged twenty-seven years, and being sworne upon the Holy Evangelists to depose the truth, did swear and depose as followeth. That he, this deponent, knew, and was acquainted with the Right Honourable Henry, late Earle and Viscount Gallway deceased, for the space of about three years before his death, and performed the office of chaplain to his Lordshipp in the time of his last sickness, whereof he dyed. And also saith that, on or about the 30th August, 1720, he, this deponent, was called in to bear witness to the said late Earl's will, he being then in his chamber in the House of the Right Honourable the Lady Russell at Stratton, in the County of Southampton aforesaid, where the Original hereto annexed was then produced ready written, and the said late Earle did then sign, seal, publish, and declare the said Will, as and for his last Will and Testament, in the presence of him, this deponent, Daniel Cæsar Pegorier, Thomas Sellwood, and Everard Persevell, whose names appear to be thereto subscribed, and who so severally subscribed their names as witnesses thereto, at the same time, and in the presence of the said deceased, and at his request. And this deponent further saith, that the said late Earle was, at all and singular the premisses of sound and perfect mind and memory, and talked and discoursed very rationally and sensibly.”

Mr Pegorier, another witness, described himself as Lord Galway's chaplain; and the fact was that he was his Lordship's private chaplain; but Mr Imber, being the curate in charge of the parish of Stratton, visited Stratton House, and occasionally gave assistance as a chaplain.

The accepting trustees were William, Duke of Devonshire, and Richard Vaughan, Esq. of Dorwith, in the county of Carmarthen. Of the other two, John, Duke of Rutland, declined to act, and John Charlton, Esq. of Totteridge, in Hertfordshire, was dead.

A P P E N D I X.

EXTRACTS FROM CAPTAIN-GENERAL, THE DUKE OF SCHOMBERG'S DESPATCHES.

No. 1.—*Highlake*, le 9 Aoust 1689.—Les vaisseaux de vivres destinés pour Londonderry et pour Kirck n'ont pu partir que ce matin. Ce qui cause bien de l'embaras est, qu'il n'y a pas d'ordre ici de l'Amirauté pour les vivres des vaisseaux de guerre qui sont presque finis ; il a fallu en prendre de nôtres. J'ai été forcé de faire donner presque, à tous les regiments cinq cent mousquets ou fusils, tant parce que les nouveaux soldâts les rompent, que parce qu'ils sont assez malfaits et fort vieux, et que peut-être Sieur Henry Shales, qui en a eu l'inspection, peut avoir pris des presents pour recevoir de méchantes armes.

No. 2.—*Carrickfergus*, le 26 Aoust 1689.—Je ne puis pas passer sous silence que Messieurs Goulon et Cambon m'ont donné beaucoup de peine. Il se trouve que le premier est un peu brutal, et que le dernier est chicanier sur ses mathématiques ; à cela ce joint une ancienne rancune qu'ils ont l'un contre l'autre depuis Hollande. Je les ai pourtant un peu pressés de demeurer à leur devoir, et que ce qu'on ne leur souffriroit pas en France, ou ils ont servi, je ne leur suffrirois pas aussi ici. Cambon m'ayant dit qu'il ne vouloit pas servir d'Ingénieur, je lui ai répondu qu'on se pourroit passer de lui aussi bien d'être Colonel d'un regiment Francois, et s'il ne se tenoit point en son devoir j'en avertirois Votre Majesté.

No. 3.—*Carrickfergus*, le 27 Aoust 1689.—Je crois qu'il faudra laisser ici Sir Henry Inglesby, avec son regiment qui n'est pas des meilleurs. J'avois eu quelque dessein de le faire Brigadier, mais j'ai trouvé qu'il y a trop long temps qu'il est hors d'action. J'ai fait servir dans ce siège Mr de la Melonnière comme Brigadier ; nous aurions besoin encore de quelques autres, mais je n'en vois point dans cette armée ici. On m'a dit que dans les regiments qui sont avec Kirck, le Colonel Stewart pourroit y être propre. Votre Majesté me mandera sur tous les deux sa volonté, car jusques à ici il a fallu avoir tout le soin des vivres, des vaisseaux, de l'artillerie, de la cavallerie, de tous les payemens, et de tout le détail de l'attaque de la place. Si on venoit plus près d'un ennemi, on auroit peine de fournir à tout cela ; les officiers de l'artillerie sont ignorans, paresseux et craintifs. Je découvre que dans cette artillerie il y a beaucoup de tromperie, les bombes mal-chargés, les canons d'une méchante fonte, les armes malfaites, et bien d'autres choses, qui sont trop longues à dire à Votre Majesté, à quoi je crois que Sieur Henry Shales a beaucoup contribué ; car jusques aux mineurs on ne les a pas pu attacher à la muraille ; un officier et quatre soldâts Francois l'ont entrepris, et en sont venus à bout, dont trois ont été blessés par nos gens. J'ai fait faire la charge de Quartier-Maître-General à Sieur de Cambon ; nous n'en avons pas de meilleur ici pour cela. Jusques ici les chevax et le bagage de nos officiers n'est point arrivé ; cela nous embarrassera, un peu pour avancer au dela de Belfast.

No. 4.—*Dundalk*, le 20 Sept. 1689.—Votre Majesté recevra par Mr de Schrabemor deux de mes mémoires, et s'il court la poste, elle sera encore mieux informée par lui. Depuis quatre jours qu'il est parti il ne s'est rien passé de considerable. On a fourragé à la vue de la garde des ennemis ; cela n'est pas fort difficile à faire, puisque c'est un pays traversé de petits marais, les chemins et les champs renfermés par des pierres et de la terre [*by stone-dykes and banks of earth*]. Je ne sais si cela est la cause que les ennemis n'ont pas avancé depuis quatre jours ; je crois qu'il est difficile d'en venir à un bataille en ce pays ici, quoiqu'ils aient une armée (à ce qu'on peut voir) fort étendue. Je ne vois pas de notre côté nous devons aussi rien hasarder. Nous avons une petite rivière devant nous, et eux une.

Etant allés ce matin trouver le Comte de Schonberg qui étoit assez prêche des vedettes des ennemis, nous avons vu avancer un gros de cavallerie qui ne marchoit point en escadron, qui nous a paru être le Roi Jacques ou divers Officiers Généraux. Ils ont dela pu voir notre camp ; mais je crois que ce qui leur aura le plus déplu est qu'ils ont vu arriver onze vaisseaux à la rade de Dundalk, par où ils auront pu juger qu'ils auront peine à nous affamer ici comme ils l'esperoient. Il est difficile de juger ce qu'ils entreprendront après avoir campé cinq jours

à deux milles de cette armée, avec un si grand nombre de monde qu'ils ont ramassé de tous côtés, et fait courir le bruit qu'ils venoient nous attaquer. Il y en a qui croient à présent que c'est pour détruire et manger tous les fourrages entre cette place et Drogheda, pour nous empêcher d'en pouvoir en suite approcher avec notre armée. Cela ne laissera pas de nous embarasser, et il sembleroit par la que s'ils demeureroient derrière Drogheda, ou ils trouveront de fourrage et des vivres, ils nous tiendront arrêtés sans beaucoup pouvoir avancer, et d'autant plus que Mr Shales ne nous a pas encore envoyé les chevaux, ni les chariots pour porter nos vivres. Il nous manque même une partie des chevaux de l'artillerie et des équipages d'officiers, comme aussi des Officiers François de Cavallerie, qui attend il y a long temps pour passer. Cependant la saison s'avance pour camper sous les tentes, et cela deviendra dans un mois assez difficile.

Deux cavalliers des ennemis, qui viennent de se rendre, disent qu'ils ont rencontré cinq de nos soldats qui alloient aux ennemis. Par les habillemens je juge que c'est de Mylord Meath. On dit que les ennemis sont assurés de deux de nos regiments, et que si nous en approchons ils s'iront rendre. S'ils pretendent nous affamer, ce ne sera pas à l'égard des hommes, nos vaisseaux étant arrivés dans cette Baie ; mais ce sera nos chevaux, par lesquels on se trouvera indubitablement dans un grand embarras. Ce matin un parti des ennemis est venu assez prêt de la garde ; un détachement de vingt-cinq dragons les ont repoussés, et leur ont tué un homme et un cheval. Ils sont fort au guet pour voir si nous fourrageons de leur côté.

Le regiment de dragons de Lucan est celui qui sert le mieux ici. Les troupes d'Enniskillen, qui sont en partie arrivées, paroissent de bonne volonté ; et je crois qu'il y aura plus de fond à faire sur elles que sur les regiments de Mylords Irlandois. Harbord est aussi arrivé ; nous allons travailler avec lui pour établir une paye pour ces troupes d'Enniskillen. Il vaudroit mieux casser quelques regiments de ces nouvelles levées d'Angleterre dont je viens de parler, et conserver tous les Enniskillens. J'espère que leurs habits viendront bientôt, ils paroîtront beaucoup mieux. Ils me paroissent tous fort-adroits à tirer, s'ils avoient des fusils. Ce que nous manquons le plus dans cette armée sont des souliers et fers-de-chevaux. Je souhairois que les troupes de Dannemark, et celles que Votre Majesté a ordonné qu'ils vissent d'Ecosse, fussent arrivées. Avec cela nous nous approcherions fort-près d'eux.

Il n'y a pas un officier de toute la cavallerie capable d'être employé comme Brigadier ; cependant le Comte de Schonberg auroit besoin d'en avoir un de quelque conduite pour en être soulagé. Si Sir Jean Lanier vient, il pourra en être aidé dans l'infanterie. On a été obligé pour tenir quelque ordre d'en établir quatre, savoir Sir Henry Bellasis, La Melonnière, Stuart et Sir John Stewart. Il faut aussi faire souvenir Votre Majesté, d'un article que j'ai mis dans mon memoire, de Robert Broadnax, Major du regiment de Mylord Delamere ; ce regiment déperit entièrement ; et le Major n'est pas digne de le commander, comme le Sieur de Schravemor le pourra dire à Votre Majesté qui l'a connu en Hollande. J'ai cru qu'il étoit bon d'envoyer à Votre Majesté un petit papier, ou elle verra les officiers que Mylord Delamere lui a mandé de remplacer au lieu de ceux qui manquent. Je tacherai de voir si demain je puis persuader le dit Broadnax de s'en aller trouver le Sieur Blathwait pour faire lui-même ses propositions ; et je crois qu'il sera bon qu'il ne retourne plus. Il y a bien encore d'autres officiers que je voudrois qu'ils fussent en Angleterre. Je n'en ai jamais vu de plus méchants et de plus intéressés ; tout le soin des Colonels n'est que de vivre de leurs regiments, sans aucune autre application.

No. 5.—21 Septembre.—Ce matin quelques escadrons des ennemis ont paru proche de ce camp, un marais entre-deux, et ensuite trois ou quatre regiments d'infanterie dont nous avons vu les drapeaux, et par leurs cris nous avons jugé que le Roi Jacques passoit devant leurs bataillons. Ces troupes-là ont demeuré à notre vue sur un coteau jusques à deux heures après-midi, lorsqu'elles ont commencé à se retirer. Je crois que dans tous ces mouvements-la il y a quelques desseins pour tâcher d'attirer quelques déserteurs de notre armée, ayant fait jeter même quantité de billets imprimés, Anglois et François. Cela m'a obligé d'examiner de plus-près les regiments d'infanterie François, et j'ai trouvé que la plupart des recrues, qu'on a fait des déserteurs du côté de Bruxelles et Frankfort, étoit des Papistes, et que parmi eux il s'en est trouvé un qui a été capitaine de cavallerie en France, lequel avoit écrit une lettre à Roi Jacques et une à Mr D'Avaux, qu'on a trouvé entre les mains qui les devoit porter. Leur procès sera fait demain. Après avoir découvert cela, et qu'il y avoit dans ces régimens quantité de Papistes qui avoient caché leur religion, j'en ai fait arrêter la nuit-passée plus de cent-vingt, que j'ai fait conduire à Carlingford pour les mettre dans les vaisseaux de guerre qui doivent retourner à Highlake, et j'ai écrit au Gouverneur de Chester de les garder sûrement jusqu'à ce que Votre Majesté en dispose ; ils mériteroient qu'on les envoyât aux Indes, comme ils ont envoyé les Protestans en Amérique. Non-obstant ce retranchement et cette examination, les bataillons ne laissent pas encore d'être plus forts que ceux des Anglois.

No. 6.—le 27 Septembre.—Mr Shales étant enfin arrivé à Carlingford, Mr Harbord et moi avons été d'avis d'attendre que nous le vissions parler, pour savoir ce qu'il a amené. L'on a été avant-hier au fourrage sans que les ennemis aient paru ; mais hier ils sont venus avec leur cavallerie et quelque infanterie brûler le fourrage qui restoit entre eux et nous sur leur droit tirant vers la mer. J'ai évité de faire ce fourrage apprehendant que toute leur cavallerie ne me tombât sur les bras, pendant que tous nos fourrageurs seroient epars dans la campagne. Ils l'ont même brûlé jusqu'assez proche de leur camp, et deux ou trois petits villages entre eux et nous (par ce qu'on peut apprendre de deux rendus). Ils ont aussi leurs manquemens. Le pain ne se peut pas donner régulièrement dans leur armée à tant de peuple ramassé, qui a cru qu'on en viendrait d'abord ici à une bataille. On ne peut pas bien conter sur tout cela, puisque (d'un autre côté) ce peuple ramassé vive encore de quelque bétail, et ils brûlent la paille ou est le grain, lequel parla se durcit, et en font de la farine et ensuite des galettes à

la mode du pays. Nos manquements jusqu'ici sont en habits et en souliers, ce que je crois contribuer autant à la maladie des soldats que la bière nouvelle, à quoi contribue grandement le peu de soin de leurs Colonels, quoique je leur en parle souvent. Cela m'a fait juger à propos de faire une revue à toute l'armée, afin que Mr Harbord puisse payer la-dessus. J'en enverrai l'état à Votre Majesté.

Ce que je puis juger de l'état de l'ennemi est que le Roi Jacques, ayant ramassé en ce royaume tout ce qu'il a pu, voudroit bien en venir à une bataille avant que ses troupes se pussent dissiper par la mauvaise saison dans laquelle nous allons entrer. Pour cela il me semble que nous devons tenir bride en main ici, si Votre Majesté l'approuve ainsi, puisqu'il nous doit encore arriver des troupes d'Ecosse et ceux de Danemark même ; et la même raison qui empêche les ennemis de pouvoir m'obliger à une bataille (puisque'il faut qu'ils viennent à moi par deux ou trois grands chemins seulement, le reste étant entrecoupé de marais) m'empêche aussi d'aller à eux, ayant une petite rivière et quelques montagnes devant eux. Si néanmoins ils opiniâtrent de demeurer en ce poste, le fourrage pour la cavallerie pourra nous manquer ; en ce cas je serai obligé d'en envoyer la plus grande part à vingt milles d'ici du côté de Charlemont, que je pourrai faire assiéger en même temps pour n'avoir rien derrière nous qui nous incommode ; et en me retranchant un peu mieux que je ne le suis encore, je pourrai bien demeurer en ce camp ici sans que les ennemis m'y puissent forcer.

L'armée du Roi Jacques, s'étant venue présenter diverses fois assez proche de ce camp, semble avoir eu quelqu'espérance que quelques troupes pourroient plus facilement s'aller rendre à lui. J'ai eu quelque soupçon du regiment de Mylord Meath, parcequ'ils s'étoient allés rendre quelques soldats les nuits auparavant. Pour m'ôter cette inquiétude le Colonel Woolsley m'a proposé d'envoyer ce regiment à Enniskillen et de faire venir un regiment de la en sa place.

No. 7.—à *Dundalk*, le 3 Octobre 1689.—Je suis de l'opinion de V.M. que l'armée ennemie ne nous attaquera pas ici ; mais il ne sera pas moins difficile que nous la puissions attaquer dans le poste où elle est. Elle est campée en deçà d'Ardee à une lieue de nous, une petite rivière devant elle. A trois ou quatre gués qu'il y a, ils ont fait des retranchements ; et je ne doute pas (comme V.M. le dit en sa lettre) que leur dessein est de couvrir Dublin et que le manque de fourrage nous obligera de reculer. Quand je n'aurai que l'infanterie seule avec moi, ils ne pourront pas me faire sortir d'ici ; mais je serai obligé dans peu de jours d'envoyer la plupart de la cavallerie, qui n'est pas en grand nombre, dans la Comté de Down, d'où en deux petites journées on la peut toujours avoir ici ; et comme il y a un gué au dessus de Carlingford, on peut même l'avoir en moins de temps. Les chevaux, par le couvert qu'ils y trouveront, se conserveront un peu mieux qu'ici, les officiers prenant (outre cela) peu de soin, laissant toujours aller leurs cavaliers à toute bride, et ne savant pas fourrager ni faire des troupes, ce qui a été cause que nous n'avons jamais pu faire de provisions plus que pour deux jours.

Pour ce qui est de pouvoir marcher aux ennemis, jusques ici cela ne s'est pas pu faire, n'ayant pas eu un seul chariot pour porter des vivres. Et quant à chemin qu'il faudra tenir, toutes gens du pays pourront dire à V.M. qu'on est toujours obligé de defiler par un grand chemin, des marais à droit et à gauche ; il ne s'est jamais vu un tel pays. Et pour pouvoir aller jusque' à Navan que V.M. verra sur la carte, il faut faire un fort grand tour, et les ennemis en deux petites journées de marche y arriveront deux jours devant nous. Par la gauche on ne peut point marcher que le long de leur rivière pour nous en empêcher le passage.

Il y a dans cette armée environ mille malades, compris quelques blessés qu'on a laissé à Belfast ; ils commencent à en revenir, et il en meurt peu. J'ai peine à croire que les ennemis n'aient aussi des malades, et qu'il ne leur coute plus de peine à porter leurs vivres de Dublin que nous de les tirer des vaisseaux qui sont ici proche, et à conserver ses troupes avec la monnaie de cuivre pendant que celle de V.M. est bien payée.

V.M. mande qu'elle envoie quelques troupes d'Ecosse ; pendant que celles là arriveront, peut-être celles de Danemarck viendront-elles. Par là on hasarderait moins en leur donnant une bataille, et la guerre s'en finiroit plus sûrement. Ce n'est peut-être pas l'opinion du conseil des Comités d'Irlande, ni de quelques personnes de Londres, qui croient qu'il n'y a que donner une bataille pour la gagner.

Monsieur Harbord s'est chargé d'envoyer à V.M. la revue que j'ai fait faire depuis deux jours de l'armée de V.M. Elle y paroitra plus nombreuse qu'elle n'est, les Colonels étant fort habiles en matière de montres. Quoique les troupes d'Enniskillen ne paroissent pas à cause de leurs habits, elles sont néanmoins assez vigoureuses ; elles ont défait quelques troupes des ennemis du côté de Boyle et Jamestown. Ce sera aussi Mr Harbord qui rendra compte à V.M. du traité que nous avons fait avec eux ; mais il me semble qu'ils ne s'en contentent pas, prétendants ne pouvoir servir à ce petit prix, ainsi que V.M. verra par un écrit qu'ils m'ont donné en présence du Sieur Harbord lequel s'est chargé de lui envoyer. J'ai donné le regiment de Norfolk à Mr Bellasis, ainsi que V.M. me l'a ordonné. Le Lieutenant-Colonel, qui est un jeune homme de ce nom, se plaint fort ; je l'ai exhorté de ne pas quitter, et que V.M. ferait quelque chose pour lui dans les premières occasions. Je dis hier à Mylord Meath que j'avois eu ordre exprès de V.M. de donner les regiments à ceux que je croirois les mieux appliqués au service, quand je verrois que leurs Colonels les négligent.

No. 8.—*Dundalk*, le 6 Octobre 1689.—V.M. pourra voir par le mémoire que j'ai écrit de ma main du quatre, que ces raisons-là m'ont fait penser à marcher vers la rivière de Shannon ; ce sera peut-être encore le meilleur de ce qu'on pourra faire, aumoins que d'aller chercher les ennemis et leur donner une bataille ; car il me paroît que V.M. est du sentiment que l'on les pousse, avant que cette armée déperisse par les maladies, ou que les secours qu'ils pourroient espérer de France viennent. J'aurais fort envie de faire les choses pour lesquelles V.M. montre plus de penchant, et j'aurais marché des demain ; mais (comme V.M. aura vu) par les avis des Officiers Generaux

que toute l'armée est sans souliers, et qu'on ne feroit pas deux journées de marche que la moitié demeureroit pied-nud, il faut attendre qu'ils nous en viennent d'Angleterre ou Mr Harbord a envoyé ; cela nous fait perdre l'occasion de marcher en même temps sur la droite vers la rivière de Shannon, pendant que les ennemis s'éloignent de nous. Je laisse à part les autres difficultés qu'il faudra tâcher de surmonter le mieux qu'on pourra. J'en ai fait mention dans mon mémoire, qui sont, que les chariots de vivres ne sont pas tous arrivés, les chevaux de ceux qui le sont sont même en fort-méchant état. Shales dit qu'il a été obligé de s'en servir toujours à Chester, n'en ayant pas pu trouver à louer ; j'ai déjà dit qu'il n'avoit pas aussi pris soin de faire embarquer cent-vingt chevaux de l'artillerie qui restent encore là.

No. 9.—*Dundalk*, le 8 Octobre 1689.—Quand je relis les deux dernières lettres de V.M. des 2 and 6 Octobre, je trouve qu'elle auroit envie qu'on poussât les ennemis. Je lui ai déjà mandé que cela étoit difficile à faire en un pays où on ne peut aller à eux que par deux ou trois grands chemins, le reste étant partagé par des marais et des montagnes. Mais il y a encore d'autres circonstances à représenter à V.M., qui sont, que j'ai peine à commettre son armée contre une autre qui est (comme tout le monde sait en ce pays ici) au moins double en nombre de la notre, dont une partie est disciplinée et assez-bien armée, et jusques ici mieux nourrie que la notre en pain, viande et bière ; mais ce qu'il y a de plus fâcheux est que les Colonels qui ont nouvellement levé des régiments, et particulièrement les Mylords Irlandois, n'ont regardé que d'avoir des garçons à bon marché. C'est ce que j'ai bien prévu lorsqu'on leur donna leurs commissions ; mais l'avis de Monsieur [le Marquis de] Halifax fut plutôt suivi que le mien. Je ne parle point de souliers, en ayant déjà fait mention en tous mes mémoires. Mais si l'incapacité de ces officiers est grande, leur inapplication et leur paresse l'est encore davantage. Quoique la cavallerie ne soit pas si nouvellement levée, les officiers ne prennent néanmoins point soin des chevaux de leurs cavaliers, et tous sont si accoutumés à loger dans les cabarets partout où ils marchent, que cette manière de guerre les étonne. Je suis fâché d'importuner V.M. de tous ces détails ; mais je crois que c'est mon devoir de l'en informer afin qu'elle voie par là les raisons pourquoi j'ai peine de me résoudre à décider de tout part une bataille.

J'espère qu'à toute heure ce qui nous reste de chevaux d'artillerie et de vivres et les troupes Ecoisaises arriveront, et que les souliers qui sont achetés (il-y-a plus de deux mois) se retrouveront. Sans faire valoir mes services ni mettre en conte les chagrins que j'ai eu, ce n'a pas été sans peine que je suis venu ici, et d'y avoir pu demeurer presque sans pain. Il auroit été bien difficile d'aller en avant sans aucuns chariots de vivres. Et comme il y avoit un ruisseau entre les ennemis et nous, j'aurois peut-être été obligé de faire un pas en arrière, qui auroit eu de méchantes suites.

A ce que l'on peut juger, les ennemis tâchent de consommer et brûler tout le fourrage qui est autour d'eux et qu'ils continueront de faire de même jusque' auprès de Drogheda.

No. 10.—12 Octobre.—Je vois par la lettre de V.M. qu'elle est informée que nous avons beaucoup plus de malades dans cette armée qu'il n'y en a, et pour ne pas attendre qu'il y en ait davantage, il faudroit pousser les choses le plus qu'on peut, en hasardant quelque chose. Si V.M. étoit bien informée de l'état de notre armée, de celle des ennemis, du pays et de la situation de leur camp, je ne crois pas qu'elle voulût qu'on se hasardât à l'attaquer. Si cela ne réussissoit pas, l'armée de V.M. seroit perdue sans ressource. Je me sers de ce terme-là, car je ne crois pas que si le désordre s'y étoit une fois mis, qu'il fût aisé de la rétablir. Rien ne sauroit donner à V.M. une plus forte idée de tout ceci, que le souvenir de toutes les troupes nouvellement levées dont généralement cette armée est composée.

Je vois aussi par la même lettre de V.M., que si on ne hasarde rien presentement cette guerre tireroit en longueur. Je suis bien fâché de ne pouvoir pas trouver des expédients pour la finir. Il y auroit à craindre qu'en hasardant le tout pour le tout, et que cela ne réussit pas que les ennemis seroient bientôt maîtres de toute l'Irlande. Je ne comprends pas qu'une si grande flotte d'Angleterre et d'Hollande, n'ayant rien fait tout cet été, ne puisse au moins garder les côtes d'Irlande et y faire une diversion par une descente, comme V.M. l'avoit toujours projeté, et par là nous donner le temps d'attendre les troupes de Dannemark pour se servir de toutes ses forces puisque V.M. les destine pour ici—lesquelles ne seroient plus d'un grand secours si nous avions perdu une bataille avant leur arrivée. Pour ce poste ici dont V.M. me parle, je puis bien le conserver avec l'infanterie seule, jusques à ce que Shales aie un peu mis ses chariots de vivres en meilleur état, comme aussi les chevaux d'artillerie qu'on use de me dire être arrivés. Je crois que tout cela sera en état dans huit jours, après quoi si les ennemis s'opiniâtroient à demeurer à Ardee ou derrière Drogheda, V.M. peut bien juger que je ne puis faire autre chose que de marcher sur la rivière de Shannon, qui est le pays après Dublin qu'ils considèrent le plus.

A l'égard de ce que V.M. me mande des grandes desordres que les soldats commettent, surtout les Francois—quand je suis arrivé en ce royaume je n'avois que six milles hommes, aucuns equipages, les officiers de l'armée pas un cheval. Apres m'être rendu maître de Belfast, j'ai marché aussitôt pour assiéger Carrickfergus. J'ai été bien aise que les troupes trouvaissent acheter quelques chevaux. Cela ne suffisoit pas au besoin. Tout le désordre qui peut s'être commis n'a été que prendre de petits chevaux qu'ils trouvoient dans les champs, pendant que ceux de Londonderry et d'Enniskillen pilloient de leur côté, et les paysans dans les glinns [glens ?] du leur. Parmi ceux qui ont pris quelques chevaux, il y peut avoir eu des Francois. Et je crois qu'on est bien aise par les lettres qu'on écrit d'ici de mettre cela sur eux. Comme je ne prends le parti ni des uns ni des autres, il faut pourtant dire à V.M. que si nos Colonels Irlandois étoient aussi habiles à la guerre comme à envoyer piller en le pays et ne pas payer les soldats ici, V.M. en seroit mieux servie ; elle pourra être informée par d'autres que les trois régiments d'infanterie et celui de cavallerie Francois font mieux le service que les autres. J'ai travaillé toute cette

sémaine à régler ce que les capitaines doivent donner à leurs soldats pour tacher d'empêcher les chicanes qu'ils leur font. Leurs Colonels prennent si peu de soin de leurs régiments que la moitié des piques sont rompues, et les fusils et mousquets de même, de sorte que je suis forcé presentement de leur en donner d'autres de ceux que j'avois apporté avec moi.

Si on accordoit le congé à autant d'officiers qu'ils en usent, pour le demander, une grande partie de l'armée demeureroit sans officiers, les plûpart affectant des incommodités ou des maladies, qui n'ont d'autre fondement que de s'ennuyer beaucoup ici.

Venant d'entretenir Mr. le Comte de Solms de la pensée que j'avois d'envoyer la plûpart de notre cavallerie du côté d'Armagh, il a trouvé une raison qui est considerable, que l'ennemi pourroit se mettre entre elle et nous, et qu'il vaudroit mieux attendre encore quelques jours en donnant de l'avoine à notre cavallerie des vaisseaux, et voir si les ennemis ne marcheront pas d'Ardee à Drogheda, ou que peut-être, en attendant un peu, les troupes de Dannemark arriveroient ; et cependant on pourvoiroit les soldats des souliers et de meilleurs habits. En tout ceci je crois qu'un plus habile homme y seroit beaucoup embarrassé ; car les ennemis ne sont pas seulement forts en nombre mais aussi sont bien disciplinés, et la situation des camps aussi bien choisie que des Generaux les plus habiles pourroient faire.

No. 11.—*Dundalk*, le 4 Nov. 1689. Les troupes qui sont venues d'Ecosse consistent en quatre régiments dont les chevaux sont fort fatigués ; celui de Hastings n'a pas trois cents soldats. Quand l'on auroit marché avec ces troupes ici, le pays est fait d'une manière que l'on ne peut obliger un ennemi à en venir à une bataille s'il ne le veut. Il seroit à souhaiter que V.M. eut parlé à un homme qui connoit bien ce pays ici autour. Il n'est pas moins difficile que la Flandre pour obliger un ennemi à donner une bataille. Tant qu'il n'y aura pas un établissement fait avec des personnes à certains prix pour fournir le pain de munition, comme on fait en France, Flandre et ailleurs, il ne sera pas possible de soutenir cette guerre des que l'on s' éloignera de la mer. Voila le principal article. Je ne dirai rien ici des autres defauts de cette armée. Je me suis donné bien des peines et des fatigues pour y remedier. La chose n'est pas aisée avec de tels officiers. Et il n'y a que la passion, les obligations, et le parfait devouement pour le service de V.M. qui puisse me faire supporter les chagrins et les peines, ou je me trouve.

No. 12.—*Lisburn*, le 26 Decembre 1689. Puisque j'ai commencé à parler de l'artillerie il faut dire à V.M. que je n'ai jamais vu tant de méchants officiers qu'il y en a. Ce qui peut avoir contribué à cela, c'est la paresse et l'inapplication aux détails de Goulon. Je veux croire qu'il entend à faire des mines et l'usage de la poudre, mais c'est le tout. Je crois être obligé en conscience à dire la vérité à V.M. ; le seul homme que j'ai ici dont je suis soulagé c'est le Commissaire Holloway, lequel j'ai fait contrôleur à la place d'un nommé Clark qui vient de mourir, ayant des ministres avec lui mais n'a pas voulu prier Dieu.

Pour les recrues de l'infanterie je suis toujours d'opinion que V.M. les fera meilleurs en Angleterre. Du temps de Cromwell il avoit cette commodité qu'il avoit plusieurs régiments en Angleterre, d'où il tiroit la moitié ou le tiers des soldats pour ses recrues ici, lesquels savoiént déjà manier leurs armes. A quoi je dois encore ajouter cette consideration, que l'on fait courir le bruit en Angleterre que la peste est en Irlande, et ainsi et les soldats et les officiers, levés par-çi et par-là dans le pays, apprenant par les gens mal-intentionnés que la peste est dans ce pays-çi, ils deserteront. Mais quand la moitié d'un regiment tout-levé armée et exercée sera envoyée par V.M. à Highlake, il en desertera peu. Les régiments venus d'Ecosse n'auront pas moins besoin de recrues, étant arrivés ici fort foibles. Les Colonels Irlandois ont plus d'inclination pour les gens de leur pays, non pas parce qu'ils les connoissent plus braves dans une occasion, mais pour tirer plus de profit de leurs régiments. Nous avons vu par expérience que vers le mois de Septembre les Irlandois desertoient tous pour aller faire leurs moissons. Les régiments de [le Vicomte de] Lisburne, Sanky, [le Comte de] Drogheda, [le Comte de] Roscommon et Belasis sont fort foibles. J'ai été obligé de retirer ces deux derniers d'Armagh, n'y ayant pas trois cents hommes dans les deux. Quant à la cavallerie, nous avons examiné en presence de Messieurs Schravemor, Lanier et Kirk leur état et fait un reglement, et en la manière que l'on doit faire les recrues. Les officiers ne prennent pas soin de leurs cavaliers et à les obliger de prendre soin de leurs chevaux qu'ils ne se donnent pas la peine de penser.

Pour les farines, biscuits et avoines Van Humery travaille à faire un état de ce que nous avons et ce que nous avons besoin. Je ne vois pas les peuples fort disposés à labourer leurs terres, quoiqu'ils vendent bien tout ce qu'ils ont, et l'on tient une discipline si exacte qu'ils ne tirent que du profit du logement des gens de guerre. Cependant je crains que les peuples manqueront du pain dans le printemps ; mais à mon avis on pourroit prevenir ces manquements ici en permettant aux marchands de transporter d'Angleterre ici du blé, de l'avoine et des farines sans payer de droits, non seulement ici mais aussi du côté du nord, pour les peuples aussi bien que pour les soldats, du côté de Belleek et Ballyshannon. Je suis obligé aussi d'informer V.M. que la negligence des officiers est cause que les soldats ont perdu beaucoup d'armes, nonobstant le reglement que j'avois fait que les capitaines seroient obligés d'en racheter à leurs dépens ; et leur negligence a été si grande qu'ils sont venus en ce royaume sans porter une tente avec eux, se servant de celles qu'on leur avoit donné pour les soldats. Les grandes pluies ayant presque tout pourri les dites tentes, il faudra en faire venir d'autres. Comme je ne me suis jamais trouvé dans une armée ou il y ait tant d'officiers nouveaux et paresseux, V.M. n'aura pas peine à croire que cela me donne beaucoup de peine et de chagrin. Si on cassoit tous ceux-là pour ce sujet comme ils le meritent, il en resteroit peu.

J'ai remarqué dans tous ces embarquements ici, qu'il manquoit de gens appliqués pour avoir soin des vaisseaux marchands à Highlake pour embarquer les soldats ; quoiqu'il y eût quelques envoyés de l'Amirauté pour cela, il seroit très nécessaire aussi pour le service et l'épargne de V.M. qu'il y en eût deux ici pour avoir le soin de faire décharger promptement toutes les denrées qu'ils apportent, pour les renvoyer ou décharger si l'on n'en a plus besoin (cela me soulagera un peu des soins qu'il a fallu que j'ai pris)—comme aussi les petites vaisseaux de guerre qui prennent toujours le prétexte qu'il leur manque quelque chose pour n'aller pas au mer. V.M. a aussi besoin d'officiers de justice pour regler les desordres qui se commettent parmi les peuples qui sont paresseux et ne vivent que de vols et de pillage. Je ne trouve pas aussi que les ministres ecclésiastiques sont appliqués à leur devoir, pendant que les prêtres romains sont fort passionés à exhorter les peuples à combattre pour l'Eglise Romaine et à se mettre à leur tête. Je crois que ce zèle du peuple Irlandois se trouvera à ce printemps un peu relenti, par le quantité de gens qu'on apprend qui meurent du côté des ennemis de la fatigue de la campagne passée.

Les officiers de cette armée me demandent avec grand empressement leur congé pour aller en Angleterre. Je les ai remis la plupart sur ce que j'ai écrit à V.M. pour lui en demander la permission et que je l'attens ; et qu'une partie de ceux là pourront aller aux recrues à quoi je crois qu'il n'y a pas de temps à perdre, surtout pour ce qui regarde l'infanterie ; car pour la cavallerie elle arrivera assez à temps vers le fin d'Avril, comme aussi celle de Dannemark.

Mr Harbord doit avoir rendu compte à V.M. de l'état des régiments du pays de Londonderry et Enniskillen. Nous avons ménagé cette paye en la faisant moins forte que celle des troupes Angloises qui sont venues en ce royaume. Et je crois que comme ils n'avoient rien du tout auparavant, ils devoient être contents de celle qu'ils ont presentement. Car quoique ceux d'Enniskillen aient acquis quelque reputation dans le combat qu'ils gagnèrent, il y a eu bien de bonheur de leur côté et de la confusion des ennemis qui n'étoient point ensemble. Lorsque j'ai envoyé des troupes d'Enniskillen du côté de Sligo, l'affaire a manqué, parce que la plupart des soldats étoient tous allés chez eux. Et je suis d'opinion qu'on se peut servir d'exemple des royaumes de France et d'Espagne, ou on ne donne pas à-beaucoup-près tant de paye aux soldats du pays qu'aux corps étrangers.

Mr Harbord est parti sans nous avoir laissé de l'argent pour payer les troupes. Il faut espérer (comme il m'a mandé de Highlake) qu'il en enverra de Chester ; mais il nous a laissé dans une grande confusion. A l'égard des officiers il n'a point fait aucun de compte avec eux. Ils s'excusent la-dessus qu'ils n'ont point d'argent pour leur subsistance ni pour soulager leurs soldats. Je crois que je ménage à moins l'argent de V.M. comme elle pourra voir par le *contingent money* ; mais Mr Harbord dans les depenses generals a de la peine à se defaire de l'argent qui est justement dû, dont le retardement ne peut porter que de la confusion. Depuis qu'il est parti j'ai fait difficulté de signer les payements que les Commis font, lui-même aussi bien que moi ayant decouvert que ces dits Commis se sont faits agents de tous les regiments Anglois de cette armée, et par-là ils se mettent dans les intérêts des Colonels. Jamais on n'a vu tant des gens avoir envie de voler. Pour la compagnie de Mr Harbord je ne l'ai point encore vu que l'étendard dans sa chambre. On dit que les officiers le servent de Secretaire et de Commis. Je ne vois pas que Harbord ai bien examiné les comptes du Major-General Kirk ou qu'il n'a pas osé les finir, à ce que j'apprens le dit Mr. Kirk n'apportant point de quittance du payement des regiments qui étoient avec lui. Je crois aussi qu'il est nécessaire de faire souvenir V.M. à faire examiner à quel prix l'argent se donne ici. Si cela est au profit de Mr Harbord, avec les droits qu'il tire sur les payements qu'il fait à l'armée comme trésorier, cela va à une somme fort considerable par an. Je suis bien fâché d'importuner V.M. d'un si long mémoire. On ne peut pas se dispenser de le faire, et encore de la prier qu'elle ne le laisse pas lire publiquement.

No. 13. *Lisburn* le 27 Decembre, 1689.—J'ai bien fait des reflexions sur ce que V.M. m'a fait la grace de m'écrire du 10 (20) Decembre, et sans l'ennuyer de l'état de mon indisposition je puis l'assurer que mon envie d'aller en Angleterre n'est venue que de la, et que les medecins croyent que l'air et les eaux chaudes me guériroient de ce mal dont mon fils l'aura entretenu à present. Il y en a en Angleterre qui croyent que je me sers de ce mal pour un pretexte, quoique cela ne soit pas vrai. J'avoue, Sire, que sans une profonde soumission que j'ai aux volontés de V.M. je prefererois l'honneur d'être souffert auprès d'elle au commandement d'une armée en Irland comme étoit composée celle de la campagne passée ; et si j'eusse hasardé une bataille (ce qui étoit difficile à faire si les ennemis eussent voulu demeurer dans leur camp) j'aurois peutêtre perdu tout ce qu'elle a dans ce royaume, sans parler des consequences qui en seroient ensuivies en Ecosse jusques en Angleterre. M'étant trouvé dans un tel état, aidé de fort peu de personnes, chargé d'une infinité de details qui m'occupoient (pendant que d'autres Generaux ne songent qu'au plus importante d'une guerre), je dis, Sire, qu'il n'y a que mon devouement pour les commandemens de V.M. qui m'oblige à sacrifier la santé qui me reste pour son service. Je souhaite seulement que ce mal ne m'empêche pas d'agir comme je le voudrois. Lorsque je l'ai pu faire je me suis presque chargé de tout ; n'étant pas beaucoup soulagé des Officiers Generaux Anglois ou Ecossois. D'ailleurs ce qui peut rebuter le plus de cet emploi ici, c'est que je vois par le passé qu'il sera difficile à l'avenir de contenter les parlements et les peuples, qui sont prevenus qu'un soldat Anglois,* quoique nouvellement lévé, en battra plus de six des ennemis. L'on auroit tort de m'envier cet emploi pour les profits que j'en tire. Je n'ai pas encore trouvé cette invention ; quand je l'aurois decouverte, je ne la pratiquerois pas, me contentant des appointements que l'on me donne, et que l'on voit bien ici que j'en dépense le double.

* In the first edition of "Dalrymple" there was a misprint here [*buoy* instead of *quoy*, or *quoi*], and I thought that Schomberg meant "a boy recruit." In the second quarto edition it is corrected ; the meaning is "any English soldier, although a raw recruit."

No. 14, Lisburn, le 30 Decembre 1689.—Comme j'allois faire partir plusieurs mémoires pour V.M. un exprès m'apportoit de sa part son billet du 16 (26) Decembre par laquelle V.M. m'a mandé qu' Elle trouve la saison trop avancée pour envoyer Trelawny ici avec ses troupes du côté de Cork, et qu'elle m'enverra l'infanterie Danoise pour nous fortifier dans nos quartiers. Cela empechera les ennemis à s'en approcher. Les maladies commencent à se diminuer. V.M. trouvera par les rôles des montres que nous sommes plus forts que nous ne sommes pas. Je crois que si V.M. faisoit chasser tous les commissaires des montres ce seroit le mieux (les officiers pour l'argent en font ce qu'ils veulent), et se servir de la methode d'Hollande, les capitaines de l'armée s'obligeants à tenir leurs compagnies complètes le premier de Mai, et chatier ceux qui y manquent.

My Lord Lisburne, dont le regiment est le plus foible, l'a fait passer fort. Il a mêlé 200 Irlandois. Je lui ai dit que l'intention de V.M n'étoit pas de mêler des Irlandois parmi les regiments Anglois, mais de laisser les Irlandois aux regiments d'Enniskillen et Londonderry. La conduite de Mylord Lisburne n'est pas bonne. Il passe la vie à jouer et boire. Peu de vin l'enivre; après cela il tient des discours avec les officiers, qui vont jusqu' aux soldats, qui sont pernicieux au service. Puisque V.M. lui a permis d'aller en Angleterre, je crois qu'il vaudroit mieux qu'il demeure et que son regiment fut mis dans un autre. Pour les regiments à reformer, je les ferois executer comme V.M. me l'ordonne. Et j'espère qu'elle ne désapprouvera de ce que j'ai fait, par l'avis des Majors-Generaux Schravemor, Kirk et Lanier, de mettre le regiment de Drogheda dans celui de Gower, puisqu'il n'y a pas de Colonel ni Lieutenant-Colonel, et en laisser le commandement à my Lord Drogheda.

J'envoie aussi çï-joint l'étât des regiments levés en Irlande et la reduction de la cavallerie. J'espère que V.M. l'approuvera et l'étât de leur payement. Il ne faut pas faire étât sur ces troupes-là que comme sur les cravates. Un jour d'une bataille ils se jeteront toujours sur le premier pillage. Mr Harbord en pensa à faire l'experience; ayant voulu aller avec le Conte de Schonberg armé de son mousqueton, il tomba en bas de son cheval. Cinq ou six cavaliers d'Enniskillen commencent à le deshabiller et de le depouiller, quoiqu'il cria qu'il étoit le *pay-master*, qu'il donneroit de l'argent afin qu'on ramena au camp. Un Officier Francois en passant l'ayant reconnu, les Enniskillens le ramenèrent.

Mais de cette histoire il faut passer à une plus sérieuse, qui est qu'il [Harbord] est allé sans nous laisser d'argent pour les troupes. Cela cause deja de désordre dans les quartiers ou il y en a qui ne payent pas leurs hôtes. Je m'en vais travailler à voir si je puis emprunter quelq' argent des douanes de V.M. dont le revenu commence à être considerable. J'ai épargné à V.M. sur le train d'artillerie, depuis que je suis ici, trois milles livres sterlings; elle le trouvera de même si elle fait examiner les comptes du *contingent money*. Comme je n'aime pas à piller, je tâche autant que je puis que V.M. ne le soit pas sur des gens qui ne pensent qu' à cela ici. Ayant examiné le mémoire (que j'envoie à V.M. par le paquet que j'envoie à Mr Blathwait) de la manière qu'on payoit ici les officiers du temps du Roi Charles Second, la paye y est aussi haute que celle des officiers en Angleterre; cela ne me paroît pas juste, V.M. pourroit en diminuer au moins un quart.

No. 15, le 4 Janvier 1690.—Voyant le regiment de Delamere en si mauvais ordre, j'ai été obligé d'en donner le commandement au Colonel Russell. Peutêtre Mylord Delamere le trouvera-t-il mauvais de moi, si V.M. ne lui dit qu'Elle me l'a commandé. Celui qui en étoit Major s'étant retiré, (à cause du Lieutenant-Colonel Broadnax qui s'en est allé), je lui ai fait écrire de venir. Si V.M. l'agrée on le fera Lieutenant-Colonel. Mylord Delamere aussi bien que d'autres Colonels en Angleterre envoient ici des mémoires avec des gens d'Angleterre pour les faire officiers, parmi lesquels il y en a peu qui meritent de l'être.

No. 16, Lisburn le 9 Janvier 1690.—J'ai pressé de partir le Capitaine St. Saveur afin que V.M. fût informé de l'embaras ou je me trouve de ce que Mr Harbord nous a laissés sans argent. Il m'a fait deux ou trois tours de même à Dundalk. Quand les affaires vont mal, il s'échappe. La frayeur le prit de tomber malade. Il prit le pretexte d'aller à Belfast pour y prendre soin que les malades n'y manquaissent de rien. Huit jours après j'appris qu'il étoit allé à une assez belle maison pour y respirer un bon air sans avoir envoyé seulement un de ses gens à Belfast pour s'informer de l'étât de l'hôpital. (Je ne suis ici aidé de personne). Je ne sais si V.M. en sera bien servi; c'est un homme qui pense trop à ses interêts particuliers.

Je suis bien aise que la cavallerie Danoise ne vient pas si tôt, car je crains que nous n'ayons pas assez de paille et de foin ici pour la cavallerie que nous y avons. Pour de l'avoine il ne tiendra qu' à Van Humery de nous en faire venir, mais c'est un petit genie pour une telle affaire. Son associé ne vient pas d'Angleterre, et Van Humery n'a pas un sou que quelque peu d'argent que je lui ai fait prêter. Je lui ai dit de mander à son associé d'acheter une grande quantité d'avoine, dont on en peut aussi faire vendre aux officiers d'infanterie. S'ils ne font pas un meilleur equipage que l'année passée ils ne seront pas capables de servir la campagne prochaine.

Si les regiments d'infanterie Françoise avoient pu obtenir de l'argent de Harbord, ils auroient deja fait partir pour des recrues en Suisse. De ces trois regiments et de celui de cavallerie V.M. a tiré plus de service que du double des autres.

V.M. aura vu par mon precedent mémoire les raisons que j'ai fait comprendre à ces troupes d'Enniskillen et Derry qu'il n'étoit pas juste qu'ils eussent leur paye aussi haute que les Anglois qui ont été envoyés par V.M. en ce royaume. Ils ne s'en éloignent pas. Mais ayant bien examiné la paye des officiers Irlandois elle est presque aussi haute que celle des officiers Anglois—ce qui me semble est trop pour des officiers dont les plupart sont des paysans.

Il est deux ou trois regiments d'infanterie Françoise en subsistance seulement, sans parler du décompte des officiers environ mille livres sterlings chacun. Comme le soldât ne peut rien acheter au marché, cela le me

en une grande disette et en fait tomber beaucoup malade. Les Colonels n'ont pas laissé faire de partir des officiers pour faire des recrues en Suisse ; mais il faudroit qu'on leur donna quelqu'argent sur bon compte de ce qui leur est dû. Ils ont écrit à Monsieur L'Estang afin qu'il revoie les ordres de V.M. sur cet article, car pour Mr Harbord il ne finit jamais quand il est question de payer les troupes, comme je l'ai mandé à V.M. ; à quoi je suis obligé d'ajouter que ce qui nous a fait manquer de medecine la campagne passée, c'est que Harbord n'a pas voulu donner de l'argent à l'apothicaire Augibaut à Londres, quoique je lui en ai parlé souvent et envoyé chez lui. Il y a d'autres plaintes ici de lui, cela seroit trop long. Son avarice n'a que trop paru, particulièrement en ce point qu'il n'a pas fait de décompte de pas un regiment, ce qui nous cause ici une grande confusion.

V.M. auroit bien besoin ici de quelques personnes de justice ; ceux qui j'ai voulu employer ici ne songent qu'à leurs intérêts, et on fait plus de confusion que de bien.

Mr Douglas, Lieutenant-General, m'a montré une lettre de Mr le Comte de Solms, par laquelle il lui mande qu'il a obtenu de V.M. son congé pour aller à Londres. J'ai mandé dans un de mes mémoires à V.M. qu'il ne s'étoit pas fait aimé dans cette armée ; on l'a trouvé fort fier. C'est de quoi on ne se mettoit pas tant en peine, si cela étoit réparé par une grande capacité. Je ne vois pas ici d'Officiers Generaux capables de commander une aile d'une armée le jour d'une bataille. Mr Douglas pourra dire à V.M. que les regiments qui sont sur la frontier d'Armagh, Tynan, Clones et Newry souffrent un peu de n'être pas bien logés et de coucher sur la paille. Mais si nous abandonnions ces places, cela etreciroit nos quartiers et donneroit lieu aux ennemis de s'en prevaloir, qui ne sont pas plus à leur aise que nous, et dont il en meurt tous les jours beaucoup et de leurs paysans. La nation Angloise est si delicatement élevée que d'abord qu'ils sont hors de leur pays ils déperissent, partout ou je les ai vu servir dans les pays étrangers, les premières campagnes.

Je crois, Sire, être de mon devoir dire encore un mot sur le sujet de Mr Harbord, dont j'ai déjà parlé à V.M. dans un de mes mémoires ; c'est à l'égard des guinées et des cabs.* Ceux qui savent mieux calculer ces choses-là que moi m'ont fait entendre, que le profit qui se retire là-dessus sur toute la depense que l'on fait pour l'armée il y a un gain de plus de 40,000 livres sterlings par an. Pourvu que cela aille au profit de V.M. je suis satisfait. Il seroit bien necessaire qu'il y eût en ce pays-ci un Intendant qui eût une inspection generale ; cela empêcheroit bien des gens à voler.

Mr. de Schravemor a été voir la cavallerie du côté de la Comté de Down, comme il informera sans doute V.M. Je n'ai rien à ajouter, si non que les regiments de Delamere, Devonshire et Hewett sont tous composés d'officiers qui n'ont jamais vu de campagne que la dernière. Mr Byerley, qui est Lieutenant-Colonel du regiment d'Hewett me paroît un honnête homme et de plus appliqués, mais je ne crois pas qu'il ait jamais vu tirer un coup de pistolet. Il seroit à desirer que si V.M. lui donne le regiment, qu'Elle y met un bon Lieutenant-Colonel. On en trouveroit bien ici qui seroient propres à cela parmi les officiers François, mais de moi-même je n'en mets pas parmi les Anglois à moins qu'ils ne le demandent.

J'ai parlé à V.M. peutêtre trop souvent des moyens pour porter des vivres avec l'armée. Van Humery (comme je lui ai dit aussi) est peu capable pour la campagne. Cependant je vois que Mr. de Schravemor le prend fort à sa protection ; il en faisoit de même de Shales. Je ne pretends pas entrer dans ce secret pourquoi il le fait ; mais je crois aussi qu'il est de mon devoir d'en avertir V.M., comme j'ai fait aussitôt que j'ai débarqué ici avec les troupes. Depuis que Shales est en prison et qu'il a été examiné par Sir John Topham qui a visité ses papiers, il y a trouvé cette lettre qui je n'ai pas jugé à propos qu'il laissât parmi d'autres papiers pour envoyer en Angleterre, mais qu'il falloît mieux que je l'envoyasse dans mon paquet à V.M., laquelle peut Elle bruler apres l'avoir lue si Elle juge à propos. J'aurois fait partir le dit Shales, n'étoit qu'il est malade aussi.

No. 17. Lisburn, le 10 Fevrier, 1690.—Il y a un article dans cette Depêche du Comité d'Irlande, qui est de payer les regiments de Londonderry et Enniskillen sur le même pied que les regiments Anglois. Puisque c'est l'intention de V.M., il faudra qu'ils se mettent sur un meilleur pied ; car jusques ici ces troupes-là étoient sur un pied de libertinage, et de voler et piller. C'est ce qui a été cause que le Colonel Russell ne put mener avec lui toutes les troupes d'Enniskillen que j'avois fait partir pour se saisir du poste de Sligo et de le maintenir.

Le Lieutenant-Colonel Ross du regiment de dragons de Wynn s'en va en Angleterre pour y acheter quelques selles et brides, pour raccommoier ce regiment, lequel aussi bien que toute cete cavallerie et dragons d'Enniskillen sont fort mal montés, beaucoup d'officiers et des soldats malfaits ; mais puisque V.M. leur fait une grace particulière de les vouloir payer comme des troupes levées en Angleterre, on obligera les officiers des dits regiments à avoir des officiers et soldats mieux-faits. V.M. ordonnera, s'il lui plait, que Mr Harbord donne quelqu'argent au Lieutenant-Colonel Ross pour acheter les choses necessaires et pour revenir promptement.

Je me suis défendu de donner congé à tous ceux qu'il a été possible de s'en dispenser, car tous les officiers de cette armée ont une grande envie d'aller en Angleterre. Mylord Lisburne part presentement aussi, sur la permission qu'il a obtenu par un lettre de Mylord Shrewsbury. Je lui ai dit souvent ce que V.M. m'a mandé qu'il pouvoit garder les bons hommes qu'il avoit levés depuis-peu en ce pays ici, mais qu'on ne vouloit plus de ces miserables garçons Anglois et Irlandois, dont ils sont farci leurs regiments quand ils sont passés ici.

* Perhaps Schomberg meant by "cabs" the Irish measures of capacity for oats, &c. In Johnson's Dictionary the word "cab," is defined thus:—"A Hebrew measure, containing about three pints English." In Ostervald's Bible (2 Rois vi. 25) the word is spelt KAB. More probably, Schomberg wrote *caqs* for *caques* [casks, kegs, or cags] "CAG, a barrel or wooden vessel, containing four or five gallons."—*Johnson.*

Il est arrivé ici un ministre qui dit avoir obtenu une commission en Angleterre pour être le Chapelain du regiment de Colonel Russell. J'avois deja rempli cette place d'un autre chapelain il y a deux mois ; V.M. me mandera ce qu' Elle veut que je fasse en cela ; les ecclesiastiques de ce pays sont des gens peu-attachés à leurs paroisses.

V.M. me permettra que je lui fasse souvenir de ce qui regarde la traine de l'artillerie ici, afin de mettre un bon officier à la place de Glaum qui est mort. Celui qui presentement gouverne tout ce train s'appelle Holloway qui est contrôleur, et je crois le seul bon officier que nous y ayons. Il sera aussi necessaire que V.M. mande quel nombre de canon Elle veut qu'on mene à l'armée, puisque je vois par quelques lettres que V.M. pourroit venir ce mettre à la tête de son armée. Il me semble qu'il seroit necessaire qu'on mena plus de canon en campagne. Glaum m'avoit parlé d'un equipage d'artillerie que V.M. a en Hollande, qu' Elle a fait faire pour Elle, ou il y a même quelques *howitzers*,—lequel seroit fort utile ici. Cela est contenu dans le mémoire que j'ai fait avec Glaum avant qu'il partit d'ici. J'aurai soin de ne point laisser manquer de poudre. Mais comme ce canon peut d'être d'un calibre qui n'a pas tout-à-fait rapport à celui de *La Tour* [the Tower of London], il sera necessaire que V.M. donne ordres aux dits officiers de La Tour de s'en pourvoir. Il est vrai que ceux qui y sont entendent fort-peu ces choses-là, pas même à examiner les fusils que les ouvriers leur delivrent tous les jours, qui sont fort malfaits, mal-montés, et ont de mechants ressorts.

Le Colonel Cambon m'a montré une lettre de Londres, par laquelle l'on voit que Mr Harbord n'est pas content de lui. Cela est venu d'une lettre-de-change que Cambon avoit tirée de Mr Harbord à Dundalk de 800 guinées, qu'il lui donna là pour faire rendre à Londres à son agent pour payer les habits de son regiment. Les marchands, qui avoient porté la lettre-de-change chez les gens de Mr Harbord ne l'ayant pas voulu acquitter, firent leur protêt. Cela a tellement offensé Mr Harbord qu'il en a voulu mal à toutes les troupes Francoises ici, et qu'il a dit que le regiment de Cambon n'étoit pas de 150 hommes. Je puis assurer V.M. que quoiqu'il en soit mort beaucoup depuis qu'ils sont entrés dans leur quartier d'hiver, qu'il en restoit encore plus de 460 en santé, et depuis huit jours il lui est arrivé une fort bonne recrue de Londres de 70 hommes qui ont été levés du côté de la Suisse.

Il y auroit beaucoup à dire sur le sujet de Mr Harbord. Je crois qu'il est connu en Angleterre, comme il est ici presentement, sur le sujet de l'interêt ; et je ne puis assez exagérer le prejudice que cela a apporté au service de V.M., de ce qu'il n'a jamais voulu faire le décompte aux Colonels et Capitaines des regiments. Je crois qu'il seroit necessaire pour le service de V.M. qu' Elle envoyât ici un ordre au Commis de la Trésorerie qu'il a laissé de faire ce décompte ; car quand on parle aux officiers d'avancer quelque chose à leurs compagnies lorsque l'argent manque, ils disent que comme on ne leur a point fait de décompte depuis qu'ils sont dans ce royaume, ils n'ont pas un sou pour subsister eux-mêmes. On étoit dans une grande disette d'argent, quand depuis dix jours les trente milles livres sterlings sont arrivés, lesquels j'ai fait distribuer à toutes les troupes de l'armée sur bon compte. Je supplie V.M. que cet article de Mr Harbord ne soit lu que par Elle.

Je suis fort aise d'apprendre que V.M. a fait faire un traité avec Pereira pour les vivres, et pour les chariots pour les porter avec l'armée qui est la chose la plus essentielle. C'est à Pereira à voir que ces chariots et charrettes ne soient pas si pesantes comme on les fait à Londres, et d'avoir de bons charretiers qui sachent fourrager.

J'ai écrit souvent aux officiers de La Tour [the Tower] et à Mr Bertie le tresorier, de nous envoyer de l'argent, car il en est dû beaucoup ; et j'ai entretenu ici le train par des emprunts, que j'ai faits en tirant des lettres-de-change sur La Tour, qui n'ont point pu être acquittées. Je supplie très humblement V.M. d'ordonner qu'on donne de l'argent à Mr Bertie afin qu'on les puisse acquitter, et que nous dependions pas de Mr Harbord, puisque la charge de trésorier de l'artillerie n'a jamais dependu, ni en Angleterre ni ici, du trésorier de l'armée.

No. 18. *Dromore*, le 14 Fevrier 1690.—J'ai écrit souvent à La Tour pour faire de meilleurs armes, et de nous en envoyer incessamment ; car on n'a jamais vu une armée avoir eu si peu de soin de conserver leurs armes. Mais il sera necessaire que V.M. donne des ordres exprés pour que l'on delivre de l'argent à Mr Bertie ; car j'ai emprunté ici tout ce que j'ai pu trouver d'argent pour faire subsister l'artillerie.

No. 19. *Lisburn*, le 3 Mars 1690.—Par mes derniers mémoires V.M. voit ce que je lui ai mandé sur le manquement d'argent. La necessité m'oblige encore davantage à lui représenter que je vois avec regret que mes troupes au lieu de se raccommoier se ruinent de manque d'argent, et que V.M. venant ici n'aura pas la satisfaction de les voir retablis comme je le souhaiterois. Les lettres de Londres ayant venues hier pas Ecosse, je ne vois rien dans les miennes, qui me fasse espérer que nous en ayons si-tôt ; et ayant demandé à un des trésoriers de Mr Harbord s'il ne lui avoit pas écrit qu'on a envoyé de l'argent de Chester, il m'a dit que non. Si Mr Harbord n'en donne pas aussi pour les recrues à la cavallerie et à l'infanterie, il est à craindre que les troupes ne se mettront pas en bon état ; car les petites sommes d'argent que nous tirons des douanes de temps en temps n'est pas suffisant pour en donner aux soldâts. Les Capitaines et les officiers subalternes en prennent pour eux-mêmes, étant obligés d'en vivre aussi, puisque depuis sept mois ils n'ont point reçu de paye ; et si on ne leur paye pas leur décompte de bonne heure, ils n'auront pas le temps de s'acheter quelques chevaux de charrette ou de bât [cart-horses or pack-horses] pour faire la campagne.

Mon devoir m'oblige d'en dire autant à V.M. sur le sujet d'artillerie. L'argent que j'ai emprunté ici pour la faire subsister n'a point été acquitté sur mes lettres-de-change que j'ai envoyé à La Tour. J'écris à Sir Henry Goodrick d'en parler à V.M. de lui proposer (ce qui s'est pratiqué souvent) que l'on donne quelq' assignation

sur un fond, quoique les payemens ne se font que de quelques mois après ; les ouvriers ne laissent pas pour cela de trouver du credit pour subsister. J'ai mandé à mon homme d'affaires d'offrir 1000*l.* ou 1200*l.* sterlings pour être avancés aux arquebusiers. Et s'il arriroit qu'ils n'eussent pu d'armes faites, comme je l'apprehende, ainsi que je vois par la lettre de V.M., ne pourroit-Elle pas ordonner qu'on tira 3000 ou 4000 fusils d'Amsterdam et d'Utrecht ? car V.M. ne peut pas faire grand fond sur les piques ; elles étoient fort-vieilles et se sont achevées de pourrir pendant les pluies de la campagne passée ; pour les troupes d'Enniskillen, ils ne s'en peuvent pas servir. Ils en disent de même des mousquets.

No. 20. *Lisburn*, le 7 Mars 1690.—Comme la saison avance, et que V.M. pourroit arriver ici et ne pas trouver toutes choses en état, j'aurois un extreme regret si quelque chose pouvoit retarder ses desseins ; et je crois devoir lui dire ce que j'ai trouvé par experience depuis que je suis parti de Londres, que l'on ne peut point compter juste sur les officiers de l'armée qu'on emploie, soit dans les troupes, dans les vivres, ou dans l'artillerie. Et comme je suis responsable encore plus particulièrement de la dernière, je trouve qu'en ce qui s'y est fait depuis quelques années on y a beaucoup trompé. Je ne mets pas dans ce rang les vieux mousquets, ni les vieilles piques qui étoient pourries, mais même ce qui a été fait depuis peu d'années en ça. Le canon a été mal fondu comme cela se voit par les pièces qui ont crevé au siège de Carrickfergus, ou l'on voit la méchante composition du métal. Il ne nous en reste qu'un. J'ai écrit à La Tour qu'on nous envoie des pièces de 18 et de 24. Les officiers de La Tour sont si long à préparer les choses, je crains qu'ils n'arriveront pas devant V.M.

Si j'avois seulement quatre demi-canon presentement, j'assiégerois Charlemont ou on ne peut pas laisser les ennemis derrière, quand V.M. s'avancera avec son armée, sans en être beaucoup incommodé.

Avant que de finir l'article de l'artillerie, il faut redire un mot à V.M. sur le manque d'argent qu'il y a à la Tour, afin qu' Elle ordonne aux trésoriers qu'ils en delivrent au Sieur Bertie, trésorier de La Tour, lequel étant pourvu de quelqu' argent il puisse payer les choses necessaires que V.M. a ordonné, et pour celles que j'ai écrit, et les faire partir incessamment, parmi lesquels sont les tentes de la cavallerie et de l'infanterie dont on a precisément besoin. Et comme les vaisseaux ont un grand tour à faire, leur arrivée est incertaine et leur manquement retarderoit la marche de V.M. C'est pourquoi je la supplie très humblement d'ordonner qu'on donne un convoi aux vaisseaux de la Tour qui seront chargés, afin qu'ils puissent partir incessamment.

Le Sieur Robison est arrivé ici hier-au-soir ; je l'ai fort entretenu sur les moyens de fournir dès-à-present le pain de munition à toutes les troupes, et d'autant plus qu'il n'y a point d'argent pour les payer. En leur faisant fournir du pain et de fromage il faut qu'ils aient patience. Mais à l'égard des officiers j'en suis fort en peine. S'il y avoit de l'argent pour faire leur décompte. V.M. leur donnera moyen de se préparer pour la campagne ; car ils manquent de tout.

Je ne devois pas me mêler de si loin d'ou provient le manquement de l'argent, et je m'étonne qui parmi de gens qui en ont tant à Londres ils ne s'en trouvent point qui offrent d'en prêter à V.M. Je n'oserois me vanter de rien ; mais si j'avois entre mes mains les cent milles livres sterlings que V.M. m'a fait la grace de me donner, je les ferois delivrer à celui qu'Elle voudroit pour le payement de son armée.

No. 21. *Lisburn*, le 22 Mars 1690.—Cette Depêche va par le Sieur Hamilton lequel Mr Harbord emploie dans la trésorerie. Il dit que c'est pour presser Mr Harbord de songer à envoyer promptement de l'argent. Je crois qu'il a quelq' affaire particulière, mais le pretexte qu'il prend ne laisse pas d'être fort-necessaire ; car après tout ce que j'ai mandé à V.M. de la grande nécessité ou les troupes sont faute d'argent, je n'ai plus rien à ajouter, seulement que j'ai un extreme regret de voir le prejudice que cela fera au service de V.M., et les accidents qui nous peuvent arriver ici de laisser des troupes si longtemps sans argent, si proches d'un ennemi plein d'intrigue, et dans un pays ruiné ou le soldât ne trouve rien à subsister chez son hôte, dont la plûpart n'a rien pour faire subsister sa famille. Ce manquement d'argent est cause que je remets à assiéger Charlemont ; quoique nous ayons que deux pièces de canon de 18, le reste étant crevé (étant de fort méchant métal) au siège de Carrickfergus. J'en ai écrit souvent aux officiers de La Tour afin qu'ils suppliasent V.M. d'ordonner qu'il y eût un convoi pour nous mener d'autre canon et des bombes ici ; mais ils s'excusent par toutes les lettres qu'ils n'ont point d'argent, pas même seulement pour en avancer aux arquebusiers pour continuer à faire travailler aux fusils que je leur ai ordonné.

En écrivant ceci j'ai reçu une lettre de Carrickfergus par laquelle on me mande qu'il est arrivé trois vaisseaux chargés de vivres, et un ou il y a quelque poudre et bombes. Il y a six mois qu'ils sont chargés, et arrivent presentement.

Le Duc de Wurtemberg est venu de son quartier ici. Il est aussi en peine de ce qu'il arrive tous les jours des vaisseaux de Highlake, et que l'argent, qui est destiné pour les troupes qu'il commande, ne vient point. Il me paroît un esprit fort-doux, patient, et qui a envie de bien faire.

II.

The Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to Daillè's "Exposition de la Première Epitre de l'Apotre Saint Paul à Timothée en 48 sermons prononcés à Charenton," 1661.

A Monsieur De Ruvigny, Conseiller du Roi en ses Conseils, Lieutenant General de ses Armées, et Deputé General des Eglises Reformées de France auprès de Sa Majesté :

MONSIEUR,—Après les autres sermons qui sont sortis de mon cabinet en assez bon nombre, peut être qu'il eut mieux valu y retenir ceux-ci et me contenter de l'audience qu'ils ont eue à Charenton, sans les exposer encore

aux yeux du monde. En effet mon dessein étoit d'en user ainsi. Mais l'indulgence de mes amis en a jugé autrement ; et l'importunité des Libraires, qui en ont entrepris l'impression, a enfin été plus forte que ma résolution, me reprochant que je trompais l'attente des Lecteurs et que je laissais mon ouvrage imparfait, si à l'exposition de la seconde épître de S. Paul à Timothée que j'ai déjà mise en lumière,* je n'ajoutois aussi celle de la première que Dieu m'a fait la grace d'achever dans nos assemblées solennelles. Le succès m'apprendra si j'ai été trop facile de préférer leurs pensées aux miennes ; et je ne m'en repentirai pas si les fideles reçoivent quelque édification de ce livre. Du moins, *Monsieur*, j'en tire déjà cet avantage qu'en vous le dédiant il me donne le moyen de satisfaire le désir, que j'avois il y a long temps, de vous rendre quelque témoignage du respect que j'ai pour votre vertu, et de la reconnaissance que je dois à l'amitié dont vous m'honorez. Les services importants, que nos Eglises reçoivent de vos soins, depuis que le Roi vous a choisi pour être leur Député General auprès de S. M., obligent tous ceux de notre profession, et nous* plus que tous les autres, à vous respecter et à vous chérir avec une affection singulière ; puis que nous voyons de-plus-près combien dignement vous vous acquitez de cet emploi. C'est une charge déjà fort difficile d'elle-même—de servir de bouche à tant d'assemblées et à tant de personnes dispersées çà-et-là dans toutes les Provinces de ce grand état, pour exposer leurs nécessités et leurs requêtes à leur Souverain, et pour solliciter continuellement tantôt sa justice, et tantôt sa clemence, selon les diverses occasions qui s'en présentent tous les jours. Mais outre cela les rencontres des choses, et les passions de personnes qui viennent souvent traverser vos desirs et vos efforts légitimes, rendent encore cet emploi beaucoup plus difficile qu'il ne l'étoit de soi-même. Vous l'avez bien prévu dès le commencement ; mais la voix de Dieu, qui s'est fait ouïr en celle du Roi, et en l'approbation unanime de toutes nos Eglises, vous a inspiré le courage de ne pas résister à une vocation pleine de tant de difficultés. Et la grace du ciel, qui ne vous appelle jamais en vain, vous y a tellement beni, qu'en gardant religieusement à notre Souverain la fidélité et la reverence dûe à S. M., vous avez eu pour nos affaires le soin et l'affection que nous attendions de votre piété. Continuez, *Monsieur*, ce que vous avez heureusement commencé. C'est une œuvre ou j'avoue qu'il y a bien du travail. Mais certainement l'honneur y est encore et plus grand et plus certain que n'est pas la peine. Car qu'y a-t-il de plus glorieux que de servir au bien de tout un grand peuple ? que de vous donner à leur besoin et leur affaires ? que de secourir l'innocence opprimés ou par la calomnie ou par la violence ? que de solliciter pour sa consolation auprès du plus grand et du meilleur Prince de l'univers ? Sa bonté même nous fait espérer que vous n'y travaillerez pas en vain ; et la souveraine amour, qu'il a pour la justice, ne nous en promet pas moins, avec que la hauteur et la generosité de son âme et tant d'autres vertus qui, ayant paru en sa personne sacrée des sa première enfance, y reluisent maintenant avec un éclat tout nouveau, depuis qu'il a voulu prendre lui-même le timon de son Etat en sa main royale, seul vraiment digne d'un si grand et si glorieux soin. Dieu veuille ouvrir de-plus-en-plus son cœur aux très-humbles supplications que vous lui présentez pour nous, et faire entrer notre innocence par l'organe de votre voix dans cet auguste sanctuaire, ou se forment les Arrêts de la félicité de ses peuples ; afin que la protection de sa clemence, et la faveur de ses Edits nous étant continuée, nous puissions avec ses autres Sujets avoir aussi nôtre part aux douceurs de cette hereuse paix qu'il vient de donner à sa France après les victoires et les trionfes d'une longue guerre. C'est bien-là sans doute, *Monsieur*, ce que je demande les plus ardemment à Dieu pour vous, qu'il vous fasse trouver grace devant son Oint, et obtenir de sa bonté ce qui nous est nécessaire pour mener sous ses lois une vie paisible et tranquille en toute piété et honnêteté. Mais à ce vœu principal j'en joins encore d'autres particuliers pour votre prospérité, priant Dieu que comme il est très-magnifique remunerateur du bien que l'on fait à ses fideles, il soit votre loyer très-grand pour toutes les peines et pour tous les soins que vous prenez de nos affaires,—qu'il vous conserve en parfaite santé, et qu'il couronne votre maison des benedictions du ciel et de la terre, y affermissant à jamais sa sainte alliance. Je finirai par ces bons souhaits. Car pour le livre que je vous presente, puis que vous avez déjà entendu dans notre assemblée la plupart des Sermons dont il est composé vous en avez assez de connoissance sans qu'il soit besoin que je vous en parle davantage. Je vous supplie seulement, *Monsieur*, d'avoir agréable le present que je vous en fais, et de le recevoir comme une assurance et de mon inviolable respect et de la passion, que j'ai d'être à jamais, MONSIEUR, Votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur.

DAILLE.

De Paris, le 24 jour de Mai 1661.

III.

Lady Russell's First Allusion to young Ruvigny (afterwards Earl of Galway), extracted from *Selwood's Edition* of her LETTERS, and annotated.

No. 83.—LADY RUSSELL TO REV. DR. FITZWILLIAM (for some time Chaplain to Lord Russell).

“You have, since I saw you, good doctor, so shifted places, that my letters cannot find you. I writ to Windsor, when you were gone to Cottenham, and yesterday I directed to Cottenham ; at night I heard upon

* [Daille's *Exposition of Second Timothy* had appeared in 1659, dedicated to Madame La Princesse de Turenne.]

* [The Pastors, &c. of the Church of Charenton, residents in Paris.]

what melancholy account* you were gone to poor Lady Gainsborough's.† I imagine your compassionate temper and true Christian disposition to mourn with them that mourn (which I have had full proof of) will not let you quit that distressed family. So soon as this will reach you, be so kind to me as to say something to my Lady. I will own all you can say that is kind and respectful and suitable to her present circumstances. I consider her as one [that] has been a blessing to the family. She must have known much sorrow and care in it, but she cannot miss a reward for her good works ; as to herself, I have ever esteemed her person.

“ I pity poor Lady Betty,‡ though I believe Lady Julian§ may have the greater loss ; the first, I fancy, may have the greater sense of what the want of parents is ; but I have good hope their mother's|| children shall feel the mercies of God. I should be glad to hear the father has done his part towards their provision.

“ Parliament news can be nothing before Monday ; then the House of Commons are to take the state of the nation into consideration, and the Lords do so on Tuesday.

“ I must repeat a question to you I made in my letter yesterday. It was to ask you if I am right that you ordered me to lay down four guineas for you towards the redemption of some French Protestants, taken going into Holland, and made slaves in Algiers. They are now redeemed, four ministers or five, and the rest proposers. My cousin Ruvigny has paid the money, and I am to gather to re-imburse him the greatest part if I can. I have some time since writ to Lord Campden¶ for his contribution, and he bid me lay down for him ; but the time was not come till now, so I will remind him again in a few days, but I think it not fit yet in the present circumstances. I will add no more at this time from—Your true friend and servant,

R. RUSSELL.”

26 January, 1688-9.

IV.

DEDICATIONS OF BOOKS TO LORD GALWAY.

(1). DEDICATORY EPISTLE PREFIXED TO THE LIFE OF PASTEUR DU BOSC.

A' Monseigneur

*Monseigneur Le Vicomte de Galloway, Marquis de Ruvigny,
Lieutenant-General dans les armées de Sa Majesté Britannique,
et Député General des Eglises Reformées de France.*

MONSEIGNEUR, Je ne pouvois raisonnablement mettre d'autre nom que le votre à la tête de cet Ouvrage : car outre que l'on auroit de la peine à en trouver un aussi illustre, il n'y en a point qui ait été plus cher et plus utile à Mr. du Bosc. C'est par les sages conseils et par les lumières rares et exquisés de feu Mr. le Marquis de Ruvigny votre excellent père, et par les vôtres qui ne sont pas moins considérables, que ce bon serviteur de Dieu s'est conduit dans les negociations qui lui ont fait le plus d'honneur. Et n'est il pas bien juste de vous faire hommage d'un vie, qui doit son plus grand éclat à votre auguste Maison ?

D'ailleurs, MONSEIGNEUR, il n'y a point de Pasteurs Francois qui ne soient indispensablement obligés à vous donner des marques publiques de leur reconnoissance, après les soins inexprimables que vous avez pris, et que vous prenez encore tous les jours, pour adoucir les peines et les misères de leurs pauvres brebis dispersées. Celles qui ont eu besoin de votre secours ont trouvé en vous non seulement un pasteur, mais un père tendre et bienfaisant. Il n'y a rien d'égal à la charité que vous faites paroître pour les Confesseurs du Seigneur JESUS, que la pieté admirable que vous avez temoignée en sacrifiant generousement à la Verité toutes les grandeurs que la France vous offroit, pour la juste recompense des services que vous lui aviez rendus. L'armée qu'elle avoit en Allemagne auroit peri après la mort de Mr. de Turenne, par la jalousie des Chefs qui pretendoient un commandement, si vous n'aviez été assez sage et assez habile pour regler leurs differens. La paix si necessaire à ce Royaume, épuisé d'hommes et d'argent, n'auroit pas été conclue comme elle fut à Nimegue, sans le voyage que vous

* The death of Edward, first Earl of Gainsborough.

† This was the deceased Earl's second wife, Mary, daughter of the Hon. James Herbert of Kingsey, and widow of Sir Robert Worseley of Applederecomb, Bart. She died 6th April, 1693, in her 45th year.

‡ Lady Elizabeth, who married Richard Norton, Esq., M.P. for Hampshire, perhaps a relative of Colonel Norton, who received into his house the admirable Rector of Titchfield, ejected in 1662.

§ She is called in the peerages Lady Juliana. She died unmarried.

|| This alludes to Lady Russell's deceased sister, Lady Elizabeth Noel. She did not live to be styled a countess. During her lifetime, her husband, being simply a viscount's eldest son, was styled the Honourable Edward Noel : and she, of course, was “ Lady Elizabeth,” as a daughter of the Earl of Southampton.

¶ Viscount Campden (Wriothley Baptist Noel) :—his father being dead, he, after the funeral, would be addressed as Earl of Gainsborough. He was the only Noel-grandson of Rachel de Ruvigny, Countess of Southampton, and the last male representative of the Ruvigny-Noel stock ; his children were Elizabeth, Duchess of Portland, and Rachel, Duchess of Beaufort.

fités en Angleterre ; ou vous sâtes si bien ménager l'esprit du Roi Charles, qu'il n'eût pas la force de vous resister. Des services si glorieux, et si fort au dessus de l'âge que vous aviez alors, joints à tant d'autres que vous avez rendus depuis dans tous vos emplois, vous repondoient des plus belles charges, et des premiers dignités de l'Etat, si vous n'aviez préféré l'opprobre de CHRIST à toute la gloire du monde. Mais vous avez mieux aimé être affligé avec le peuple de Dieu, que de jouir pour un tems des délices du péché. Vous avez choisi la bonne part, MONSEIGNEUR, et vous ne vous en repentez jamais : car la pitié a les promesses de la vie présente, aussi bien que de celle qui est à venir. Je ne doute point, MONSEIGNEUR, que vous ne l'éprouviez, au service du grand Roi à qui vous vous êtes attaché. Sa Majesté sait parfaitement ce que vous valez. Elle a déjà eu des marques éclatantes de votre courage et de votre capacité en diverses occasions, et sur tout dans la reduction de l'Irlande, à laquelle vous n'avez pas peu contribué par votre sagesse et par votre valeur. Vous venez encore de la signaler dans la sanglante journée que nous avons essayée à Landen. Quels efforts n'avez-vous pas faits, MONSEIGNEUR, pour séconder notre incomparable Chef ? On vous a vu partout marcher sur les pas de ce redoutable Monarque, quoiqu'il ait rempli tous les devoirs d'un grand Capitaine et d'un soldat déterminé, qu'il ait toujours été des premiers au combat et des derniers dans la retraite. Vous avez été le compagnon de ses glorieux travaux, et vous ne pouvez manquer d'avoir part aux benedictions qui doivent accompagner le regne d'un heros si parfait. DIEU veuille, Monseigneur, conserver un siècle entier cet admirable Prince, qui est si nécessaire au monde et à l'Eglise; et vous faire aussi la grace de vivre assez long-tems, pour recevoir tous les honneurs que vous meritez. Ce sont les vœux ardents et sincères,

MONSEIGNEUR,

De votre très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

P. LE GENDRE.

A' Rotterdam, le
6. Aout 1693.

(2). DEDICATORY EPISTLE PREFIXED TO BOUHÈREAU'S [FRENCH] TRANSLATION OF ORIGEN'S REPLY TO CELSUS, DUBLIN, 1700.

"A Son Excellence, Henry De Massue De Ruvigny, Comte et Vicomte de Galway, Baron De Portarlington, Lieutenant-General des Armées de Sa Majesté Britannique, l'un des Seigneurs Régens de son Royaume d'Irlande et commandant en chef ses forces dans le même royaume :"—

"MY LORD, Jamais personne n'eût une matière plus heureuse pour une Epître Dédicatoire. Un livre, fait pour la *Defense de la Religion Chrétienne*, ouvre un beau champ par rapport à vous pour passer ensuite au reste. Mais la permission que votre Excellence m'a accordée, de mettre son nomme à la tête de cette ouvrage, est une grace dont je ne dois pas abuser. Je croirois le faire, MY LORD, si je prenois le style qu'on a coutume de prendre dans les occasions de la nature de celle-ci. Ce n'est pas à moi de faire votre éloge. Cela sied bien à des étrangers. Ils ont une liberté entière de dire tout ce qu'ils pensent sur votre sujet. Mais quand on a l'honneur d'être à vous autant que je le suis, il faut se contenter du plaisir de vous entendre louer aux autres. La voix publique vous rend justice, MY LORD, sur ce que vous êtes en vous même, dans le cabinet, dans l'action ; sur ce que vous faites pour l'Etat et pour les Particuliers ; sur ce que vous avez perdu pour ne pas manquer au plus grand de tous les devoirs, et sur ce que vous avez acquis en remplissant les plus difficiles. Tout le monde le sait ; tout le monde en parle. Cela suffit. Puis je ici dire toute ma pensée ? On trouble un Concert, si on y ajoute des voix hors d'œuvre. On affoiblit les louanges d'une personne generalement louée, si on les publie sans les égards nécessaires. C'est à quoi, My Lord, je n'ai garde de m'exposer en parlant de vous et à vous-même. Je sens je ne sais quelle delicatesse là-dessus, qui me feroit souffrir, autant que vous souffiriez, s'il m'échappoit quelques expressions qui marquassent trop vivement ce que j'ai dans le cœur. Je ne puis mieux l'éviter qu'en me renfermant dans le dessein qui m'a porté à vous demander la permission que j'ai obtenue—c'est de vous donner un témoignage public de mon reconnaissance, et du respect inviolable avec lequel je suis, My Lord,

De Votre Excellence,

Le très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

E. BOUHÈREAU."

(3). EPISTLE DEDICATORY PREFIXED TO SERMONS BY THE LATE REV. HENRI DE ROCHEBLAVE.

"A' Son Excellence Henri, Lord Comte et Vicomte de Galloway, Baron de Portarlington, Capitaine-General des forces de Sa Majesté Britannique, son Ambassadeur Extraordinaire et Plenipotentiaire en Espagne et en Portugal.

"My Lord, Voici quelques precieux notes de mon époux, sur lesquels la mort et le temps ne peuvent rien. Si la mort me l'a ravi, elle ne saurait éteindre les verités éternelles qu'il a prêchés. Je me flatte même que le Public qui fut édifié des ses Sermons durant sa vie ne me saura pas mauvais gré que je le fasse encore parler après sa mort. Plusieurs de ses amis me l'ont demandé avec instance ; mais mon cœur me le demande plus que personne, et je n'ai pu refuser ce soulagement à ma juste douleur. Si l'édification publique se trouve ici jointe à ma satisfaction particulière comme je n'en doute pas, il me semble qu'après une telle perte je n'ai plus rien à desirer pour ma consolation, et que je dois humblement acquiescer à la volonté de mon Dieu. Il faut que je supporte avec constance qu'il soit perdu pour moi et pour sa famille désolée, pourvu qu'il ne le soit pas pour l'Eglise, et que les bonnes âmes profitent encore de ces veilles et de ses travaux.

“ Quoiqu’il soit, je n’ai pas un qu’il me fût permis de dédier ce Volume de ses derniers sermons à d’autres qu’à vous, My Lord, dont l’illustre famille a eu les prémices de son ministère. Animée de tous les sentimens de veneration qu’ avait le Défunt pour les rares vertus dont Dieu vous a enrichi, je ne mets votre grand nom à la tête de son ouvrage que pour m’acquitter devoir, ou il serait entré lui-même, s’il avait jamais eu le dessein de le donner au Public ; mais la Providence m’avait réservé cet honneur.

“ Tout le monde sait l’estime infinie que fait Votre Excellence de tout ce qui a rapport à la piété et à la religion. Personne n’ignore les glorieuses marques que vous avez données de votre attachement inviolable pour elles, et que vous leur avez tout sacrifié ; mais personne ne le savait mieux que mon cher époux, qui en parlait sans cesse. Comme vous l’honoriez de votre protection, il repondoit à cet honneur par son respect et son admiration, qu’on n’a jamais refusé à vos vertus Chrétiennes, Civiles et Heroïques. C’est de quoi, My Lord, il a eu plusieurs temoins beaucoup plus desintéressés que je ne puis l’être. Aussi ces sentimens sont-ils devenus comme naturels à sa famille qui priera toujours Dieu pour la prospérité et la conservation de votre illustre personne, et qui lui sera toujours dévouée.

“ En mon particulier, My Lord, quelle reconnaissance ne dois-je pas à vos bontés ? J’ai eu l’honneur de les éprouver depuis bien des années ; et si le vif ressentiment que j’en ai vous est inutile, permettez du moins que je le rends public, et que je temoigne à toute la terre que vous êtes un digne instrument de la Providence pour la consolation des âmes affligées. Combien y a-t-il de veuves, d’orphelins et de malheureux de tous les ordres qui ont senti les doux effets de votre libéralité. Mais je n’entrerais pas dans ce détail qui merite une autre plume que la mienne. Je me contenterai de faire des vœux au Ciel pour le succès de toutes vos entreprises, et de me dire avec un profonde respect, My Lord,

De Votre Excellence,
La très-humble, très-obeissante, et très-obligée servante,
ISABEAU DE ROCHEBLAVE.’

A’ Dublin le 15 Juillet 1710.

V.

THE EARL OF GALWAY’S TWO PAPERS FOR THE HOUSE OF LORDS, JANUARY 1711.

[Re-printed from the “ Annals of Queen Anne.”]

(1). “ THE EARL OF GALWAY’S NARRATIVE, READ BY THE CLERK AT THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS, 9TH JANUARY, 1711.

“ In obedience to your Lordship’s commands, I present you with a short narrative in writing, containing the most material occurrences that happened in Portugal and Spain, during the time I had the honour to command the Queen’s troops there.

“ In June 1704, being retired into the country, I received the Queen’s commands to attend her Majesty at Windsor, where she was pleased to order me to go and take upon me the command of her troops in Portugal. I desired to be excused from accepting an employment which I did not think myself equal to ; but the Queen seeming fixed in her resolution, I obeyed.

“ Upon my arrival at Lisbon, I found the two kings of Spain and Portugal already marching for Abeira, and joined upon their route. But the season was much advanced, and it being thought impracticable to attack the enemy there, it was soon resolved to retire into winter quarters.

“ The troops being in quarters, I went to Lisbon, where I had certain advice that Gibraltar was besieged, and Marshal Tesse gone thither. Upon which, considering the importance of the place, I immediately sent the Prince of Hesse four of the best regiments of foot under my command, viz., the battalion of guards, my Lord *Barrymore’s*, Lord *Donegall’s*, and Lord *Montjoy’s*, together with a large supply of ammunition and provisions, which the garrison wanted extremely. This relief arrived in good time, and proved so successful, as not only to defend the place, but to hold out a siege that entirely ruined the enemy’s infantry, and prevented their being able to take the field the following spring in Alentejo.

“ Being informed of their condition, as likewise that there was but a very small garrison in Badajoz, I endeavoured to persuade the Portuguese to attack that place, but could not then prevail ; however they took Valencia de Alcantara by storm, and Albuquerque by capitulation under the command of the Conde des Galveas, and afterwards retired to quarters of refreshment, as is usual in the excessive heats of the summer.

“ During this interval I went to Lisbon to confer with the Earl of Peterborow. I found the King of Spain designed to embark with him ; and not doubting but the Earl was bound on some important expedition, though I had no orders to that purpose, and had now only one regiment of horse, two of dragoons, and five of foot left under my command in Portugal, I offered him whatever part of these troops he pleased to desire. The Earl accepted of my offer, and chose the royal regiment of dragoons, and *Cunningham’s*, taking likewise an order with him from me to the Governor of Gibraltar, for such regiments from thence as he should think fit to take on board, leaving only a sufficient garrison for the defence of the town, and accordingly his Lordship took from thence those four regiments which I had sent thither to the relief of the place.

"After the King of Spain and my Lord Peterborow had sailed, I with great difficulty prevailed upon the Portuguese to besiege Badajoz in autumn. But instead of taking the field, as we had agreed to do, in the beginning of September, it was the 2d of October before I could get them to invest the place, under the command of the Marquis das Minas. Our cannon had already begun to play with success, when an accident happened in a battery, which I went thither to repair; and being there to give the necessary orders for that purpose, I lost my arm by a cannon-shot from the town. But it is the general opinion, that if the disposition which I put in writing the very morning the misfortune happened to me, and proposed to a council of war, where the same was agreed to, had been duly executed, Marshal Tesse could never have relieved the place, which must necessarily have fallen into our hands in a very few days.

"Not long after the siege was raised, news came of the surrender of Barcelona to King Charles, and about a month after, that Marshal Tesse had marched with the best part of the forces quartered on the frontier of Portugal, in order to join the Duke of Anjou and besiege Barcelona again.

"Upon this I resolved to propose to the Portuguese to march to Madrid, concluding that either the Duke of Anjou would by this means be obliged to quit the siege of Barcelona, or else that we could meet with no opposition in our way. For this purpose I took a journey to Lisbon, even while my wound, upon the cutting off of my arm, was still open, and had such success with the King of Portugal, that his troops took the field the following spring by the 26th of March (n. s.) under the command of the Marquis das Minas, with intention to besiege Alcantara, and march that way to Madrid. Meantime the Duke of Berwick, who had been sent to command on the frontiers of Portugal in Marshal Tesse's stead, had thrown ten regiments of foot into Badajoz, and marched with seven more, and a body of 4000 horse towards Alcantara, in order to reinforce that garrison, by the addition of those seven regiments, which he accordingly left there, and then came back to Brocas with his cavalry, where we surprised him, beat his rear-guard, pursued him a considerable way, and took possession of the castle of Brocas; in which place we left a garrison to cover our foragers, during the time we should lie before Alcantara.

"After this we continued our march to Alcantara, which surrendered to us in a very few days; we took ten good battalions prisoners of war there, and found about sixty pieces of cannon in the place, with great store of small arms and ammunition.

"After the surrender of Alcantara we crossed the Tagus there, and having taken some places of small note upon our march, and forced a pass at Massagona, where the enemy had entrenched themselves, we advanced as far as the bridge of Almaraz.

"But here the Portuguese resolved unanimously to return home again, notwithstanding all the arguments the Generals of the allies could offer to the contrary, which happened very unfortunately. For had the army marched directly from thence to Madrid, in all probability we must have arrived there at the same time with the news of the Duke of Anjou's being returned to France; the Duchess must have been obliged to escape alone; and the tribunals being still there, 'tis very likely the war would have been over.

"Some of the Portuguese were willing to go back and besiege Badajoz, which was entirely laying aside all thoughts of Madrid. But others were for attacking Ciudad Rodrigo, and, by joining with these, I engaged them, after the taking of that place, to go to Madrid. But the time which was lost on this occasion had given the Duke of Anjou an opportunity of returning from France to Madrid, from whence he withdrew the court and all the tribunals, before our army could reach that place. So upon our arrival there, we found Madrid an open village; and the troops having been extremely weakened by so long a march, were not above 4000 horse and 8 or 10,000 foot.

"The Portuguese Generals and those of the allies thought it highly necessary the King of Spain should come to Madrid as soon as possible. For besides the advantage his presence might have been to his own affairs, it was of the last importance to us to be immediately joined by the forces with the king and under the Earl of Peterborow's command; not being strong enough without them to attack the Duke of Anjou, who had already received some succours from France, besides the 5500 horse and 8000 foot, of which the Duke of Berwick's army consisted, after he had been joined by the Conde de las Torres.

"Being perfectly informed of the enemy's strength and motions, and having great reasons to believe that if we were joined in time by all the forces with the King and the Earl of Peterborow, we might in this favourable conjuncture drive the Duke of Anjou entirely out of Spain, make ourselves absolute masters of that kingdom, and put an end to an expensive war—all the while we lay at Madrid and Guadalaxara I despatched every day one or more expresses, and the greatest part of them officers, with letters to the King of Spain and my Lord Peterborow, representing to them both the importance of our being joined forthwith, and earnestly desiring that no time might be lost in improving so critical a juncture.

"As the next best means to advise our friends of our arrival at Madrid, the first gazette day after we got thither, I caused it to be published in the gazette that we were there, and expected in a very few days to be joined by the King and the Earl of Peterborow, hoping that the natural curiosity of the Spaniards would give a printed newspaper a free passage.

"But notwithstanding all the diligence that was used in this manner on our part, near six weeks were elapsed at Madrid and Guadalaxara before we received any advice that the king was upon his march to join us; and in the meantime, the Duke of Anjou's army was so much increased by daily reinforcements from several parts, that he was now become superior in number to us, even after we were joined by those forces which the king and my Lord Peterborow brought along with them.

“And I must say it is the general opinion, and I do verily believe, that as the Portuguese lost one fair opportunity of putting an end to the war by not marching directly from the bridge of Almaras to Madrid, so we lost another for want of being joined in time by the forces under the command of the King of Spain and the Earl of Peterborow.

“And whereas that noble lord is pleased to aver that he never received any advice from me of my arrival at Madrid with the Portuguese, and (as an argument of my neglect of him on that subject) produces an instance of one officer that happened to pass through his quarters with letters from me to the king, and none to his lordship—I am obliged to observe that I gave this officer 100 pistoles, and ordered him to go directly to the King of Spain, who then lay at Saragossa, but he was accidentally forced to go out of his way to avoid one of the enemy's parties, which was the true occasion of his passing through the Earl of Peterborow's quarters at Valencia, contrary to his first intention. But several other officers who were despatched by me to the Earl assured me they had the honour to deliver him those letters which I wrote to his lordship from Madrid and Guadalaxara. And even taking the fact to be as the Earl of Peterborow is pleased to state it himself, it is plain his lordship had at least some verbal informations from that very officer that passed through his lordship's quarters, and consequently could not be altogether ignorant either of the place where the Portuguese army lay, or of the necessity of joining them without loss of time.

“After the General had got King Charles proclaimed at Madrid, it was thought fit to advance to Guadalaxara, where we had at last advice that the king was coming to join us, and at the same time were informed that the Duke of Anjou was at Guadaraxa, to which place we marched to prevent the enemy from intercepting the king. Upon our approach the Duke of Anjou repossessed the river, which little advantage we contented ourselves with, for it was not thought advisable to follow and attack him on the other side, being advantageously posted and stronger than we.

“We stayed here two days, and when we thought the king was out of danger, we again retired to Guadalaxara, where we were joined by his Majesty and my Lord Peterborough, with two regiments of Spanish dragoons, and part of *Pearce's*, for his lordship had left behind him in several places 13 battalions of English foot, with the remainder of *Pearce's* and two other entire regiments of dragoons.

“So soon as the armies were joined (having upon my arrival at Madrid sent Captain Montague to give the Queen an account of our march, and to desire her Majesty's leave to retire), I waited upon my Lord Peterborow, offering him the command of the English, and to receive his orders till I should have the Queen's leave to go home. But because the Marquis das Minas would not do so too, my Lord Peterborow chose not to stay with the army, and within a few days after went away.

“The king resolved, by advice of the general officers, to go to Chincon, where all things necessary for the army were found in great plenty. But the season being far advanced, a council was held about taking winter quarters, where it was agreed to be by no means safe to canton on that side of the Tagus, for fear of losing all communication with the sea. Besides, the country was so open, the troops could not be divided without danger.

“For these reasons, after having stayed at Chincon about three weeks, though the army had forage and provisions for as many more, it was agreed forthwith to cross the Tagus, lest the approaching rains should render the fords impracticable. Nor was there a possibility of taking winter quarters so commodiously as in the kingdom of Valencia, where the situation of the country rendered us secure against any attempts from a superior army.

“This resolution was put in practice, and we made our retreat in good order, notwithstanding all the interruption the enemy were able to give us, and were obliged at Yniesta to cross the river in the sight of all their cavalry.

“Whilst the army was in quarters, my Lord Peterborow came back from Italy. And whereas it has been suggested that his lordship did then demand from me 5000 men for some expedition on the side of Catalonia, which were refused—I must declare I do not remember that the Earl ever applied himself to me in particular upon that subject. If he had, the answer must naturally have been, that that matter depended not upon me to grant or refuse, but upon the King of Spain under whose command I was.

“But I do remember the Earl proposed this at some general council, or council of war, held in the king's presence about the operations of the ensuing campaign, and joined with those who were of opinion that it was by no means convenient to divide the troops, as may appear by a copy of that opinion signed by my Lord Tyrawley and by me, bearing date the 15th day of January 1706-7. But I must beg leave to observe that it was not the decisive council for the operations of the campaign, for many subsequent councils were held in the king's presence more important than this. And though in them there might have been some variety of opinions as to the manner, yet almost all the generals and ministers that assisted at those councils agreed perfectly in the substance, which was, that we should join our troops and march to Madrid. Some indeed were for passing through the plains of the Mancha, and crossing the Tagus; but this opinion was overruled, because of the hazard in passing the river if the enemy opposed us, and of the scarcity of provisions in the Mancha, which had been exhausted by the enemy's winter quarters. For which reasons it was, after many debates, agreed, that we should take the way of Valencia and Arragon, passing the Tagus at its head, to avoid all opposition. But lest the kingdom of Valencia might by this means be any ways exposed, it was likewise resolved, before we should begin our march, to destroy all the enemy's magazines of provision and forage, in the country bordering upon the frontiers of Valencia, to prevent them from making incursions. And I do take upon me to aver, that nothing

was ever transacted, during the time I had the honour to command the Queen's troops, contrary to the positive resolutions of any general council or council of war, unless that resolution was afterwards repealed by some subsequent council.

"So sensible was every one of our being already too weak, it was resolved to desire my Lord Rivers (who was lately arrived at Lisbon) would join us with the troops that came under his command from England; which his lordship did, not long after.

"For the better execution of what had been resolved for our march through Valencia and Arragon, proper commissaries and officers were despatched to provide bread and forage sufficient for the troops, in all places where it was designed the army should pass. I went with the Marquis das Minas to the frontiers towards the latter end of March, and we took the field the beginning of April. We ruined part of the country bordering upon the frontiers of Valencia before the enemy could join their troops, particularly Yecla, where they had their largest magazines. Judging it necessary to take in the Castle of Villena, to prevent their army from being masters of one of the most considerable inlets into the kingdom of Valencia, we sat down before that place. But it proved stronger than was expected; and after we had spent some days there, we had notice that the enemy had assembled their troops at Almanza.

"Upon this advice a council of war was held, where it was unanimously resolved to fight the enemy, which we were the rather induced to, because it was judged impossible to subsist upon the defensive in the kingdom of Valencia. The country had already been so much exhausted by our winter quarters, that there was not two days' provisions to be found for the army; and we could not have been able to have subsisted there so long as we did, but for the supply we found in the enemy's magazines at Yecla. Nor did we think it proper to pursue the once-intended march through that kingdom and Arragon, lest provisions should be wanting, leaving the enemy so near and in a condition to follow us. For though commissaries had been employed, there was reason to apprehend that the towns we were to pass through would shut their gates against us, whilst we were closely followed by the enemy, and persecuted by the peasants of the country, who, grown desperate by seeing themselves abandoned, would naturally be up in arms in the mountains. Besides, we had certain advice that there was already a body of French troops, consisting of 8000 men, in Spain, and upon their march to reinforce the enemy. Thus, as the army must inevitably have perished without fighting, it was thought reasonable to run the hazard of a battle, wherein we had an equal chance to come off victors, which was accordingly done two days after, on the 25th of April 1707, N. S., but with ill success.

"The cavalry of the allies, with some small part of the foot that had escaped the ill fate of the day, joined again at Alcira, from whence they retired to Tortosa, and finding the enemy had crossed the Ebro, endeavoured, by opposing their passage over the Chinca, to amuse them till the latter end of the campaign. Meantime, with great expedition, I gathered the broken remains of the foot (out of which I formed five battalions) and raised four more of Catalans, with which we made a stand against a victorious enemy, and preserved the principality of Catalonia entire, except Lerida. After the taking of Lerida, the enemy thought fit to retire into winter quarters, and we did the same.

"In February following, the Marquis das Minas, with most of the Portuguese generals, embarked for Lisbon; and having the Queen's leave to do so too, I visited the several quarters where the troops in her Majesty's pay were lodged; and having left the necessary orders with Majors-General Carpenter and Wills for the government in my absence, took the same opportunity of going thither.

"Upon my arrival in Portugal, I found the Queen's orders there to take upon me the characters of ambassador extraordinary, plenipotentiary, and general of her forces, which charges I accepted in obedience to her Majesty; though I had nothing so much at heart as the pleasure of returning to that retirement, from whence only the Queen's positive commands could have drawn me."

(2). THE EARL OF GALWAY'S REPLY, OR OBSERVATIONS UPON THE EARL OF PETERBOROW'S ANSWERS TO THE FIVE QUESTIONS PROPOSED TO HIS LORDSHIP BY THE LORDS:—

"Your lordships having been pleased to allow me a copy of all such papers as have been produced to prove the truth of the Earl of Peterborow's answers to the five questions that were proposed to him by this honourable house, together with a copy of those questions and answers, with leave to answer to any such part thereof as I might conceive myself concerned in, and have not already sufficiently explained in my narrative, I do take the liberty of observing to your Lordships, that

"The Earl of Peterborow, to the first question,* is pleased to say, 'The management of the war in Spain, when under the conduct of other generals, was not only supported with great numbers of men and vast sums of money, but also with notorious falsehoods published in their favour, to excuse repeated disgraces.' Whereas his lordship cannot but remember, that when he sailed from Portugal with the King of Spain to Barcelona, he left only one regiment of horse and five of foot under my command in that country, I having voluntarily offered him, and he as freely accepted of, two regiments of dragoons from Portugal, and four battalions of foot from Gibraltar, which I had sent to the defence of that place.

* First Question: "The Earl of Peterborow be desired to acquaint the Committee how he was supported with men and money during the time he commanded in Spain, and what applications he made for either, and to whom?"

“I declare I never traduced the said Earl’s conduct either by letters or otherwise, though it seems the Queen had been fully informed thereof, particularly in regard to the misunderstanding between his lordship and the King of Spain, to which his Catholic Majesty has attributed his delays in marching to his capital, as may appear by Count Gallas’s memorial, a copy whereof lies on your Lordships’ table. ’Tis well known, the first ‘disgrace’ that ever happened to us in Spain was occasioned by his lordship’s not joining us in time at Madrid; and all the misfortunes that attended us afterwards were owing to that neglect.

“His lordship is pleased to say further, in his answer to the same question, ‘That to excuse the fatal battle of Almanza a king was to be used at that rate as to have it, in an account printed by authority, declared that he took numbers, amounting to 4000 or 5000 men, from a battle to be fought for his crown, the very regiments of horse and foot mentioned by name. Whereas it is notoriously known to the whole world that he took only about 200 miserable Spanish dragoons; and that of the regiments mentioned to be taken away from the English general in Valencia, some were never in being, others were regiments of trained bands in Barcelona, and none of them within 250 miles of that place.’ Whereupon I beg leave to observe, that notwithstanding the Earl’s reflection on that paper published by authority, the account therein printed is so far from having been exaggerated, that there were actually some battalions of regular troops absent in Catalonia besides those mentioned in the Gazette, June 1707; and several officers who were at Almanza can depose that there was not one Spanish corps, either horse, foot, or dragoons, on our side at that battle.

“If part of the king’s forces were at 250 miles’ distance, that may be a reason why they could not be at the battle; but none can be given for their being at that distance, except in the case of some few garrisons, which might indeed have been necessary, but could not require above six or seven battalions whilst the army was then in the field. Whereas his Catholic Majesty had at that time in his own pay in Spain above 6000 men, besides the Dutch and English that were in Arragon and Catalonia. And those regiments which the Earl is pleased to call ‘trained bands,’* because they bore the name of some particular town or province that raised or subsisted them, are no more so than the regiments of *Picardy* and *Burgundy* in France, though newly raised.

“In his lordship’s answer to the second question,† he is pleased to aver, ‘That from the time the Earl of Galway came first into Spain as far as Almaras, and thence returned back to Portugal, the Earl of Peterborow had no advices from the Earl of Galway, no account of the motives of that retreat, or any hopes given him of the return of the Portuguese into Spain.’ What his lordship says upon this occasion is very true, for whilst he was at so great a distance besieged in Barcelona, and the Duke of Berwick with a considerable body of horse between him and us, it was to no purpose to think of sending despatches by land. Neither was it necessary to inform the enemy that way, that the Portuguese were resolved (notwithstanding the repeated instances of the foreign generals to the contrary) to return back again to their own country, after their army had advanced as far as the bridge of Almaras. But when we got to Madrid, I immediately sent so many expresses with letters both to the Earl of Peterborow and the King of Spain, that it was morally impossible his lordship could have been ignorant above eight days of our arrival there. And I have been since assured by the inhabitants of Barcelona, that they were all informed of it by that time; from whence I must conclude that his lordship’s delays in joining us were voluntary, and not occasioned by want of intelligence. I have asserted in the narrative which I delivered in to this most honourable house, that I do verily believe, if the Portuguese army had been joined in time after their arrival at Madrid by the forces with the King of Spain and under the command of the Earl of Peterborow, we might have been able to have driven the Duke of Anjou out of Spain, and have put an end to an expensive war; nor was this my opinion only, but that of all the world at that time. And I find his lordship thinks it so far imports him to be clear of this imputation, that he is resolved to be rid of it at any rate. For certainly nothing less than an apprehension of this nature could have made him aver a fact so improbable as that where, in his farther answer to the same question, he says, ‘That he received no letter, no message from the Earl of Galway after his second entrance into Spain, nor had the least notice of his situation, circumstances, or designs, till he saw his troops retreating from the enemy to take the strong camp of Guadalaxara.’

“Now what could be the design of his lordship’s marching to Guadalaxara, with so small a body of troops as is mentioned in my Narrative, unless he knew he was to meet us there? Besides, his lordship forgets that he came not to Guadalaxara till some days after the Portuguese had been actually encamped there, as I can make appear by the oath of several officers; and consequently it was impossible for him to have seen us retreating thither.

“I believe it may be necessary upon this occasion to repeat, that when his lordship did join us, he brought no more English troops with him than one regiment of dragoons and a detachment of another, though he had actually at that time under his command in Spain 13 English battalions and 4 regiments of dragoons. As, likewise, that the officer who (his lordship says) passed through his quarters with letters for the King of Spain and none for him, was never designed to have gone within several leagues of his lordship, unless he had been obliged

* [This was an old name for *yeomanry regiments* or militia.]

† Second Question: “The Earl of Peterborow may acquaint the house of what he knows of the Earl of Galway’s proceedings during his stay with the army at Madrid, his march to Guadalaxara, and his retreat to Valencia, and if he knows anything of the opposition made by the King of Spain, the Count De Noyelles, and the Spanish ministers and generals to those measures.”

to it by a party of the enemy (as I have already explained more largely in my Narrative). And I cannot help observing, 'tis very improbable that officer should have had occasion to apply to the Earl's secretary for money, because I gave him 100 pistoles at the time I dispatched him.

"In his lordship's answer to the third question,* he is pleased to say, 'That the Earl of Galway continued about 40 days at Madrid without making any endeavours to augment his troops, or provide any means for the subsistence of his army; that meeting the enemy unexpectedly and retreating to the camp of Guadalaxara, the troops were without provisions and in the greatest disorder.' In reply to this paragraph I do affirm, that the Portuguese staid no longer time at Madrid than was necessary to get the king proclaimed there, which did not exceed ten days,—then advanced as far as Guadalaxara, and afterwards to Guadaraxa, about 60 miles beyond Madrid, where we obliged part of the Duke of Anjou's troops to repossess the river,—but were not willing to engage them, at a time when we had reason to expect we should have been joined in a few days by the forces with the King of Spain and Earl of Peterborow, which was the only secure method left us to augment our troops. For it would have been very imprudent to have attempted to have formed corps of the Castilians, who were entirely devoted to the Duke of Anjou's interest. But all the officers of the army know, we were so far from wanting provisions ourselves, that we sent a convoy of 8000 loaves to meet the king and the Earl of Peterborow, which (by their delay in not advancing fast enough) grew mouldy, and was afterwards pillaged by the peasants. His lordship's information of our want of intelligence of the enemy's motions and of our disorder upon the retreat, are as great mistakes as the former. For the occasion of our advancing to Guadaraxa was purely to post ourselves in such a manner as to prevent the enemy from marching or sending detachments to intercept the King of Spain; and when we had reason to believe him out of danger, we returned to Guadalaxara, there to be joined by the King and the Earl of Peterborow. Nor was it possible for his lordship to have seen our disorder, if there had been any, because (as I have already observed) he came not to Guadalaxara himself till some days after we had been encamped there.

"Notwithstanding, the Earl of Peterborow is pleased to say, 'That we lost 5000 men in the retreat to Valencia without a blow, and entirely ruined our whole cavalry.' 'Tis certain our loss upon that occasion was very inconsiderable, if any, and the retreat made in so good order, that the enemy (superior as they were in number) never durst venture to attack us after the warm reception 22 of their squadrons met with from two battalions under the command of Colonel Wade, in the town of Villa Nova, notwithstanding we were obliged to cross plains and rivers in their view.

"And though his lordship avers in his answer to this question, 'That this retreat was made against the king's opinion, and that of all his officers and ministers'—it is certain, the retreat was concerted and agreed upon at a council of war. 'Tis true some persons about the King seem'd, at first, inclinable to have taken quarters in Castile, but that was soon after found impracticable; for none of those Spaniards who were best acquainted with the country could make a disposition of quarters where the troops could be secure. Therefore it was resolved immediately to cross the Tagus, before the approaching rains should have rendered the fords impracticable; which being done, our next design was to have lodged ourselves behind the river Xucar. But neither could this be done without taking a small town with a castle upon that river, that commanded a bridge, where the enemy had a garrison. And therefore a disposition was made for attacking this town; but by the delay of the king's generals the execution of this matter was so long deferred, that the enemy had already reinforced their garrison, and were advanced so near us with a superior force, that it was not thought advisable to attempt the place. Thus the only resource left us was the kingdom of Valencia, whither we were absolutely obliged to retreat, that we might preserve our communication with the seas, and canton with security.

"Nor is it to be wondered at that Count Noyelles, in his letter to the Earl of Peterborow, should seem dissatisfied with the measures that were then taken; since 'tis well known that General used underhand to ridicule those very opinions of councils of war to which he had given his own assent. For, being disappointed of the command of the army (which was what he expected at his first arrival), he seem'd resolved that no other general should have an army to command. 'Tis very notorious that a Dutch and Spanish battalion, with a detachment of English and Portuguese, amounting to above 3000 men, were sent to Cuenca, and thrown away there (after it had been resolved to retreat to Valencia), purely to satisfy his importunity; for I always foresaw it would be impossible to protect a garrison at that distance from our quarters. But what is still more extraordinary, the sending of the king's troops into Arragon with part of the Dutch who might otherwise have been at the battle of Almanza, was another fatal effect of following Count de Noyelles' advice.

"In the Earl of Peterborow's answer to the fourth question,† he is pleased to say, 'That several councils of

* Third Question: "That the Earl of Peterborow acquaint the House, what advice his lordship received from the Earl of Galway at Madrid in order to concert any public measures, and what his lordship knows of the reasons that induced the King of Spain to go by Arragon towards Madrid, and not by Valencia?"

† Fourth Question: "If his lordship pleases to give an account of the councils of war in Valencia about the 15th of January 1707, upon the notice of the Earl Rivers sailing into the Straits—and upon the projects of that campaign—and what numbers the king took from the army, and an account of his manifesto upon so doing?" [Lord Peterborough having touched on the latter portion of this question in his answer to question first, did not return to the subject.]

war were held in the month of January in Valencia, about the time that intelligence was brought that the forces under the Earl Rivers were entered into the Mediterranean, in order to adjust the measures for the ensuing campaign. That the matters therein debated were principally whether the army should march towards Madrid or seek the enemy. In the debates the Earl of Peterborow positively affirms that the Earl of Galway, Mr Stanhope, and the Lord Tyrawley, supported those measures with the Portuguese general; and that the King, the Count de Noyelles, the Spanish generals and ministers, with himself, argued strongly against those measures as highly dangerous and impracticable; and this in repeated councils of war. Till at last the Earl of Peterborow, solicited by the king to renew the debate, desired the king that he would order all called to the council to bring their opinions in writing, that everybody's opinion, and reasons for that opinion, might appear and be known to the world; which, according to the king's commands, were put in writing and delivered at the council.'

"In reply to this assertion I would beg leave to appeal to your lordships' memories, whether upon the first mention of these resolutions to your most honourable house, the Earl did not as positively affirm, 'That the conclusive council for the operations of the ensuing campaign was held on the 15th of January, and whether he did not offer to depose on oath that in that very council no person whatever was of opinion for making an offensive war, and against dividing the troops, but the Lord Tyrawley, Mr Stanhope, and I?' Soon after, indeed, upon farther recollection, he was pleased to add the Marquis das Minas to our number; and I observe he has since given himself a much larger latitude, both as to the time of holding that council, and as to the persons who voted for an offensive war. His Lordship is now so far from confining himself to a day that he takes in the whole month, and by accusing us more modestly for having opposed only the King, Count Noyelles, himself, and the Spanish generals and ministers, leaves half the council on our side. For, supposing all the Spanish generals and ministers to have assisted at that council, there could only have been twelve persons there, viz., Prince Lichtenstein, Count Oropeza, Count Corsana, Count Cardona, Count Noyelles, my Lord Peterborow, the Marquis das Minas, Count d'Assumar, my Lord Tyrawley, Mr Stanhope, Monsieur Friesheim, and I. The last six his lordship has plainly left on our side; but my Lord Tyrawley positively affirms Count Corsana was of the same opinion, and believes Count Oropeza was so too. Thus taking the matter as the Earl of Peterborow is pleased to state it, we had an equality, and, as my Lord Tyrawley remembers, the greater number,—of our party.

"Perhaps when my Lord Peterborow contended so positively to prove that council of the 15th of January conclusive, he was led into that error by the mistake in my Lord Sunderland's letter in answer to one of Mr Stanhope's of January 15th. But he has since been pleased to allow that the council of the 15th was not conclusive, and that many more subsequent councils were held, which determined the operations of the ensuing campaign, wherein he voted himself for marching to Madrid by the way of Arragon—which (I should have imagined) had left no farther room to mention our opinions of the 25th. But because he is still resolved to make good his charges against my Lord Tyrawley, Mr Stanhope, and me, he affirms to your Lordships, 'That the occasion of that change in the subsequent council was, because the opinion of the majority had been overruled by a minister of her Majesty, assuring that the Queen had given him order to declare in her name, that her positive orders were that they should seek the enemy, march to Madrid, and not divide the troops upon any account whatsoever.' I must confess I do not conceive that it imports me much to reply to this part of the Earl's answer, nor shall I attempt to make an imperfect defence of an absent man; for if Mr Stanhope was here, I doubt not but he would be able sufficiently to justify his own conduct in this affair. Yet I cannot help saying, that even malice has never yet suggested that my Lord Tyrawley, Mr Stanhope, and I, did not act on that occasion with great integrity according to the best of our understandings. Nor (with great submission to this most honourable house) shall I ever be ashamed to own an opinion which was then not only the common sense of the army, but agreeable to the desires and interest of the whole kingdom of England.

"In the Earl of Peterborow's farther question he is pleased to say—'That notwithstanding this, the Earl of Galway brought the army into the plains of Valencia, the direct contrary route to that of Arragon, and into all those dangers, which he was to avoid by marching by the head of the Tagus.' In reply to this answer I shall only observe, that I had not the command of that army (which consisted of three separate bodies, English, Portuguese, and Dutch), but the Marquis das Minas, from whom I always received orders. And the battle of Almanza was fought by the unanimous approbation of a council of war; nor could the resolutions of that council have ever been executed, had there been the least difference of opinion; because each commander of a separate corps might have refused to march. For the occasion of our moving towards Almanza, I must beg leave to refer to my Narrative, where I have mentioned more at large, that in order to execute the resolutions of those councils of war, where it was agreed we should march to Madrid by the way of Arragon, but first destroy the enemy's magazines on the frontiers of Valencia, I went with the Marquis das Minas in the beginning of April to Yecla, where the enemy's chief magazines lay, and from thence to Villena, where we had advice of their troops being assembled at Almanza, upon which that council was held wherein the battle was unanimously resolved on.

[Here I omit Lord Galway's opinion concerning the Toulon question, as I have quoted it in Chap. III, Section 15.]

"What his Lordship says concerning a project that was formed for the taking of Origuela before the opening of the campaign is very true; but that project being afterwards found impracticable for want of provisions, and the campaign drawing near, the Earl Rivers's troops, which after their landing at Alicant, had been quartered in the nearest and most commodious towns for their reception, were ordered to remove to Oya de Castalla (two

short day's march from the places where they lay before), that the enemy might not get between them and the rest of our quarters to surprise us.

"In the Earl's answer to the fifth question,* he says—'The King of Spain, when the troops were marching into Murcia towards the enemy, assembled a council of war to no other purpose, but to send by the hands of his secretary a protest with his reasons why he would not march with the army, but go to protect his subjects in Catalonia; the contents of which protest the Earl very well remembers, having had a copy of it by the king's order.' His lordship's memory, as positive as he is, must have failed him extremely in this matter. For the army never did march into Murcia, nor any part of it, except a detachment of the troops under his lordship's command: which returned from thence with very ill success. And whatever he may aver to have been the reason of the King of Spain's leaving the army and going to Catalonia, 'tis certain his journey thither was fixed long before the army assembled, for no other reason that I ever yet heard of, but because he had a mind to redress some disorders there. And His Majesty always promised to be back again by the time our army should be ready to take the field. And it is notoriously known that the reasons for that journey were thought so insufficient, that not only all the foreign generals and ministers, but even the city and kingdom of Valencia by their deputies, protested against it.

"As to what the Earl of Peterborow is pleased to say concerning those *instruments* which he has to produce as *proofs* of the King of Spain's having been *over-ruled on many occasions in what be proposed for the public service*—I can only reply, that I do not remember to have seen any of those proofs,—except a letter of the King of Spain to his lordship, where His Majesty observes that the English, Portuguese, and Dutch Generals had refused him men to send to Majorca, in councils of war held on the 17th and 19th of January—(from whence I hope I may reasonably infer the great probability of those generals having been of opinion, but two days before, against dividing the troops.) And I must say, my behaviour to the King of Spain, whilst I had the honour to serve under him, was such, that he never had occasion to complain against me by his ministers to the Queen, as he did most strenuously by the Count of Gallas against the Earl of Peterborow. GALLWAY."

VI.

P.—EARL OF GALWAY'S LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT, AND TRUST-DEED.

I have obtained a "Court of Probate Office-Copy." I shall quote *verbatim* the most interesting passages. The entire contents of the will shall also be accurately described. The date is 30th August 1720. The witnesses were, the Rev. John Imber (aged 27), Curate of Stratton; the Rev. Daniel Cæsar Pégrier (aged 24), of St Anne's Parish, Westminster, Chaplain to Lord Galway; Thomas Sellwood (aged 38), gentleman, of St Giles' Parish, Westminster, Lord Galway's Agent, and writer of the will; Everard Persevell (aged 63), yeoman, of the parish of St Giles in the Fields, Middlesex. It is specified after each legacy, that it is "to be paid within one year after my decease;" and as to annuities, they are "per annum for and during the term of his [or her] natural life, to be paid him [or her] by four equal quarterly payments, on the Feast of the Birth of our Lord Christ, the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Feast of St John Baptist, and St Michael the Archangel. And I do appoint the first payment to begin and be made at such of the said Feast-days as shall first happen after my decease."

I shall classify the contents under five divisions:—

I. Settlement on his heiress—consisting of the first and last paragraphs of the Will, and the Trust-Deed appended.

"In the name of God. Amen. I, Henry de Massue, Earl and Viscount of Gallway, and Baron of Port Arlington, in the Kingdom of Ireland, being weak in body, but of sound and disposing mind, judgment, and memory, do make this my last Will and Testament in writing, in manner following:—First, I bequeath my soul to God's mercy through Jesus Christ, and my body to the earth, to be privately interred by my executors, herein-after named, in the Church belonging to the Parish wherein I shall happen to depart this life. And as for such Worldly Estate as it hath pleased God to entrust me with, I do hereby dispose of the same in the manner following:—

"That is to say, whereas, my late dearly beloved mother, Marie Tallemant, Widow and Relict of my late lamented father, Henry de Massue, Lord of Ruvigny, deceased, did, in her life-time, by her last Will and Testament in writing, bearing date on or about the Fourteenth day of May, which was in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred ninety and eight, order and appoint that the Right Honourable Rachel, Lady Russell, my father's niece, and my much esteemed cousin, should succeed to and inherit all such Estate, both Real and Personal, in the Kingdom of France, as she, my said mother, had power to dispose of by will, in case I should

* Fifth Question: "What the motives were of the King of Spain's leaving the army when it was resolved to march towards Madrid and towards the enemy—and whether there were any orders pretended from England for those measures?"—[Lord Peterborough took no notice of the latter part of this question, having attacked Mr Stanhope in his answer to Question Fourth.]

not get possession of the same, as by the said will, relation being thereunto had, will more at large appear. Now, in order to fulfil my mother's said last Will and Testament, and to shew the great value and natural affection which I have for the said Rachel, Lady Russell, I do hereby confirm my mother's will as far as in me lies. And do further give and bequeath unto the said Rachel, Lady Russell, and her heirs executors and administrators, all my estate, both real and personal, lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever in the Kingdom of France, together with all the arrearages of the rents and profits thereof, whensoever the same shall or may be recovered. Together with all my right interest claim and demand whatsoever to the same, and to all and every the rights privileges members and appurtenances thereunto, or to any part or parcel thereof in any wise belonging or appertaining; as fully and amply to all intents and purposes as the same have been formerly held and enjoyed by my said father in his life; to all which I am justly entitled, as eldest and only surviving son and heir both to my said late father, Henry, Lord de Ruvigny, and to my said mother. Also my will and desire is that my executors hereinafter named, do justly and carefully pay all my debts and funeral charges, and also pay my servants their wages to the end of the quarter wherein I shall die. And also my will and intention is that my executors, hereinafter named, shall pay the following legacies.

[Here follow the legacies.]

“And as for and concerning the rest residue and remainder of my estate, both real and personal, whatsoever, within the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, be the same in Lands, Tenements, Leases, Leaseholds, Annuities, Stock, Orders, Tallys, Bonds, Bills, Debts, Dues, Arrears of Pensions, Specialitys, Plate, Jewells, Furniture, Ready Money, Goods or Chattels of what kind soever, I do give and bequeath the same unto the Most Noble William, Duke of Devonshire, John, Duke of Rutland, John Charlton, of Totteridge, in the county of Hertford, Esquire, and Richard Vaughan, of Dorwith, in the county of Carmarthen, Esquire, subject, nevertheless, to the trust hereinafter expressed, &c. &c. &c.

“And I do hereby nominate constitute make and appoint the said William, Duke of Devonshire, John, Duke of Rutland, John Charlton, and Richard Vaughan, executors of this my last Will and Testament. And I do further revoke and declare void all and every other will and wills by me at any time hereafter made. In witness whereof, &c.

[Here follow the signatures.]

“Whereas I, Henry de Massue, Earl and Viscount of Gallway, and Baron of Port Arlington, in the kingdom of Ireland, have made and duly executed my last Will and Testament, bearing even date with these presents, and thereby after payment of my Funeral Charges, Debts, and Legacies, have devised and given unto the Most Noble William, Duke of Devonshire, John, Duke of Rutland, John Charlton, Esquire, and Richard Vaughan, Esquire, their heirs, executors and administrators, all my estate, real and personal whatsoever, within the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c. &c., upon trust, nevertheless, to and for the use and benefit of such person or persons, and to and for such uses intents and purposes as by any deed or writing to be by me executed, in the presence of two or more witnesses, I should at any time direct, declare or appoint; and to and for no other use intent or purpose whatsoever, &c. &c. Now, know all men by these presents that I, the said Henry, &c. &c., did bequeath devise and give all my said estate, &c. &c., upon the special trust, and to and for the use intents and purposes hereinafter expressed, and upon no other trust, and for no other use intent or purpose whatsoever. That is to say, upon trust, that they, the said William, &c., their respective heirs executors and administrators, shall and will stand and be seized and possessed of all and singular the hereinbefore trusted, or herein intended to be trusted, premises and appurtenances to and for the use and benefit of my dear and well beloved cousin, The Right Honourable Rachel, Lady Russell, Widow and Relict of William, Lord Russell, deceased, &c. &c. &c.

II.—LEGACIES TO SERVANTS.

To every household servant—“Mourning,” “one year's wages more than shall be due to them at the end of the quarter wherein I shall die”—also, “one month's Board Wages.” To servants specially named, besides the above bequests,

John Forcade, £100 “of lawful money of Great Britain,” and £15 per annum.

Michell Vial, £30 per annum, and “all my wearing cloths, both linen and woollen, together with my plate, which is under his care, and belonging to my bed-chamber, and no other.”

Cesar Guillot, £20 per annum.

Moses Grocer, £15 per annum, to be continued to his widow, and their children, Henry and John.

John Briot, £200; James Clarke, £50; Mary Guillot, £100; Peter Lowan, £10; Peter Char, £30.

III.—LEGACIES TO PERSONAL FRIENDS IN ENGLAND.

Daniel Bruneval, "my secretary," £800.

Madame Charlotte Marmaude, of St James' parish, Westminster, £40 per annum.

Madame Lucrece Chavernay, of Southampton, £40 per annum.

Madame Vignolles (niece of Madame Chavernay), £500; and to her children, (1.) Angelica Vignolles, £500; (2.) Henry Vignolles, £1000.

Monsieur Henry Pyniot de la Largère, of St James', Westminster, £20 per annum, "to be paid him till he shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years and no longer."

Anthony Cong, of Southampton, clerk, £13 per annum.

Monsieur Peter de Cosne, of Southampton, £500; and to his children, (1.) Charles de Cosne, £1000; (2.) Henrietta de Cosne, £1500; (3.) Ruvigny de Cosne, £2000.

IV.—LEGACIES TO PERSONAL FRIENDS IN IRELAND.

Monsieur Cramahe, of Dublin, £1000.

"Young Henry Amproux in the Colledge at Dublin," £500.

John Darasus, son of Madame Darasus, of Dublin, £100, and to her daughter, Henrietta Darasus, £100.

Captain John Nicholas, of Dublin, £200.

Henry Jordan, "my godson," of Dun Shaclean, near Dublin, £100.

Jacob Denis, of Waterford, clerk, £50.

V.—LEGACIES PRO BONO PUBLICO.

"Also, I give to the French Hospital in London, of which I am Governor, £1000, to be applied in such manner as Monsieur Philip Ménard and the other directors of the said hospital shall think fit."

"Also, I give and bequeath to the poor French Protestant Refugees in this kingdom, to be distributed to them by the Committee, £500."

"Also, I give to the poor of the French Church in the Savoy at London, to be distributed to them by the Consistory there, £300."

"Also I give to the poor of the French Church in the City of London, to be distributed to them by the Consistory there, £200."

"To the poor of East Stratton, in the County of Southampton, to be distributed to them by the curate and church-wardens there, £10. . . . To the poor of the parish of Crawley, in the said county, &c., £10.

To the poor of the parish of King Somborne, in the said county, &c., £10. . . . "Also, whereas Domingo Roca, of Alicant, in Spain, gent., did formerly buy a certain number of mules in Spain by my order, but for the publick use, my will is that if the government shall not pay and satisfy the said Domingo Roca for the said mules within two years after my decease, then my executors hereinafter named shall pay the said Domingo Roca for the said mules such sum as Sir John Norris the Admiral shall think reasonable, not exceeding three hundred pounds of lawful money of Great Britain."

The will was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury at London, the seventh day of December, 1720, by the two accepting Trustees: The Most Noble William, Duke of Devonshire, and Richard Vaughan of Dorset, in the county of Carmarthen, Esquire.

NOTES TO VOLUME I.

{ HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, SECTION V.

The Collection for the Refugees of 1681 was made partly in that year according to the old style; but the true date is March and April 1682, as I now find in Anthony Wood's Diary:—"1682. At the latter end of March, and the beginning of this month, was a collection in every college and hall, as also in every parish of Oxford, for succour and relief of poor Protestants that were lately come into England upon a persecution in France: people gave liberally."

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, SECTION VII.

Page 49. As a supplement to List XV. the following should have been inserted:—[August 1688. Joseph Dulivier, John Germaine.]

Page 50: In List XVIII. insert, "Daniel Oursell, Dec. 1692."

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, SECTION VIII.

Extract from "Chronological History of England," by John Pointer, M.A., Chaplain of Merton College in Oxford, vol. i., p. 341:—"1686-7, March 4. Ordered by His Majesty in Council, that the Money which was collected for the relief of the distressed French Protestants be immediately paid into the Chamber of London."

CHAPTER III., SECTION IV.

Extract from Pointer, vol. i., p. 395:—"1693, April 1. His Majesty permits 600 French Protestant families, who were come into Switzerland, and had implored his protection, to go and settle in Ireland."